



**SELECTED WORKS
OF
DENG XIAOPING**

**Volume II
(1975-1982)**

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

SELECTED WORKS
OF
DENG XIAOPING

Volume II

(1975-1982)

Translated by
The Bureau for the Compilation and Translation
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the Communist Party of China

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EDITOR'S NOTE ON THE SECOND EDITION

The *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)* was published in 1983. With the approval of the author, the second edition is now issued and entitled the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume II)*.

The present book includes 14 additional articles, most of which are published here for the first time in English. "Opening Speech at the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", which appeared in the first edition, has been included in the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume III)*. This book reflects some of the author's main ideas concerning the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, which were set forth between mid-1970s and early 1980s. It contains 60 articles.

In the second edition, some of the transcriptions of the original presentations have been edited by the author, a few changes have been made in wording and punctuation of the text, and a few notes have been added to the book.

Editorial Committee for Party
Literature, Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China

July 1994

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume contains 47 important talks and speeches given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping from January 1975 through September 1982, most of which are published for the first time.

The speeches in 1975 bear witness to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's determined effort to put an end to the turmoil of the "cultural revolution" that began in 1966 and to bring order into all spheres of work. They reflect the head-on struggle he waged against the Gang of Four in order to achieve stability and unity and to promote China's economic development.

The speeches in 1977 and after demonstrate Comrade Deng Xiaoping's outstanding contributions as a policy maker. He rallied the Chinese Communist Party and guided it in correcting past errors and bringing about a historic change. He helped the Party to chart a correct course and work out principles and policies for socialist modernization in accordance with the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and in light of China's specific conditions.

These speeches are not only important as historical documents. They serve, and will continue to serve, as basic guidelines for China's socialist construction.

For this book, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made some minor changes in the text for the purpose of clarification.

Editorial Committee for Party
Literature, Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China

March 4, 1983

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THE ARMY NEEDS TO BE CONSOLIDATED

January 25, 1975

Our army has fine traditions. Comrade Mao Zedong established an excellent system and a fine style of work for it as early as the period of struggle in the Jinggang Mountains. With this army of ours, the Party commands the gun, and not vice versa. Through protracted struggles against warlordism, the army achieved unity in its own ranks and formed close ties with the masses. However, it was thrown into considerable chaos after Lin Biao¹ was put in charge of army work in 1959, and especially in the later period under him. Now, many fine traditions have been discarded and the army is seriously bloated organizationally. The size of the armed forces has increased substantially and military expenditures take up a larger proportion of the state budget than before, with a lot of money being spent just on food and clothing. What is more important is that an over-expanded and inefficient army is not combat-worthy. I think that the overwhelming majority of our army comrades are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. It is for this reason that Comrade Mao Zedong has called for the consolidation of the army. We must reduce the size of our armed forces, confront the problem of extensive overstaffing and restore the army's fine traditions. This will involve a great deal of work. Since the Headquarters of the General Staff, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department bear major responsibility, they should be the first to be consolidated.

We must set things right in the armed forces in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions on stability and unity. In recent years, our army has been confronted with a major new problem, factionalism, which is quite serious in some units. It is mainly the officers who are involved. The overwhelming majority of our officers are good, but there is

¹Speech at a meeting of officers of regimental level and above at the Headquarters of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Comrade Deng Xiaoping became Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and concurrently Chief of the General Staff on January 5, 1975.

indeed a small handful who are bent on factionalism. They engage in factional activities both inside the army and in the civilian units where they go to work. In order to achieve stability and unity, we must eliminate factionalism and enhance Party spirit. In the past, during the protracted and scattered guerrilla wars our army fought in the countryside, many separate “mountain strongholds” came into being. After the Red Army’s arrival in northern Shaanxi in the Long March and during the subsequent War of Resistance Against Japan [1937-45], Comrade Mao Zedong set before the whole Party and army the task of overcoming the tendency towards the “mountain-stronghold” mentality. After the Yan’an rectification movement, which among other things, opposed sectarianism, the whole Party achieved a new level of unity, and this provided the basic guarantee for our victories in the War of Resistance and the War of Liberation [1946-49]. Recently, factionalism has been reasserting itself; this is something to which we must certainly pay attention. Unless factionalism is eliminated, stability and unity cannot be achieved and the army’s fighting capacity is sure to be weakened. Each cadre is required to put Party spirit above everything else. Those who are pleased to engage in factionalism should wake up and correct their mistakes. If they do so, everything will be all right. But one of the important principles to be observed in the future appointment and promotion of army officers is that those who are seriously involved in factional activities or who cling stubbornly to factional ways should not be given leading posts.

Another problem is discipline in the army. Why did Comrade Mao Zedong propose the singing of *The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention*,⁶ with special emphasis on the rule “obey orders in all your actions”? Precisely to stress discipline. An army should act like an army. If we want to strengthen the sense of discipline, we must start with the general headquarters and units in Beijing. We simply cannot allow things to remain as they are. So to consolidate the army we must both enhance Party spirit and eliminate factionalism, and strengthen discipline.

There are other problems which should also be dealt with—for instance, the implementation of Party policies. Many have not yet been carried out. Every unit should study this problem conscientiously and carry out Party policies properly, because only thus can we help arouse people’s enthusiasm and achieve stability and unity.

The Headquarters of the General Staff is expected and required to advise the Central Committee of the Party, its Military Commission, and Chairman Mao, the commander of our armed forces. Comrade Mao Zedong used to criticize the Headquarters of the General Staff for failing to offer advice. This situation should be changed. A lot needs to be done. Problems have

piled up. The Headquarters of the General Staff must thoroughly straighten things out according to the military line and the principles for building the army formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong, so that we can really fulfil our advisory function.

Today I have just come to meet you. We will need to have further discussions on ways to improve work in the army. But I think there can be no mistake about the principles I have just mentioned, namely, the need to achieve consolidation, stability and unity, and the need to ensure implementation of Party policies. To accomplish these tasks, we must enhance Party spirit, eliminate factionalism, heighten the sense of discipline and improve efficiency. I hope that all cadres in the Headquarters of the General Staff will unite in this spirit and that they will do their work well.

THE WHOLE PARTY SHOULD TAKE THE OVERALL INTEREST INTO ACCOUNT AND PUSH THE ECONOMY FORWARD

March 5, 1975

The whole Party must now give serious thought to our country's overall interest. What is that interest? The Reports on the Work of the Government at the First Sessions of the Third and Fourth National People's Congresses both envisaged a two-stage development of our economy: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system by 1980. The second will be to turn China into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of this century, that is, within the next 25 years. The entire Party and nation must strive for the attainment of this great objective. This constitutes the overall national interest.

Chairman Mao has said that it is necessary to make revolution, promote production and other work and ensure preparedness in the event of war. I am told that some comrades nowadays only dare to make revolution but not to promote production. They say that the former is safe but the latter dangerous. This is utterly wrong. What is the actual situation in production? Agriculture appears to be doing comparatively well, but the per-capita grain yield is only 304.5 kilogrammes, grain reserves are small and the income of the peasants is pretty low. As for industry, it deserves our serious attention. Its existing capacity is not fully utilized, and its output last year was inadequate. This is the final year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, and if production doesn't increase, we are sure to have difficulties in carrying out the Fifth Five-Year Plan. We must foresee that possibility and earnestly address this problem.

How can we give a boost to the economy? Analysis shows that the weak link at the moment is the railways. If the problems in railway transport are

Speech at a meeting of secretaries in charge of industrial affairs from the Party committees of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

not solved, our production schedules will be disrupted and the entire plan will be nullified. So the Central Committee is determined to solve this problem; today we shall issue a "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Improving Railway Work".

To solve the problems of the railways, it is essential to strengthen centralized and unified leadership. The Central Committee has always stressed the importance of such leadership in railway work, but in recent years it has been weakened. Although over these years there has been an increase in the number of railway personnel, and in rolling stock, track and other equipment, yet because centralized and unified leadership has been weakened, railway transport has consistently failed to improve. Only a little more than 40,000 freight cars are loaded per day. According to some comrades, however, given our actual loading capacity, we should be able to handle 55,000 cars per day. Therefore the Central Committee has decided to reaffirm centralized and unified leadership in accordance with the special characteristics of railway work. Of course, this will not reduce the responsibility of the localities. The central and regional railway departments cannot perform their task well without support from them. So both sides must try to co-ordinate their efforts more closely.

The decision of the Central Committee also covers the formulation of essential rules and regulations, and a strengthening of the sense of organization and discipline. The present number of railway accidents is alarming. There were 755 major ones last year, some of them extremely serious. This is many times greater than the figure of 88 accidents for 1964, the year with the lowest rate. Many of the accidents were caused by negligence, including negligence in maintaining rolling stock. This indicates that there are no proper rules and that discipline is poor. It is now time to reimpose some rules and regulations. One of the old rules was that engine drivers had to bring their lunch boxes to their locomotives and were not allowed to leave the train for meals. There were good reasons for this. But now engine drivers go off to eat whenever they like, and this means the trains frequently run behind schedule. The long-standing rule prohibiting the consumption of alcohol while on duty is not strictly observed now either. If someone gets drunk and pulls the wrong switch, he can cause a collision. For these reasons, essential rules and regulations must be restored and improved and the sense of organization and discipline enhanced. This problem concerns not only the railway departments, but the localities and other departments as well.

The decision of the Central Committee also includes instructions on combating factionalism. Factionalism now seriously jeopardizes our overall interest. This question must be brought before all personnel and explained to

them clearly as a major issue of right and wrong. It is no use tackling specific problems unless we have first settled this general issue. Persons engaging in factional activities should be re-educated and their leaders opposed. Generally speaking, such leaders can be divided into two categories. One category consists of persons who are obsessed by factionalism, have engaged in factional activities for several years and have lost their sense of right and wrong. For them, Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought and the Communist Party have all disappeared. They should be educated. If they correct their mistakes, then we will let bygones be bygones, but if they refuse to mend their ways, they will be sternly dealt with. The second category consists of a few bad elements. They can be found in all lines of work in every province and city. They fish in troubled waters by capitalizing on factionalism and undermining socialist public order and economic construction. They take advantage of the resulting confusion to speculate and profiteer, grabbing power and money. Something must be done about such people. Take for instance that ringleader in Xuzhou who has been creating disturbances. He is so “capable” that he exercises a virtual dictatorship over the place. If we don’t take action against this sort of person now, how much longer are we going to wait? As I see it, we should only give him one month, that is, till the end of March, to mend his ways. If he fails to do so and stubbornly stands in opposition to the proletariat, then his misdeeds will be treated as crimes.

Factionalists in the railway departments have ties with those in the localities. We must cut these ties. Such people know how to seek out vital spots. They obstructed railway transport, and this soon came to the attention of Beijing. The trouble that occurred along the line under the jurisdiction of the Nanchang Railway Bureau was partly attributable to some of the Jiangxi provincial authorities. It is imperative to cut the internal and external connections of individuals who engage in factional activities in the railway departments. This meeting has decided that the transfer of personnel in these departments will be conducted under the unified administration of the Ministry of Railways. The power rests with the Ministry. Factional problems in the railways that the local governments are unable to handle will be dealt with by the Ministry. Active factionalists must be transferred to other posts. Of course, I am referring to the ringleaders. What if a new ringleader emerges following the transfer of the previous one? Transfer him too. Do it two or three times and the problem will ultimately be solved. And we won’t arrest anyone, except, of course, counter-revolutionaries. What if a factional ringleader refuses to be transferred? Stop paying his wages until he submits. Since his trade is factionalism, why should we keep him on our payroll? In short, we need to devise methods for solving this problem.

Which do you think there are more of, people who are in favour of the Central Committee's decision or people who are against it? The decision will be carried out effectively if it enjoys the support of 80 per cent of the people concerned. I think the overwhelming majority supports this decision. The Chinese railway workers are among the most advanced and best organized sections of the Chinese working class. Will they favour centralized and unified leadership or not? Will they favour organization and discipline or not? Will they favour the essential rules and regulations or not? Will they oppose factionalism or not? Will they support the transfer of factional ringleaders or not? If the pros and cons are clearly explained to them, the overwhelming majority of railway personnel will naturally give their support. So the mobilization drive in March should be thorough, with the issues made clear to everyone, including the family members of railway personnel and the peasants living along the railway lines.

The experience gained in handling the problems in railway work will be useful to the other industrial units. Clear-cut policies should be worked out for tackling existing problems. We should bear the overall interest of the country in mind and solve these problems without delay. How much longer can this task be put off? How can we afford to delay in advancing the cause of socialism?

SOME PROBLEMS OUTSTANDING IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

May 29, 1975

The Central Committee of the Party has added its instructions to the report submitted a few days ago to Chairman Mao and the Central Committee by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. Now the document will be transmitted to the lower levels. In my opinion, the prospects for improving our iron and steel production are excellent provided the policies and requirements embodied in the Central Committee's instructions are followed.

There are four key problems now confronting the iron and steel industry which must be solved.

First, it is imperative to build a strong leadership.

Iron and steel production is not increasing at the moment; this refers mainly to the major steel complexes at Baotou, Wuhan, Anshan and Taiyuan. In particular, if instead of increasing, the output of Anshan Iron and Steel Company falls short by two or three thousand tons a day, others will be unable to make up the difference. Of course, some medium-sized and small steel plants also fall short. The main cause of our sluggish iron and steel production is the leadership, which is weak, lazy and lax. That of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry is weak, though we can't as yet go so far as to say it is lazy and lax. But being weak, it needs to be strengthened. The quality of the leading groups varies from one factory or enterprise to another. Some are lax, which is a failing related to factionalism. One of the major problems with cadres at present is that they are afraid to touch thorny issues the way one is afraid to touch a tiger's backside. The leaders of a unit or an enterprise must not be so timid. We should try to find and recruit into the leading groups cadres who are not afraid of losing their jobs; they will have the support of the Central Committee and the provincial Party committees. Unless we do this, things cannot be changed for the better. A leading group is like a command post, and efforts to boost production, carry on scientific

Speech at a forum on the iron and steel industry.

research or combat factionalism are all like military operations. If the command post is weak, the operations cannot be effective. The Ministry of Metallurgical Industry has not had the strength to conduct effective operations, nor have the leading groups of some steel companies and plants. This question of the leading groups has a bearing on whether or not the Party line will be implemented. Unless the matter is properly handled, it will be difficult even to begin to move, let alone to lead the masses forward. That is why we have placed primary emphasis on properly tackling the problem of the leading groups. We must strengthen not only the leading group of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, but also that of every company, factory, mine and workshop, as well as the operational units. We must see to it that no leading group is weak, lazy or lax. Only then will its opinions be listened to and its directions followed; only then will it be truly able to lead.

Second, it is imperative to struggle against factionalism.

After the decision of the Central Committee on improving railway work was made known to the lower levels, all trades and professions felt its great impact and impetus. One clear example is the rapid growth in coal production, which was achieved because the leadership was bold and firm in combating factionalism. Production in the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company also improved as soon as the problem of factionalism was solved. The railway departments have done an even more remarkable job in this respect, and the experience gained in Xuzhou is quite typical. We should all learn from these experiences.

The leadership must be clear-cut and firm in its opposition to factionalism. How long can we afford to wait for persons who have wrought havoc with the Party's cause to recognize their mistakes? Courage is of primary importance here. Those who cling to factionalism should be transferred to other posts, criticized or struggled against whenever necessary. We should not drag things out and wait forever. Moreover, we should call on the masses to join in the effort against factionalism. Do those who cling to their factionalist ways fear the Central Committee or the provincial Party committees? They do not. Still less do they fear the city Party committees and the leadership in companies, factories or mines. But they do fear the masses, especially when the latter rise in action. So the way to deal with these people is to mobilize the masses to struggle against them, and not give an inch. What's more, we need to make a show of strength, and we must not be hesitant. We must have faith in the masses. We must bring the documents of the Central Committee directly to them so that its line is truly made known to every family, including housewives and children, and the initiative of the masses against factionalism is thus brought into play. Experience in

different localities shows that over 95 per cent of the masses support the Central Committee's essential points. I certainly don't mean to say that no one is opposed to them. My speech last March at the national meeting of Party secretaries in charge of industrial work was described by some persons as a "restorationist programme". Individuals who express such views do exist. But don't be afraid of them. If we take a clear-cut attitude and have correct policies, the situation will be easy to handle.

Those who still engage in factional activities are a minority. Among them, some are true enemies who capitalize on factionalism to cause serious disruption; others engage in factional strife merely for personal gain and fame; still others are obsessed by factionalism after having gone through several years of such strife. As the experience of the railway departments and of the city of Xuzhou and other areas shows, the number of those who should be made targets of attack in the struggle against factionalism is very small. Factional activities in Xuzhou were very serious, but in the end only three persons were brought under attack. The overwhelming majority, including those who were obsessed by factionalism, were redeemable. So the actual result was that the target of attack was very narrow and a great many people were helped through education. We must be determined to win in our anti-factionalist struggle.

Third, it is imperative that policies be conscientiously implemented.

To judge by the experience gained in solving the problems in railway work and in the city of Xuzhou, carrying out Party policies is very important. In the campaign to ferret out members of the "May Sixteenth Group",¹⁶⁹ over 6,000 persons in Xuzhou came under attack. This figure is quite shocking. When so many people have been attacked, it is essential to implement the policy concerning them; otherwise, how can we arouse the enthusiasm of the masses?

When I say that we must implement the policy concerning these people, I am not talking only about the individuals who were labelled this or that, but also about the people around them who have been implicated. The treatment of those 6,000 people in Xuzhou affects tens of thousands of others, if we count an average of five members in each of their families, plus other relatives, friends and social connections. Measures must be taken to help them shed their mental burden as soon as possible.

In implementing the policies, we should also pay attention to other cases. For example, although some people were not officially labelled, they were criticized or attacked and suffered great mental distress. This sort of thing happened even in areas where there was no campaign to uncover members of the "May Sixteenth Group". All these problems should be dealt

with appropriately.

In implementing the relevant Party policies, we should particularly concentrate on arousing the enthusiasm of veteran workers, key technicians and veteran model workers. Those who should be returned to leading posts ought to be brought back and assigned appropriate jobs. Of course, I am not suggesting that all the people I've referred to should be put back in their previous posts.

Fourth, it is imperative to establish essential rules and regulations.

After the aforementioned matters have been well handled, the next step is to mobilize the masses to establish and improve essential rules and regulations. This is also a matter of enhancing the sense of organization and discipline. In recent years, there have really been no rules and regulations to speak of, and many problems have consequently arisen. Not long ago, in a single day the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company had two major accidents in which molten steel escaped. It is even difficult to determine who should be held accountable for some accidents that have occurred. Therefore, it is imperative to establish and improve essential rules and regulations. Discipline in some factories is very lax. The personnel may or may not come to work and may or may not observe the regulations. It should be clearly stated that although previous instances of this kind may be excused, no recurrence will henceforth be tolerated. How can an individual be allowed to casually absent himself from work whenever he feels like it? If a man doesn't come to work, cross his name off the payroll. If he refuses to work, tell him to leave! Since you're not willing to work, why should the state continue to pay you wages as if you were? In enforcing the rules and regulations, it is better to be a bit on the strict side; otherwise, they cannot be properly established. In the past, some rules and regulations were too complicated, and they should be improved. We should sum up both positive and negative experience and restore or establish such rules and regulations as are essential.

In a word, there is a lot to be done to improve the production of iron and steel. In my opinion, it is most important to pay special attention to the four points I have discussed.

STRENGTHEN PARTY LEADERSHIP AND RECTIFY THE PARTY'S STYLE OF WORK

July 4, 1975

I am glad to meet you today and would like to say a few words.

Comrade Mao Zedong has recently given us three important instructions. First, study theory and combat and prevent revisionism. Second, achieve stability and unity. Third, boost the economy. These three instructions, being related to one another, form an organic whole and none of them should be left out. They form the key link in our work for the present period. Last year Comrade Mao Zedong said that the “cultural revolution” had already gone on for eight years and that it was better to achieve stability. Now that another year has passed, making it nine years, we should unite and strive for stability. We have a lot to do. There are many aspects of the international struggle that demand attention and there is also a lot to do domestically, especially to raise the level of the economy.

In order to achieve stability and unity and to develop the socialist economy, it is essential to strengthen the leadership of the Party and to spread and further develop the Party's fine style of work. This is a vital question. Comrade Mao Zedong said that our army should be consolidated. This also holds true for the entire Party, and especially for the Party leadership and the Party's style of work.

At present, effective Party leadership either has not yet been established or has been weakened in quite a number of localities. This problem exists at all levels. How can we do without Party leadership? What will happen if what the Party says doesn't carry much weight? The key to the solution of this problem is to build effective leadership at the level of the provincial Party committees. It is not possible to bring all problems to the Central Committee for solution. Many comrades present here work at the provincial level. I hope that through your study and work, you will be able to establish

Speech to members of the fourth class for theoretical study organized by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

effective leadership by the provincial Party committees so that their opinions will be heeded and they will be able to shoulder the responsibility of leadership and be neither weak, nor lazy, nor lax. Will the provincial Party committee leaders make mistakes? That is probable, even certain. It is quite possible for this or that comrade to make mistakes. It is unrealistic to ask that the provincial Party committees be infallible and totally correct on every matter. They should be allowed to make mistakes and to correct them. When they do make mistakes, they should be given help. When the Central Committee criticizes them, it is in order to help them. We should support the leadership of the provincial Party committees and help them build their prestige so that they may exercise effective leadership in all kinds of work—in industry, agriculture, commerce, culture, education and military affairs—and in all parts of their respective provinces. Once the provincial Party committees become strong and do not hesitate to exercise leadership, they will be able to help the Party committees at the prefectural and county levels. This is the way for our Party to make its leadership effective. In its recent decision on improving railway work and in its instructions on striving to fulfil this year's plan for iron and steel production, the Central Committee stressed the importance of strengthening Party leadership. The whole Party should take up this task.

When it comes to the Party's style of work, this means the "three dos and three don'ts"² put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong; they represent both the Party's principles and its style of work. You comrades have all read many books. Nevertheless, you should make a careful study of the documents issued during the Yan'an rectification movement and the political report to the Seventh National Congress of the Party.¹²⁷ In that report, Comrade Mao Zedong set forth the three major features of the Party's style of work, namely, integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising self-criticism. During the Yan'an rectification movement, Comrade Mao Zedong made "Reform Our Study", "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and other reports. Rectification meant correcting the style of study by opposing subjectivism; correcting the style in Party relations by combating sectarianism; and correcting the style of writing by opposing Party stereotypes. These principles were put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong after he had summed up the Party's historical experience. Among them, combating sectarianism—that is, combating factionalism and enhancing Party spirit—is very important. The admonition contained in the "three dos and three don'ts" to promote unity and oppose splits is in the same spirit as the call for combating sectarianism during the Yan'an rectification movement. Communist Party members should act in accordance with the

Party Constitution and observe Party discipline. They should not engage in sectarianism, form “mountain strongholds”, or side with one faction or another. Otherwise, our Party will be split and lose its fighting capacity. The Yan’an rectification movement was aimed at solving these problems in order to forge Party-wide unity on the basis of ideological agreement. Without that movement, it would have been impossible to defeat the Japanese aggressors and Chiang Kai-shek. The present attempts to solve problems in different regions and units should all begin with combating factionalism and enhancing Party spirit. During the revolutionary war years, the Red Army on the different fronts and cadres from different revolutionary base areas formed various “mountain strongholds”; these came into being naturally. But even if the two factions which appeared at the early stage of the “cultural revolution” were likewise formed naturally, their perpetuation now would be quite a different matter. Comrade Mao Zedong has called for stability and unity. How can stability and unity be achieved if a small number of persons are allowed to continue making trouble? A few persons in Xuzhou made things so difficult for the city Party committee that it had to go “underground”. What kind of dictatorship is this? It is the dictatorship of factionalism. When this happens, stability and unity are simply out of the question. As a matter of fact, those who cling to factionalism are very few in number. Over 95 per cent of the people, including those who go along in factional activities, detest factionalism. Once things are made clear to the masses and they are awakened, once they come to see the true features of those who cling to factionalism, they will stop trailing after them. The majority of people engaging in factional activities can be educated. We should correct factionalism among the masses according to the formula of “unity—criticism—unity” put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong, that is, we should start from the desire for unity and arrive at unity through criticism. Of course, this involves such struggles as are necessary.

That is all I have to say today. I have talked mainly about strengthening Party leadership, opposing factionalism and developing further the fine style of work established by Comrade Mao Zedong. All comrades in the Party, and especially Central Committee members and high-ranking cadres, should pay attention to these matters.

THE TASK OF CONSOLIDATING THE ARMY

July 14, 1975

I. THE SITUATION IN OUR ARMY

We should first of all recognize that the general situation in our army is good and that it has stood the test both before and after the founding of the People's Republic, right up to the present. Our army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Without pointing to such major campaigns as the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea,³ we need only mention the minor clashes such as our counter-attacks fought in self-defence at Zhenbao Island and the Xisha Islands and along the Sino-Indian borders.⁴ On each occasion, every regiment, company and squad fulfilled its task. This shows that our army has a fine tradition and that it is heroic and skilful in battle. Comrades have told me that, with a few individual exceptions, the situation in our army units at regimental level and below is not bad. We are all glad of this.

Today I'm going to talk mainly about the problems remaining in the army. In my opinion, we shouldn't talk only about the strong points of our army to the neglect of its weaknesses, because it has been praised often enough. Owing to sabotage by Lin Biao and his like, there are quite a few problems besetting our army. Many of the comrades present here feel this. I've thought these problems over and would like to sum them up in five words: bloating, laxity, conceit, extravagance and inertia. Of course, I don't mean that these five words present the general picture of the army. However, some or all of them do apply to a number of units and comrades.

First, there is a certain degree of bloating. The reorganization of our army and the streamlining of its organizational set-up, which we're going to discuss at this meeting, are aimed at solving precisely this problem. We can't say that every division is bloated, but it is definitely true to some extent of

Speech at an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

the army as a whole.

Second, there is a certain degree of laxity. This is chiefly manifested in factionalism and an inadequate sense of organizational discipline. Historically, our army was formed on the basis of a number of “mountain strongholds”, with comrades hailing from all corners of the country. Organizationally, we had three front armies, each of which was established on the basis of many “mountain strongholds”, and this naturally gave rise to a “mountain-stronghold” mentality¹⁶⁸ in varying degrees. During the rectification movement in Yan’an, Comrade Mao Zedong called on us to combat sectarianism and to solve the problem of the “mountain-stronghold” mentality throughout the Party and in different places, especially in the army. This problem was solved with three or four years of effort, starting from the beginning of the rectification movement in 1941. After the movement, cadres in the army and the localities pooled their wisdom and strength, making a single, tremendous force, and that is why we were victorious in our revolutionary wars. Since that time, the question of combating sectarianism in the army has never arisen again until now. Why, then, should we raise it now? Because this problem has reappeared in our army in the course of “supporting the Left”.⁵ In doing this, many persons became involved in factional activities, some siding with one faction, some with another. Since the army people had great authority, they became the real power behind the different factions. Later they brought the same attitudes into the army, and in many of its units this led to the rise of two opposing factions. Now, nine years after the outbreak of the “cultural revolution”, a fairly large number of comrades in our army have yet to shake off factionalism. And this has damaged unity within the army. Factionalism in the army is very dangerous—to put it more strongly, it cannot, and should not, be tolerated. Now there are always a few people in the army who like to build strongholds or set up small tight circles of one sort or another; they are partial to persons who flatter and obey them, and they practise favouritism when making appointments to posts. In fact, flatterers are persons of dubious character. Nonetheless, some of our comrades delight in being lavishly praised and flattered. They are unable to work together with people who come from different parts of the country or with people who differ with them. That is how “mountain strongholds” have come into being without these comrades’ being aware of it themselves. In some units here in Beijing we have comrades of that sort, including even some senior leading cadres, who are bent on building their own factions. Through “hard struggle” they engineer the transfer of comrades with differing views, and they organize leading groups that consist of persons obedient to them. Isn’t this erecting “mountain strongholds”? Isn’t

this indulging in sectarianism? For several years we've been talking about carrying out Party policies. Yet many of those policies remain unimplemented, and one important reason is factionalism. Factionalism in army units in turn exerts a pernicious influence on some civilian units, so that it cannot be eliminated there either. Although the army comrades who were sent to "support the Left" have been withdrawn from the civilian units, their influence persists. Therefore, we say that the problems in civilian units are related to those in the army.

Many comrades feel that organizational discipline is weak in our army today. Subordination of the lower levels to the higher, and of individuals to the organization is being neglected. The army used to have a very strong sense of organizational discipline, and orders were carried out without the slightest hesitation. But things are different now. Sometimes, not only individuals but even whole units act in defiance of orders. The lack of a sense of organizational discipline is related to factionalism. Those who disobey orders have the interests of their own factions in mind instead of the overall interests of the revolution. They place personal and factional interests above everything else. They seek fame, gain and position, and when they fail to secure them, they take offence and even refuse to obey orders of transfer. Just shifting someone to a new post is rather difficult nowadays, because many people prefer to remain in the big cities, especially in Beijing. If you want to transfer them to other places it's very hard—what with talk of poor health and heart trouble which is certain to recur if they are given jobs elsewhere but will disappear if they remain in Beijing. In a word, the excuses are endless.

It is not only organizational discipline that is weaker than before, so is political discipline. For instance, some people stubbornly refuse to implement Party policies as urged by the Central Committee. What does this signify? It signifies lack of political discipline. Another example is the failure of some comrades in our army to carry out the policy of helping the civilian units to uproot factionalism and so promote unity among the masses. This question involves both political and organizational discipline.

Recently, the Central Committee issued a series of documents, all of which made some mention of the need to solve the problems of the leading bodies. Weakness, laziness and laxity are to be found in the leading military bodies as well as in the civilian units. There are quite a few leading military bodies that are lax or lazy, and probably even more that are weak. Recently the civilian units have been working well and hastening to solve these problems, but the army has been somewhat slower.

Third, there is a certain amount of conceit. This problem is nothing new

in our army. In the war years, since the army was making great contributions and enjoyed high prestige, some comrades tended to become conceited. After many years of corrective effort, by and large the problem was solved. It should be pointed out, however, that a new situation developed during the “cultural revolution”. Since the army was given the task of “supporting the Left”, it wielded great power. Together with other factors, this engendered conceit among a number of army comrades, some of whom became arrogant and overbearing. Some persons have abandoned the fine tradition of the mass line and like to throw their weight around. At present there is not sufficient unity inside the army itself, between the army and the government and between the army and the people. In some cases, relations between some army units, between the army and the government and between the army and the people are rather strained. Formerly, when army comrades rode a bus, they would make a point of offering their seats to elderly persons or women carrying babies. But now some of them don’t bother to do that. I have heard of a case where a soldier riding a bus did not offer his seat to a woman with a baby even when it began to cry. Seeing this, an old man commented, “Uncle Lei Feng isn’t around any more.”¹⁷¹ This example pinpoints the problem. Our army used to have very good traditions in this respect. But now little attention is paid to unity and discipline. The least we can say is that the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention⁶ are not so respected as in the past. Some people, casting aside the tradition of hard work and plain living, pursue a bourgeois way of life. Examples of this abound. It would be dangerous to underestimate the gravity of these things or to lower our guard against them.

Fourth, there is a certain degree of extravagance. As I’ve said, some people pursue a bourgeois way of life. Some seek ease and comfort, higher salaries, more housing space and indeed top conditions in every respect. Some even treat public property as their own, making hardly any distinction between public and private. Some army units entertain guests with lavish dinners and give them generous gifts, or erect building, halls and guesthouses that are not needed. These phenomena are widespread, they are increasing and have so far gone unchecked. In their pursuit of luxuries, the army units concerned contravene policy in many ways. Some people take things from the civilian units at will, or buy them at reduced prices. Some just take things without even going through any formalities. It is commendable that, in compliance with Comrade Mao Zedong’s “May 7th Directive”,⁷ our army has set up many farms and enterprises. But we must remind our comrades that they must truly follow the spirit of the “May 7th Directive”. Some army farms and enterprises, having made some money, are now spending it

carelessly, and some leading cadres contend for the power to grant requests made by subordinate units. Measures must be taken to change this situation. Army units have taken over too many of the buildings and too much of the land belonging to civilian units, and the civilian authorities have a lot of complaints about this. We should see to it that whatever should be returned is returned. While some of the buildings and land were taken over by the army units because they were not being used by the civilian units, in other cases they have been forcibly occupied. As for extravagance, I am sure every comrade knows of examples in the army, so I need say no more on this point.

Fifth, there is a certain degree of inertia. It is found not only among individuals but also to a varying extent in some organs. Some high-ranking cadres, their revolutionary will failing in their later years, seek their own self-interest instead of maintaining their revolutionary integrity. Some people with only minor illnesses ask for long recuperation leaves as if they were seriously ill, or they moan and groan without being ill at all. And they are bureaucratic; they don't put any effort or conscientiousness into their work. They don't go down to the grass-roots units. They don't lift a finger themselves, nor do they use their minds. They rely on their secretaries to do everything and even ask others to write a five-minute speech for them—and then they sometimes read it wrong. This is mental indolence. Some people are overcautious in everything. They hold back in their work and dare not air their views for fear of being criticized if they say something wrong. Why should Communists be so timid? Why don't they dare to speak their minds? Why are they afraid of shouldering responsibility? Do they think they will escape blame if they act like this? Do they think they can avoid making mistakes if they merely read prepared speeches? To say the least, I don't think much of the style of these prepared speeches—they're just copies of what has been said in the newspapers. Isn't that stereotyped writing? It is not just the ideology of the individuals concerned that is to blame: part of the problem is that they haven't received sufficient help and support from the leadership. The help I am referring to here includes criticism, because criticism in itself is a form of help. The Central Committee of the Party has the responsibility of helping the provinces, and its Military Commission has the responsibility of helping the military regions and the various services and arms. We should not be afraid to assume responsibilities. Mistakes are unavoidable. Mistakes should be criticized, but once they are corrected, that's the end of it.

To sum up, the general situation in our army is good. But bloating, laxity, conceit, extravagance and inertia are to be found in certain degrees. We should not overlook these problems, even though they exist only in certain units.

II. THE NEED TO CONSOLIDATE THE ARMY

What are the problems to be solved in consolidating the army? They are the five problems listed above. Our present meeting will decide on a new size and organizational structure for the army, with a view to making them less unwieldy. But this is not our only task. We must also solve the four other problems, all of which have to be handled in connection with the first one. If we can do away with bloating, streamline the army establishment, and restructure it as a whole, we will pave the way for the proper solution of other problems. For instance, the present reorganization involves the restaffing and improvement of the leading bodies at different levels. In the course of deciding how these things should be done, we must find ways to combat laxity and inertia and also to overcome the weakness and laziness which now affect these leading bodies. This time we should fix definite limits to the size and structure of the army and, once fixed, they should be strictly adhered to. We may say that the size and structure of our army should be as rigorously adhered to as state laws are. Anyway, no one should wilfully order soldiers to serve him personally as has happened in the past. If only one secretary is assigned to your office, you should not use more. It is better to have fewer secretaries because this will force you to do more yourself, to be more diligent and to use your mind a bit more. This will be much to your advantage! In strengthening the leading bodies at different levels, we should take care to choose the right persons, and that means we must learn more about them before they are appointed. In the present reorganization, we should do a better job of choosing cadres for leading bodies even at the company level—not to mention those at the battalion and regimental levels and above. Also, in the course of consolidating the army measures should be taken to improve the education of cadres, enhance their Party spirit, oppose factionalism, strengthen the sense of discipline and carry forward the tradition of hard work.

III. WORK OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION

After discussion, comrades of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission have agreed that the work of the Commission consists essentially of the two tasks set forth by Comrade Mao Zedong: first, to consolidate the army, and second, to prepare for the event of war. These are the guidelines for the army's work. After we have decided on the size and

structure of our army, we should turn our attention to its equipment. The government is presently in the midst of considering the next five-year plan and a ten-year plan, and there should be a plan for equipping the army as well. Scientific research should be given priority. We need research on conventional as well as sophisticated weaponry, and even on such questions as how to reduce the load carried by the soldiers. How can a soldier be expected to fight when he is required to carry several dozen kilogrammes? There's no telling how many non-battle casualties might ensue. This question of a soldier's equipment is an important one requiring study; standardization is called for here. The General Logistics Department should work out a plan and there should be some persons especially in charge of this matter.

After the size and structure of the army and its equipment, the next question to be tackled is strategy. In conducting military operations, we must consider the terrain and the tactics appropriate to the specific conditions. We must consider all these questions. Strategy involves not only military operations but also training, which should be treated as a significant question. Present-day wars are fought by combined armed units, in the air, on the ground and on and under the seas. They cannot be conducted by following our old formula of "millet plus rifles". Nowadays a company commander has to perform his duties in a different way than in the past. In the past, a company commander at the front could just hold up a Mauser and cry, "Charge!" Today he must know much more. And this is even more true of officers above the company level. In a battle tanks or artillery may be assigned to him and he may also have to take charge of ground-to-air communications. How is he going to command? What is needed is a higher level of command capability; we must not overestimate our existing level. If we overlook military training, we are likely to pay for our neglect, at least in the early stages of a war. We should also improve our cadres' administrative skills, because they are not adequate now. The food in the companies, for instance, is generally unsatisfactory. Much money is spent but the meals are poor. This is a matter of administrative competence. Naturally there are many more such problems. To improve the officers' ability to command and their administrative skills and to increase their scientific knowledge, we must set up schools at different levels, including schools run by the general departments and services and arms, and we must operate them successfully. In peace-time, in addition to holding military manoeuvres, it is useful to set up some schools.

Many comrades have suggested that we hold a conference on political work. I think this is a good suggestion, because we do need to discuss ways to improve Party and political work in our army units. We have to strengthen

the collective leadership of the Party committees in the army, strengthen its political departments and raise their prestige. When assigning political cadres, we must ensure their quality, so that they can serve as examples. The choice of officers also deserves serious attention. As it is important to select officers according to specified criteria, in improving the political departments we should make a special effort with departments in charge of officers' affairs. Cadres of the political departments, and particularly those handling officers' affairs, should be impartial, honest, opposed to undesirable practices, and unafraid of confronting offenders. At the same time, they should work patiently, get to know the officers well and keep in regular contact with them. We have a long-standing tradition of placing officers' affairs in the charge of the political departments. The leading comrades should assess and examine officers through the political departments; that is the only procedure consistent with our organizational principles. We should carry on this fine tradition. Special efforts should be made to improve political work at the company level. Company cadres, and political instructors in particular, should know how to work effectively. Perhaps we should assign comrades who are somewhat older to the post of company political instructor, and keep them in that position somewhat longer than is usual now. It is impossible for instructors to accumulate experience and learn how to do ideological work if they are transferred to other posts after only two or three years. In addition to what I've just said, we are faced with questions of unity within the army, unity between the army and the civilian units, and relations between the army and the people, all of which merit our study.

IV. PROBLEMS CONCERNING CADRES DURING REORGANIZATION

There are two problems concerning cadres during the reorganization. One is the assignment of officers who have been released from their current posts to new posts within the army, and the other is the transfer of cadres to civilian units. Several hundred thousand cadres or officers will have to be transferred to civilian units, which will then be responsible for their placement. But this also concerns the army, so it should support and help the civilian units involved. The civilian units already have many cadres of their own so it will not be easy for them to make the necessary arrangements. Thus, some of the cadres or officers transferred may complain to their former army units. Everyone should be aware of this problem, in which the army

should take a supportive attitude towards the civilian units. Within the army itself, the question is, who is to be retained and who is to be transferred to the civilian units, that is, who is to remain at his present post and who is to leave? We have to assign jobs to cadres or officers who have returned from the civilian units after the expiry of their task of “supporting the Left” there, and to those who were pushed aside in the early days of the Cultural Revolution. We should take a comprehensive approach to this problem. As regards officers at the divisional level and above who are retained in the army, there are the following questions: Who will occupy a post? Who will not? Who will serve as an adviser? As these questions are not easy to handle well and involve an enormous amount of detail, proper arrangements must be made. The other problems I’ve mentioned—laxity, conceit, extravagance and inertia—all of which should be solved in connection with the problem of bloating, are also related to the cadre problem and therefore should be studied thoroughly. Furthermore, there is the question of the reassignment and interchange of personnel. As Comrade Mao Zedong has said, in addition to the exchange of commanders among the eight greater military regions, there should be an interchange of cadres among the provincial military regions and some departments, because it is not good for cadres to function in one place for too long. Since some cadres have become involved in factionalism in civilian units to the detriment of the work there, it would be best to transfer them elsewhere. Wherever a “mountain stronghold” exists, we must get rid of it—demolish it by transferring the cadres involved so that they don’t gather in one place. It is also desirable to transfer some people to suitable jobs in other places chiefly because this will bring them into contact with more people and enable them to broaden their understanding and learn to conduct themselves more prudently. To sum up, it is not a good thing to have a cadre work in one place for too long. We should educate the cadres concerned and make this clear to them.

As regards practical steps, I suggest that we first readjust the leading bodies starting from the top and working down to the bottom, just as in solving problems in civilian units (enterprises included) we should begin by solving the problems of their leading bodies. The leading bodies should have authority and “put daring first”; they should be able to carry out the Party’s principles and policies correctly and perform their work effectively. How can we accomplish anything if the central authorities, or the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, always have to send people to attend to matters that should have been dealt with at the lower levels? The same holds for the army. In appointing leading cadres, the first thing for us to do is to choose the right persons for the two

top positions—persons who display exemplary Party spirit and work style and who know how to unite with their comrades. It is particularly important that they have the habit of working hard, because that can help bring about a change for the better in many things. Therefore, in selecting cadres, particularly of high rank, we should pick those who are at least relatively hard-working.

Now let me speak briefly on the question of advisers. The post of adviser has been newly created in the army—a wise measure in the current circumstances. There are two problems here: which comrades should be appointed as advisers, and how they should act in their new capacity. It is impossible to be perfectly fair in the choice of advisers. Comrade Mao Zedong has said that people who are elected members of the Central Committee of the Party are not necessarily more competent than others who remain outside it. All our comrades, especially those serving as advisers, should keep the overall interests of the country in mind and accept the organizational arrangements. The leadership should be mindful of the material needs of the advisers, and also and particularly of their political and ideological needs. It should arrange for them to read documents, hear reports and be informed of some of the issues handled by Party committees at their corresponding levels. The leader of an advisory group who is not a member of the Party committee at the corresponding level may attend its meetings as a non-voting participant, so that he can brief other members of the advisory group. Apart from diminished access to cars and secretarial services, there will be no change in the treatment to which they were entitled while on regular service. It should be made clear to them that the change in the use of cars and secretaries is dictated by the reduced requirements of their work, not by any lowering of status. For their part, our adviser comrades should be stricter with themselves. They should not, for example, ask to be treated to meals or banquets on their work inspection tours. Some people want to be given a dinner party wherever they go and feel offended if they are not, regarding the omission as a sign of disrespect for them as former superiors. This is most improper. Inspection tours should be well planned, or they will impose undue burdens on comrades at the lower levels. Advisers, too, have their power—the power to make suggestions. They should learn how to advise without becoming too involved personally in work. If they try to concern themselves with everything, they will only make trouble for the Party committee concerned. Problems are bound to crop up with the establishment of advisory posts; we will find out what they are by summing up experience in a year or so.

V. RESPONSIBILITIES OF HIGH-RANKING CADRES

The responsibility for running the military forces falls, first of all, on comrades attending this meeting or, more broadly, on principal leading comrades at the army level and above. It will be possible to preserve all the fine traditions of our Party and to have a high degree of unity and combat-worthiness in the People's Liberation Army as long as these comrades do a good job. But if they don't, the army will be adversely affected and existing problems may worsen. At present, certain phenomena demand attention, and we older comrades are very concerned about them. For several decades our army has been a very good one on the whole. We have exerted some effort to make this so; that is, we have made contributions in this respect. At present, whether the undesirable tendencies in the PLA can be overcome and whether the fine traditions of so many years can be carried forward depend mainly on how much we older comrades can do to help and guide the young and middle-aged cadres and pass on our experience to them. In my view, if we all set an example by following Comrade Mao Zedong's motto, "unity, alertness, conscientiousness, liveliness", we will find that the problems in our army are not hard to solve, and that the line, principles and policies of the Party can be implemented effectively.

To summarize, all the ideas I have presented here are only what Comrade Mao Zedong had in mind when he said: "Carry the revolutionary tradition forward; may you gain still greater glory."⁸

ON CONSOLIDATING NATIONAL DEFENCE ENTERPRISES

August 3, 1975

In recent months, the Central Committee of the Party has issued several consecutive documents on solving problems in railway work and in iron and steel production. These documents have made clear our principles and policies. Since I have been asked to make some comments here, I shall repeat some things I have said before.

First, it is essential to establish bold leadership in every factory and enterprise. Apparently this has already been done in most cases. In units beset with long-standing difficulties, the basic problem is timid leadership. It is utterly impossible to combat factionalism without a leadership which “puts daring first”. And without such leadership, there is no possibility of establishing the essential rules and regulations or of implementing Party policies. Some people are simply overcautious. That may have been a defensible attitude in past years, and we cannot say that everyone who adopted it was a bad comrade. But for Communist Party members it was wrong to be overcautious even then. Still, they can be forgiven, considering the situation at the time. But if these persons are still overcautious now that the central authorities are supporting the localities, and the leading bodies at the higher levels are supporting those at the lower levels, they have only themselves to blame for their waning revolutionary will and lack of revolutionary drive. No other conclusion is possible. As for those leading cadres who “put fear first”, do not work, take long recuperation leaves for minor illnesses or moan and groan about imaginary illnesses, we may as well ask them to take a good long rest. How can we let them hang on to their posts without doing any work? These problems of the leading bodies must be solved promptly. We should try to find daring, capable comrades to assume responsibility. This matter should be given immediate attention, particularly by provincial Party secretaries in charge of industrial affairs. The main thing is to select good

Speech at a conference on key enterprises of the national defence industries.

persons for the two top posts in each enterprise. If these two dare to act, they can carry the whole staff along with them. We should select and recruit into the leading bodies cadres who have some practical experience and are relatively young, say, in their fifties or forties—or if we can find still younger ones, so much the better. Such people are always available. If it is difficult to find them in your own factory, look for them in other factories or elsewhere in the region. It is simply inconceivable that no such people can be found! We should select capable people and train them well.

Second, it is essential to give top priority to quality in production. This is a very important principle, especially where military products are concerned. An entire military operation may be adversely affected if a few shells misfire on the battlefield at a critical moment. This problem merits special attention, since today military products mean modern weapons. I have read some reports lately which give figures for the output of certain national defence factories and which state that over 95 per cent of their products are of good or relatively good quality. You should never be satisfied with such figures, and in the future we should not merely talk about percentages. It doesn't solve the problem to say that most products are of good quality. Sometimes things go wrong precisely because of key products and key parts that constitute 1 or even 0.5 per cent of total output. The Office of National Defence Industries should keep this problem in mind. Airplane accidents are numerous nowadays, and of course some are attributable to the poor training of the men, the incompetence of the pilots or the deficiencies of the ground-control crews. But sometimes the fault may lie in the quality of the aircraft. A number of accidents have been due to defective parts or components that represent only 1 or even 0.5 per cent of total output. It was that 0.5 per cent which got past quality control without being detected. Investigation has shown that the failure of several of our scientific research projects was due not to deficiencies in our technology but to that 1 or even 0.5 per cent of substandard parts, parts which fell just a tiny bit short of the specifications. This question of quality is related to rules and regulations. Without the necessary responsibility system it will be difficult to ensure quality. We must improve our work in this respect. At the same time, comrades in charge of the national defence industries are requested to give high priority to scientific research programmes, for there are a number of military products which cannot be put into normal production because the technology hasn't been perfected. We should encourage scientific and technical personnel to use their initiative and we should set up three-in-one combinations.⁹ Scientists and technicians should not feel downcast. True, they have been called "Number Nine", but Chairman Mao says: "We can't

do without Number Nine.”¹⁰ That is to say, scientists and technicians should be given their proper due. Although they may have shortcomings, we should help and encourage them. Better conditions should be created for them so that they can devote themselves single-mindedly to their work. This will surely do much to advance our cause.

Third, it is essential to look after the well-being of the masses. This cannot be accomplished by just saying a few words; it requires a lot of down-to-earth work. For instance, steel workers do heavy labour, yet they don't get enough meat and vegetables to eat. This means that even the basics are not guaranteed. Such problems must be concretely studied and solved. Cities with a lot of industry should give them special attention. We all know that some cadres like to raise chickens, rabbits and ducks. In my opinion, the problems would be easily solved if these cadres showed less enthusiasm for bettering their own standard of living and more for raising that of the masses. The commercial work connected with factories in the mountainous regions of the “third line”¹¹ should also be improved. I am from Sichuan, and I am often told by workers from my native province that they can't get enough meat and vegetables. This scarcity of non-grain foods exists not only in Sichuan but in many other places as well. Remedial measures should be adopted. For example, part of the land around Chongqing could be specially allocated to the growing of vegetables. Their produce should be supplied first to factory workers and then to other city dwellers. In this way, workers would enjoy a somewhat better diet and peasants a higher income. This arrangement would also help to improve relations between workers and peasants. We are presently considering whether we can allocate some grain to the suburbs of a few cities for the raising of pigs. For instance, we might allocate 250 million kilogrammes of grain for the raising of five million pigs. This grain would not be subject to nationwide distribution but put to special use in pig-raising in several selected centres. We could even consider setting up some modern poultry farms. This question too should be studied. But we should put the major emphasis on pig-raising. Raising more pigs will both increase the cash income of the peasants and provide more manure for expanding grain production. Heavy manual labour is still strenuous, and it is essential to improve the standard of living of workers. There is a lot of talk among the masses about matters concerning their daily life, and we shouldn't take everything they say simply as grumbling. Our Party and state must be concerned with the well-being of the masses, and it is high time we put this question on our agenda.

SOME COMMENTS ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

August 18, 1975

A good number of questions have been raised in the document drafted by the State Planning Commission. This document is necessary. Comrade Mao Zedong has long said that we must have regulations. Only through regulations can the Party's principles and policies be given substance. The earlier "Seventy Articles on Industrial Work"¹² are basically sound and should be revised rather than revoked. After revision, they can be distributed for discussion before being implemented. Now, I would like to make a few comments on questions concerning industrial development.

1. We should establish the concept that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy and that industry must serve it. A major task for industry is to support agriculture and promote its modernization. Industrial regions and cities should help the surrounding rural areas to advance, develop small-scale industries and improve agricultural production, and this should be included in their plans. Many of the "third line"¹¹ factories, which are dispersed in the countryside, should also help the local people's communes and production brigades and teams with their agricultural production. A big factory will be able to help the entire surrounding area. There is another advantage to such help: the local commune members will respect the property of the factory concerned and will not casually take things away from it. Agricultural modernization is not confined to mechanization alone; it also includes the application and development of science and technology. Cities could help rural areas set up mechanized poultry or pig farms. On the one hand, this would help raise the income of the peasants; on the other it would improve the supply of non-grain foods to the cities. If our workers do not have enough meat and vegetables to eat, how can industry do well? Industry should support agriculture which, in its turn, should support

Remarks at a State Council meeting to discuss the document "Some Questions on Accelerating Industrial Development" drafted by the State Planning Commission.

industry. This is a matter of reinforcing the alliance between the workers and peasants. I have written a letter to comrades in Sichuan Province telling them that the more industry is developed, the more we should adhere to the principle of giving first place to agriculture.

2. We should introduce new technology and equipment from other countries and expand imports and exports. Foreign countries all attach great significance to the introduction of new technology and equipment from abroad. Take their products apart, and you'll find that many parts or components are also made abroad. We should import some of the raw and semi-finished materials which for the moment we cannot provide ourselves. If a chemical fibre factory cannot go into operation for lack of certain chemical raw materials, what else can we do but import them? In order to import, we must export more. This involves our export policy. What are we going to export? We should strive to produce more petroleum and export some where possible. Traditional exports like art products should be increased by every means. We should also consider the export of chemical products and coal. In the case of coal, we may consider signing long-term contracts with other countries to import their mining technology and equipment and pay them back with coal. There are many advantages to such an arrangement: it will enable us, first, to expand our exports; second, to bring about the technical transformation of the coal-mining industry; and third, to absorb more of the labour force. This is a major policy which should be carried out after approval by the central authorities. All in all, we should strive to expand exports in exchange for high-grade, high-precision, advanced technology and equipment so as to speed up the technical transformation of our industries and to raise the productivity of labour.

3. We should strengthen the scientific research work conducted by enterprise. This is a valuable means of developing industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results. With the growth of industry, the number of scientific and technical workers in enterprises should rise, representing an ever larger proportion of their total personnel. Big factories should have their own independent scientific research organs; small ones may conduct scientific research either according to unified city-wide plans or through joint efforts with other factories. At present, a number of intellectuals have been assigned jobs that do not correspond to their training and thus their expertise is largely wasted. We must improve our work in this respect. There are many subjects for scientific research. In my opinion, even the packaging of export commodities calls for serious study—not to mention other matters. We should also study how to lighten the equipment of our troops. With regard to some items, this question cannot be tackled by the

General Logistics Department alone, but must be solved through the concerted efforts of several research institutions.

4. We should bring order to industrial management. It appears that industrial enterprises have many problems, two of the commonest being poor management and the poor condition of a high proportion of equipment. These problems are especially evident in heavy industry. We should consider concentrating our efforts in November and December this year on improving industrial management and the maintenance of equipment, so as to lay a sound foundation for next year's production. In enterprises where equipment is in gross disrepair, the emphasis should be on repair. We must keep equipment in good order even at the expense of reduced production. Otherwise, as the saying goes, "More haste, less speed"—the more we are in a hurry, the less production will be raised. The waste in some enterprises is appalling. And it is a common phenomenon. This situation should be rectified so that the enterprises may hand in more profits to the state. Industrial management is a vital issue and it must be handled well.

5. We should emphasize the quality of products: "quality first" is an important policy. It also involves the varieties and specifications of products. The best way to economize is to raise the quality of products. In a certain sense, higher quality means greater quantity. Only if quality is improved can more outlets for export be found and exports be increased. To be competitive on the world market, we must spare no efforts to improve the quality of our products.

6. We should restore and improve rules and regulations. The key here is to set up a responsibility system. In many places now we often find that there is no one who takes responsibility for the work, and we have to make special efforts to grapple with this problem, since bad old practices die hard. We should enforce rules and regulations more strictly. And we must be bold and not be afraid of making mistakes or of being criticized. If we aren't strict, we won't be able to restore essential rules and regulations, and consequently the chaotic situation in enterprises will not be changed. We have a summary of the remarks made by a veteran worker from the Nanjing Radio Factory on the necessity of rigorous enforcement of rules and regulations. This material can be circulated for you all to read.

7. We should adhere to the principle, "to each according to his work", which has always been an important one in socialist construction. All of us should give some thought to it. Until now, we haven't resorted much to so-called material incentives. But people's contributions do differ. Shouldn't there, therefore, be differences in remuneration? All are workers, but some people have greater technical competence than others. Shouldn't they be

upgraded and given a higher wage? Shouldn't the pay for technical personnel be raised also? It may appear that all are equal if everyone makes 40 or 50 yuan a month, no matter whether his contribution is great or small, his technical competence high or low, his ability strong or weak, his job heavy or light. However, in fact this practice does not conform to the principle, "to each according to his work", so how can it encourage people's initiative? As I see it, people who work in high temperatures, high above the ground or down in the mines, or do jobs involving poisonous materials, should be paid differently from those doing ordinary types of work. The issue of wage policy is a very complicated one and needs to be studied.

PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

September 26, 1975

I said at a meeting held in Dazhai¹³ that a failing agriculture would be an obstruction to industrial development. Unless priority is given to scientific research, the economic development of the country will be hindered. Scientific research is of great importance, so we should discuss it.

At present, the ranks of scientific researchers have been greatly reduced, and there is an age gap in our scientific and technical ranks. We need mature workers doing scientific research, and we need young people as well, who have sharp retention and are quick-witted. Most students are in their 20s when they graduate from colleges and universities. Ten years later, in their 30s, they are at the age during which they should attain academic achievements. Presently, some scientific research personnel are involved in factional struggles and pay little or no attention to research. A few of them are engaged in research privately, as if they were committing crimes. Chen Jingrun¹⁴ is one of them. Shouldn't these people, who have achieved academic results, also be judged as politically sound? It would be advantageous for China to have one thousand such talented people whose authority is generally recognized by the world. But in China, they have been criticized for devoting themselves to scientific research alone. As long as they are working in the interest of the People's Republic of China, these people are much more valuable than those who are engaged in factionalism and thereby obstruct others from working. At this time, many people are afraid to talk about political soundness and professional competence; actually they dare not talk about professional competence. The Central Committee commends these competent professionals and they deserve our support and commendation.

There is an elderly scientist who specializes in semiconductor research.

Remarks made when hearing the outline of a report entitled "Several Problems Concerning Scientific and Technological Work", presented by leading comrades of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The authorities of Beijing University asked him to teach other courses, which he couldn't do well. But the academic lecture he delivered at the invitation of the Institute of Semiconductors of the Chinese Academy of Sciences was well received. He said that he used his spare time to do semiconductor research. There are many people like him who are engaged in a profession unrelated to what they studied. We should be giving full play to their professional knowledge lest the country suffer a great loss. Although this elderly scientist is an academician and well known throughout the country, he has to engage in a profession unrelated to what he studied. Why so? If Beijing University could not use him, he could be transferred to the Institute of Semiconductors and serve as its head, and we could provide him with a Party secretary and personnel in charge of support services.

Scientific research personnel are truly eager to conduct research. Factionalists are only the minority. We believe the current state of affairs in scientific research can be reversed.

Whether we can do a good job in scientific research depends, in the final analysis, on our leadership. If the leadership does not perform well, who will be able to implement policies? We should pay special attention to promoting competent individuals to leading positions. What reason is there for allowing people to remain in positions of leadership who have little professional knowledge or enthusiasm and show a factional bias? Why can't those scientific research personnel of higher academic levels and professional knowledge be the heads of research institutes? We mainly depend on people in their 40s to do this work. Competent people can take charge of Party work or support services. Support services are quite important to scientific research in creating favourable conditions for the latter, in maintaining machines and instruments, and in preserving data. People without devotion to duty or without scientific knowledge cannot do this work well. This is the political aspect of scientific research work, which consists of Party work, scientific research, and support services. Without support services, we cannot do research work well. Scientific research personnel should not be asked to take charge of support services. We should place those with a strong Party spirit and good organizational capabilities in charge of support services.

We should put on file our fine and promising scientific and technological personnel. We should help them, regardless of seniority, to improve their working and living conditions. When I visited the Soviet Union in 1957, Yudin¹⁵ told me that his country's atomic bombs were developed by three young researchers in their 30s and 40s. Don't we have such talented people in China? In short, we should assist and support promising scientific and technological personnel including eccentric individuals by creating favour-

able conditions for them. First of all, we should provide them with housing, and we should also help those who have difficulties.

Education departments are required to provide successors in the field of scientific research. What role should colleges and universities play? What kind of personnel should they train? Some universities have only an academic level of secondary technical schools, so why should we run them as if they were universities? The Chinese Academy of Sciences should run the Chinese University of Science and Technology well. They should enrol senior middle school graduates with good academic records in mathematics, physics and chemistry and no special treatment should be given to cadres' children. If this is wrong, I will be the first to make self-criticism. This is not the restoration of the old ways. If a person knows nothing about foreign languages, mathematics, physics, or chemistry, how can he scale heights in science and technology? Critical challenges will occur in education, which could be an obstacle to the drive for modernization. For example, we must rely on education if we want to raise the degree of automation in factories and have more scientific and technological personnel. Developed countries, no matter what their social systems are, have increased the degree of automation and decreased the amount of manual labour through education. Shouldn't we classify scientific and technological personnel as labourers? Since science and technology are a productive force, the scientific and technological personnel should unquestionably be considered as labourers.

Teachers should be given their due status in society. There are several million teachers in China. If they are constantly being criticized, how can their enthusiasm be aroused? Chairman Mao once said, we should change negative elements into positive ones. Therefore, we need to arouse the enthusiasm of those working on the educational front.

THINGS MUST BE PUT IN ORDER IN ALL FIELDS

September 27 and October 4, 1975

There is at present a need to put things in order in every field. Agriculture and industry must be put in order, and the policies on literature and art need to be adjusted. Adjustment, in fact, also means putting things in order. By putting things in order, we want to solve problems in rural areas, in factories, in science and technology, and in all other spheres. At Political Bureau meetings I have discussed the need for doing so in several fields, and when I reported to Comrade Mao Zedong, he gave his approval.

At present, there are a good many problems which we cannot solve without great effort. We must be daring and resolute. Over the past six months, I have made many speeches focusing on the importance of daring. There was a unit known for its tough and long-standing problems. Its leaders were like tigers whose backsides no one dared to touch. Later we made up our minds to spank the tigers, no matter who they were and whether they were 60, 40, 30 or 20 years old. And that soon produced the desired results.

The central task in putting things in order is to consolidate the Party. Once this central task—the consolidation of the Party—has been accomplished, the rest will follow. At this forum we should discuss this question of consolidating the Party. Comrade Mao Zedong has given his approval. How are we to consolidate the Party? We should certainly adopt a different approach from the one used in the past. Every province is being asked to draw up a plan in the light of its own characteristics. We should devote most of our endeavours to consolidating the leading bodies at different levels, including the commune and production brigade levels in rural areas, the workshop level in factories, and the department level in scientific research institutes. In this way, the problems can be solved relatively quickly. And once the leading bodies are consolidated, the problems existing among the rank-and-file Party members will be more readily solved.

Remarks at a forum on work in the rural areas.

Cadres should be selected after the basis for the selection has been laid through Party consolidation. In a production brigade, a commune or a county, if the two top men are well chosen, the whole leading body will be able to work well. Special consideration should be given to the selection of the top leadership at the county Party committee level. It is very important to establish strong county Party committees. To be a good secretary of a county Party committee isn't easy: you must have broad experience as a leader and be able to administer the work all over the county, and in all fields, including Party, government, mass organization and military, cultural and educational affairs. The responsibilities of the secretary of a county Party committee are quite different from those of a factory director, who is only in charge of one factory. Anyone who does a good job as secretary of a county Party committee will find working in a prefectural or provincial Party committee smooth sailing. Right now, some provinces have difficulty in finding even one acceptable candidate for the post of provincial Party committee secretary. I don't think this should be so difficult. There are plenty of county and prefectural Party committee secretaries. Why, then, is it so hard to find a provincial Party committee secretary? I think the problem may lie in the fact that no attention—or at least not enough—has been paid to this matter. Admittedly, some of the candidates are not faultless. But, having made self-criticisms for their mistakes, they have gained experience and learned something. They must not be neglected, and the loss will be ours if we pass them over. In choosing a leading cadre, be he old, young or middle-aged, we have to make sure that he is willing to work hard and to set an example in bearing hardships. This is the first criterion. Of course, he must have a good head on his shoulders too. Special consideration should now be given to the middle-aged cadres. By middle-aged I mean those who are in their early forties. They have at least 10 to 20 years of work experience, and some have more than 10 years of experience in leadership. Once a good candidate is found, he should be promoted step by step. And he need only stay on each step for a short period, holding a post for a year or so, let's say, before being promoted. This kind of training is good and reflects true concern for the cadres.

I always feel that there is a big problem we have to solve: How should we spread Mao Zedong Thought? Comrade Luo Ronghuan¹⁶ was the first to express his disapproval of Lin Biao's vulgarization of Mao Zedong Thought. He said that when we study Chairman Mao's works we must study their essence. At that time, the Secretariat of the Central Committee discussed Comrade Luo Ronghuan's views and concurred with them. Lin Biao urged people to study only the "three constantly read articles" (later, after two

more were added, they became the “five constantly read articles”).¹⁷ This was a way of fragmenting Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is rich in content and constitutes an integral whole. How can one designate only the “three constantly read articles” or the “five constantly read articles” as Mao Zedong Thought, while brushing aside Comrade Mao’s other works? How is it possible to propagate Mao Zedong Thought lopsidedly and merely pluck one or two sentences or one or two ideas out of context? The problem of fragmenting Mao Zedong Thought actually remains unsolved. Take our policies on literature and art for example. Comrade Mao Zedong has said it is necessary to make the past serve the present, to make foreign things serve China, to let a hundred flowers bloom and to weed through the old to bring forth the new. These policies form an integral whole. However, the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom” is no longer mentioned and has, in fact, been abandoned. This is another example of the fragmentation of Mao Zedong Thought. Nowadays students at a good many schools do not study. This too is inconsistent with Mao Zedong Thought. What Comrade Mao Zedong opposes is divorcing education from reality, from the masses and from labour. What he means is definitely not that students need not study but that they should study better. The motto he wrote for the children reads, “Study well and make progress every day.” Moreover, he has talked about the four modernizations¹⁷² and has said that class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three basic components of social practice. Today, the last component has been dropped and people are even afraid to discuss it, its very mention being regarded as a crime. How can this possibly be right? I’m afraid that the problem of how to study, propagate and implement Mao Zedong Thought systematically exists in quite a few fields. Mao Zedong Thought is closely bound up with practice in every sphere, with the principles, policies and methods in every line of work. We must study, propagate and implement it in its totality and not base our conclusions on a partial understanding or an erroneous interpretation by others.

THE “TWO WHATEVERS” DO NOT ACCORD WITH MARXISM

May 24, 1977

A few days ago, when two leading comrades of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Party came to see me, I told them that the “two whatevers”¹⁸ are unacceptable. If this principle were correct, there could be no justification for my rehabilitation, nor could there be any for the statement that the activities of the masses at Tiananmen Square in 1976 were reasonable.¹⁹ We cannot mechanically apply what Comrade Mao Zedong said about a particular question to another question, what he said in a particular place to another place, what he said at a particular time to another time, or what he said under particular circumstances to other circumstances. Comrade Mao Zedong himself said repeatedly that some of his own statements were wrong. He said that no one can avoid making mistakes in his work unless he does none at all. He also said that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had all made mistakes—otherwise why did they correct their own manuscripts time and time again? The reason they made these revisions was that some of the views they originally expressed were not entirely correct, perfect or accurate. Comrade Mao Zedong said that he too had made mistakes and that there had never been a person whose statements were all correct or who was always absolutely right. He said that if one’s work was rated as consisting 70 per cent of achievements and 30 per cent of mistakes, that would be quite all right, and that he himself would be very happy and satisfied if future generations could give him this “70-30” rating after his death. This is an important theoretical question, a question of whether or not we are adhering to historical materialism. A thoroughgoing materialist should approach this question in the way advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Neither Marx nor Engels put forward any “whatever” doctrine, nor did Lenin or Stalin, nor did Comrade Mao Zedong himself.²⁰ I told the two leading comrades of the

Excerpt from a talk with two leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Central Committee's General Office that, in my letter of April 10 to the Central Committee, I had proposed that "from generation to generation, we should use genuine Mao Zedong Thought taken as an integral whole in guiding our Party, our army and our people, so as to advance the cause of the Party and socialism in China and the cause of the international communist movement". I also told them that I had made this proposal after considerable thought. Mao Zedong Thought is an ideological system. Comrade Luo Ronghuan¹⁶ and I struggled against Lin Biao,¹ criticizing him for vulgarizing Mao Zedong Thought instead of viewing it as a system. When we say we should hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, we mean precisely that we should study and apply Mao Zedong Thought as an ideological system.

RESPECT KNOWLEDGE, RESPECT TRAINED PERSONNEL

May 24, 1977

The key to achieving modernization is the development of science and technology. And unless we pay special attention to education, it will be impossible to develop science and technology. Empty talk will get our modernization programme nowhere; we must have knowledge and trained personnel. Without them, how can we develop our science and technology? And if we are backward in those areas, how can we advance? We must recognize our backwardness, because only such recognition offers hope. Now it appears that China is fully 20 years behind the developed countries in science, technology and education. So far as scientific research personnel are concerned, the United States has 1,200,000 and the Soviet Union 900,000, while we have only some 200,000. The figure for China includes the old, the weak, the sick and the disabled. There are not too many who are really competent and can work regularly. As early as the Meiji Restoration,²¹ the Japanese began to expend a great deal of effort on science, technology and education. The Meiji Restoration was a kind of modernization drive undertaken by the emerging Japanese bourgeoisie. As proletarians, we should, and can, do better.

To promote scientific and technological work, it is necessary to improve education at every level simultaneously, from primary to secondary and higher education. I hope that we will set about this task now so that we will see initial results within five years, further results within 10 years, and major results within 15 to 20 years. To improve education, we must walk on two legs, that is, we must raise the standards of education at the same time as we make it available to more and more people. It is necessary to establish key primary schools, key secondary schools and key colleges and universities. It is necessary to bring together, through stiff examinations, the outstanding

Excerpt from a talk with two leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

people in the key secondary schools and the key colleges and universities.

We should select several thousand of our most qualified personnel from within the scientific and technological establishment and create conditions that will allow them to devote their undivided attention to research. Those who have financial difficulties should be given allowances and subsidies. Some now have their children and aged parents living with them, earn well under 100 yuan a month, and must spend a lot of time doing housework. They can't even find a quiet place to read in the evening. How can this state of affairs be allowed to continue? The political requirements set for these people must be appropriate: they should love the motherland, love socialism and accept the leadership of the Party. If they do their research work well and achieve results, that will be helpful politically and will benefit China.

We must create within the Party an atmosphere of respect for knowledge and respect for trained personnel. The erroneous attitude of not respecting intellectuals must be opposed. All work, be it mental or manual, is labour. Those who engage in mental work are also workers. As time goes by, it will become increasingly hard to differentiate between mental and manual labour. In developed capitalist countries, the job of a good number of workers is just to stand and press buttons for hours on end. This is intense and concentrated mental labour as well as toilsome manual labour. Great importance should be attached to knowledge and to those who engage in mental labour, and they should be recognized as workers.

In the army as well, it is necessary to encourage scientific research and education at the same time. Without knowledge of modern warfare, how can we fight a modern war? Leading army cadres should become knowledgeable and respect knowledge. We should establish schools at various levels to enable leading army cadres to master modern science, culture and modern warfare in the course of training. At the same time, we should lower the average age of our army cadre corps. Sixty-year-olds should not be serving as commanders at the army level.

All trades and professions should promote science, technology and education. Large enterprises should all have their own scientific and technological research organs and personnel. Every professional department should conduct scientific research.

MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT MUST BE CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD AS AN INTEGRAL WHOLE

July 21, 1977

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought constitute the guiding ideology of our Party. Mao Zedong Thought has sprung from and developed Marxism-Leninism. But Lin Biao¹ negated Mao Zedong Thought by saying that it was fully embodied in the “three constantly read articles”.¹⁷ He even severed Mao Zedong Thought from Marxism-Leninism. This was a gross distortion of Mao Zedong Thought and was most detrimental to the cause of the Party and socialism in China and to the cause of the international communist movement.

In my letter of April 10 to Comrades Hua Guofeng²² and Ye Jianying²³ and the Central Committee of the Party, I said that we should use genuine Mao Zedong Thought taken as an integral whole to guide our Party, our army and our people in order to advance the cause of the Party and socialism in China and the cause of the international communist movement. In saying that we should use as our guide genuine Mao Zedong Thought taken as an integral whole, I mean that we should have a correct and comprehensive understanding of Mao Zedong Thought as a system and that we should be proficient at studying it, mastering it, and applying it as a guide to our work. Only in this way can we be sure that we are not fragmenting Mao Zedong Thought, distorting or debasing it. We can then see that what Comrade Mao Zedong said with regard to a specific question at a given time and under particular circumstances was correct, and that what he said with regard to the same question at a different time and under different circumstances was also correct, despite occasional differences in the extent of elaboration, in emphasis and even in the formulation of his ideas. So we must acquire a correct understanding of Mao Zedong Thought as an integral system instead of just citing a few specific words or sentences. But the Gang of Four, and

Excerpt from a speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

especially their so-called theoretician Zhang Chunqiao,²⁴ distorted and adulterated Mao Zedong Thought. They tried to fool people or intimidate them by quoting a phrase or two from Comrade Mao Zedong. We need to have a true grasp of Mao Zedong Thought and a correct understanding of it as an integral whole, even when dealing with a particular sphere or one aspect of a particular problem. Take, for example, the question of the intellectuals, which pertains to a specific sphere. Comrade Mao Zedong always attached importance to the role of the intellectuals, at the same time stressing that they should earnestly remould their world outlook. He did this both for the good of the intellectuals themselves and for the purpose of better mobilizing their energies, releasing their talents and enabling them to serve the socialist cause better. But the Gang of Four indiscriminately labelled all intellectuals the “stinking Number Nine”¹⁰ and asserted that it was Chairman Mao who so named them. We should admit that at one time Comrade Mao Zedong treated the intellectuals as part of the bourgeoisie, but we should no longer do so. Comrade Mao Zedong did value the role of the intellectuals in the whole process of revolution and construction. To counter the slander spread by the Gang of Four, he declared in 1975, “We can’t do without Number Nine.” We need a correct and systematic understanding of Comrade Mao Zedong’s thinking and policy regarding intellectuals. Or take another example, the question of the relationship between the leaders and the masses. It is a consistent principle of Mao Zedong Thought that the people are the force that propels history forward. Being a great Marxist, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly spoke out against inappropriate and unscientific assessments of himself, and on many occasions he taught us what the correct relationship should be between the people and leaders. Mao Zedong Thought has developed Marxism-Leninism in many spheres, not just in some individual aspects. It constitutes an integral system and is a further development of Marxism. For this reason I suggest that in addition to editing and publishing the works of Mao Zedong, comrades doing theoretical work should endeavour to expound Mao Zedong Thought as a system from various perspectives. We should educate our Party in Mao Zedong Thought as a system so that it can continue to guide us forward.

Today I should like to discuss briefly the theory of Party building, which is a component part of Mao Zedong Thought. Marx and Engels did not say much on this subject, but Lenin had a comprehensive theory concerning it. It was precisely because Lenin built such a fine party that the October Revolution triumphed and that the first socialist country was created. And it was Comrade Mao Zedong who developed Lenin’s theory of Party building most comprehensively. Even in the period of revolutionary struggle in the

Jinggang Mountains, that is, in the period of the formation of the Chinese Red Army, his ideas on Party building were already well defined. You can see this by reading the resolution adopted at the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army.²⁵ His comprehensive theory on the subject took shape, on the basis of practice, in the Yan'an rectification movement. He developed an integral theory on the type of party to be built and its guiding ideology and style of work. By creating a comprehensive theory of Party building in the Yan'an rectification movement—and by educating the whole Party, army and people in this theory—he made it possible for us to build a fine party; that was why we were able to win complete victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan [1937-45] and in the War of Liberation [1946-49]. After the founding of the People's Republic of China our Party continued to be vigorous and dynamic. Later, Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of Party building was developed further. In 1957 he summed up our aim as follows: "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."²⁶ Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong was discussing a political situation that should prevail not only in the Party but also in the army and among the people of the whole country. To repeat, this kind of political situation should prevail in the whole Party, in the whole army and among the whole people.

Let us recall that it is precisely according to Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of Party building that this fine party of ours has been built. After the rectification movement in Yan'an, people in both the front and rear areas were active and buoyant, their minds were at ease and they were united as one. The Party built by Comrade Mao Zedong was able to encourage a broad spirit of democracy and of voluntary observance of discipline among those working at the lower levels and, on this basis, it established a high level of centralism. Who then would not willingly obey the orders and answer the calls of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee? Without this style of work in the Party, how could we have defeated an enemy so much stronger than we, and how could we have gone on from victory to victory after the founding of the People's Republic?

The Gang of Four's opposition to Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of Party building had disastrous effects on the building of our Party and its style of work. I don't want to go into that in detail today. How can we create the political situation advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong? By earnestly studying

his thinking on Party building. That thinking encompasses a great many fundamental principles. These include: combining a high degree of democracy with a high degree of centralism; distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions [those among the people and those between the people and the enemy] and handling each correctly; applying the formula “unity—criticism—unity”;¹⁷⁰ “learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness to save the patient”; giving full scope to democracy in order to unite more than 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses; following the mass line and trusting the masses; and acting on the four-character slogan Comrade Mao Zedong wrote for the Central Party School in Yan’an, “Seek truth from facts.” It seems to me that the call for the “three honests”—the Daqing Oilfield workers’ exhortation to be an honest person, honest in word and honest in deed—is identical with seeking truth from facts. I think that the principles of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts are of fundamental importance in the style of work advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Of course, the relationships between democracy and centralism and between freedom and discipline are also very important. But in view of the existing state of affairs in our Party, I believe that following the mass line and seeking truth from facts take on special importance. Comrade Mao Zedong was a thoroughgoing materialist. He had complete faith in the masses and always opposed any act that was not in keeping with trust in the masses and reliance on them. He listened particularly to what the masses had to say. Our comrades certainly remember how the production campaign was launched in the Yan’an days. What were the reasons for that production campaign? One was that we had requisitioned too much grain from the masses, so that there were complaints among them, which made many Party members unhappy. But Comrade Mao Zedong saw things differently. He said that the complaints were justified and were the voice of the masses. He was indeed great and different from the rest of us in that he was able to discern the problems behind the complaints of the masses and formulate the principles and policies required to deal with them. He paid great attention to the opinions, ideas and problems of the masses.

Why do I say that seeking truth from facts is of such importance at present? Because our effort to improve the style of work of the army and among the people at large hinges on the improvement of the Party’s style of work. The Gang of Four really debased our standards of social conduct. For 10 years or even longer, they engaged in disruptive activities, acting at the outset in collaboration with Lin Biao. Things reached such a pass that many of our Party comrades dared not speak out and, in particular, dared not tell the truth but resorted to pretence and deception. Even some of our veteran

comrades became infected with this bad habit, which was unforgivable. But provided we have full faith in the masses, seek truth from facts, ensure democracy and reaffirm and further develop Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of Party building and the Party's style of work, we can certainly bring about the political situation he envisaged. With such a political situation, we shall be able to weather every storm and test. We must create a political situation in which the whole Party, army and people are united under the leadership of the Central Committee and in which we have "both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness", a situation in which we can place all problems on the table for discussion and people can criticize the leading comrades when they think it necessary.

It is essential to consolidate the Party and rectify its style of work. Veteran comrades should be involved in this process along with the others. Of course, that doesn't mean that everyone will have to pass a severe test. That indiscriminate method won't be used any more. But it is still necessary that we voluntarily rectify incorrect styles of work. Let us set a good example for the young Party members and cadres, help and guide them and pass our experience on to them. Let us effectively help and guide them in applying the theory on Party building and on the Party's style of work created by Comrade Mao Zedong and tell them about our experience in this regard. If we are successful in this, we will be able to surmount any difficulty and endure any storm, and our socialist revolution and construction will be able to develop to the full.

At this time, the political consciousness of the whole Party, army and people has risen remarkably, as has their ability to distinguish right from wrong. People are using their heads, thinking problems over and showing concern for the state and the Party. When the Gang of Four was wrecking the Party, the overwhelming majority of the people—one can say, 99 per cent of our cadres, Party members and people generally—were deeply disturbed. We have such fine cadres, such fine Party members and such a fine people, with such a high level of political consciousness and such boundless confidence in the cause of the Party! It is they who represent the surest guarantee that we can overcome all difficulties and win great victories in all fields. It is they who are our country's most precious asset. Therefore, I am certain, as are all of you, that under the leadership of the Central Committee we shall unite the whole Party, the whole army and all the people of our various nationalities, and that, holding high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, we shall be able to utilize all positive factors to achieve the four modernizations by the end of this century. We shall enable our socialist state and the cause of our Party to grow and prosper, and we shall further

consolidate our dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus we shall be able to make still greater contributions to the international communist movement and to all mankind.

SOME COMMENTS ON WORK IN SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

August 8, 1977

Our purpose in calling this forum on work in science and education is primarily to hear your opinions and learn from you. Such learning is a must when non-professionals lead professionals. I have volunteered to take charge of the work in science and education, and this has been approved by the Central Committee. China must catch up with the most advanced countries in the world. But how shall we go about it? I believe we have to begin by tackling science and education. Science, of course, includes the social sciences, though, being in a hurry, we have not invited social scientists to the present forum. This forum has helped me to learn how things stand in science and education and to understand which issues must be addressed first. You may not have brought out all the issues and you may not have explained matters fully for lack of time, but fortunately you will have other opportunities to express your opinions. I would now like to present a few personal views.

First, how should we evaluate our work in the first 17 years of the People's Republic?

This is a question of great concern to us all. Basically, it has been answered for scientific research, but not for education, and so people are dissatisfied because the question demands an answer.

I personally believe that the many instructions Comrade Mao Zedong gave on scientific research, culture and education during most of the period preceding the "cultural revolution" were essentially meant to be encouraging and stimulating. They took it for granted that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals were good and were serving, or willing to serve, socialism. After 1957 he went overboard in some of his remarks, but in the early sixties he endorsed such documents as the "Fourteen Articles on Scientific Work"²⁷ and the "Sixty Articles on Work in Institutions of Higher Learning".²⁸ We

Speech at a forum on work in science and education.

must clearly explain Comrade Mao Zedong's dominant ideas on education and on intellectuals. Mao Zedong Thought is the ideology guiding all our fields of endeavour; therefore, it is very important to present the entire system accurately and as an integral whole. How should we evaluate China's educational work in the first 17 years? I think the "red line" was predominant.¹⁷³ It must be affirmed that in those years, under the wise guidance of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct leadership of the Party, most intellectuals, whether in science or in education, worked assiduously and achieved great successes. People in the field of education worked especially hard. In almost every field of endeavour, the workers who now form the core contingent are ones whom we trained after the founding of the People's Republic and particularly during the first 17 years. If our work in that period is not evaluated in this light, how else can we account for our achievements?

And how should we assess the transformation of the intellectuals' world outlook? A person's decision as to which cause he wants to serve is a significant reflection of his world outlook. The overwhelming majority of our intellectuals serve socialism of their own volition. Those who are opposed to socialism are only a tiny handful, and those who are lukewarm about it likewise constitute only a small part of the whole. Of course, history keeps moving forward, which means that people must constantly remould their thinking. This holds true not only for intellectuals from the old society, but also for those trained since the founding of the People's Republic. And if the intellectuals must continue to remould their thinking, so must the workers, peasants and Party members. Comrade Mao Zedong made that clear a long time ago.

Second, how shall we mobilize the energies of workers in science and education?

Now that the question of how to evaluate the first 17 years has been answered, a weight should have been lifted from your minds. In view of the present state of affairs, however, we must make a special effort to mobilize the energies of educational workers and to secure respect for teachers. The progress of scientific research in our country is determined by the availability of personnel. We must do well in education because scientific research depends on it for the supply of trained people. We should accord educational workers a position of equal importance to that of scientific researchers and make sure that they are equally valued and respected. A primary school teacher who gives his or her all to the cause of education is a precious asset. The labour expended by a good primary school teacher is no less than that expended by a college or university professor; hence the profession of primary school teacher should be equally honoured. Those who devote their

lives to the cause of education should be given encouragement. I propose that a national conference on education be held next year to exchange experience in running schools and to reward college and university and primary and secondary school teachers who have distinguished themselves. Quite a few years have passed since the last such conference.

Both scientific researchers and educational workers are working people. Don't we talk about mental labour and manual labour? Scientific research and educational work are mental labour—and doesn't mental labour count as labour? A scientist has observed that the planting of crops in the countryside is regarded as labour, but work in the experimental fields of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences is not. This is very curious. Many agricultural colleges and schools cultivate new strains and do their own farming. Why shouldn't this be regarded as labour? Doing scientific experiments is also labour. Does one have to swing a hoe in order for his work to be called labour? Or operate a lathe? Automated production involves watching instruments and meters all day long and that, too, is labour. Such labour also requires effort, and what's more, it allows of no error. Questions of this sort must be clarified as they have a direct bearing on whether or not we shall be able to enlist the enthusiasm of the intellectuals.

Labour must be valued and so must able personnel. Comrade Mao Zedong didn't believe in the theory of innate genius, but he was not opposed to cherishing able people. Once he evaluated me as "the kind of able person it is hard to come by". Frankly, I must say he overestimated me. However, the remark does bring home the importance of able personnel and the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong valued them. You have said in your discussions that scientific research institutions must produce results and train able personnel. Educational institutions should do so, too. There are also able people—good teachers—in primary and secondary schools. We should cherish able people and value their labour. They are indeed hard to come by! We must take full advantage of the specialized knowledge of intellectuals; it is bad to assign them to posts where they can't apply what they have learned. Some comrades have suggested that efforts be made to reassign persons who have changed their line of work but who had shown skill and promise in their former professions. This is a good suggestion. The Gang of Four labelled intellectuals the "stinking Number Nine". Being called "Number Nine" is not bad in itself. Wasn't the hero Yang Zirong, the "Number Nine" in the opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, a fine fellow? What's wrong here is the epithet "stinking". Comrade Mao Zedong once said, "We can't do without Number Nine."¹⁰ Well said! The good name of our intellectuals must be restored.

Some comrades have proposed a system of rewards and penalties. This too is a good suggestion, but one point should be added: the emphasis should be on encouragement and rewards. There are people who have scored notable achievements in scientific research and thus made real contributions to our country. Should such people be encouraged? I believe they should. Those who immerse themselves in scientific research and work at it doggedly should be encouraged. How can that constitute a “crime”? Such people may have shortcomings of one kind or another, and from time to time leaders should talk to them heart to heart to help them politically and ideologically. But we should not demand perfection. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that we should do away with the metaphysical idea that “gold must be 100 per cent pure and man must be flawless”. His attitude was that of a Marxist, a thoroughgoing materialist. As for persons who have made mistakes, some should be duly penalized, but in a spirit of help, not punishment. This should be emphasized and we should offer them friendly help in correcting their mistakes and continuing their progress.

In addition to giving moral support to intellectuals, we should encourage them in other ways, including enhancing their material well-being. Educational workers should have the same pay as those engaged in scientific research. A scientific researcher who is concurrently a teacher should get higher pay, because he is expending greater labour. Distribution according to work means just this: the greater the contribution, the higher the pay; the less the contribution, the lower the pay; no contribution, no pay. As we move from theory to practice in this regard, we will have to thrash out a great many specific problems. This matter does not concern scientific and educational circles only; it is a major policy issue for the state.

Third, the question of system and structure.

This forum has heard strong demands for the creation of an organization to exercise unified supervision over scientific work. For education, there is the Ministry of Education. For science, you have suggested that the State Science and Technology Commission be restored. We should affirm that the former State Science and Technology Commission pursued a correct policy, which was approved by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1963 after he heard Comrade Nie Rongzhen’s²⁹ report on its work. On that occasion, Comrade Mao Zedong said that a battle had to be waged for science and technology, and that unless it was won, the country’s productive forces could not be further developed. The Commission worked out a 12-year programme for the development of science in the period 1956-67, which was in the main completed by 1962. And subsequently there was a 10-year programme. I have a persistent feeling that things are not going well in science and education at

present and that there should be an organization to unify planning, management, arrangements, guidance and co-ordination. I personally favour the idea of re-establishing the State Science and Technology Commission. When would be the best time to do that? What should its composition be? Should it also supervise the scientific research organs in the armed forces? These questions must be studied by the Central Committee and by the State Council, so we can't answer them for the moment. But whatever organizational form is adopted, there must be unified planning. Such planning should determine not only which topics should be researched but also how research institutions should be reorganized, that is, which ones should be merged and which divided. With regard to areas of study in institutions of higher learning, there should also be a unified plan to specify which ones should be merged or divided, where new ones should be added or reductions made, and which ones should be abolished. Scientific research in the military field should also be brought under a plan. We must admit that the number of China's scientific research personnel is still small and cannot compare with that in the major developed countries. The United States has 1,200,000 scientific research people. The Soviet Union had 900,000 the year before last, and the figure has grown since. We have only about 200,000. Nevertheless, as some comrades have pointed out, this small number of researchers can undertake more projects and achieve greater successes than the same number in capitalist countries, if only we take advantage of the superiority of our socialist system and organize our efforts in a unified and rational way. The Chinese Academy of Sciences has now drafted an eight-year plan for the development of science and technology. This plan probably needs to be fleshed out in accordance with your suggestions. Anyway, it is better to have a rough plan than no plan at all. The central authorities intend to withhold their approval and not distribute this plan for the time being, but the Academy of Sciences can circulate it to lower levels for trial implementation.

Both the scientific research and educational departments face the problem of reorganization. I hope the reorganization will be accelerated even if it is imperfect; improvements can be made step by step later. The process of reorganization will reveal many specific problems that must be dealt with. Of primary importance is the restaffing of the leading bodies. I suggest that in every unit there be three well-chosen people. As the Party committee is supposed to exercise unified leadership, the Party secretary is crucial and we must make sure he is carefully selected. That's the first person. Second is the person who will guide scientific research or education; he must be a professional, or close to becoming one. Third is the person in charge of support services; he must be diligent, conscientious, practical and prepared

to be an unsung hero. With such a triumvirate, things will be easier; reorganization at lower levels, implementation of the relevant plans, and so on, will go more smoothly.

Institutions of higher learning, particularly the key ones, should serve as an important front-line force in scientific research.³⁰ They must do so because they have the necessary facilities and trained personnel. In fact, institutions of higher learning used to undertake a good number of scientific research tasks. As they are consolidated and student quality improves, their capabilities will gradually increase and they will have to take on more such work. In this way, our sciences will progress faster. In every field there are subjects requiring research—in science, engineering, agriculture and medicine. In the liberal arts, too, there should be theoretical research, which should apply the Marxist approach to the study of economics, history, political science, law, philosophy, literature, and so on. Not all our institutions of higher learning can as yet increase their scientific research work, but the key colleges and universities should do so step by step and take on more research assignments from outside. Within a few years, research bodies in colleges and universities may have as many workers as the specialized research institutions. But the largest contingent of all will probably be in the production departments. Isn't science divided into basic and applied? Production departments, though they can also engage in basic research, should stress the applied sciences. The Chinese Academy of Sciences and the colleges and universities may pay more attention to basic science, but they too should work in applied science—particularly those which teach engineering.

Time must be guaranteed so that researchers can put maximum energy into research. One suggestion at the forum was that there be a provision stating that five-sixths of the work week be devoted to scientific research. I added “at least” to the “five-sixths”, and then you added “it is imperative” to the same sentence. Fine! These words should be added before the Academy of Sciences distributes the document to the lower levels. I think people should be permitted to bury themselves in scientific research. If someone works day and night, seven days a week, on a research project, what's wrong with that?

If we have a more rational system, people will apply themselves more willingly to their jobs. We should lose no time in speeding up this reorganization.

Fourth, the question of the educational system and the quality of education.

Education still has to “walk on two legs”. In higher education, colleges and universities constitute one leg, while work-study universities and spare-time universities constitute the other. Efforts should first be concentrated on

running a number of key colleges and universities well. Not only must there be key institutions of higher learning under the Ministry of Education, but provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and even certain individual units should have them as well.

Since students at institutions of higher learning come from secondary schools, whose students in turn come from primary schools, primary and secondary education is of the greatest importance. We should create a good general atmosphere throughout society—that is, a good style of work in the Party and army and among the citizens and students. The Party's style of work is crucial. A good style of work in the Party will foster a good style of work in education, which in turn will foster a good style of study. Some of our young people today have acquired certain bad attitudes. Efforts to remedy this must begin in primary school. For quite some time after the founding of the People's Republic, the general atmosphere in our society was good, as were public order and discipline. Students and pupils willingly observed discipline. Young Pioneers wearing red scarves could frequently be seen holding megaphones and helping to direct traffic. Later the general atmosphere deteriorated because of the influence of the Gang of Four. If their crimes were to be enumerated, one of the biggest would be that they led many teenagers astray. If we are to bring about a complete change in the general atmosphere in society as a whole, a good atmosphere must be fostered in the schools. Good attitudes and habits should be cultivated: love of labour, readiness to observe discipline, the desire to make progress, and so on. Teachers are duty-bound to foster such attitudes. They should befriend students, keep in touch with their families and co-operate with them so as to educate the students well through common effort. Teachers should resume guidance of extra-curricular activities so as to enrich the students' knowledge, raise their aspirations and promote their all-round growth. Comrade Mao Zedong believed that children should be given an all-round education—moral, intellectual and physical. Secondary and primary schools should all provide this sort of education.

We must consider ways to raise the level of the teachers. In recent years they have been afraid to teach, and one can't blame them. Now they need no longer be afraid; they should teach and teach well. To enable them to do so, teacher training must be intensified. Some of the better teachers should be invited to serve as instructors for the others, and college and university faculty members should help middle school teachers raise their level. Quite a few of you here today have already been doing this, with very good results. Teacher training should be included in our plans. Only when teachers teach well can students learn well. Of course, teachers and students interact. Some

of the problems that have now surfaced among the students have multiple causes, both social and familial. Our poor teaching and guidance is sometimes one such cause. So efforts should be made to raise the level of the teachers—politically, ideologically and professionally—and to improve their style of work.

Many specific problems in the educational system await solution. One is the duration of schooling. Should we first restore the system of five years for primary schools and another five for secondary schools?³¹ Opinions are still divided, and the question will have to be studied further. But that doesn't matter too much. The important thing is the teaching materials we use.³² They must reflect the advanced levels of modern science and culture, while conforming to the actual conditions of our country. Another question is the restoration of vacations. During vacations, a variety of interesting activities should be arranged for students. Some students can use their vacations to catch up on their studies. We must see to it that teachers have vacations, with time to rest and refresh themselves, to think and to sum up their experience. Their vacation periods should not be crammed full of other tasks. If a proper balance is struck between work and rest, the quality of education will go up, not down. Still another issue is the enrolment of graduates from senior middle schools by colleges and universities. This year, we must make up our minds to restore the direct enrolment of senior middle school graduates through entrance examinations, and to stop the practice of having the masses recommend candidates for admission to colleges and universities. I think enrolling students directly from the senior middle schools might be a good way to turn out trained people faster and to enable them to start productive work sooner. Then there is the question of skipping or repeating a grade, but that concerns only a small number of students. I am personally inclined to permit skipping—it's another way of speeding up training. It can be tried out in a few selected schools. The question of repeating a grade must be handled with caution. Efforts should be made to ensure that all students in a class are well taught. If a student fails an examination, he can take it again later and should not lightly be kept back. And we should also do a good job with those who have to be held back. Students who behave outrageously and refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonitions should be expelled. If you don't get rid of hooligans and rowdies who won't study, they'll contaminate the general atmosphere of the school. Schools should do as much ideological work as possible among the students. More of it should be done among those who do not behave well, and care should be taken in dealing with cases of repeated offences against discipline. Various ways should be found to turn poor students into good or fairly good ones.

Fifth, the question of the support services.

The task of the support services is to serve scientific research and educational work, providing the conditions under which the scientific research and educational personnel can devote all their attention to work. Support services include supply of data, provision of good library facilities, procurement of materials and laboratory equipment, construction of experimental plants, and also operation of canteens and nurseries. People who are engaged in support services must learn to be good “housekeepers” and get more done with less money. Some of these services could easily have been provided, but nobody bothered with them when the Gang of Four was riding roughshod. In those days scientific researchers had to scour about for equipment and materials, which delayed work and wasted time; it was a great loss. We must now assemble a group of support service workers, who are ready to be unsung heroes and who are diligent, conscientious and devoted to their work. Support services also demand special knowledge that must be acquired through study, and persons who work in this field can develop professional skills too. But such work must be done painstakingly if it is to be well done.

We cannot mobilize the energies of scientific and educational workers simply by empty talk. We must create proper conditions for them and help them solve their concrete problems. You will of course find many such problems and will have to handle them in the right order of priority. For instance, we should first deal with the difficulties faced by scientific research workers who have the most achievements to their credit and are most promising. They include not only old comrades, but also middle-aged and young ones. As “in the Changjiang River the waves behind drive on those before”, so in scientific research young people often surpass their elders, and our old comrades should be glad to help their juniors catch up with them. With regard to key personnel who because of their different places of work must live in different localities from their spouses, priority should be given to reuniting families. Of course, this does not mean all these cases can be dealt with right away, for it requires a lot of housing construction; here too there is an order of priorities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that a number of foreign scholars of Chinese descent wish to come and settle in China. Comrade Zhou Enlai gave much thought to this issue. We must make adequate preparations for the return of such people to China by creating proper conditions and building more housing. When they return, they should be provided with homes and the necessary facilities for work. Receiving such scholars is a concrete measure for developing our science and technology, as is sending

people abroad for advanced study. We should also invite noted foreign scholars to lecture in China. Among foreign scholars friendly to China, a great many are prominent in their fields. It would make good sense to invite them here to lecture. Why don't we do it?

Our country has many concrete problems to contend with, and not all can be solved at one stroke. I personally think that funds for scientific research and education should be increased, but large increases cannot be expected overnight. The utmost effort should be made to function well even under difficult conditions. Where relatively good conditions already exist, they should be utilized to the full, so that work can proceed as quickly as possible. Where conditions are relatively poor, they should be improved step by step. But we should lose no time in tackling those difficulties which can and must be overcome.

Sixth, the question of the style of study.

Fostering a good atmosphere depends primarily on two things—following the mass line and seeking truth from facts. Science, in particular, involves the conscientious quest for truth and permits of no deceit. As a result of sabotage by the Gang of Four, a number of problems in the style of study have arisen in recent years, such as the stifling of discussion, refusal to share information, etc. It's not that we have too many debates and discussions among persons of different opinions, but too few. Erroneous views may crop up during discussions, but that is nothing to be afraid of. We must adhere to the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend", and promote debate. Different schools of thought should respect and complement each other. Academic exchanges should be promoted. No success in research can be the result of the efforts of a single individual: it always rests on the achievements of past generations as well as our own. Any new scientific theory is a summation of practical experience. How can a new theory be evolved if it is not based on a summation of the practical experience of both past and present generations of scientists, both Chinese and foreign? Anybody who tries to block the flow of information is harming himself as well as others. A person's attitude towards the monopolizing of information is a major indicator of whether or not he has remoulded his world outlook. Anyone who refuses to share his data shows that his world outlook hasn't been adequately remoulded. There are cases in which the technique for making certain products has long been available abroad and is known to some Chinese who, nonetheless, try to withhold it from their compatriots. This sort of thing cannot be allowed to recur.

Academic publication must be one of our concerns. Problems of publishing and printing in the fields of scientific research and education must

be solved, and these matters must be included in the state plan. While there is now a serious shortage of paper, there is also terrible waste. Some things that don't need to be printed are printed in too many copies, and some that should be printed are not printed at all. It is vital that rational arrangements be made. Comrade Mao Zedong always recommended that Party committees at all levels issue as few documents as possible, but that their leaders make more frequent visits to lower levels for direct communication. This would save a lot of paper. We should try to ensure that academic dissertations and journals of value are printed and published. As things are at present, the publication of some good works may be held up for many years. This binds us hand and foot.

There are so many problems pertaining to style of study that I cannot cover them all. My point in bringing up this matter is that we must foster a good style of learning and create a stimulating atmosphere in which science and education in China can flourish.

THE ARMY SHOULD ATTACH STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO EDUCATION AND TRAINING

August 23, 1977

China's four modernizations include the modernization of national defence. At present, there are a number of problems in the People's Liberation Army. Many comrades are worried about whether the army can accomplish modernization smoothly. Other comrades are worried that unless there is immediate consolidation, the army, which was sabotaged for so long by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, might not be able to go into battle in the event of an enemy attack. These worries are not groundless. Hence the questions: How can we consolidate the army? How can we ensure preparedness in the event of war? How can we run the army well? All these questions must be answered if we want to modernize national defence.

Where shall we begin?

Of course, there should be a readjustment of the leading bodies at various levels, including an interchange of cadres, as suggested by Comrade Mao Zedong. Were it not for the readjustment in 1975, even more persons would have been involved in factional activities, and even more cadres would have been victimized. The 1975 readjustment protected part of our cadres. But its scope was too narrow and there were cases where readjustment and cadre interchange were not carried out as they should have been. Readjustment and cadre interchange were advocated and ordered by Comrade Mao Zedong on many occasions, and they should have continued. Nevertheless, they were stopped before we could complete them.

But when I ask where we should begin, I am referring not only to the readjustment of the leading bodies but to other problems as well. In my speech at the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee in 1975, I proposed the principle that peacetime education and

Excerpt from a speech at a forum organized by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

training should be considered a matter of strategic importance. Historically, our army was tempered and grew through long years of war, and cadres were promoted mainly on the basis of the test of the battlefield. But now that we are not at war, how are we to test our cadres, raise their level, and improve the quality and combat effectiveness of our troops? How else if not through education and training? We have to give substance to the principle, adopted by the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission, that education and training are of strategic importance. This should be done in two ways.

One way is for the army itself to encourage hard study and training. Because of the past period of chaos, discipline in much of the army is lax and the work style poor, and this has partly lowered its prestige among the people. At present, army cadres—some of them, at least—are not particularly welcome in civilian units. The People's Liberation Army should recognize its failings and restore its prestige through its own efforts. It should intensify the political education of the troops, strengthen their sense of discipline and make sure that they learn the skills required of them through diligent study and strenuous training. Its fine tradition and good style of work should be restored and cultivated, also through hard training. In order to be able to fight, the army must raise its political consciousness and train intensively. Without hard training, skills cannot be improved and accidents may occur. Everybody, from soldiers to cadres, should undergo such training. All cadres, including leading cadres at all levels, should increase their ability as commanders and managers through intensive training. A company political instructor, for instance, should learn how to do his job competently. Many accidents can thus be forestalled. Without hard training, when problems crop up, a company commander or political instructor will not know how to deal with them and may even do things that aggravate the contradictions. And how can a company commander or political instructor be considered capable if he doesn't know all his men well? How can a commander at the army level direct his unit if he doesn't know its various companies? It is even more important for cadres at the divisional and regimental levels to understand their subordinate units. Therefore, army, divisional and regimental cadres should all do short tours of duty periodically as privates in the companies so as to learn what conditions are like there. Study of modern warfare and of combined operations by the various services and arms should also be included in the training. The quality of cadres at different levels can be enhanced through study, camp and field training, and military exercises. As for the companies, it is correct for them to learn from the Hard-Boned Sixth Company, because its style of work should not be confined to a single company. All other companies and even cadres at all levels should study and

train as diligently as the Hard-Boned Sixth and be imbued with the same kind of political ideology. But it is not enough for the troops to learn from the Hard-Boned Sixth. They must also assiduously study modern warfare and acquire a lot of other necessary knowledge, political, cultural, scientific and technical. What I have been dealing with is the training of troops, which, of course, involves many other questions we can discuss.

The second way to approach the problem of training cadres is through the schools. We should not close our eyes to the fact that our cadres at various levels are deficient in the ability to direct modern warfare. To admit shortcomings and inadequacies is the starting point for solving problems and overcoming weaknesses or failings. For example, if our country were to recognize that it is backward in certain respects, there would be much hope. We have been held back for some time because we refused to recognize this fact. Now we simply have to admit that by international standards, our science and technology have a long way to go. We must also admit that our army is not sufficiently capable of conducting modern warfare, and that although it is numerically strong, it is of relatively poor quality. It was of very good quality during the war years and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea.³ Indeed, given quality of that kind, our army could fight even with its present weapons and could learn to adapt itself to the conditions of modern warfare and defeat the powerful imperialists. The point is that because of the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, the quality of our army just isn't as good as before. In particular, the cadres at the various levels do not have the requisite ability to command and manage. None of us, including the veteran comrades, is sufficiently capable of directing modern wars. We must recognize this fact.

With few exceptions, the former schools should be restored. More cadres should be sent to them for training. There are now very few schools for training political cadres, and their number should be increased. From the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan [1937-45], we felt a shortage of political cadres, and we did so again during the War of Liberation [1946-49]. It is relatively easy to select military commanders but quite hard to select political cadres. At least this was the case with the Second Field Army of the People's Liberation Army, and I believe it to be true of our armed forces as a whole. A number of intellectuals were recruited during the anti-Japanese war, and later on political cadres were selected from this group, the so-called "1938 vintage",¹⁷⁴ as well as from among veteran Red Army men. How many qualified company political instructors do we have now? Battalion political instructors? Regimental, divisional and army-level political commissars? Some comrades say that in the struggle against Lin Biao and the

Gang of Four, more political cadres were duped—or even “trapped in the quagmire”—than others. If this is true, we must certainly be vigilant. Since the number of political cadres at company level and higher almost equals that of military cadres at the corresponding levels, more provision should be made for training political cadres. This can be accomplished either by using the same schools to train both military and political cadres, or else by establishing separate political schools. This is a question worth studying. Moreover, the technical and specialized schools of the various services and arms should all be reopened. Their numbers can be increased if necessary, and some might also be amalgamated.

How are the various schools to function? I think three things are required of them. First, they should train, select and recommend cadres. They should act as a kind of collective political department, or collective cadre department. Second, they should help the cadres to conscientiously study modern warfare and combined operations involving various services and arms. Not only high-level cadres, but also cadres at company and platoon levels, should study so that they will all know what modern warfare is. I have said that to be a company commander nowadays means much more than just raising a Mauser and shouting: “Charge!” How will you command if you are given tank and artillery support and if ground-to-air and other telecommunication contacts are required? Even a single company may find itself in this position, not to mention battalions, regiments, divisions and armies. Third, our schools should restore our army’s traditional style of work. To put it briefly, this means working hard, seeking truth from facts, and applying the mass line. This style of work must be cultivated in the schools and put into practice in the army units. Schools must not be run as they have been in the past few years, but must teach something useful. I have suggested three requirements—perhaps there should be additional ones. I hope you will give this matter some thought.

Schools in the army are divided into those at higher, middle and lower levels. Higher-level schools include the military academies, political academies and logistics academies. The Military and Political College should be split into two institutions, one offering military training and the other political. Both the navy and the air force should have higher-level schools, as should the various special and technical arms. They should also have middle-and lower-level schools. Each division should have a training corps for training squad leaders and platoon officers. The greater military regions should take charge of training company and battalion cadres, and the higher-level schools should train cadres at the regimental level and above. This general division of labour is appropriate.

Our army schools must meet the three requirements I've mentioned. I think that within five years or a little longer we will be able to achieve the following objective: the creation of a generally better and more capable cadre corps which is also younger in average age—especially in the combat forces—all of whom will have mastered some knowledge of modern warfare and have a good style of work. Cadres recommended by army schools must have first, a knowledge of modern warfare and the ability to command and administer, and second, a sound ideology and style of work. The ranks of our cadres, and particularly those of the combat forces, should be renewed basically according to these requirements.

Some preparation is needed before we can establish schools. First, we have to decide what kind of schools we are going to establish and where. What if no school buildings are available? If schools could be run in the cave dwellings of Yan'an, why can't we now use tents or simple houses? Second, we must carefully select school cadres, including teachers. This is essential. These cadres are more important than those in other army posts. We should select outstanding men who are willing to familiarize themselves with actual conditions, work hard and set an example to others by their own deeds. Those in charge of the schools must know their students well. Otherwise, how can they recommend cadres? How can they act as a collective political or cadre department? School cadres must be chosen carefully and if a man is suitable for work in the schools he might even be transferred from his current post. Third, we have to draw up teaching materials. This is also essential. Teaching materials should be uniform. I have talked with comrades from the Academy of Military Sciences and the Military and Political College, asking them to take charge of compiling materials. The contents should enable the students to learn both about ourselves and about the enemy, to become especially familiar with our own combat experience and to understand modern warfare—the use of tanks and planes, operations in the air, on the ground, on and under the sea, combined operations by the various services and arms, and so on. In short, the teaching materials should impart some systematic knowledge. Fourth, it is essential to select students carefully. What kind of people should be enrolled? In other words, what kind of cadres should be transferred for study? We must select from among the good cadres. There should be some slight changes in the composition of the upper-level student bodies. At present, those receiving training in the Military and Political College are mainly cadres at army and divisional levels, while cadres at regimental level account for only 20 per cent. In the future, the proportion of regimental cadres should be increased. I suggest that the students of the upper-level schools be mainly regimental cadres plus some outstanding cadres at battalion

level. At the same time, these schools should train army-level and divisional cadres. There are now large numbers of regimental cadres who have had combat experience, having served as squad or platoon leaders or company commanders during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. I'm afraid not many battalion cadres have ever fought in a war, but nevertheless there are outstanding cadres at that level also. And in the special army units there are quite a few battalion cadres who have taken part in combat operations.

Why am I proposing that the majority of students be regimental cadres? So that we will have young or relatively young commanders for the combat forces. I think we can reach this goal in five years if we are ready to try our hardest. Political cadres can be older, but not by too much—say, three or four years. The year before last, I said that company political instructors could be somewhat older, with more accumulated experience and the ability to do meticulous ideological work. By the same token, political cadres at various levels can be somewhat older than military officers. In general, military commanders should be a little younger, but we should not rule out somewhat older individuals if they are in good health. Military schools at various levels may devote 70 per cent of their teaching hours to military subjects and 30 per cent to political subjects. The students should pursue military knowledge earnestly, including knowledge of the types and characteristics of planes and tanks and how to combat them, and how to direct combined operations by the various services and arms. Political schools may devote 60 per cent of their teaching hours to political subjects and 40 per cent to military subjects. Political cadres must also study military affairs. Teachers are crucial and should be selected carefully. There should be a contingent of good teachers. Leading school cadres can teach part time, as can leading comrades of the greater military regions and their subordinate departments.

The schools may recommend those students who have done well in their studies, who have good command and administrative abilities, a knowledge of modern warfare and a fine style of work, and who are ideologically sound. Battalion cadres meeting these requirements can be promoted to the regimental level, and regimental cadres to the divisional. Of course, most of the students will have to return to their original posts because we have only a fixed number of armies and a fixed number of divisions. After working in the units for two years, these outstanding divisional and regimental cadres can undergo further training, that is, study for another year mainly to deepen their knowledge of modern warfare. Then, good divisional cadres can be promoted to the army level and good regimental ones to the divisional level.

In this way, inside of five years or a little more, we can reduce the average age of cadres in the combat forces. The same approach should be followed for the naval and air force commanders.

SETTING THINGS RIGHT IN EDUCATION

September 19, 1977

Correspondents of *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)* recently interviewed six comrades who had taken part in the 1971 National Conference on Education. They wrote a report on the way in which the "Summary of the National Conference on Education" was produced, a report that is well worth reading. The summary was revised by Yao Wenyuan³³ and finalized by Zhang Chunqiao.²⁴ Quite a few people disagreed with it at the time. The *Renmin Ribao* report supplies the facts concerning this issue.

The summary of the National Conference contained the so-called "two appraisals": the first was that during the 17 years prior to the start of the "cultural revolution" the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in the educational sphere, that is, there was "dictatorship by the proponents of a sinister line";³⁴ the second appraisal was that the world outlook of the vast majority of intellectuals was basically bourgeois, that is, they were bourgeois intellectuals. Really, how should we look at these questions? In all spheres of work, including those where intellectuals are concentrated, the line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong was dominant during the first 17 years after the founding of our People's Republic in 1949. Can it be that your sphere, the educational sphere, was the only exception? True, Comrade Mao Zedong read and made a mark of endorsement on the summary. But that doesn't mean that it was necessarily correct in every respect. We mustn't over-simplify. The 1976 resolution on my case, adopted in connection with the Tiananmen Incident,³⁵ was similarly endorsed by Comrade Mao Zedong. In view of the very large numbers of people involved in the Tiananmen Incident, it definitely cannot be labelled counter-revolutionary. And I myself was described as the "behind-the-scenes boss" of this incident, although as a matter of fact I was cut off from any contact with the outside world at the time. Some of Comrade Mao Zedong's statements were quoted in the summary, but in many cases they were quoted

A talk to the principal leading comrades of the Ministry of Education.

out of context. Furthermore, a lot of the ideas peddled by the Gang of Four were injected into it. So we should criticize this summary, distinguishing right from wrong. We should have a correct and comprehensive understanding of Mao Zedong Thought as a system. Apparently, there are people who object to my posing this issue. It is common knowledge that Marxism-Leninism as a system should be understood correctly and comprehensively. Shouldn't the same thing apply to Mao Zedong Thought? Of course it should, otherwise mistakes will be inevitable. Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the four-word motto "Seek truth from facts" for the Central Party School in Yan'an, and these words are the quintessence of his philosophical thinking.

The "two appraisals" in the "Summary of the National Conference on Education" do not accord with reality. How can we dismiss nearly 10 million of China's intellectuals at one stroke? Weren't most of the professionals now at work trained in the first 17 years after 1949? China's first atomic bomb was successfully tested in 1964, and its first hydrogen bomb was exploded in 1967, but these things were not achieved overnight. The basis for them was laid through the implementation, under Comrade Nie Rongzhen's²⁹ guidance, of the 12-year plan drawn up in 1956 for the development of science. You people in charge of educational work have yet to emancipate your minds. Burdened with the weight of the "two appraisals", you don't speak out in defence of the masses of intellectuals, and you are likely to stumble in your work. Educational workers in general are complaining about your Ministry of Education, and you ought to know why. You should speak out boldly.³⁶ My talk on August 8 this year at the forum on scientific and educational work was a bold speech, but of course it also made due allowance for current realities. Some people have taken exception to what I said, but that's all right. A principle or policy will invariably arouse the opposition or disagreement of some people. It's good for them to air their views boldly, because then we can talk things out.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was in a very difficult position at the time of the 1971 National Conference on Education. In 1972, talking with an American physicist of Chinese descent, he said that college students should be recruited directly from among graduates fresh from the senior middle schools. It took some courage to make this point under the prevailing conditions. Comrade Zhou Enlai wanted to bring about a sharp change in the educational departments, but no such change was made. Why should we enrol students directly? The answer is simple: so as not to break the continuity of studies. The best period for a person to study is between the ages of 18 and 20. In the past, talking with foreign guests, I too stressed the advantages of having secondary school students do physical labour for two years after graduation.

Facts have shown, however, that after a couple of years of labour, the students have forgotten half of what they learned at school. This is a waste of time. Direct enrolment of college students doesn't mean discarding labour. Labour should be incorporated in the programme of the primary and secondary schools. It is good to inculcate the love of labour from an early age. For college students the emphasis should be on participation in labour that is related to their studies. They may also take some part in agricultural labour, but they should not be required to do too much.

We should have a correct understanding of Comrade Mao Zedong's "July 21st Directive".³⁷ Universities and communist labour universities should be run by the provinces themselves, and each should work out its own methods. Also, graduates of these universities do not fall under the unified state plan for job assignment. But I'm afraid Qinghua and Beijing Universities can't be run along these lines. By no means should all colleges and universities follow the example of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant. Comrade Mao Zedong always stressed the necessity of raising scientific and cultural standards. He never said that it was unnecessary for universities to ensure the quality of the education they offered, unnecessary to increase the students' scientific and cultural knowledge or unnecessary to produce trained personnel.

The Ministry of Education should take the initiative. So far you have not done so, and, at the very least, this shows that you are overcautious and afraid of making further "mistakes" by following my advice. Although I realized it would be a tough job to be in charge of scientific and educational work, I volunteered for the post. China's four modernizations will get nowhere, will become mere empty talk, if we don't make a success of such work. But to get a grip on it, we need to have specific policies and measures, and we need to solve specific ideological and practical problems. You should work freely and boldly, and think independently instead of always looking over your shoulder. You should get clear on the problems involved and then do what's necessary. You should solve whatever problems you can on your own and report the others to the Central Committee of the Party. The problems that have piled up in the educational sphere must be sorted out. Now that the masses are full of enthusiasm, the Ministry shouldn't stand in their way. The most important thing for the Ministry to do is to achieve a consensus. Those comrades who are in favour of the policies of the Central Committee should get on with the job, and those who aren't should switch to other lines of work.

We must improve the organization of the Ministry of Education. We should have a number of people about the age of 40 whose duty is to make

the rounds of the schools. We should have 40 people specializing in this work—or, at the very least, 20. Like commanders going down to the companies, they should sit in on classes as “pupils”, familiarize themselves with the real situation, supervise the implementation of plans and policies, and then report back. This is the only way for them to find out promptly what’s going on in the schools and to solve problems quickly. A beginning might be made by going to the key colleges, universities and secondary and primary schools. These are the concrete measures we should take. We can’t afford to be satisfied with idle talk.

The problem of the workers’ propaganda teams³⁸ should be solved, because they can’t feel comfortable continuing their work in the schools. Army men sent to carry out the task of “supporting the Left”⁵ should, without exception, return to their own units. Unless these problems are solved, there will be endless wrangling in the schools.

How many key colleges and universities should there be? Who should be in charge of them? And how should they be organized? As I see it, key colleges and universities should be under the Ministry of Education. Those directly under the Ministry will, in fact, have dual leadership [leadership by the Ministry and by the governments of the provinces and municipalities where the schools are located], but the Ministry will provide the principal leadership. The Ministry should also take direct charge of a few schools and see that they set an example. The number of class hours per week, the maximum number of hours for political activities, and so on, should be decided upon, and the Ministry should be directly involved in the decisions. The People’s University of China should be started up again, mainly to train personnel in finance, trade and economic management, as well as to train Marxist-Leninist theorists. We should make sure that the teachers’ training universities fulfil their function well, and the Ministry of Education should regularly send people to inspect teachers’ training colleges and schools under the provincial and municipal administrations. Unless all these institutions are run well, there will be no source of teachers.

A basic consensus has been reached with regard to the length of undergraduate schooling: in general, it should be four years, although it may be somewhat longer for students of medicine and in certain other specialized fields. Within that four-year period, two or three years should probably be spent on basic subjects. It is hard to do scientific research if you don’t have a sound foundation. I’ve read your brief reports on the teaching materials used in foreign countries. It seems to me that in revising our own materials we must start with those for the primary and secondary schools, and that such materials should reflect the latest developments in knowledge. We must

not, of course, divorce ourselves from the actual conditions in China.

The document you've drafted on the enrolment system is too complicated and hard to understand. I've made a few changes in the qualifications required of applicants. So far as political requirements are concerned, we should stress the applicant's own political conduct. A clear political record, love of socialism and labour, readiness to observe discipline and a determination to study for the revolutionary cause—that is all we should require. In short, we should have two main criteria for admitting college students: first, good conduct; and second, a good academic record.

For our scientific research institutes, we've decided to adopt a system whereby the director assumes overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. We've also decided to restore the professional titles of scientific research personnel. These are major policy decisions and they have solved many important problems; they are bound to shake things up and have an impact on education, industry and other spheres. The educational units should try to keep pace with these developments. In colleges and universities, the titles of professor, lecturer and assistant should be restored. The question of reinstating the system of professional titles has been on many comrades' minds for years. Recently, this question was settled by the Central Committee in its circular on the convening of a national conference on scientific work.

The departments of support services in organizations devoted to scientific research and education are indispensable; they have an immense load, and their work directly involves the implementation of policies. These departments in our colleges and universities should be staffed by people who love their jobs and are ready to work diligently in the service of teaching and scientific research. This will make it possible for those engaged in teaching, study or research to devote their energies to their professional work instead of running around looking for necessary equipment and suitable working conditions.

We must strengthen our corps of teachers. We may transfer some of the personnel now working in scientific research institutions to colleges and universities so that they too can contribute to education. Teaching is a glorious task, and we should encourage all those engaged in it to work enthusiastically. The Ministry of Education should make proper political and material arrangements for those comrades who are released from the scientific research institutions to join the ranks of teachers. From now on we should focus greater attention on co-ordinating scientific research with education and on effecting a regular interchange of people between the two fields. Without this kind of mobility, personnel will become rigid in their thinking.

Scientific research institutions in foreign countries take great pains to revitalize their ranks by regularly bringing in bright, active young people. We, too, should gradually institute a system of interchange and renewal of personnel. We should be on the look-out for capable persons. At present, the achievements of some of our scientific personnel are recognized by foreigners before we ourselves know about them. This points up shortcomings in some of our institutions which may prevent us from discovering talent. We should try conscientiously to remedy this situation.

Over the next eight to ten years we should bend all our efforts to educational work. For my part, I intend to pay close attention to it, keeping an eye on the leading comrades in the educational departments and seeing that the right principles are followed. I am also going to concern myself with the significant specific policies and measures, because they are related to the general principles. The many problems in the field of education can all be reduced to this: How can we train qualified personnel and bring about the other desired results?

In a word, the Ministry of Education should emancipate its thinking and take the initiative into its own hands. If anything you said in the past was wrong, you can issue a new statement correcting it. To set things to rights, the language must be clear-cut. We can't afford to be ambiguous—that doesn't solve problems. You must act quickly on these matters and not let things drag on.

SPEECH AT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPC

December 28, 1977

This meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party has fully confirmed the correctness and importance of the enlarged meeting of the same body in 1975, which discussed a great many questions, the chief one being the consolidation of the army. The assumption at that time was that consolidation should be accomplished by first reorganizing and restaffing the leading bodies. After that problem was solved, we planned to take up the problem of the army's technical equipment, because we simply could not afford to neglect it. Then would come the question of strategy, for without a clear-cut strategic orientation many things are difficult to deal with.

The present meeting has set 10 fighting tasks³⁹ for the army and will be adopting nine documents, comprising decisions and regulations.⁴⁰ In terms of the number of problems it is to solve and the range and variety of the subjects with which it has to deal, no meeting to match it has been held for years. It has prepared rules for almost every aspect of the army's work. Some earlier rules which were undermined by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four have been restored; others have been newly created; all are necessary for consolidating the army and preparing for the event of war. With these rules, we shall have something to go by and to help us achieve unity in understanding and in action.

This meeting is of great importance. The guidelines and decisions it adopts should be transmitted to different levels of the army and put into effect. When decisions are being made, it is easy for everyone to raise his hand in favour, but when it comes to carrying them out, things are not so simple. Some matters may be agreed upon in principle, but when specific problems arise that's a completely different affair. The key to implementing these decisions will be the personal example set by the senior cadres. If they

go by the rules, it will be easy to persuade the whole army to do likewise. If they don't, everything will come to naught and things will go on as before.

Now let me discuss five points:

1. The question of exposing and criticizing the Gang of Four and consolidating the leading bodies.

On the whole, the movement to expose and criticize the Gang of Four is proceeding well in the army. In most units it is developing soundly and in depth, but in some it has yet to be deepened. In others, it has just begun to reveal the problems. And in still others a multitude of problems have been discovered, but their solution is being dragged out. There are also units in which no problems are apparent because people are sitting on the lid. In short, the movement is proceeding unevenly. In those units where it has not yet taken hold, the leading cadres should take the initiative and do everything possible to mobilize the masses, instead of curbing them with all kinds of restrictions. How can you tell what the problems are before the masses are mobilized? Where the movement is already being conducted in depth, the leading cadres should keep calm and be especially careful to observe policies. In making decisions about people, we should be cautious, distinguish strictly between the two different types of contradictions [those among the people and those between the people and their enemies], widen the area of education and narrow the scope of attack. We should check up thoroughly on matters and people involved in the Gang of Four's plot to usurp Party and state power. The army is the major instrument of our proletarian dictatorship. If the work in the army is not done well and its cadres are not reliable, we shall suffer much harm. Hence this is a matter of the utmost importance to the army. In the case of persons who made mistakes and, in particular, grave mistakes, we must expose and criticize their errors while at the same time creating the conditions necessary for them to mend their ways. We should help them make the necessary self-criticisms, make a clean breast of their mistakes before the masses, and secure the latter's forgiveness. Then we should settle their cases in the proper ways. We cannot refrain from exposing and criticizing mistakes and let those who made them slip away just because their cases fall within the category of contradictions among the people. If we do that, we shall leave the deeper sources of disturbance untouched, and there will be more "earthquakes" to come. What's more, that is not really the way to show concern for cadres, rather it will do them harm because they won't have learned the necessary lessons. We have already seen how some of these people can slide away from one mistake after another without learning any lessons. Beyond all doubt, we must crack down resolutely on the unrepentant diehards among the sworn followers of the Gang of Four. But we should deal

leniently with those followers of the Gang and participants in its factional activities who are willing to make amends and thoroughly expose the crimes of the Gang and its faction—once what they say proves to be true. We should not entrust important jobs to persons who have made grave mistakes and whose attitude remains bad; they should be deprived of their current ranks and perquisites.

In the process of reorganizing and restaffing the leading bodies, we should not, of course, admit into these bodies anyone who has participated in the plot of the Gang of Four to usurp Party and state power. The following types of people should be excluded. Those who always sail with the wind, who continually slide away from their mistakes, or who cause serious disturbances; those who have made grave mistakes and have a bad attitude; and questionable persons whose cases have not been cleared up. There are also others whom we should not recruit into leading bodies or place in important posts. They include: persons who exercised a fascist dictatorship and acted tyrannically; persons who engaged in beating, smashing and looting (these latter, of course, are not likely to be among the high-ranking cadres, for the Gang of Four employed lackeys to do such things and to act as secret agents or informers within our ranks); persons who serve their own interests through trickery and swindling; persons who are adept at mutual flattery and the exchange of favours and who are keen on factional activities; skilled political tricksters or specialists in “knifing” people; petty operators who are always manoeuvring; and persons whose revolutionary will has waned and who are content to eat three square meals a day and do nothing. All this means that when we reorganize the leading bodies at various levels, and especially when we choose the cadres who will be first and second in command in their units, it is not enough merely to make sure that candidates were not involved in the plots of the Gang of Four. For there is another category of persons who have little or no connection with the Gang of Four but who are, nevertheless, politically unsound and ideologically anti-Marxist, or who have perpetrated many evil deeds which have earned them the people’s hatred—persons who are, in fact, bad elements. Not only should such types never be admitted into leading bodies, they should not be allowed to remain in the army. However, some leading comrades still don’t recognize these people for what they really are, and we should be aware of this problem. Here I am talking not only about the selection of veteran cadres but also, and particularly, about the choice of younger ones. We must select the right young cadres, for they will take over from us in the future. We have had plenty of sad experience in making the wrong choice.

We should judge our cadres in an overall way and from a historical

perspective. Those who gave good service in the long years of revolutionary struggle but made mistakes or said wrong things at one time or another should be helped to correct their mistakes through proper criticism and self-criticism. By judging cadres from a historical perspective we mean that we should take into account not only their earlier records but also their showing in the struggles against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. Some people followed first Lin Biao and later the Gang of Four, committing errors and doing evil deeds. This, of course, is part of their history. We have many veteran comrades in the army and, generally speaking, their common characteristic is that they are very honest and upright. Of course, a few of them have changed somewhat. So it isn't easy to judge people. If we want to select the right ones, we must understand and judge cadres on the basis of their behaviour in practical struggle.

What kind of people should we select for future leading bodies? We should select serious students of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought who can stand the tests of struggle; people who are strong in Party spirit and capable of co-operating with others and resisting undesirable practices; people who believe in hard work and plain living, who seek truth from facts and are upright and honest in word and deed; people who work conscientiously, keep in close contact with the masses and are concerned about their well-being, and are bold, resolute, experienced and professionally competent. At present, our leading cadres are rather elderly. Five years from now there will be few who are under 50 and who have had experience in war. So we veteran comrades must attend seriously to the selection of successors and we must help and guide the younger cadres and pass on our experience to them.

In 1975, I proposed that we should solve the problems of weakness, laziness and laxity in the leading bodies. Through two years of practice, especially through the struggle against the Gang of Four, it has now become clear that weakness consists in allowing fear to override all other considerations, in deviating from principle, and going along with undesirable tendencies instead of resisting them; that laziness means a waning revolutionary will that is manifested in failure to read books and periodicals, to use one's brains or to go down to the grass-roots units—and also in a fondness for eating and aversion to work; and that laxity concerning principle consists in contending for power and gain, doing things destructive of unity and refusing to co-operate with others for a common purpose. Some cadres regard themselves as infallible, foster a new version of the “mountain-stronghold” mentality,¹⁶⁸ and exercise favouritism in making appointments. They have their own standards for judging cadres, try to gather supporters around them and elbow

other people aside. They are always trying to form a circle of their own, thinking that they won't get anything done otherwise. Some people, in recent years, have been tainted with these vices of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. We should act without delay to consolidate our leading bodies and quickly eliminate the weakness, laziness and laxity with which they are afflicted.

Here I shall also mention the problem of bloating. Some time ago, I summed up the problems in the army as bloating, laxity, conceit, extravagance and inertia. So far, we have not solved the first problem, that of bloating: we've not yet created a new structure for our army. In trying to do so, we have failed to make it sufficiently clear that there must be streamlining and no overstaffing. Though ours is a big army, its companies are not adequately staffed. On the other hand, various army offices are overstaffed, or seriously bloated. It has become the fashion to set up new offices and sign up more personnel whenever there is a problem to be solved. This is a bad practice. Some new offices are set up by drawing staff members from the basic units. Why can't we use the existing offices? Of course, some offices are no longer useful and we should reorganize them. If now we cut back in accordance with the newly determined size and structure of the army, will we still have more streamlining to do in the future? Yes, we will. But it will mostly involve the leading bodies and offices at various levels, starting with those directly under the general headquarters and the headquarters of the various services and arms, and working down to those under the greater and provincial military regions. Of course, after the current streamlining and the fixing of the size of each unit, the whole army should remain organizationally stable for a certain period.

Now that we have carried out the necessary reassignment and interchange of leading personnel among the greater military regions and the various services and arms, there should be no further changes in leadership for a certain period, except in individual cases. After this meeting, we will begin reassignment of cadres at the army and divisional levels. We must see to it that, under the leadership of the General Political Department, all the greater military regions and all services and arms do well in this work. When we refer to the cadres at the army and divisional levels, we include not only those in the combat forces but also those in the general headquarters and offices of the different services and arms and the greater military regions. In reorganizing the leading bodies at these two levels, we should take particular care with the cadre sections of the political departments, selecting good comrades who are honest and upright, who resist undesirable practices and who dare to think and to speak their minds. During the reorganization, we should pay careful attention to selecting the key leaders of these sections so

that the latter can function properly.

2. The general situation.

The domestic situation is very good. However, we must not become complacent, but must be aware of the difficulties, problems and shortcomings in our work. In some places the problems have piled up. In addition to correct principles, resolute measures and effective policies are required, and we must go on solving the problems one by one. This holds true in the army, as it does elsewhere. Of course, we are confident that everything will go well if we are conscientious. Some comrades have said in the group discussions that we may complete the consolidation of the army somewhat ahead of schedule if things go smoothly. I believe this too. The army has the advantage of being a highly centralized organization which can go into action fast.

The international situation is also good. It is possible that we may gain some additional time free of war. Applying Comrade Mao Zedong's strategy of differentiating the three worlds⁴¹ and following his line in foreign affairs, we can contribute our share to the international struggle against hegemonism. Moreover, the Soviet Union has not yet finished its global strategic deployment. And the global strategy of the United States, after its defeat in Southeast Asia, has shifted to the defensive—the United States isn't ready to fight a world war yet either. Therefore, it is possible to win a delay in the outbreak of war.

However, I want to emphasize that we are in a race against time. Although the outbreak of war may be delayed, we cannot consider only this possibility but should also prepare for the possibility that some countries may want to fight a big war, and soon. For the hegemonists are desperate, and no one can tell for sure when or where some small incident they create may provoke a war. Although a world war may be delayed, accidental or local happenings are hard to predict. We should ask ourselves: What if the enemy were to invade us now? We ought to be able to answer: We can fight, even today. First of all, we should quickly check up on our fortifications. Ammunition should be ready; without it we can do nothing if war comes. We used to capture our ammunition from the enemy, but where can we capture it if war breaks out now? That's why we must have our own rear services. No matter when a war breaks out, now or in future, we must have our own fortifications and ammunition. Moreover, we should lose no time in training our troops so as to raise their combat effectiveness and their morale. Some people abroad say that technology decides everything. Don't place blind faith in that. Of course, we cannot afford to neglect technology. However, the notion that electronic computers can take over all the command functions is absurd—then men would have no active role at all.

Experience shows that, even if the enemy were to come now, we would be able to fight him with our present weapons and eventually win the war, provided we persevered in people's war. With such a huge population, once our people and army unite as one, no enemy can destroy us. Nonetheless, we must strive to gain more time, to improve our military equipment and educate and train our army well so as to reduce unnecessary losses. If we can gain a relatively long time free of war, that will enable us to continue modernizing the army, raising its combat effectiveness and making our preparations for defence. Here I would like to say that, even if we can gain 10 or 20 years in which to modernize our army's equipment, it will still be inferior to the enemy's. For the enemy won't be sleeping while we are advancing. Therefore, if and when war breaks out, we will still have to triumph over superior forces with our inferior equipment. This basic situation cannot as yet be completely changed. Our experience has always shown that we can defeat a superior enemy with inferior equipment, for our wars are just, they are people's wars. In this respect, we should be fully confident.

To sum up, war may break out any day. We must on no account waste time but should step up our preparations and, in particular, step up the training of our cadres in the art of directing modern warfare. And we must know our limitations in this respect. Our military equipment is being modernized, but are our cadres, including the veteran comrades present here, capable of directing a modern war? We mustn't think that it's enough for us to have fought many brilliant battles in the past and to have received many awards for meritorious service. Can we handle the new military equipment? Do we understand it? Are we fully capable of directing a war in which it will be used? Even if we ourselves have this capacity, what about our subordinates? No one can become capable without training. Therefore, great efforts should be put into increasing our cadres' ability to direct modern warfare. That's one point. Another point is that the improvement of our army's equipment must be speeded up. But we must take note of one condition, namely, that we proceed from actual possibilities. The state budget is limited and, moreover, the amount of our military expenditures has to be decided with a view to the overall balance. Our national defence can be modernized only on the basis of the industrial and agricultural development of the country as a whole. However, if we do our work well, we can speed up the improvement of our military equipment within the country's present capabilities.

3. The question of the army's becoming a big school.

We have made two decisions concerning the education and training of our army, one affecting military schools and the other the various units. I

won't go deeply into these matters here. Our present problem is the need to strengthen education in the army itself, to strengthen the training of the cadres. Another problem is that some of our army cadres are not made welcome when they are transferred out of the army to civilian work, and that they do not, in fact, prove as useful as those who were transferred there in former years. We should investigate this problem and solve it. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago that the army should be made into a big school. Under the new circumstances, it is of particular importance to stress the necessity of following this directive. Several hundred thousand cadres are going to be transferred to civilian jobs. This work was suspended for two years owing to interference and sabotage by the Gang of Four. From now on, large numbers of army cadres will be shifted to civilian work every year, which means that they will be transferred out of the army to the various fronts of socialist construction. How can we help them to adapt to the new tasks as quickly as possible? The method is to create the conditions that will fit them for work in the civilian units. And one way is to add the appropriate content to our army education and training programmes. When we say that we should give strategic significance to education and training, we mean that we ought to make the army a big school which instructs the cadres not only in modern warfare but also in modern science and production, and in methods of doing political and administrative work. Thus trained, our cadres will be able to play their role both in building up the army and in civilian work, and to fight in the event of war. That is to say, they will become cadres able to serve both in the army and in civilian units.

In the course of their education and training, cadres should study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong, learn to know modern warfare, develop a fine ideology and style of work, and reach a fair level of command and administrative ability. We should also help them acquire some practical knowledge of industry and agriculture, and some elements of modern science, history, geography and foreign languages. Where possible, they should learn specific skills, such as driving motor vehicles and tractors, as well as some related theory. With time more and more army comrades will possess varied knowledge as well as specific skills. Army departments in charge of education and training should work out plans in this regard and take concrete steps to implement them. Comrade Mao Zedong urged that our cadres acquire diversified knowledge. For a number of years, owing to the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, some of our cadres were left without such knowledge and some of them even picked up bad habits so that they were not welcomed in the civilian units. Education and training to prepare army cadres to work in

civilian units will help to advance national construction, army building and preparedness in the event of war.

A great many cadres are about to be transferred to civilian work. We should run training classes for them, arrange visits to some places, invite comrades from civilian units to pass on their experience to them, and help them acquire more knowledge of industry, finance, trade, political science and law, culture, and education. This applies to all cadres slated for transfer to civilian work.

With about one million soldiers being demobilized each year, we must confront the question of how to prepare them to play their part better in civilian work. Through education and training we should help them acquire a variety of skills. In addition to studying politics, technical skills and military affairs, they should receive some instruction in mathematics, physics, chemistry, industry, agriculture and foreign languages. I don't mean that each soldier should have to study all these subjects. But with proper arrangements and organizational work, the acquisition of some knowledge of the subjects I have mentioned will prove useful. Comrade Mao Zedong asked the soldiers of Unit 8341 to study cultural subjects and make social investigations. A big proportion of our soldiers now are middle school graduates. If, during their military service, they can raise their overall level through training and cultivate a good style of work, they will be able to make significant contributions in civilian units when they are transferred there, and consequently will be welcomed by them.

We should have a bit more diversity in our army. It is not enough to consider only the needs of the army itself but also what will be required of our officers and soldiers when they return to civilian work. Let's say a regimental cadre is transferred to a factory—even a small or medium-sized one, not to mention a big one—can he serve as a competent leader there? Not necessarily, it seems. As far as seniority and experience are concerned, a man who can command a regiment should be able to function as a leader of a medium-sized or small factory or of a workshop in a large factory, provided he has acquired some solid knowledge and skills and has really tempered himself. We should create the conditions which will allow cadres to do so. Of course, after their transfer to the civilian units, they can continue to study or take up political and administrative work. But not all ex-army cadres can be assigned to jobs of that kind, if only because there are not enough of them to go around. After all, some will have to do technical work, which is why they should acquire varied knowledge. We should give our officers and soldiers the necessary training so that they can both fight battles and participate in socialist construction. Today, many of our cadres

don't know how to administer the affairs of the army units, and this includes cadres in the companies. Quite a few mishaps result from the intensification of contradictions that takes place when cadres are incompetent administrators and don't know how to do ideological work or to solve problems directly related to people. We have often discussed this problem. And how about cadres at the regimental and divisional levels? Many of them don't know how to administer their units either. If they are to do a better job, their administrative ability must be raised. To be a good administrator mainly means to be skilled at solving people's problems. In the early days after Liberation, a large number of cadres in north China went to the South where some of the company cadres became secretaries of county Party committees, and they did pretty well. This was because they worked hard, kept in contact with the masses, had a good style of work, were not boastful, and obeyed orders and directives from above. Therefore, even though they didn't have much general education, they were successful in their work. Things are different nowadays—some army cadres are quite conceited and have the highest opinion of themselves. In 1975 I said, "Uncle Lei Feng isn't around any more."¹⁷¹ For this, the Gang of Four wantonly attacked and vilified me, but actually that was only what the masses were saying—I didn't invent the expression. In the past, our army was skilled in political work, but now some cadres who are transferred to civilian units prove inept. That's why army education and training should prepare the cadres to adapt themselves to civilian work. Otherwise, they will not be welcomed by the civilian units. Of course, there are also units in which no proper arrangements are made to receive them, and the comrades in such units should be alert to this.

4. The question of discipline.

We have had a special decision on this point, and I would like once again to emphasize its importance.

The army must maintain strict discipline and allow no laxity. Comrade Mao Zedong laid special stress on this during his last few years and, as many comrades know, he personally led the singing of the army song, *The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention*.⁶ The first of the three main rules of discipline is to obey orders in all our actions. In those years, when commanders were exchanged among the eight greater military regions, all of them reported for work at their new posts within 10 days. Comrade Mao Zedong knew the situation in the army very well. The question of discipline was raised in 1975 but wasn't resolved then, and it was set aside. Now it is necessary to raise it again, because one of the most valuable things we can do in helping and guiding the young and middle-aged cadres and passing on our experience to them is to make them understand

the necessity of observing discipline: Our army has always insisted on the importance of obeying orders in all actions and of consciously observing revolutionary discipline. Otherwise, how could we have defeated an enemy far stronger than ourselves? Otherwise, how can we guarantee the Party's absolute leadership over the army and the implementation in it of the Party's line and policies? And otherwise, how can we speed up the process of revolutionizing and modernizing the army? Now we have some cadres who don't carry out directives or obey orders from above. This is a violation of discipline. In some units, there are a few people who have arrogantly practised factionalism for a long time. They are like tigers whose backsides no one dares to touch. But why shouldn't we dare? When told they are being transferred to another post, some cadres simply don't obey the order if it doesn't conform to their personal wishes. In 1975 one unit planned to transfer a number of people elsewhere. But they just refused to leave, on the ground that there had been no "satisfactory explanation" of what they called the rights and wrongs of their transfer. They acted with perfect assurance, thinking that they were quite justified in disobeying orders. At all costs, such persons must first be made to carry out orders; first they must go where they are told, and other things can be dealt with later. They can express their objections; they are entitled to their opinions. But those who refuse to go where ordered will be either compelled to do so and possibly demoted or else simply expelled from the army, because discipline must be enforced. If our army can't even achieve this, how can it be called an army? Of course, the leadership must be careful and prudent in making decisions, but that is another matter. At any rate, orders must be obeyed. Since there were many factions and factionalism was rife in the past, we must, of course, handle each case carefully. But this cannot serve as an excuse forever, and army discipline must be rigorously enforced. Another thing: some comrades who formerly lived and worked in large cities, especially Beijing, and have been transferred to other places, have obstinately refused to move their families despite repeated orders to do so. How can we allow this sort of thing? Generally speaking, when one is sent to work in a place, his family should move there too.

To consolidate the army, strict discipline must be enforced. We must firmly implement the guidelines and decisions adopted by this meeting. We must encourage everyone to put the general interest above everything else. Some things may seem right when viewed from a narrow perspective but prove wrong when viewed from a broader perspective—and vice versa. In the final analysis, our primary concern must be for the overall interest. Army cadres must obey orders, and this should start with veterans who are required

to set an example in observing discipline. As I said before, one point is obedience to orders in all actions, and another the willing observance of discipline. We should strengthen education on both these points.

Of course, there should also be democracy in our army, for without democracy there can be no voluntary observance of discipline. Comrade Mao Zedong always held that the army should practise democracy in three main areas, the political, the economic and the military. In each unit, leadership is exercised by the Party committee which practises both centralism and democracy. In the Party committee all important issues must be thoroughly discussed, and no one person should have the final say. The committee should encourage criticism and self-criticism among its members, and this should be made habitual. Our senior cadres should take part in the activities of their Party groups as other comrades do. The Party committees should see that they do so, even though the committees themselves have their own inner-Party life and can perform the function of mutual supervision and encouragement. Party branches at the company level should play a good role, and see to it that democratic procedures are followed in the three main areas. It goes without saying that political democracy must be given full scope in the army. With regard to military democracy, including that in education and training, it is necessary to persist in the practice of having officers teach soldiers, soldiers teach officers, and soldiers teach each other. In the study of modern science, there are many cases where soldiers can teach officers. Soldiers who know more about science than their company commanders and political instructors, particularly soldiers in the technical units, should be asked to do this. We must also ensure economic democracy. We now have some cadres who encroach on the soldiers' interests. This cannot be allowed. The army units have economic committees, which should be strengthened so that they can play their proper role. This is part of political work. The accounts of each unit should be examined and made public every month. In our effort to develop democracy in the three main areas, we should begin with the companies and with the Party committees at various levels.

5. The question of unity.

Comrade Mao Zedong said that we should unite with the great majority, including those who had formerly opposed us and had since been proved wrong. We should not bear grudges against people who were once "out to get" us. Instead of harbouring resentment against comrades, we should forgive old wrongs. People like us can't be faultless, and we should allow others to criticize our shortcomings. We veteran cadres should set a good example in this respect. Of course, I'm referring to criticism and not to rumour-mongering, slander, abuse and groundless charges, none of which

should be tolerated. We should unite and join forces against our common enemy and together expose and criticize the Gang of Four. That is the only way to implement the correct line regarding cadres, which requires that they be appointed on the basis of merit, and to unite with comrades who are good but have made mistakes. We must oppose factionalism, sectarianism and favouritism. We should give serious attention to the fact that some people are now bent on building small circles of supporters. Even after they have been transferred to other places, such people still interfere in the work of their original units and keep poking their noses into it. Why does this happen? What's the need of it? What's the good of it?

In seeking unity, we must observe the Party's principle of democratic centralism. Some people who pay lip-service to unity distort certain differences of opinion within a Party committee and leak them to the public; they spread rumours and slanders and try to win over groups of people in order to build support for themselves. Others sow discord. All these acts are divisive and therefore impermissible.

Comrade Mao Zedong always emphasized that unity is the guarantee of victory. In order to carry out the Party's line, achieve the splendid goal of the four modernizations and implement the guidelines laid down by this meeting, we must unite under the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and rally around the Central Committee. This is in our overall interest, and we should view all things from this broader perspective.

At this meeting the Military Commission has set us a heavy task, and time is pressing. So we must strengthen leadership, plan well and make our best effort to implement the relevant decisions. First of all, we must successfully reorganize and restaff the leading bodies at various levels. That is the only way to ensure the fulfilment of the various tasks facing the army.

SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE

March 18, 1978

Comrades,

The successful convocation of this National Conference on Science is a source of great joy for us and for people throughout the country. The very fact that today we are holding this grand gathering, unparalleled in the history of science in China, clearly indicates that the days are gone forever when the Gang of Four—Wang Hongwen,⁴² Zhang Chunqiao,²⁴ Jiang Qing⁴³ and Yao Wenyuan³³—could wantonly sabotage the cause of science and persecute intellectuals. Never before have the whole Party and people been so interested in science and technology and given them so much attention. Vast numbers of scientists, technicians, workers, peasants and army men are actively participating in the movement for scientific experiment. Young people are becoming interested in science and eager to study it. The entire nation is setting out with tremendous enthusiasm on the march towards the modernization of our science and technology. Splendid prospects lie before us.

Among those attending this conference there are outstanding scientists and technicians in various fields, highly able technical innovators, model labourers in scientific farming, and cadres devoted to the Party's tasks in the scientific field. You have all worked diligently for the progress of science and technology in our socialist motherland and made outstanding contributions in this regard. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I thank you and salute you.

Comrades,

Our people are undertaking the historic mission of modernizing our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology within the present century, in order to transform China into a modern and powerful socialist state. We have waged a bitter struggle against the Gang of Four over the question of whether the four modernizations are needed or not. The Gang

made the senseless statement that “the day the four modernizations programme is realized will mark the day of capitalist restoration”. Their sabotage brought China’s economy to the brink of collapse and led to a constant widening of the gap between us and the countries with the most advanced science and technology. Did the Gang really want to build socialism and oppose the restoration of capitalism? Not in the least. On the contrary, socialism sustained grave damage wherever their influence was strongest. Their misdeeds, serving as a negative example, make us realize all the more clearly that even though we have a dictatorship of the proletariat, unless we modernize our country, raise our scientific and technological level, develop our productive forces and thus strengthen our country and improve the material and cultural life of our people—unless we do all this, our socialist political and economic system cannot be fully consolidated, and there can be no sure guarantee for the country’s security. The more our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology are modernized, the stronger we will be in the struggle against forces which sabotage socialism, and the more our people will support the socialist system. Only if we make our country a modern, powerful socialist state can we more effectively consolidate the socialist system and cope with foreign aggression and subversion; only then can we be reasonably certain of gradually creating the material conditions for the advance to our great goal of communism.

The key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology. Without modern science and technology, it is impossible to build modern agriculture, modern industry or modern national defence. Without the rapid development of science and technology, there can be no rapid development of the economy. The Central Committee of the Party decided to call this national science conference in order to bring home to the Party and country the importance of science, to map out a programme, to commend advanced units and individuals and to discuss measures for speeding up the development of science and technology in China. Today, I would like to speak on some pertinent points.

The first point is the necessity of understanding that science and technology are part of the productive forces. The Gang of Four raised a hue and cry over this, confounding right and wrong and sowing much confusion in people’s minds. Marxism has consistently treated science and technology as part of the productive forces. More than a century ago, Marx said that expansion of the use of machinery in production requires the conscious application of natural science. Science too, he said, is among the productive forces.⁴⁴ The development of modern science and technology has bound science and production ever more tightly together. It is becoming increasing-

ly clear that science and technology are of tremendous significance as productive forces.

Modern science and technology are now undergoing a great revolution. The advances over the last three decades have not been limited to particular scientific theories or production techniques, nor have they just represented progress and reform in the usual sense. Rather, profound changes have taken place and new leaps have been made in almost all areas. A whole range of new sciences and technologies is continuously emerging. Modern science opens the way for the improvement of production techniques and determines the direction of their development. Many new instruments of production and technical processes first come into being in the laboratory. A series of new industries, including high-polymer synthesis, atomic energy, electronic computers, semi-conductors, astronautics and lasers, have been founded on the basis of newly emerging sciences. Of course both now and in the future there will be many topics of theoretical research for which at the moment no practical application can be seen. But a host of historical facts have proved that once a major breakthrough is achieved in theoretical research, it leads, sooner or later, to enormous progress in production and technology. Contemporary natural science is being applied to production on an unprecedented scale and with unprecedented speed. This has given all fields of material production an entirely new look. In particular, the development of electronic computers, cybernetics and automation technology is rapidly raising the degree of automation in production. With the same manpower and the same number of man-hours, people can turn out scores or hundreds of times more products than before. What has brought about the tremendous advances in the productive forces and the vast increase in labour productivity? Mainly the power of science, the power of technology.

We all know that the basic factors in the productive forces are the means of production and labour power. What is the relationship of science and technology to these two factors? Throughout history, the means of production have always been linked with a given type of science and technology, and, likewise, labour power has always meant labour power armed with a certain degree of knowledge of science and technology. We often say that man is the most active productive force. "Man" here refers to people who possess a certain amount of scientific knowledge, experience in production and skill in the use of tools to create material wealth. There were vast differences between the instruments of production man used, his mastery of scientific knowledge, and his production experience and skills in the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages and in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Today, the rapid progress of science and technology is speeding up the introduction of

new production equipment and new technological processes. Many products are superseded in a matter of a few years by a new generation of products. Only by acquiring a higher level of scientific and general knowledge, richer experience in production and more advanced skills can the worker expand his role in modern production. In our society, the workers have a high degree of political awareness and study assiduously for the conscious purpose of raising their level of scientific and general knowledge, so they will doubtless be able to achieve a higher productivity of labour than that under capitalism.

The recognition that science and technology are productive forces leads in turn to the following question: How should the mental labour involved in scientific research be regarded? Now that science and technology are becoming increasingly important productive forces, should scientists and technicians be considered as workers or not?

In societies under the rule of exploiting classes, there are various kinds of mental workers. Some are wholly in the service of the reactionary ruling classes and thus stand in an antagonistic relationship to manual workers. But even in such a situation, as Lenin said, many of the intellectuals engaged in scientific and technical work are themselves not capitalists but scholars, even though they are filled with bourgeois prejudices.⁴⁵ The fruits of their work are used by the exploiters, but in general this is determined by the social system and not by their own free choice. They are totally different from those politicians who rack their brains for expedients of direct service to the reactionary ruling classes. Marx pointed out that ordinary engineers and technicians join in the creation of surplus value.⁴⁶ That is to say, they, too, are exploited by the capitalists.

In a socialist society, the mental workers trained by the working class itself are different from intellectuals in any exploitative society past or present. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out during the period of socialist transformation in China that intellectuals from the old society became faced with the question of which "skin" to attach themselves to.⁴⁷ Class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialism, and so throughout this period, intellectuals must decide whether or not they will adopt and maintain the stand of the working class. But generally speaking, the overwhelming majority of them are already intellectuals serving the working class and other working people. It can therefore be said that they are already part of the working class itself. They differ from the manual workers only insofar as they perform different roles in the social division of labour. Everyone who works, whether with his hands or with his brain, is part of the working people in a socialist society. With the advance of modern science and technology and with progress in the four moderniza-

tions, a great deal of heavy manual work will gradually be taken over by machines. Among workers directly engaged in production, manual labour will steadily decrease while mental labour will constantly increase. Moreover, there will be a growing demand for researchers and for scientists and technicians. The Gang of Four distorted the division of labour between mental and manual work in our society today, misrepresenting it as a class antagonism. Their aim was to attack and persecute intellectuals, undermine the alliance between the workers and peasants and the intellectuals, damage the productive forces, and sabotage our socialist revolution and construction.

Science and technology are part of the productive forces. Mental workers who serve socialism are part of the working people. A correct understanding of these two facts is essential to the rapid development of our scientific enterprises. Once we have accepted these premises, it follows that we must make every effort to develop scientific research and education in science and to encourage the revolutionary initiative of our scientific, technical and educational workers. For this is essential if we are to accomplish the four modernizations in the short space of 20-odd years and bring about a gigantic growth in our productive forces.

Our science and technology have made enormous progress since the founding of New China and have played a vital role in economic construction and in building up our national defence. All this would have been unthinkable in the old China. No one can deny this impressive achievement. But we must be clear-sighted and recognize that there is still an enormous gap between the level of our science and technology and that of the most advanced countries, and that our scientific and technical forces are still too meagre to meet the needs of our modernization programme. In particular, we have lost a lot of time as a result of the sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four.

Where do we stand in terms of production technology? Several hundred million people are occupied in producing food, and the problem of grain has not really been solved yet. Labour productivity in our iron and steel industry is only a small percentage of that achieved in the advanced countries. The gap is still wider in the newer industries. In the latter, a lag of only three to five years—to say nothing of 8 to 10 or 10 to 20—creates a really big gap.

Comrade Mao Zedong often reminded us that China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity.⁴⁸ In ancient times, China scored brilliant achievements in science and technology; its four great inventions [paper, printing, the compass and gunpowder] played a major role in advancing world civilization. We should not rest on our ancestors' achievements; rather such achievements should strengthen our resolve to catch up with and surpass

the countries that are most advanced in science and technology. Our present contributions in these fields are far from commensurate with the standing of a socialist country such as ours.

Will people be discouraged if we point out this backwardness as an objective fact? Some people, perhaps. But such people don't know the first thing about Marxism. As for us proletarian revolutionaries, stating the facts and making a serious analysis of their historical and current causes will enable us to plan our strategy and deploy our forces correctly and to work harder for rapid change. Only in this way, moreover, can we encourage people to learn from others willingly so that China can speedily master the world's latest science and technology.

Backwardness must be recognized before it can be changed. One must learn from those who are more advanced before he can catch up with and surpass them. Of course, in order to raise China's scientific and technological level we must rely on our own efforts, develop our own creativity and persist in the policy of independence and self-reliance. But independence does not mean shutting the door on the world, nor does self-reliance mean blind opposition to everything foreign. Science and technology are part of the wealth created in common by all mankind. Every people or country should learn from the advanced science and technology of others. It is not just today, when we are scientifically and technologically backward, that we need to learn from others. Even after we catch up with the most advanced countries, we shall still have to learn from them in areas where they are particularly strong.

China's revolution exerts an attraction on all the revolutionary people in the world, who identify with it. Our drive for socialist modernization has enlisted their interest and support and will continue to do so ever more widely. We must endeavour to increase international academic exchanges and expand our friendly contacts and co-operation with scientific circles in other countries. We would like to express our heartfelt thanks to all friends abroad who have helped us in science and technology.

That was the first question I wanted to speak about.

The second question is that of building a large contingent of scientific and technical personnel who are both "red and expert".

For the modernization of science and technology, we must have a mighty scientific and technical force serving the working class, a force which is both "red and expert" and includes a large number of scientists, engineers and technicians who are first rate by world standards. It will not be easy for us to build up such a force.

Here the important thing is to correctly understand what is meant by

both “red and expert” and set reasonable standards.

The Gang of Four made the absurd claim that the more a person knew, the more reactionary he would become. They said they preferred labourers without culture and they touted an ignorant reactionary clown who handed in a blank examination paper as the model of a “red expert”. On the other hand, they vilified as “white and expert” those good comrades who studied diligently and contributed to the motherland’s science and technology. For a time, this reversal of right and wrong and confounding of the people with the enemy caused deep confusion in many minds.

Comrade Mao Zedong urged intellectuals to become both “red and expert” and encouraged persons with a bourgeois world outlook to remould it and acquire the proletarian world outlook. The basic question as regards world outlook is whom one is to serve. If a person loves our socialist motherland and is serving socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers of his own free will and accord, then it should be said that he has begun to acquire a proletarian world outlook. In terms of political standards, he cannot be considered “white” but should be called “red”. Our scientific undertakings are an integral part of our socialist cause. Working devotedly for our socialist scientific enterprises and making contributions to them is, of course, a sign that one is expert; in a sense, it is also a sign that one is “red”.

Imbued with Mao Zedong Thought, our contingent of scientists and technicians has made truly rapid progress in the last 28 years. The large majority of them love the Party and socialism, are striving to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and work wholeheartedly and successfully at their jobs. Their faith in the Party and in socialism never wavered, even when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were persecuting and tormenting intellectuals, and they kept on working in their specialities under extremely difficult conditions. Many showed a high level of political awareness in the struggle against the Gang, and when it was smashed their deep revolutionary enthusiasm was released. They fully support the Central Committee of the Party and are working harder than ever for the four modernizations. These scientists and technicians are invaluable to us. On the whole, they have truly proved that they are both “red and expert”, that they are the scientific and technical contingent of our working class.

Naturally this does not mean that these scientists and technicians all have a very high level of consciousness politically and ideologically or that there are no mistakes or defects in their way of thinking, work style or day-to-day work. It does mean that judged by the basic criterion, that of political stand, the overwhelming majority of them are revolutionary intellectuals; they take the stand of the working class and constitute a force our

Party can rely on. Of course, they on their part should not be complacent or cease to move forward, but should keep on striving for fresh progress both politically and in their own professions. As for their shortcomings and mistakes, these are matters for education and assistance, to be overcome through criticism and self-criticism. No one is free from shortcomings or exempt from making mistakes. Take people like us, cadres doing political work, veteran cadres who have been in the Party for decades. Don't we also have shortcomings and make errors of one kind or another? Why should we be more demanding of vocational cadres and technical experts than of ourselves? As for scientists and technicians who have undesirable family backgrounds, who made mistakes in the past or whose families and social connections present some problems, we should judge them mainly by their own basic political attitudes, by their actual behaviour and by their contributions to socialist revolution and construction.

There is also a group of scientists and technicians whose bourgeois world outlook has not fundamentally changed or who are still deeply influenced by bourgeois ideology. In the midst of sharp, intense and complicated class struggle they often waver. But as long as they are not opposed to the Party and socialism, we should unite with them and educate them, promote their special skills, respect their work, take an interest in their progress and give them a warm helping hand. Comrade Mao Zedong consistently held that the more people we had in our revolutionary ranks the better, that we should respect those who have knowledge and specialized skills or have made contributions, and that our attitude towards any person who has made mistakes should be, first, to observe and, second, to help him instead of turning away from him. We must earnestly put these teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong into practice.

In our socialist society, everyone should remould himself—not just persons who have not changed their basic stand, but everybody. We should all engage in a continued process of learning and transforming our thinking. We should all study fresh problems, absorb what is new and consciously guard against corrosion by bourgeois ideology. In this way, we will be better able to carry out the glorious and arduous task of building a modern, powerful socialist country.

Scientists and technicians should concentrate their energies on their professional work. When we say that at least five-sixths of their work time should be left free for professional work, this is meant as the minimum requirement. It would be better still if more time were made available. If someone works seven days and seven nights a week to meet the needs of science or production, it shows his lofty and selfless devotion to the cause of

socialism. We should commend, encourage and learn from such people. It has been demonstrated countless times that only those who devote themselves heart and soul to their work, who constantly strive for perfection and fear neither hardship nor disappointment can reach the pinnacles of science. We cannot demand that scientists and technicians, or at any rate, the overwhelming majority of them, study stacks of books on political theory, join in numerous social activities and attend many meetings not related to their work. Lin Biao and the Gang of Four frequently attacked scientists and technicians, accusing them of being “divorced from politics” and labelling those who studied diligently to enrich their knowledge and improve their skills as “white and expert”. “White” is a political concept. Only those who take a reactionary political stand opposed to the Party and socialism can be called “white”. How can one pin the “white” label on a person who studies hard to enrich his knowledge and improve his skills? Scientists and technicians who have flaws of one kind or another in their ideology or their style of work shouldn’t be called “white” unless they are against the Party and socialism. How can our scientists and technicians who work diligently at socialist scientific enterprises be accused of being divorced from politics? The cause of socialism calls for a division of labour. So long as they keep to the socialist political stand, comrades who devote their best efforts to their posts in different trades and professions are not divorced from politics at all; on the contrary, their devoted work is a concrete manifestation of their socialist consciousness. A few years ago, Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were making it difficult for workers to do their jobs, for peasants to till the land, for armymen to do their military training, for students to study and for scientists and technicians to improve their professional skills. This has inflicted heavy losses on the socialist cause. Hasn’t it been a profound lesson?

While making full use of the abilities of our present scientists and technicians and trying to increase their proficiency, we must also exert ourselves to train new personnel. Owing to the sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, there is an age gap in our scientific and technical ranks which makes the training of a younger generation of personnel all the more urgent.

We have a vast pool of talent from which to select and train scientists and technicians. The recent reform in our system of college enrolment has brought to light many fine young people who are both hard-working and talented. We are very happy to see their outstanding accomplishments. Though the Gang of Four ran amok for a time, they failed to extinguish the young people’s enthusiasm for study or to crush the teachers’ revolutionary determination to educate the next generation for the Party and the people. Today the Central Committee is paying close attention to science and

education and laying heavy stress on the training and selection of talented people. We can foresee that a new era will soon open, in which talented people will come to the fore in great numbers like a galaxy of brilliant stars. The future of science lies with our youth. The maturing of the younger generation holds the best hope for the success of our cause.

General education is basic to the training of scientific and technical personnel. We must carry out the Party's policy on education comprehensively and correctly, put it on the right track and introduce appropriate reforms, so as to ensure both quantitative and qualitative progress. Education is not just the concern of the educational units; Party committees at all levels must treat it as a major issue. Every trade and profession should support it and try to establish its own schools. The people's teachers are gardeners cultivating our revolutionary successors. Their creative labour should be respected by the Party and the people. We must see to it that they have enough time for teaching, and we must make proper arrangements for their political life, working conditions and professional studies. Teachers who make outstanding contributions in pedagogy should be commended and rewarded.

We must place particular stress on nurturing talent and break with routine ways of discovering, selecting and training outstanding people. This was one of the big issues about which the Gang of Four spread utter confusion. Scientists, professors and engineers distinguished for their contributions were labelled "bourgeois academic authorities", and outstanding young and middle-aged scientists and technicians trained by our Party and state were vilified as "shoots of revisionism". We must eradicate for good the pernicious influence of the Gang of Four and take up the major task of producing—as quickly as possible—experts in science and technology who are up to the highest international standards. Comrade Mao Zedong said in the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan [1937-45] that our Party's fighting capacity would be greatly enhanced and Japanese imperialism more quickly defeated if there were one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which was systematic rather than fragmentary, and genuine rather than hollow.⁴⁹ The revolutionary cause needs outstanding revolutionaries, and our scientific undertakings need outstanding scientists. Our working-class scientists of outstanding talent are born of the people and serve the people. Only a broad mass base can generate the continued flow of talents which can help raise the scientific and cultural level of the Chinese nation as a whole.

The discovery and training of talented people by our scientists and teachers is in itself an achievement and a contribution to the country. The

history of science shows us the tremendous importance of discovering genuinely talented persons. Some of the world's scientists look upon the finding and training of new talent as the crowning achievement of a lifetime devoted to science. There is much to be said for this view. A number of contemporary China's outstanding mathematicians were discovered while still young by older mathematicians who helped them mature. Some of the newcomers may have surpassed their teachers in scientific achievement, but that only makes the teachers' contributions all the more precious.

The third question I want to discuss is how to introduce, in our scientific and technical units, the system whereby directors of the research institutes assume overall responsibility for work there under the leadership of the respective Party committees.

The rapid growth of China's science and technology depends on good Party leadership in these fields. Our country has entered a new period of development, and the main focus and the style of the Party's work ought both to change correspondingly. Party committees at various levels should simultaneously attend to class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment without neglecting any one of them. We should encourage scientific experiments by the masses themselves so as to generate steady technical progress and new production records. There are several hundred thousand industrial enterprises and several hundred thousand agricultural production brigades in our country. The extensive application of advanced science and technology to industry and agriculture and the greater, faster, better and more economical growth of production can be brought about only if every enterprise and every production brigade does its best to carry out technical transformation and scientific experimentation. But at the same time, we must also try to make the best use of our specialized scientific research institutes. Professional researchers are the mainstay of scientific work. Without a strong contingent of top-flight professionals, it will be difficult to scale the heights of modern science and technology, and also difficult for scientific experimentation by the masses to advance in any sustained way. We must try to combine the efforts of the specialists with those of the masses.

The Central Committee has decided that a system of individual responsibility for technical work should be established in scientific research organizations, and that the directors of institutes should assume overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committees. These organizational measures will be valuable in strengthening the leading role of the Party committees while giving full scope to the skills and talents of the professionals.

The basic task of our scientific research organizations is to produce results and train talent. They must bring about more and better scientific and technical achievements and train scientific and technical personnel who are both “red and expert”. The degree to which the organizations fulfil this basic task should be the main criterion for judging the work of their Party committees. Only when they truly fulfil it can we say that they have done their duty in helping to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism.

Much has to be done to accomplish this basic task, but it is impossible for Party committees to handle everything. We must honestly admit that there are still many things in scientific and technical work that we do not understand. And even if we did, it would still be impossible for the Party committees to handle everything. There must be a division of labour with a system of specific individual responsibility for each post, from top to bottom. This is the only way to ensure order and efficiency in our work. And it is the only way to clearly define each person’s duties, to distribute rewards and penalties correctly, to avoid procrastination and evasion of responsibility, and to prevent people from getting in each other’s way.

The leadership given by Party committees should be primarily political; that is, they should ensure the correct political orientation of the work of the units concerned, see to it that the Party’s line, principles and policies are followed and arouse and mobilize the enthusiasm of all concerned. Such leadership should be exercised through planning. Good plans for scientific research must be drawn up, personnel must be carefully evaluated and properly placed, and all forces must be well organized. For the plans to be carried out and for scientific research to advance, it is also necessary to guarantee support services for the scientists and technicians, providing them with proper working conditions. This too is part of the work of the Party committees. I am willing to be your director of support services and to co-operate with the leading comrades of Party committees at various levels to do the job properly.

As far as leadership over scientific and technical work is concerned, we should give the directors and deputy directors of the research organizations a free hand. Party committees should support both Party and non-Party professionals occupying administrative posts and enable them to fulfil their roles by giving them power and responsibility commensurate with their positions. These professionals, like us, are cadres of the Party and the state and we must never treat them as outsiders. Party committees should be acquainted with their work and check up on it, but should not attempt to take it over.

We must give full play to democracy and follow the mass line, trusting the judgement of the scientists and technicians in such matters as the evaluation of scientific papers, the assessment of the competence of professional personnel, the elaboration of plans for scientific research and the evaluation of research results. When views diverge on scholarly questions, we must follow the policy of “letting a hundred schools of thought contend” and encourage free discussion. In scientific and technical work, we must listen closely to the opinions of the experts and leave them free to use all their skills and talents so as to achieve better results and reduce our errors to the minimum. This is a vital aspect of the application of the mass line by the Party committees in scientific research organizations.

Will our insistence on allowing scientists and technicians to concentrate on their professional work make our political tasks lighter or less demanding? No, it will not. It will require us to raise the level of our political work, improve our methods, discard formalism, eliminate the pernicious influence of the Gang of Four and learn conscientiously from the fine traditions of political work in the People’s Liberation Army. We must support all demands and suggestions that will further scientific work in our socialist society. And we must criticize and educate those who pursue personal gain, who refuse to share their findings or to work in co-operation with others, who try to monopolize information, who plagiarize the work of others or whose ideas and styles of work are detrimental in any other way. Since we are engaged in socialist modernization and are advancing towards the mastery of modern science and technology, a key task in our current political work is to ensure that all scientists and technicians understand how their work relates to the grand goal of the four modernizations. They must be mobilized to collaborate in a revolutionary spirit and with one heart and mind so as to storm the citadels of science.

Although our Party has accumulated some experience in giving leadership to scientific and technical work for over 20 years, we must admit that we are still to a large extent in the “kingdom of necessity”, that is, prisoners of our ignorance of the work concerned, and have much to learn about organizing, managing and guiding it effectively. Until this state of affairs changes, it will be difficult for us to score major successes and the initiative will not be in our hands. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us that persons who are in the dark cannot light the way for others.⁵⁰ Leading Party cadres at various levels must not be content to remain laymen in science and technology. They must dig in and gradually learn the trade. We must apply ourselves to the study of Marxism and raise our political level, but at the same time we must try to acquire scientific knowledge, to sum up the successes and

failures in our work, to study and grasp the objective laws governing scientific and technical work and to implement the Party's principles and policies correctly without neglecting any aspect of them. Just as our Party was able to lead the people in overthrowing the system of exploitation and transforming society, so it will most certainly be able to grasp the laws governing scientific and technical work and lead the people in conquering the heights of world science.

What is right and what is wrong in regard to political line has been basically clarified, we have mapped out a programme and the measures for carrying it out, and the masses are already on the move. The task that now confronts Party organizations at all levels is to inspire real enthusiasm in the masses, to find real solutions to problems and to do really solid work. In a word, we must put everything on a firm footing. We must put a stop to formalism and to the pursuit of appearances without regard for practical results, real efficiency, actual speed, quality or cost. Bad habits like empty talk, boasting and lying must be stamped out.

Comrades,

The Eleventh Party Congress,⁵¹ the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the First Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which were convened in succession, have fully demonstrated the great unity of our Party and the great unity of the people of all our nationalities. This National Conference on Science is likewise a demonstration of unity. The unity of the Party and the unity of the people—these are the basic guarantees for the triumph of our cause. Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, march unswervingly and victoriously towards the grand goal of building a modern and powerful socialist country!

May science flourish and grow! May this conference be a complete success!

ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE “TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS WORK”

March 28, 1978

I have read the article, “Implement the Socialist Principle ‘To Each According to His Work’”, drafted by the Office of Research on Political Affairs under the State Council. It’s a good article, and it explains why the principle discussed is socialist, not capitalist. But it still needs some revision to make clear how the principle applies to current practical problems.

We must adhere to this socialist principle which calls for distribution according to the quantity and quality of an individual’s work. In accordance with this principle, a person’s grade on the pay scale is determined mainly by his performance on the job, his technical level and his actual contribution. Political attitude should also be taken into account, but it must be made clear that a good political attitude should find expression mainly in a good performance in socialist labour and a greater contribution to society. If, in handling distribution, we judged mainly on the basis of a person’s politics rather than on the basis of his work, that would mean we were following the principle “to each according to his politics” rather than “to each according to his work”. In short, distribution should be made only according to a person’s work, not according to his politics or his seniority.

We are following a policy of low pay, and will continue doing so for a considerable time to come. At present, the maximum monthly pay for a worker of Grade 8 [the highest grade at present] is a little over 100 yuan. In the future, as production expands, there will gradually be more promotions to higher grades on the pay scale, and the amount of pay accruing to each grade will also be increased. Today, salaries for primary school teachers are too low. The work of good primary school teachers is quite onerous, so their salaries should be raised. In future, those primary school teachers who have done an excellent job may be classified as special-grade on the pay scale. The

Excerpt from a talk to leading members of the Office of Research on Political Affairs under the State Council.

special-grade system should be introduced in all trades and professions so as to encourage people to devote their entire lives to one line of work.

It is imperative to institute a system for the evaluation of work. The evaluations must be strict, comprehensive and regular, and they should be made in all trades and professions. In the future, promotion on the pay scale will be based on the result of these evaluations. Those who reach the required standard will be upgraded and may even jump grades. Those who do not won't be promoted.

We must have rewards and penalties, and the criteria must be perfectly clear. Those whose work is evaluated as good should be paid at a different rate from those who have done poorly. Our general policy is to place moral encouragement first, material incentives second. The awarding of medals and certificates of merit constitutes moral encouragement and represents a political honour. This is essential. However, material incentives cannot be dispensed with either. All related measures which have proved effective in the past should be restored. The bonus system should also be reinstated. Money awards should be given to those who have made special contributions, including inventors and innovators. As for persons who have scored major achievements in scientific research, in addition to being given awards for their inventions or innovations, they should be promoted on the pay scale. On the other hand, if a person has no achievement to his credit after several years' effort, he should be asked to switch to some other occupation. According to a decision recently made in Romania, a somewhat higher remuneration will be given to cadres and workers in factories which do good work, while those in factories which do poorer work will be docked. This makes a clear distinction between reward and penalty. The system of making additional payments to writers and artists for articles, etc. should be restored, with some modifications in the light of the new situation.

There is still a lot to be done to implement the principle “to each according to his work”. Some problems must be solved step by step, through investigation and study. Some former practices should be restored, and some new ones introduced. The point of all this is to encourage people to make progress.

SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

April 22, 1978

Comrades,

There have been many new developments on the educational front since the smashing of the Gang of Four and particularly since the college enrolment system was reformed and the “two appraisals”¹⁷⁵ were criticized. These achievements should be fully recognized. Still, both in educational circles and in society at large, people are hoping for even faster progress in this sphere. There are many problems to be solved and many things to be done in this connection. Today, I would like to offer some opinions on the subject.

First, we must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in the sciences, social sciences and humanities so as to serve socialist construction better.

Our schools are places for the training of competent personnel for socialist construction. Are there qualitative standards for such training? Yes, there are. They were stated by Comrade Mao Zedong: We should enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker possessed of both socialist consciousness and a general education.

The Gang of Four were opposed to placing strict demands on students in their study of the sciences, social sciences and humanities, and to making such studies the main concern of the students. They made the ridiculous claim that that would be “putting intellectual education first” and thus “being divorced from proletarian politics”. They declared that they would rather have labourers without education and that the more a person knew, the more reactionary he would become. What is more, they slandered all working people or children of working people who had received some education, calling them “bourgeois intellectuals”. Even today, much effort is still needed to eliminate the pernicious influence of these absurdities spread by the Gang.

Lenin emphasized time and again that the workers should not for a minute forget their need for knowledge. Without knowledge, he said, they would have no way of defending themselves, while with it they would be strong. The importance of this truth stands out even more clearly today. We must train workers with a high level of scientific and general knowledge and build a vast army of working-class intellectuals who are both “red and expert”. Only then will we be able to master and advance modern science and culture and the new technologies and skills in every trade and profession. Only then will we be able to attain a productivity of labour higher than that under capitalism, transform China into a modern and powerful socialist country and ultimately defeat bourgeois influences in the superstructure. Proletarian politics demands that all these be done.

Beyond all doubt, schools should always attach first importance to a firm and correct political orientation. But this doesn't mean they should devote a great many classroom hours to ideological and political teaching. Students must indeed give top priority to a firm and correct political orientation, but that by no means implies that they should abandon the study of the sciences, social sciences and humanities. On the contrary, the higher the students' political consciousness, the more consciously and diligently they will apply themselves to the study of these subjects for the sake of the revolution. Hence the Gang of Four were not only being utterly ridiculous but were actually negating and betraying proletarian politics when they opposed efforts to improve the quality of education and to raise the students' scientific and cultural level on the basis of a firm, correct political orientation and declared that that was “putting intellectual education first”.

It is not good to put too heavy a load on students, and we should continue to take effective measures to prevent this bad practice or remedy it. But it is equally obvious that we will not be able to raise the level of our scientific and cultural knowledge substantially unless we maintain the work style of the “three honests and four stricts”,⁵² and unless demands are exacting and training rigorous. If we are to catch up with and surpass the advanced countries in science and technology, we must improve not only the quality of our higher education but, first of all, that of our primary and secondary education. In other words, the primary and secondary school courses should be enriched with advanced scientific knowledge, presented in ways the pupils at these levels can understand.

Examinations are a necessary way of checking on the performance of students and teachers, just as the testing of factory products is a necessary means of quality control. Of course, we must not put blind faith in examinations or consider them the only method for checking up on study.

Conscientious research and experimentation are required to improve the form and content of examinations and make them serve their purpose better. Students who don't do well on their examinations should be encouraged and helped to continue their efforts instead of being subjected to unnecessary psychological pressure.

Second, our schools must make an effort to strengthen revolutionary order and discipline, bring up a new generation with socialist consciousness and help to revolutionize the moral tone of our society.

Not only did the sabotage of education by the Gang of Four cause an alarming decline in the quality of scientific and cultural education; it also did grave damage to ideological and political education in the schools, undermined school discipline and sapped the revolutionary spirit of socialist society. The Gang shouted to high heaven about the importance of politics, but in fact their politics were counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist. They used the most decadent and reactionary exploiting-class ideas in their attempt to poison the minds of our young people and turn them into illiterate hooligans. The eradication of the Gang's pernicious influence is a political task which is of the utmost importance and which has a direct bearing on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

We should foster revolutionary ideals and communist morality in young people from childhood. This has always been a fine tradition in our Party's educational work. During the years of revolutionary wars, members of the Children's Corps and the Communist Youth League performed stirring deeds of heroism. After Liberation, young people were encouraged to carry on this fine tradition by the schools, the Young Pioneers and the Youth League. For a long time, our children and young people studied well and made progress every day. They were filled with love for their motherland, for the people and for labour, science and public property, and they struggled heroically and resourcefully against bad elements and enemies, setting the tone for a new era. The revolutionary spirit in our schools helped foster a revolutionary spirit in our whole society. This spirit was unprecedented in Chinese history and won the admiration of people the world over. We hope that not only the comrades working in education and related fields but also every family in our society will pay close attention to the ideological and political progress of our children and young people, so as to revive and enrich the fine revolutionary traditions which the Gang of Four undermined. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work, and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers."⁵³ The

responsibility for training young successors for the revolutionary cause rests particularly heavily on the primary and secondary school teachers and on kindergarten personnel. We should strive to inculcate in our young people the revolutionary style of diligent study, observance of discipline, love of labour, pleasure in helping others, defiance of hardships and courage in the face of the enemy. In this way they can become fine and competent people loyal to the socialist motherland, to the proletarian revolutionary cause and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Thus, when they finish their schooling and take up their jobs, they will be workers imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility and collectivism and a firm revolutionary ideology; their style of work will be to seek truth from facts and follow the mass line, and they will observe strict discipline and work wholeheartedly for the people.

We hope that everyone will do his best to make progress because, when all is said and done, progress depends on individual effort. Collective effort is the sum of individual efforts. And individual effort will continue to differ even in communist society. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that 10,000 years hence there will still be a gap between the advanced and the backward. Therefore, while we encourage and help everyone to do his best, we have to recognize that differences in the abilities and character of different people will manifest themselves in the course of their development. We must take these differences into account and do everything possible to enable each individual, in accordance with his particular circumstances, to keep pace with the general movement of society towards socialism and communism. At the same time, conscientious efforts must be made and strict measures taken to correct and reform those who seriously undermine revolutionary order and discipline and refuse to mend their ways after repeated efforts to educate them; in no case should we let a handful of such persons harm our schools and society as a whole.

From now on, it is not only the secondary schools and institutions of higher education that should examine applicants in an overall way—taking into account their moral and intellectual qualities and the state of their health — and admit only those who are best qualified. All units should gradually follow suit and recruit only those job applicants who are best qualified. This will require that students be enabled to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become workers with both socialist consciousness and a general education. Thus the policy put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong to the same effect will be thoroughly implemented in all aspects of social life. This system of selection will be most useful in raising the political, scientific and cultural levels of our working personnel, in meeting the special needs of

different trades and professions, and in creating, among the young people and throughout our society, a revolutionary atmosphere in which everyone is eager to make progress and work hard and is unwilling to lag behind.

Third, education must meet the requirements of our country's economic development.

To train qualified personnel for socialist construction, we must try to find improved ways of combining education with productive labour, ways that are suited to our new conditions. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong all laid great stress on combining education with productive labour. They considered this to be one of the most powerful means for reforming society under capitalism. They also believed that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, it should be the fundamental way to train a new generation that would integrate theory with practice, unite study with practical application and develop in an all-round way, and they looked upon it as an essential measure for gradually abolishing the distinction between mental and manual labour. As early as 80 years ago, Lenin said: "... Neither training and education without productive labour, nor productive labour without parallel training and education [can] be raised to the degree required by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge."⁵⁴ In our own day, rapid economic and technological progress demands rapid improvement in the quality and efficiency of education. This includes steady improvement in the methods of combining study with productive labour and of selecting the type of labour appropriate for this purpose.

To this end, educational institutions of all types and levels must make appropriate decisions as to what kind of labour the students should engage in, which factories and rural areas they should go to and for how long, and how to relate their labour closely to their studies. More important still, education as a whole must be in keeping with the requirements of our growing economy. If, on the contrary, what the students learn isn't suited to the needs of their future jobs, if they study what they aren't going to apply or if they can't apply what they study, won't this flatly violate the principle of combining education with productive labour? And, if that is so, how can we arouse the students' enthusiasm for study and work and how can education meet the enormous demands placed on it by the new historical period?

As our economy develops in a planned and balanced way, we must also carefully plan the training of future workers and professionals to meet its needs. We must bear in mind not only immediate needs but future ones as well. We must make plans that take into full account not only the needs of growing production and construction but also the trends in modern science and technology.

The State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education and other organizations should collaborate in making education an integral component of the national economic plan. We should co-ordinate the development of various types and levels of educational institutions and, in particular, we should plan to increase the number of agricultural secondary schools and vocational and technical secondary schools. We should also consider what types of institutions of higher learning to build up, how to readjust the specialities offered, how to institute the courses on basic theory and how to improve teaching materials. We must take steps to accelerate the development of modern media of education, including radio and television. Broadcasting offers an important means of developing education with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and we should take full advantage of it. We should study and find ways of co-ordinating productive labour and scientific experiment and research more effectively in our schools so as to better meet the needs of our economic and educational plans. In order to speed up the training of qualified personnel and to raise the overall level of education, we must consider concentrating our forces and strengthening key colleges and universities and key primary and secondary schools, thus raising their level as quickly as possible.

From now on, the state will be trying to open up new productive enterprises and new lines of work so as to serve the four modernizations more effectively. In working out our educational plan, we should co-ordinate it with the state plan for the utilization of labour and consider how to meet the needs for increased employment.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about ensuring respect for the labour of our teachers and about improving their qualifications.

Teachers are the key to a school's success in training personnel suited to the needs of our socialist construction, that is, its success in training workers who have both socialist consciousness and a good general education and who are highly developed morally, intellectually and physically.

In the past two decades and more, we have built up a contingent of nine million teachers devoted to serving the people. The overwhelming majority of teachers and other school personnel love the Party and socialism. They work industriously to provide a socialist education and so have made great contributions to the nation and the proletariat. Educational workers who serve the people are high-minded workers for the revolution. We salute this multitude of educational workers for their painstaking efforts and express our appreciation to all of them and especially to the primary school teachers, who have worked tirelessly under particularly difficult conditions to bring up successors for the revolutionary cause.

We must raise the political and social status of teachers. They should command the respect not only of their students but also of the whole community. We urge students to respect their teachers and teachers to love their students. Respect and love, with teacher and student learning from each other—that is the appropriate comradely, revolutionary relationship between teachers and students. Outstanding educational workers should be commended, rewarded and widely acclaimed.

The present pay scale for teachers, especially those in primary and secondary schools, should be reviewed. Proper steps should be taken to encourage people to dedicate their whole lives to education. Particularly outstanding teachers may be designated “special-grade teachers”. Owing to our country’s economic limitations, we cannot bring about a marked improvement in the material life of teachers and other school personnel for the time being, but we must make every effort to create the conditions needed for this. The Party committees at all levels and the administrative authorities in charge of education should, first of all, do everything possible to provide better collective welfare services.

All Party committees and Party organizations in the schools should take a warm interest in the teachers’ ideological and political progress. They should help the teachers to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought so that more of them will have a firm proletarian, communist world outlook. We must make a point of recruiting outstanding teachers into the Party. The tasks of education are becoming heavier and heavier. All educational units must strive to raise the capabilities of teachers and improve the quality of instruction. The Ministry of Education and local educational departments should adopt effective measures to train teachers, making full use of radio and television, setting up training classes and advanced courses of various kinds, compiling reference material for teachers, and so forth. We hope that all teachers will work hard to steadily raise their political and professional levels and become increasingly socialist-minded and professionally competent.

Comrades! I hope that some of the major issues in educational work will be fully discussed at this conference. We urge you to proceed in the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and speak. It doesn’t matter if opinions differ. We can compare the different proposals. We must follow the mass line in everything we do. Good ideas can be produced only if democracy is practised fully within the ranks of the people. Of course, a good idea will not turn into reality by itself. Bright prospects remain merely idle talk unless we devise practical measures and work hard to implement them. If we are to achieve the four modernizations within a reasonable length of

time, we must insist on a practical, revolutionary style of work that will gradually help us turn lofty ideals into reality.

I believe that if—under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party—we rely on the efforts of the teachers, students, administrators and other school workers, carry through to the end the struggle to expose and criticize the Gang of Four, and approach our work in a practical way, we will see more and more people of a new type emerge. Good news will pour in from the educational front as our work in this domain thrives the way it is doing in all others.

REALIZE THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS AND NEVER SEEK HEGEMONY

May 7, 1978

The entire Chinese nation rejoiced over the downfall of the Gang of Four. Things are better now and the mood of the people has improved. We are soberly aware that it is an arduous task to achieve the four modernizations, but we can manage. First of all, the entire Party is united, as are the people of the whole nation. Our people are hard-working and have a tradition of hard struggle. Second, we have laid a solid material foundation. Third, we have clearly defined principles whereby we shall make use of all the advanced technologies and achievements from around the world. The Gang of Four did not allow us to do so, calling this a slavish comprador philosophy. Science and technology have no class nature; capitalists make them serve capitalism, and socialist countries make them serve socialism. Ancient China had four great inventions (paper, printing, gunpowder and the compass—*Tr.*), which later found their way to countries around the world. Why then should we be hesitant about making use of advanced technologies and achievements from around the world? We should make advanced technologies and achievements the starting point for our development. Finally, we have abundant natural resources. To sum up, the tremendous enthusiasm of our people, a substantial material foundation and our enormous resources, in addition to the introduction of state-of-the-art technology from around the world will make it possible for us to achieve the four modernizations. Naturally, the task will be far from easy. The world's advanced technologies continue to develop rapidly, with the rate of development no longer calculated in terms of years, but in terms of months, and even in terms of days, a trend which we call "changes coming with each passing day". Even when we have realized the four modernizations, our output of industrial and agricultural products and our national income will

Excerpt from a talk with an economic and trade delegation of the government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

remain relatively low when calculated on a per capita basis. Our current principles and policies are clearly defined, and our motto is “less talk, more action”.

At present, we are still a relatively poor nation. It is impossible for us to undertake many international proletarian obligations, so our contributions remain small. However, once we have accomplished the four modernizations and the national economy has expanded, our contributions to mankind, and especially to the Third World, will be greater. As a socialist country, China shall always belong to the Third World and shall never seek hegemony. This idea is understandable because China is still quite poor, and is therefore a Third World country in the real sense of the term. The question is whether or not China will practise hegemony when it becomes more developed in the future. My friends, you are younger than I, so you will be able to see for yourselves what happens at that time. If it remains a socialist country, China will not practise hegemony and it will still belong to the Third World. Should China become arrogant, however, act like an overlord and give orders to the world, it would no longer be considered a Third World country. Indeed, it would cease to be a socialist country. I first addressed these points in a speech delivered at the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1974.⁵⁵ The current foreign policy, which was formulated by Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, will be passed on to our descendants.

SPEECH AT THE ALL-ARMY CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL WORK

June 2, 1978

Comrades,

This All-Army Conference on Political Work is another historic meeting, like the preceding meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

It has discussed and revised three draft documents: the decision on strengthening political work in the army, the regulations for such work and the regulations concerning the military service of army cadres. Once these documents are examined and approved by the Military Commission, the army will have rules and regulations to go by in its political work.

This conference has focused on the problem of how to carry on the army's fine tradition in political work and to improve its combat effectiveness under new historical conditions. In line with Mao Zedong Thought and taking into account the army's realities, the participants have raised and analysed problems in an effort to solve them. That is very good and indeed essential. Having a well-defined central task—a clear-cut subject to deal with—they have focused their energies on the main issues, and the conference is proceeding more successfully day by day. It is taking place in a healthy, democratic atmosphere, with the participants airing their views freely and yet not equivocating on issues of principle. This has set a good example for the lower levels. In short, the conference has been fully satisfactory so far—a complete success.

I am going to discuss four points.

First, about seeking truth from facts.

If we hold meetings, make reports, adopt resolutions and so on, it is all for the purpose of solving problems. Whether or not what we say and do actually solves problems correctly depends on our ability to integrate theory with practice, to sum up experience well and to base our actions on objective reality by seeking truth from facts and proceeding from the actual conditions.

Only when we do all this will it be possible for us to solve problems more or less correctly. The correctness of the solutions is something which needs to be tested in practice. But if we fail to act in the way I've described, then it will surely be impossible for us to solve any problem correctly.

Many comrades in our Party are persistent in their study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and in their efforts to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of our revolution. This is very good and should certainly be encouraged. There are other comrades, however, who talk about Mao Zedong Thought every day, but who often forget, abandon or even oppose Comrade Mao's fundamental Marxist viewpoint and his method of seeking truth from facts, of always proceeding from reality and of integrating theory with practice. Some people even go further: they maintain that those who persist in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice are guilty of a heinous crime. In essence, their view is that one need only parrot what was said by Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong—that it is enough to reproduce their words mechanically. According to them, to do otherwise is to go against Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and against the guidelines of the Central Committee. This issue they have raised is no minor one, for it involves our general approach to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

That we must never go against the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is beyond doubt. We must, however, integrate them with reality, analyse and study actual conditions and solve practical problems. Guidelines for our work must be set in conformity with actual conditions. This is a most fundamental approach and method of work, which every Communist must cleave to. The principle of seeking truth from facts is the point of departure, the fundamental point, in Mao Zedong Thought. This is materialism. If we fail to seek truth from facts, all our meetings will be nothing but empty talk, and we will never be able to solve any problems.

Ever since the time Comrade Mao Zedong joined the communist movement and helped to found our Party, he always conducted investigations and studies of the objective social conditions and urged others to do likewise. He always fought resolutely against the erroneous tendency to divorce theory from practice and to act unrealistically, according to wishful thinking, or mechanically, according to books and instructions from above regardless of the actual conditions. In 1929, in the resolution he drafted for the Gutian Meeting, he sharply opposed subjectivism in the guidance of work, pointing out that this would “inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism”.²⁵ In 1930 he wrote the essay “Oppose Book Worship”, in which

he advanced the scientific thesis, “no investigation, no right to speak”. He firmly opposed the misguided mentality of those who, in discussions within the Communist Party, could not open their mouths without citing a book, as if whatever was written in a book was right. Comrade Mao Zedong said: “To carry out a directive of a higher organ blindly, and seemingly without any disagreement, is not really to carry it out but is the most artful way of opposing or sabotaging it.” He also stated: “When we say Marxism is correct, it is certainly not because Marx was a ‘prophet’ but because his theory has been proved correct in our practice and in our struggle. We need Marxism in our struggle. In our acceptance of his theory no such formalistic or mystical notion as that of ‘prophecy’ ever enters our minds.”¹⁷⁶

After the defeat of the “Left” line of Wang Ming⁵⁶ which had caused serious setbacks to the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the lessons from this struggle and wrote, in 1936 and 1937, a series of immortal works including “Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War”, “On Practice” and “On Contradiction”. In these he laid the ideological and theoretical foundation for our Party. He pointed out: “Marxists hold that man’s social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world.... The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice.”⁵⁷ He also said: “Our dogmatists are lazybones. They refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things, they regard general truths as emerging out of the void, they turn them into purely abstract unfathomable formulas, and thereby completely deny and reverse the normal sequence by which man comes to know truth.”⁵⁸ In discussing the guiding principles for waging war, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: “A commander’s correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgements, and his correct judgements stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance.”⁵⁹ When we fought battles in the past, we all understood that failure to study our own situation and that of the enemy, that is, failure to know both ourselves and the enemy, meant defeat.

However, some opponents of Mao Zedong Thought within our Party did not change their stand in the light of Comrade Mao’s teachings. Therefore, he initiated the great rectification movement of 1941-42. Among the main documents guiding that movement were his works “Preface and Postscript to *Rural Surveys*”, “Reform Our Study”, “Rectify the Party’s

Style of Work” and “Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing”. In the movement, he repeatedly emphasized the need for the fundamental principle and attitude of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. He said: “‘Facts’ are all the things that exist objectively, ‘truth’ means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and ‘to seek’ means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us.” This attitude “is the manifestation of Party spirit, the Marxist-Leninist style of uniting theory and practice. It is the attitude every Communist Party member should have at the very least.”⁶⁰ Antithetical to this attitude is the subjectivist method which, being contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism, “is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit”.⁶¹ Comrade Mao Zedong admonished all comrades in the Party not to “regard Marxist theory as lifeless dogma” or to “regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies”.⁶² For this would “impede the development of theory and harm themselves as well as other comrades”.⁶³ He declared that “there is only one kind of true theory in this world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality”.⁶⁴ Basing himself on this fundamental tenet of Marxism, Comrade Mao Zedong, in his report to the Seventh National Congress of the Party,¹²⁷ defined integration of theory with practice as the first of the three major features of our Party’s style of work.⁶⁵

Comrade Mao Zedong frequently explained this tenet and this style of work on subsequent occasions. For instance, in 1953 he said: “The central leading organ [of the Party or government] is a factory which turns out ideas as its products. If it does not know what is going on at the lower levels, gets no raw material or has no semi-processed products to work on, how can it turn out any products?”⁶⁶ In 1956 he said: “Integration of theory with practice is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism. According to dialectical materialism, thought must reflect objective reality and must be tested and verified in objective practice before it can be taken as truth, otherwise it cannot.”⁶⁷ And in 1958 he said: “The ideas, opinions, plans and methods of any hero can only be a reflection of the objective world. The raw and semi-processed materials that go into them can only come from the practice of the people or from his own scientific experiment. His brain can only play the part of a processing plant turning out finished products, or else it is utterly useless. Whether or not such finished products made by man’s

brain are useful and correct has to be tested by the masses of the people.”⁶⁸ In his essay “Where Do Correct Ideas Come from?” written in 1963, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that correct ideas “come from social practice, and from it alone”. He added that “whether or not one’s...ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures)” —all of which arise from social practice— “do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage [the stage of conceptual knowledge], in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not”. Only if man’s knowledge is tested by being applied in social practice can its correctness or incorrectness be demonstrated, and “there is no other way of testing truth”.¹⁷⁷

Comrade Mao Zedong always maintained that in raising, analysing and solving problems we should adhere to the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. He always discussed problems in the context of time, place and conditions. He once said that in writing articles he himself seldom quoted from Marx and Lenin, and that he felt uneasy when his own words were quoted again and again by the newspapers. People should learn to write in their own words. This, of course, does not mean that they should refrain from quoting others altogether. Rather, it means they shouldn’t quote others all the time. The important thing is to adhere to the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in analysing and solving problems. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought lose their vitality if they are not integrated with actual conditions. When we are analysing and solving problems, it is our duty as leading cadres to integrate the instructions from higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee of the Party, with the actual conditions in our own units. We must not just function like a “relay station”, simply receiving and transmitting instructions.

Comrades, let’s think it over: Isn’t it true that seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice form the fundamental principle of Mao Zedong Thought? Is this fundamental principle outdated? Will it ever become outdated? How can we be true to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought if we are against seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice? Where would that lead us? Obviously, only to idealism and metaphysics, and thus to the failure of our work and of our revolution.

For many years no all-army conference on political work has been called. Now that such a conference is being held, what method should we adopt? Obviously, it is the method of seeking truth from facts, of proceeding from reality and of integrating theory with practice in order to sum up past

experience, analyse the new historical conditions, raise new problems, set new tasks and lay down new guidelines. Only in this way can this conference come to grips with problems and solve them correctly. Comrade Wei Guoqing⁶⁹ has made a good report. It is good because it analyses the problems posed by the new historical conditions and proposes pertinent solutions. It demonstrates that we are firmly upholding Mao Zedong Thought in our actions. If, on the contrary, we were just to copy past documents word for word, we could not solve a single problem correctly. With such an approach, even if we paid constant lip-service to Mao Zedong Thought, we would actually be going against it. We must eliminate the poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, set things right and cast off our mental shackles so that we can really emancipate our minds. This is without question a most arduous task.

Second, the new historical conditions.

What should be the main issue at this conference? If we look at the actual problems and conditions in the army, it seems clear that the most important issue is how to restore and carry forward the fine traditions of the army's political work under the new historical circumstances, so as to improve the army's combat effectiveness. This means studying, analysing and solving practical problems in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching about seeking truth from facts.

We are historical materialists, and when we study a problem and try to solve it we cannot do so in isolation from the given historical conditions. From the time of the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, we experienced more than 20 years of war. Since then we have had more than 20 years of peace. This shift from an environment of protracted war to one of peace is a very big change in historical conditions.

So far as our army is concerned, this change is most significant. But the fundamental task and the basic content of our political work remain unaltered. And the fine traditions we wish to perpetuate are also the same. Nevertheless, times have changed, conditions have changed and those to whom our work is directed have changed so that the approaches we take must change as well.

The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention⁶ formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong varied in their specific content according to the circumstances. At first he laid down Three Rules of Discipline and then Six Points for Attention. Later on, some changes were made in the formulation of the Three Rules of Discipline. The rule "do not take anything from the workers and peasants" became "do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses"; the rule "turn in all things taken from local

bullies” was changed first to “turn in all money raised” and then to “turn in everything captured”. To the Six Points for Attention were added two more: “do not bathe within sight of women” and “do not search the pockets of captives”. When the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention were reissued in 1947, some revisions were again made in the content. “Put back the doors you have taken down for bed-boards” and “put back the straw you have used for bedding” were replaced by “do not hit or swear at people” and “do not damage crops”. “Do not bathe within sight of women” was changed to “do not take liberties with women”, and “do not search the pockets of captives” became “do not ill-treat captives”. The basic spirit of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention must not be changed and indeed remains unchanged. However, we must study how to put them into practice under changed conditions. Take the rule “turn in everything captured” for example. At present there can be no question about what to do with captured articles since we are not fighting a war. So we have to consider how to act in the spirit of this rule under the new historical conditions.

The principle of maintaining unity between the army and the people cannot be changed. But our relations with the people now have different features. In the countryside, the individual economy that prevailed in the past has not been replaced by the collective economy. And many of our troops, instead of being in the rural areas as before, are now in cities and quartered in barracks. These are new conditions. One important way of improving the army’s relations with the people is for the army to help develop the collective economy. Each army-level unit should consider whether it can help one or two communes or any nearby factories. We have to take account of the new conditions as we try various ways to improve relations between the army and the people, and to properly solve the problems involved.

Within the army, too, there have been many changes. Comrade Wei Guoqing has analysed the organizational and ideological conditions in the army in his report. The cadres have changed in many ways and the soldiers too have new characteristics. Since the people we are trying to educate are now different, we must add new content to our educational work. The practice of recalling bitterness in the old society and contrasting it with happiness in the new should, of course, continue. But this in itself is no longer enough. We must study ways of raising the political consciousness of the troops in our new historical circumstances. Furthermore, the relations between officers and men are not the same as they were during the war years. So in addition we must study ways of maintaining unity between officers and

men.

The logistical departments are also holding a conference at present. They too should concentrate on the new conditions and new problems in their work that have arisen in the new historical situation. For instance, many new problems have appeared as military science and technology have developed and as our military equipment has gradually improved. We used to rely on millet plus rifles, which didn't constitute too heavy a burden for the logistics department. But things are quite different today. For provisions, arms and ammunition and miscellaneous equipment, our army has to rely heavily on supplies from the economically strong rear areas. The types of war matériel stockpiled are also continually changing. All these questions demand careful and detailed study. Furthermore, the material foundations of the army, which used to be rather weak, have now been strengthened. Thus the problem of logistics has taken on new dimensions. We must work out a whole range of regulations and solutions suited to the new conditions, and we must struggle against waste, extravagance and the violation of financial regulations.

The foregoing remarks all concern the new circumstances and new problems that have emerged in the new historical period. On the basis of an analysis of the actual state of affairs in political work in the army, we are here proposing that the army's fine traditions in such work be carried forward under the new historical conditions in order to improve its combat effectiveness. By making this proposal we are raising—with the intention of solving—the problem of formulating specific guidelines and policies for political work. We are doing all this in order to better fulfil the historical tasks of the new period. In short, we are following Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching that we should have specific guidelines and policies for our work in addition to the general line and general policies. If we failed to analyse and solve the new historical problems, we would be unable either to restore and carry forward the fine traditions in political work or to improve the army's combat effectiveness when no war is going on.

Our revolutionary teachers Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao always stressed the importance of concrete historical conditions and the need to study those of both the past and the present in order to ascertain objective laws to help us guide the revolution. To ignore the new historical conditions is to cut things off from their historical context, to divorce oneself from reality, and to abandon dialectics for metaphysics.

Third, the question of destruction and construction.

When we discuss seeking truth from facts and the new period of development and new historical conditions, we should also discuss the question of destruction and construction. At present—and for some time to

come—"destruction" means exposing and criticizing in depth the Gang of Four and, collaterally, Lin Biao,¹ so as to eliminate their pernicious influence. "Construction" means understanding Mao Zedong Thought correctly and as an integral whole and restoring and carrying forward, under the new historical conditions, the fine traditions and style of work of our Party and army.

Though the movement to expose and criticize the Gang of Four is not developing evenly, it is generally going well in the army, and I won't elaborate on it. We must make this movement thorough and deep-going and carry this struggle through to the end. On no account should we try to put a lid on it.

The exposure and criticism of the Gang of Four is the key task at present and will be so for some time to come. If it is not carried out effectively, right and wrong cannot be clearly differentiated and the lines between political forces cannot be clearly drawn; the leading bodies will not be satisfactorily restaffed; our style of work will not improve; there will be no proper basis for unity; and our work will not advance. In short, there can be no construction without destruction.

In order to further deepen the exposure and criticism of the Gang of Four, we must simultaneously expose and criticize Lin Biao. Lin Biao and the Gang entered into collusion very early in their plot to usurp Party and state power. But Lin Biao, who did such great harm to the army, has scarcely been criticized, because his crimes were covered up by the Gang of Four. They refused to criticize him but instead, on the pretence of criticizing Confucius, directed their real attack at Comrades Zhou Enlai and Ye Jianying.²³ It is only natural that Lin Biao should be exposed and criticized along with the Gang of Four. This is no way means that we are wasting a lot of time settling old scores.

In order to strengthen unity, we must expose and criticize the Gang of Four in depth and concurrently expose and criticize Lin Biao. This must be done if we want to distinguish right from wrong and to strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Otherwise, we will not be able to unite with the overwhelming majority. We should place full confidence in persons who, having erred in siding with Lin Biao and his clique, have since made sincere self-criticisms, really mended their ways and behaved well politically. Of course, it will be necessary to deal severely with those who clung to their errors and followed the Gang of Four in doing evil. Unless we do that, it will be impossible to clarify right and wrong, to achieve unity and to straighten things out in different fields.

The exposure and criticism of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four must be

related to realities, and things must be straightened out in every field. This involves both destruction and construction. In the main, it means readjusting the leading bodies and rectifying their style of work.

It is of key importance at present to do a good job in readjusting and consolidating the leading bodies. The main reason why problems have piled up and remain unsolved in some units is that their leading bodies have not really been properly readjusted. We should firmly enforce the stipulations of the Military Commission as to what kinds of people can and cannot be placed in leading posts or assigned to important work. We should lose no time in the careful selection of cadres and the consolidation of the leading bodies at all levels. In 1975 we criticized weakness, laziness and laxity, but some leading bodies still have those problems. We should fully mobilize the masses, uncover the contradictions, clarify right and wrong, get rid of the factional systems of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and discredit and eliminate factionalism itself.

The issue of training our successors must be resolved by every available means, because it bears directly on the building of our army and our overall national interests in any future war against aggression. Young cadres can become worthy successors provided we select the right candidates, pass on our experience, help and guide them, and give them better training in our schools. We veterans should take the long view in this matter and play the key role in selecting and training successors. Unless we have done this well, when the time comes for us to go and meet Marx, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, we won't be able to face them with a clear conscience.

One important aspect of consolidating the leading bodies is the rectification of their style of work. Leaders at all levels must improve their work style, get rid of any bureaucratism and familiarize themselves with realities at the grass roots. In every kind of work, we must make in-depth investigation and study of actual conditions and solve problems in the light of the realities in our own units.

If the army wants to achieve an exemplary style of work, it must increase efficiency. Army units must work hard and expeditiously. Slackness, procrastination, endless discussion without decision, and decision without implementation are all impermissible. Army units must continue to stress observance of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention; orders must be obeyed in all actions, for it is only when we all march in step that victories can be won.

Straightening things out also includes restoring the functions, position and prestige of the political organs of the army. We have often said that within about three years the functions, position and prestige of these organs

should be restored to the levels that obtained in the days of the Red Army, the War of Resistance Against Japan [1937-45] and the War of Liberation [1946-49]. If we are to achieve this, we must discard the ways of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, reaffirm Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on political work, foster the traditional style of work he advocated and enrich both under the new conditions. Before this conference opened, I repeated that it should at least restore the functions, position and prestige of the political organs.

Political work is the Party's work, and the political organs in the army are working organs of the Party. Higher political organs should guide, supervise and check up on the work of Party committees, political commissars and political organs at the lower levels. This is one of our long-standing traditions.

In order to straighten things out, we must have strict standards. We have to take vigorous action to consolidate both the leading bodies and the political organs and rectify their style of work. In the process, we must conduct a rigorous appraisal of cadres and make it a regular practice to do so.

Fourth, about setting an example.

This is of great importance. It is essential that leading cadres, senior cadres in particular, set an example for others. The rank and file always watch to see if cadres' deeds match their words. Company commanders and political instructors cannot train good soldiers if they themselves fail to set a good example. Leading cadres will not be able to help create a good atmosphere in their units, or to make their troops combat-worthy, if they themselves fail to set a good example.

The stress on setting an example is particularly necessary at present. For instance, when a cadre is reassigned, he must change his residence. If senior cadres who are reassigned don't show the way, what's going to happen? When an order comes, a cadre must report promptly for duty, and senior cadres must set the example. They must also take the lead in working hard and living simply.

Whether work is carried out thoroughly and well depends on whether the leading cadres likewise set the example by conducting investigation and study in the basic army units and by proceeding from reality to analyse problems and solve them. Recently, the leading cadres of many units have started to go down among the rank and file again. This is very good.

When we say we should be strict in running the army, we mean first of all being strict with the leading bodies and senior cadres. Senior cadres must be exemplary in acting on the fundamental principles of the "three dos and three don'ts".² They must be exemplary in working hard and living simply,

and in seeking truth from facts. In a word, they must be exemplary in integrating Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the practice of the revolution.

Cadres engaged in political work have an even greater obligation to conduct themselves in an exemplary way. That's how it was with us during the war years. At that time, if you were not brave in battle or if you were not at one with the rank and file and didn't stay in contact with reality and with the masses, your political work went unheeded. A cadre engaged in political work must not talk in one way and act in another. The regulations governing the political work of the Red Army stipulated that in doing their work, "the political instructors should rely solely on their direct contact with the masses and their close familiarity with the Red Army fighters", and that "both in the performance of their duty and in their personal behaviour, they must be models for all armymen in word and deed". In order to revive and carry forward our excellent traditions in political work, we must rely on the cadres engaged in it to behave as models.

Comrades who are attending the conference on logistical work are also present today. I would just like to mention that the cadres in charge of logistics, leading ones in particular, should behave as models too. They must guard against taking advantage of their position to obtain the best of everything and to become, as the saying goes, like the "waterfront pavilions which are always the first to enjoy the rising moon". They must be honest and upright in performing their duties and become "red managers". They must be of scrupulous integrity in financial affairs and combat any violations of the rules, graft and all "back-door" deals.

I would like to point out in particular that the conduct of senior cadres has a great impact on others. Unhealthy tendencies are quite widespread at present, and to correct them we should begin with the leading cadres who are at fault. All eyes are fixed on them; once they correct their mistakes, the lower levels won't present much difficulty.

Our Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai set an example by their conduct. Placing strict demands upon themselves, they worked hard and lived a simple life for decades. They personified the fine traditions and work style of our Party and our army. What an immense and far-reaching impact their inspiring deeds have had on the Party, the army and the entire people! Not only have they influenced our own generation but they will influence generations to come. Our cadres, veteran cadres in particular, should take Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai as their models and pass on their experience and help and guide the young and middle-aged.

This All-Army Conference on Political Work has been a united and

successful one. All comrades present here are duty-bound to see that its decisions are fully carried out. More important, members of all Party committees and all political commissars must strengthen their leadership and personally make sure that these decisions are implemented. I for one believe that after this conference political work throughout the army is sure to improve and that the fine traditions of our Party and army fostered by Comrade Mao Zedong will be carried forward.

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AND ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

September 16, 1978

How should we hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? This is a really big question. Many people, both inside and outside the Party, and both at home and abroad, want the banner to be held high. What does that mean? How are we to do so? As you all know, there is a doctrine known as the “two whatevers”.¹⁸ Hasn’t it become famous? According to this doctrine, whatever documents Comrade Mao Zedong read and endorsed and whatever he did and said must always determine our actions, without the slightest deviation. Can this be called holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? Certainly not! If this goes on, it will debase Mao Zedong Thought. The fundamental point of Mao Zedong Thought is seeking truth from facts and integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a four-word motto for the Central Party School in Yan’an: “Seek truth from facts.” These four words are the quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought. In the final analysis, Comrade Mao’s greatness and his success in guiding the Chinese revolution to victory rest on just this approach. Marx and Lenin never mentioned the encirclement of the cities from the countryside—a strategic principle that had not been formulated anywhere in the world in their lifetime. Nonetheless, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed it out as the specific road for the revolution in China’s concrete conditions. At a time when the country was split up into separatist warlord domains, he led the people in the fight to establish revolutionary bases in areas where the enemy’s control was weak, to encircle the cities from the countryside and ultimately to seize political power. Just as the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin made its revolution at a weak link in the chain of the imperialist world, we made our revolution

Excerpt from remarks made on hearing a work report by members of the Standing Committee of the Jilin Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China.

in areas where the enemy was weak. In principle, the two courses were the same. But instead of trying to take the cities first, we began with the rural areas, then gradually encircled the cities. If we had not applied the fundamental principle of seeking truth from facts, how could we have raised and solved this problem of strategy? How could the Chinese revolution have been victorious?

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Zedong continued to lead us forward by applying the principle of seeking truth from facts. Of course, at that time many questions could not be raised because the necessary conditions were absent. If we are to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, we must always proceed from current reality when handling questions of principle and policy. Today, as we work to achieve China's four modernizations, many conditions are present which were absent in Comrade Mao's time. Unless the Central Committee of the Party is prepared to rethink issues and is determined to act in the light of present conditions, many questions will never be posed or resolved. For example, while Comrade Mao was still living we thought about expanding economic and technical exchanges with other countries. We wanted to develop economic and trade relations with certain capitalist countries and even to absorb foreign capital and undertake joint ventures. But the necessary conditions were not present, because at the time an embargo was being imposed on China. And later, the Gang of Four branded any attempt at economic relations with other countries as "worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreigners" or as "national betrayal", and so sealed China off from the outside world. Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic idea of differentiating the three worlds⁴¹ opened up a road for us. We have gone on opposing imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism, working to safeguard world peace, and actively developing relations, including economic and cultural exchanges, with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.⁷⁰ After several years of effort, we have secured international conditions that are far better than before; they enable us to make use of capital from foreign countries and of their advanced technology and experience in business management. These conditions did not exist during Comrade Mao Zedong's lifetime. Yes, foreigners may still deceive us or take advantage of our backwardness. For instance, when we import complete plants, they may edge up the price or pass off inferior goods as high-grade ones. But generally speaking, we now have favourable conditions which weren't there before. If we were never supposed to do anything that Comrade Mao hadn't suggested, we could never have decided on our present course of action. What does holding high the banner of Mao Zedong

Thought mean here? It means proceeding from present realities and making full use of all favourable conditions to attain the objective of the four modernizations as defined by Comrade Mao Zedong and proclaimed by Comrade Zhou Enlai. If we could only act as Comrade Mao suggested, what could we do now? We have to develop Marxism and also Mao Zedong Thought. Otherwise, they will become ossified.

When we say that theory must be tested in practice, this is what we are talking about. That the issue is still being argued shows how rigid some people's thinking has become. The basic problem is still the one I've mentioned—that these people's thinking violates Comrade Mao Zedong's principle of seeking truth from facts and the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. We have here, in fact, a reflection of idealism and metaphysics. The world is changing every day, new things are constantly emerging and new problems continually arising. We can't afford to lock our doors, refuse to use our brains and remain forever backward. In today's world, our country is counted as poor. Even within the third world, China still rates as relatively underdeveloped. We are a socialist country. The basic expression of the superiority of our socialist system is that it allows the productive forces of our society to grow at a rapid rate unknown in old China, and that it permits us gradually to satisfy our people's constantly growing material and cultural needs. After all, from the historical materialist point of view correct political leadership should result in the growth of the productive forces and the improvement of the material and cultural life of the people. If the rate of growth of the productive forces in a socialist country lags behind that in capitalist countries over an extended historical period, how can we talk about the superiority of the socialist system? We should ponder the question: What have we really done for the people? We must make use of the favourable conditions we now enjoy to accelerate the growth of our productive forces, improve the people's material and cultural life and broaden their outlook.

What does "hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought" really mean? We need to answer this question. The principles and policies now laid down by the Central Committee are examples of truly holding the banner high. The best way is to be resolved to advance rapidly but at the same time surely. Otherwise one is being false or formalistic in "holding the banner high".

UPDATE ENTERPRISES WITH ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY AND MANAGERIAL EXPERTISE

September 18, 1978

A question which now confronts you is how the Anshan Iron and Steel Company should be updated. Whenever foreign technology is introduced, we should first master it and then upgrade or renovate it. You have many tasks ahead of you at this point, such as the training of workers and cadres. If you fail to do so, then they will not be capable of acquiring advanced foreign technology. We had a serious lesson along these lines. It is important for us to seize the hour, because our country is going to introduce about 1,000 projects from other countries. All our technologies and equipment as well as supporting facilities should be modern and up to the highest standards of the 1970s. The world is advancing. If we do not develop our technology, we cannot catch up with the developed countries, let alone surpass them, and we shall be trailing behind at a snail's pace. We should take the world's advanced scientific and technological achievements as starting points for our country's development. Such a lofty aspiration should be ours.

It is a good idea for the Anshan Iron and Steel Company to cut down the number of its staff members and departments. As for those units to be dissociated from the company, it is important that it should not have too many administrators or staff personnel. Large numbers of people in a modern and automated enterprise lead only to poor management. A steel enterprise with an annual output of six million tons in Japan has only 600 administrators, whereas the Anshan Iron and Steel Company with the same annual output has 23,000 managerial personnel. This is surely unreasonable. When advanced technology and equipment are imported, we must run enterprises with advanced management and operation techniques and set attainable quotas. In other words, we should manage the economy in accordance with the laws governing economic development. In a word, we need a revolution

Excerpt from remarks made when hearing a report from the leading comrades of the Anshan Municipal Party Committee.

instead of just reforming the economy.

If we want to update enterprises so that their technology and management can reach the required level, we must have qualified managerial staff and workers. After technological upgrading, large numbers of workers with relatively high educational and technological levels should appear, otherwise new technologies and equipment cannot be used. All cadres and workers should be evaluated. Those who are unqualified should be designated as supernumerary personnel. Their livelihood should be guaranteed, but they cannot enjoy the same treatment as assigned personnel. They should be organized to study and receive training so as to become qualified for new jobs. We should resolve to accomplish this task.

Qualified managerial staff and workers should enjoy better treatment, so that the principle of distribution according to work can be truly carried out. This is not capitalism. A worker who has a salary of one or two hundred yuan cannot become a capitalist. But will this practice dampen others' initiative? There will be some complaints, but this can encourage people to advance. When the economy develops, workers' income should increase, which in turn promotes economic development. The same is true with agriculture; an increase in peasants' income stimulates agricultural growth and consolidates the alliance of workers and peasants. Socialism must demonstrate its superiority. Things should not continue as they are: although we have practised socialism for more than 20 years, our country is still very poor. If things continue like this, why should we continue under socialism? We must initiate a revolution in technology and management so as to expand production and increase the income of workers and staff.

As you are planning to upgrade the steel enterprise, you also need to give consideration to every aspect of the social structure of Anshan. As production grows, the number of people directly engaged in production will decrease, and more and more people will engage in service trades. Service trades are numerous, such as seed companies and building and repair work. Therefore, there are many ways to re-employ the supernumerary people. You should see to it that there is a good sized scientific research department in your enterprise. All large enterprises in the United States and Japan have such institutes. We should strengthen and enlarge the ranks of our scientific researchers.

We should give more power to local authorities, and to enterprises in particular. Enterprises should have the right to make their own decisions and act independently. For instance, they should have the right to decide how many people they will employ and what should be increased or reduced. They should also have some foreign exchange at their disposal so as to be able to

place orders and to exchange technology with other countries. When something is to be done, an enterprise currently has to submit its plan to the authorities of the province, the ministry, and the State Planning Commission for approval. This process is too slow. Some of our comrades listen only to what higher authorities dictate and are afraid to use their own minds. We should, as Chairman Mao put it, “put down our mental burdens and use our own minds”. If an enterprise wishes to improve its technological and managerial levels, it has to be creative, enjoying decision-making power and flexibility. Cadres at all levels should use their own heads and should not be mentally lazy or rigid. Of course, this is the result of the system we practised in the past. In the future, we should give cadres at enterprises both the power to make their own decisions and the authority to assess the efficiency of their own work. We should carry out a system of responsibility whereby cadres are compelled to think critically. It is time for us to reform the superstructure.

CARRY OUT THE POLICY OF OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND LEARN ADVANCED SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

October 10, 1978

China made contributions to the world down through the ages, but for a long time conditions have been at a standstill in China and development has been slow. Now it is time for us to learn from the advanced countries.

For a certain period of time, learning advanced science and technology from the developed countries was criticized as “blindly worshipping foreign things”. We have come to understand how stupid this argument is. Therefore, we have sent many people abroad to familiarize themselves with the outside world. China cannot develop by closing its door, sticking to the beaten track and being self-complacent.

Due to the interference of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, China’s development was held up for ten years. In the early 1960s, we were behind the developed countries in science and technology, but the gap was not so wide. However, over the past dozen years, the gap has widened because the world has been developing with tremendous speed. Compared with developed countries, China’s economy has fallen behind at least ten years, perhaps 20, 30, or even 50 years in some areas. What will the world be like in 22 years at the end of the century? What will those developed countries, including your country, be like after 22 years of further development based on the development of the 1970s? It will be quite difficult for us to realize the four modernizations so that we can reach your current level of development by the end of this century, let alone catch up with your country at that time. Therefore, to achieve the four modernizations, we must be adept at learning from other countries and we must obtain a great deal of foreign assistance. As a starting point in our development, we should introduce advanced

Excerpt from a talk with a press delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany.

technology and equipment from the rest of the world.

You ask us whether it runs counter to our past traditions to implement the policy of opening to the outside world. Our approach is to define new policies according to new circumstances, while retaining our best traditions. We must stick to that which has proven to be effective, and in particular, to our basic systems, that is, the socialist system and socialist public ownership, and we must never waver in doing so. We shall not allow a new bourgeoisie to come into being. We will introduce advanced technology for the purpose of expanding our productive forces and improving the people's living standards. This will benefit our socialist country and our socialist system. It is even closer to following our socialist system to find ways to achieve greater, better, faster, and more economical results in development than not to do so.

THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD MAKE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

October 11, 1978

Comrades,

This Ninth National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions will play an important part in advancing the workers' movement in China and in speeding up the four modernizations. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council, I extend warm congratulations to the congress and cordially greet all the delegates and all the comrades working in various fields.

The line, principles and tasks set for the workers' movement by the Sixth All-China Labour Congress⁷¹ and the Seventh and Eighth National Congresses of Chinese Trade Unions⁷² were correct. Under the Party's leadership, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the trade unions at all other levels have done much good work, and they have played an important role in the successful development of China's socialist revolution and construction. Under the Party's leadership and with the help of the trade unions, a contingent of model workers and other outstanding revolutionary workers by hand and brain from all of China's nationalities has emerged in the various regions and industrial sectors. They remain the core around which our unity is built and the examples for us to emulate.

However, Lin Biao and the Gang of Four brought trade union work to a complete halt for a number of years. They cultivated a number of bad elements in order to gain control of certain workers' organizations and use them as tools in their plot to usurp Party and state power. They fanned factionalism and provoked armed clashes among workers in factories, mines and other enterprises, incited them to stop work and opposed or even brutally persecuted revolutionary cadres, model workers and trade union activists. They created anarchy in individual enterprises in industry and in the

Speech at the Ninth National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions.

economy as a whole. They opposed socialist planning of the economy, the principle of “from each according to his ability, to each according to his work”, and all rational rules and regulations. And they sabotaged labour discipline. All these counter-revolutionary crimes had most serious consequences. At the same time, they aroused fierce revolutionary indignation among workers all over the country. Everywhere, large numbers of advanced people defied the White terror imposed by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and fought them courageously. These struggles show that our working class is indeed the steadfast and time-tested revolutionary leading class.

In the two years since the downfall of the Gang of Four, under the leadership of the Central Committee we have exposed and criticized them and set things to rights so that the situation is constantly improving. However, it is obvious that immense efforts are still needed to eliminate the pernicious influence Lin Biao and the Gang had on the workers and its disastrous consequences, and it is still necessary for every enterprise to consolidate the ranks of its personnel. We must carry the exposure and criticism of the Gang through to the end without fail. On the other hand, it is clear that decisive victories in this struggle have already been won on a nationwide scale. On the basis thus laid, we are now able to tackle our new revolutionary tasks.

The Eleventh National Congress of the Party⁵¹ and the Fifth National People’s Congress have set the great nationwide goal of achieving the four socialist modernizations before the end of this century. Now the Central Committee and the State Council are urging us to quicken the pace of our modernization and have set forth a series of relevant policies and organizational measures. The Central Committee points out that this is a great revolution in which China’s economic and technological backwardness will be overcome and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated. Since its goal is to transform the present backward state of our productive forces, it inevitably entails many changes in the relations of production, the superstructure and the forms of management in industrial and agricultural enterprises, as well as changes in the state administration over these enterprises so as to meet the needs of modern large-scale production. To accelerate economic growth it is essential to increase the degree of specialization of enterprises, to raise the technical level of all personnel significantly and train and evaluate them carefully, to greatly improve economic accounting in the enterprises, and to raise labour productivity and rates of profit to much higher levels. Therefore, it is essential to carry out major reforms in the various branches of the economy with respect to their structure and organization as well as to their technology. The long-term interests of the whole

nation hinge on these reforms, without which we cannot overcome the present backwardness of our production technology and management. The Central Committee of the Party is confident that, in the interests of socialism and the four modernizations, our whole working class will play a selfless, model, vanguard role in these reforms. It is also confident that the trade unions will make new and outstanding contributions to the cause of revolution and construction by conducting deep-going educational and organizational work among the masses and thus helping the enterprises to carry out these reforms smoothly. One of the main characteristics of the working class is its direct association with large-scale production. Consequently it has the highest political consciousness and the strongest sense of discipline, and is able to play a leading role in our present-day economic, social and political progress. We hope that this congress will have a penetrating discussion of the current situation so that, on the basis of complete victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the Gang of Four, it can unite all union members to undertake the great task before us, that is, the four modernizations.

Trade unions should educate all their members to recognize the tremendous importance of the four modernizations and strive to raise their political, managerial, technical and educational levels. The workers should carry forward their glorious traditions of working hard and selflessly, maintaining strict discipline, readily accepting work assignments and loving their enterprises as they do their own families. They should unite and rid themselves of all vestiges of the factionalism and anarchism stirred up by the Gang of Four. The working class should do everything possible to master modern technology and managerial skills so that they can make outstanding contributions to the four modernizations. It is only right and proper that those who make bigger contributions should be accorded higher honour and larger rewards by the state and society. The Central Committee and the State Council have decided that a national conference of model workers will be held next year to greet the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of China and to commend the best workers in industry and transport, capital construction, agriculture and forestry, finance and trade, culture and education, and science and technology. I hope that working personnel throughout the country will achieve outstanding successes with which to welcome the first great gathering of heroes and heroines to be held in the course of the new Long March.

Enterprises should institute the system in which the factory director or manager assumes overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee, and they should set up effective systems for directing production. The trade unions should teach their members to support the highly central-

ized administrative leadership in their enterprises and to help maintain the full authority of those who direct production. Only thus can we organize production in a normal and orderly fashion and correct the situation, now common in our enterprises, in which no one takes responsibility. And only thus can we steadily carry out expanded reproduction, increase profits and, at the same time, constantly improve the standard of living of the whole labour force, so that the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are truly co-ordinated. The unions should encourage their members to take an active part in the management of their own enterprises. In order to accomplish the four modernizations, all our enterprises, without exception, must adopt democratic forms of management, combining them with centralized leadership. Henceforth, workshop directors, section chiefs and group leaders in the enterprises should be elected by the workers in their respective units. Major issues in an enterprise should be discussed at congresses or general meetings of workers and office staff at which the leading cadres listen to their opinions and criticism and accept their supervision. These congresses and meetings should have the right to suggest to higher levels that certain leading or managerial personnel be punished or replaced for serious negligence of duty or a bad style of work. The trade union organization of each enterprise will function as the executive organ of the congresses and general meetings. Thus they will not be superfluous as some people think they are. *Whether the unions function well or badly affects the extent to which the workers exercise their rights as masters of the enterprise. It also affects the quality of management and the efficacy of centralized leadership there. That is to say, when an enterprise is well managed, its success is due not only to the Party and administrative cadres but also to its workers and its trade union.*

Unions must be active in protecting the workers' welfare. As our country is still backward, the workers' conditions cannot be improved overnight, but only gradually on the basis of increased production and particularly of higher productivity of labour. But this circumstance must not be used by the leadership in enterprises—still less by the trade unions—as a pretext for indifference to the workers' welfare. Even under present conditions enterprise leadership can do much in this respect and the unions should do even more. They should urge and assist the administrations of enterprises and of localities to do everything currently possible to improve the working and living conditions of the workers, their canteens and sanitary facilities, and at the same time they should encourage various forms of mutual aid among the workers.

To be successful in each of these types of work, the unions must

maintain close ties with the workers. They must get the workers to regard them as truly their own organizations, which they can trust and which speak for them and work in their interests—not organizations whose leaders lie to them, lord it over them or work for their own private interests while living off the members' dues. If they are to fight for the democratic rights of the workers and oppose bureaucracy in all forms, the unions must themselves be models of democracy. And union leaders, if they are to persuade the workers through education that they should work hard, be selfless and completely devoted to the public interest, observe discipline strictly, accept assignments and love their enterprises as they do their own families, must themselves set an example in every one of these respects. So long as the unions perform all these duties, they will enjoy high prestige among the workers and be able to make important contributions to the four modernizations. In an enterprise where exposure and criticism of the Gang of Four have been reasonably thorough, it is the duty of the trade union as well as of the Party organization, the administration and the Youth League organization to see that they all register significant successes. Two years have already passed since the Gang of Four was smashed, so we can't continue blaming all the problems in our work on its pernicious influence. If it still persists, the fault is ours. If we all place high demands on ourselves, the cause of our Party and our state will surely prosper and we shall achieve the great goal of the four modernizations ahead of time.

Comrades! While building our own country, our working class must always keep in mind the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world. We must go on strengthening our unity with the workers and revolutionary people the world over and support their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism as well as their struggles to win or safeguard national independence and to make social progress. We must make our contribution to the emancipation of the working class throughout the world and to the progress of all mankind. With due modesty about our own achievements, our working class must also learn from the experience of working-class struggles in other lands and study the science and technology of the advanced countries so as to speed up the four modernizations in China.

Comrades! Our cause is glorious and our future is bright. Let us hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, work unremittingly and in concert to fulfil the new historic mission of the Chinese working class—to turn China into a great modern and powerful socialist country within this century.

EMANCIPATE THE MIND, SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS AND UNITE AS ONE IN LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

December 13, 1978

Comrades,

This conference has lasted over a month and will soon end. The Central Committee has put forward the fundamental guiding principle of shifting the focus of all Party work to the four modernizations and has solved a host of important problems inherited from the past. This will surely strengthen the determination, confidence and unity of the Party, the army and the people of all of China's nationalities. Now we can be certain that under the correct leadership of the Central Committee, the Party, army and people will achieve victory after victory in our new Long March.

The present conference has been very successful and will have an important place in our Party's history. We have not held one like it for many years. There has been lively debate here and the Party's democratic tradition has been revived and carried forward. We should spread this style of work to the whole Party, army and people.

At this conference we have discussed and resolved many major issues concerning the destinies of our Party and state. The participants have spoken their minds freely and fully and have boldly aired their honest opinions. They have laid problems on the table and have felt free to criticize things, including the work of the Central Committee. Some comrades have criticized themselves to varying degrees. All this represents marked progress in our inner-Party life and will give a big impetus to the cause of our Party and people.

Today, I mainly want to discuss one question, namely, how to emanci-

Speech at the closing session of the Central Working Conference which made preparations for the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party that immediately followed. In essence, this speech served as the keynote address for the Third Plenary Session.

pate our minds, use our heads, seek truth from facts and unite as one in looking to the future.

I. EMANCIPATING THE MIND IS A VITAL POLITICAL TASK

When it comes to emancipating our minds, using our heads, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking to the future, the primary task is to emancipate our minds. Only then can we, guided as we should be by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, find correct solutions to the emerging as well as inherited problems, fruitfully reform those aspects of the relations of production and of the superstructure that do not correspond with the rapid development of our productive forces, and chart the specific course and formulate the specific policies, methods and measures needed to achieve the four modernizations under our actual conditions.

The emancipation of minds has not been completely achieved among our cadres, particularly our leading cadres. Indeed, many comrades have not yet set their brains going; in other words, their ideas remain rigid or partly so. That isn't because they are not good comrades. It is a result of specific historical conditions.

First, it is because during the past dozen years Lin Biao and the Gang of Four set up ideological taboos or "forbidden zones" and preached blind faith to confine people's minds within the framework of their phoney Marxism. No one was allowed to go beyond the limits they prescribed; anyone who did was tracked down, stigmatized and attacked politically. In this situation, some people found it safer to stop using their heads and thinking questions over.

Second, it is because democratic centralism was undermined and the Party was afflicted with bureaucratism resulting from, among other things, over-concentration of power. This kind of bureaucratism often masquerades as "Party leadership", "Party directives", "Party interests" and "Party discipline", but actually it is designed to control people, hold them in check and oppress them. At that time many important issues were often decided by one or two persons. The others could only do what those few ordered. That being so, there wasn't much point in thinking things out for yourself.

Third, it is because no clear distinction was made between right and wrong or between merit and demerit, and because rewards and penalties were not meted out as deserved. No distinction was made between those who

worked well and those who didn't. In some cases, even people who worked well were attacked while those who did nothing or just played it safe weathered every storm. Under those unwritten laws, people were naturally reluctant to use their brains.

Fourth, it is because people are still subject to the force of habit of the small producer, who sticks to old conventions, is content with the status quo and is unwilling to seek progress or accept anything new.

When people's minds aren't yet emancipated and their thinking remains rigid, curious phenomena emerge.

Once people's thinking becomes rigid, they will increasingly act according to fixed notions. To cite some examples, strengthening Party leadership is interpreted as the Party's monopolizing and interfering in everything. Exercising centralized leadership is interpreted as erasing distinctions between the Party and the government, so that the former replaces the latter. And maintaining unified leadership by the Central Committee is interpreted as "doing everything according to unified standards". We are opposed to "home-grown policies" that violate the fundamental principles of those laid down by the Central Committee, but there are also "home-grown policies" that are truly grounded in reality and supported by the masses. Yet such correct policies are still often denounced for their "not conforming to the unified standards".

People whose thinking has become rigid tend to veer with the wind. They are not guided by Party spirit and Party principles, but go along with whatever has the backing of the authorities and adjust their words and actions according to whichever way the wind is blowing. They think that they will thus avoid mistakes. In fact, however, veering with the wind is in itself a grave mistake, a contravention of the Party spirit which all Communists should cherish. It is true that people who think independently and dare to speak out and act can't avoid making mistakes, but their mistakes are out in the open and are therefore more easily rectified.

Once people's thinking becomes rigid, book worship, divorced from reality, becomes a grave malady. Those who suffer from it dare not say a word or take a step that isn't mentioned in books, documents or the speeches of leaders: everything has to be copied. Thus responsibility to the higher authorities is set in opposition to responsibility to the people.

Our drive for the four modernizations will get nowhere unless rigid thinking is broken down and the minds of cadres and of the masses are completely emancipated.

In fact, the current debate about whether practice is the sole criterion for testing truth is also a debate about whether people's minds need to be

emancipated. Everybody has recognized that this debate is highly important and necessary. Its importance is becoming clearer all the time. When everything has to be done by the book, when thinking turns rigid and blind faith is the fashion, it is impossible for a party or a nation to make progress. Its life will cease and that party or nation will perish. Comrade Mao Zedong said this time and again during the rectification movements. Only if we emancipate our minds, seek truth from facts, proceed from reality in everything and integrate theory with practice, can we carry out our socialist modernization programme smoothly, and only then can our Party further develop Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In this sense, the debate about the criterion for testing truth is really a debate about ideological line, about politics, about the future and the destiny of our Party and nation.

Seeking truth from facts is the basis of the proletarian world outlook as well as the ideological basis of Marxism. Just as in the past we achieved all the victories in our revolution by following this principle, so today we must rely on it in our effort to accomplish the four modernizations. Comrades in every factory, government office, school, shop and production team as well as comrades in Party committees at the central, provincial, prefectural, county and commune levels—all should act on this principle, emancipate their minds and use their heads in thinking questions through and taking action on them.

The more Party members and other people there are who use their heads and think things through, the more our cause will benefit. To make revolution and build socialism we need large numbers of pathbreakers who dare to think, explore new ways and generate new ideas. Otherwise, we won't be able to rid our country of poverty and backwardness or to catch up with — still less surpass—the advanced countries. We hope every Party committee and every Party branch will encourage and support people both inside and outside the Party to dare to think, explore new paths and put forward new ideas, and that they will urge the masses to emancipate their minds and use their heads.

II. DEMOCRACY IS A MAJOR CONDITION FOR EMANCIPATING THE MIND

One important condition for getting people to emancipate their minds and use their heads is genuine practice of the proletarian system of democratic centralism. We need unified and centralized leadership, but centralism

can be correct only when there is a full measure of democracy.

At present, we must lay particular stress on democracy, because for quite a long time democratic centralism was not genuinely practised: centralism was divorced from democracy and there was too little democracy. Even today, only a few advanced people dare to speak up. There are a good many such people at this conference. But in the Party and the country as a whole, there are still many who hesitate to speak their minds. Even when they have worthwhile opinions, they hesitate to express them, and they are not bold enough in struggling against bad things and bad people. If this doesn't change, how can we persuade everyone to emancipate his mind and use his head? And how can we bring about the four modernizations?

We must create the conditions for the practice of democracy, and for this it is essential to reaffirm the principle of the "three don'ts": don't pick on others for their faults, don't put labels on people, and don't use a big stick. In political life within the Party and among the people we must use democratic means and not resort to coercion or attack. The rights of citizens, Party members and Party committee members are respectively stipulated by the Constitution of the People's Republic and the Constitution of the Communist Party. These rights must be resolutely defended and no infringement of them must be allowed.

The recent reversal of the verdict on the Tiananmen Incident³⁵ has elated the people of all of China's nationalities and greatly stimulated mass enthusiasm for socialism. The masses should be encouraged to offer criticisms. There is nothing to worry about even if a few malcontents take advantage of democracy to make trouble. We should deal with such situations appropriately, having faith that the overwhelming majority of the people are able to use their own judgement. One thing a revolutionary party does need to worry about is its inability to hear the voice of the people. The thing to be feared most is silence. Today many rumours—some true, some false—circulate through the grapevine inside and outside the Party. This is a kind of punishment for the long-standing lack of political democracy. If we had a political situation with both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, there wouldn't be so many rumours and anarchism would be easier to overcome. We believe our people are mindful of the overall interests of the country and have a good sense of discipline. Our leading cadres at all levels, and especially those of high rank, should for their part take care to strictly observe Party discipline and keep Party secrets; they should refrain from spreading rumours, circulating handwritten copies of speeches and the like.

As it is only natural that some opinions expressed by the masses should

be correct and others not, we should examine them analytically. The Party leadership should be good at synthesizing the correct opinions and explaining why the others are incorrect. In dealing with ideological problems we must never use coercion but should genuinely carry out the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend”.⁷³ We must firmly put a stop to bad practices such as attacking and trying to silence people who make critical comments—especially sharp ones—by ferreting out their political backgrounds, tracing political rumours to them and opening “special case” files on them. Comrade Mao Zedong used to say that such actions were really signs of weakness and lack of courage. No leading comrades at any level must ever place themselves in opposition to the masses. We must never abandon this principle. But of course we must not let down our guard against the handful of counter-revolutionaries who still exist in our country.

Now I want to speak at some length about economic democracy. Under our present system of economic management, power is over-concentrated, so it is necessary to devolve some of it to the lower levels without hesitation but in a planned way. Otherwise it will be difficult to give full scope to the initiative of local as well as national authorities and to the enterprises and workers, and difficult to practise modern economic management and raise the productivity of labour. The various localities, enterprises and production teams should be given greater powers of decision regarding both operation and management. There are many provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China, and some of our medium-sized provinces are as big as a large European country. They must be given greater powers of decision in economic planning, finance and foreign trade—always within the framework of a nationwide unity of views, policies, planning, guidance and action.

At present the most pressing need is to expand the decision-making powers of mines, factories and other enterprises and of production teams, so as to give full scope to their initiative and creativity. Once a production team has been empowered to make decisions regarding its own operations, its members and cadres will lie awake at night so long as a single piece of land is left unplanted or a single pond unused for aquatic production, and they will find ways to remedy the situation. Just imagine the additional wealth that could be created if all the people in China’s hundreds of thousands of enterprises and millions of production teams put their minds to work. As more wealth is created for the state, personal income and collective benefits should also be increased somewhat. As far as the relatively small number of advanced people is concerned, it won’t matter too much if we neglect the principle of more pay for more work and fail to stress

individual material benefits. But when it comes to the masses, that approach can only be used for a short time—it won't work in the long run. Revolutionary spirit is a treasure beyond price. Without it there would be no revolutionary action. But revolution takes place on the basis of the need for material benefit. It would be idealism to emphasize the spirit of sacrifice to the neglect of material benefit.

It is also essential to ensure the democratic rights of the workers and peasants, including the rights of democratic election, management and supervision. We must create a situation in which not only every workshop director and production team leader but also every worker and peasant is aware of his responsibility for production and tries to find ways of solving related problems.

To ensure people's democracy, we must strengthen our legal system. Democracy has to be institutionalized and written into law, so as to make sure that institutions and laws do not change whenever the leadership changes, or whenever the leaders change their views or shift the focus of their attention. The trouble now is that our legal system is incomplete, with many laws yet to be enacted. Very often, what leaders say is taken as the law and anyone who disagrees is called a law-breaker. That kind of law changes whenever a leader's views change. So we must concentrate on enacting criminal and civil codes, procedural laws and other necessary laws concerning factories, people's communes, forests, grasslands and environmental protection, as well as labour laws and a law on investment by foreigners. These laws should be discussed and adopted through democratic procedures. Meanwhile, the procuratorial and judicial organs should be strengthened. All this will ensure that there are laws to go by, that they are observed and strictly enforced, and that violators are brought to book. The relations between one enterprise and another, between enterprises and the state, between enterprises and individuals, and so on should also be defined by law, and many of the contradictions between them should be resolved by law. There is a lot of legislative work to do, and we don't have enough trained people. Therefore, legal provisions will have to be less than perfect to start with, then be gradually improved upon. Some laws and statutes can be tried out in particular localities and later enacted nationally after the experience has been evaluated and improvements have been made. Individual legal provisions can be revised or supplemented one at a time, as necessary; there is no need to wait for a comprehensive revision of an entire body of law. In short, it is better to have some laws than none, and better to have them sooner than later. Moreover, we should intensify our study of international law.

Just as the country must have laws, the Party must have rules and

regulations. The fundamental ones are embodied in the Party Constitution. Without rules and regulations in the Party it would be hard to ensure that the laws of the state are enforced. The task of the Party's discipline inspection commissions and its organization departments at all levels is not only to deal with particular cases but, more important, to uphold the Party's rules and regulations and make earnest efforts to improve its style of work. Disciplinary measures should be taken against all persons who violate Party discipline, no matter who they are, so that clear differentiation is made between merits and demerits, rewards and penalties are meted out as deserved, and rectitude prevails and bad tendencies are stemmed.

III. SOLVING OLD PROBLEMS WILL HELP PEOPLE LOOK TO THE FUTURE

This conference has solved some problems left over from the past and distinguished clearly between the merits and demerits of some persons, and remedies have been made for a number of major cases in which the charges were false or which were unjustly or incorrectly dealt with. This is essential for emancipating minds and for ensuring political stability and unity. Its purpose is to help us turn our thoughts to the future and smoothly shift the focus of the Party's work.

Our principle is that every wrong should be righted. All wrongs done in the past should be corrected. Some questions that cannot be settled right now should be settled after this conference. But settlement must be prompt and effective, without leaving any loose ends and on the basis of facts. We must solve these problems left over from the past thoroughly. It is not good for them to be left unsolved or for comrades who have made mistakes to refuse to make self-criticisms, or for us to fail to deal with their cases properly. However, we cannot possibly achieve—and should not expect—a perfect settlement of every case. We should have the major aspect of each problem in mind and solve it in broad outline; to go into every detail is neither possible nor necessary.

Stability and unity are of prime importance. To strengthen the unity of people of whatever nationality, we must first strengthen unity throughout the Party, and especially within the central leadership. Our Party's unity is based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Inside the Party we should distinguish right from wrong in terms of theory and of the Party line, conduct criticism and self-criticism and help and supervise each other in

correcting wrong ideas.

Comrades who have made mistakes should be urged to sum up their experience and draw the necessary lessons, so that they can recognize those mistakes and correct them. We should give them time to think. Once they improve their understanding of cardinal issues of right and wrong and conduct self-criticism, we should make them welcome again. In dealing with people who have made mistakes, we must weigh each case very carefully. Where there is a choice, it is better to err on the side of leniency, but we should be more severe if the problems recur. We should be somewhat lenient with rank-and-file Party members, but more severe with leading cadres, especially those of high rank.

From now on we must be very careful in the selection of cadres. We must never assign important posts to persons who have engaged in beating, smashing and looting, who have been obsessed by factionalist ideas, who have sold their souls by framing innocent comrades, or who disregard the Party's vital interests. Nor can we lightly trust persons who sail with the wind, curry favour with those in power and ignore the Party's principles. We should be wary of such people and at the same time educate them and urge them to change their world outlook.

People both at home and abroad have been greatly concerned recently about how we would evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong and the "cultural revolution". The great contributions of Comrade Mao in the course of long revolutionary struggles will never fade. If we look back at the years following the failure of the revolution in 1927, it appears very likely that without his outstanding leadership the Chinese revolution would still not have triumphed even today. In that case, the people of all our nationalities would still be suffering under the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and our Party would still be engaged in bitter struggle in the dark. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that were it not for Chairman Mao there would be no New China. Mao Zedong Thought has nurtured our whole generation. All comrades present here may be said to have been nourished by Mao Zedong Thought. Without Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of China would not exist today, and that is no exaggeration either. Mao Zedong Thought will forever remain the greatest intellectual treasure of our Party, our army and our people. We must understand the scientific tenets of Mao Zedong Thought correctly and as an integral whole and develop them under the new historical conditions. Of course Comrade Mao was not infallible or free from shortcomings. To demand that of any revolutionary leader would be inconsistent with Marxism. We must guide and educate the Party members, the army officers and

men and the people of all of China's nationalities and help them to see the great services of Comrade Mao Zedong scientifically and in historical perspective.

The "cultural revolution" should also be viewed scientifically and in historical perspective. In initiating it Comrade Mao Zedong was actuated mainly by the desire to oppose and prevent revisionism. As for the shortcomings that appeared during the course of the "cultural revolution" and the mistakes that were made then, at an appropriate time they should be summed up and lessons should be drawn from them—that is essential for achieving unity of understanding throughout the Party. The "cultural revolution" has become a stage in the course of China's socialist development, hence we must evaluate it. However, there is no need to do so hastily. Serious research must be done before we can make a scientific appraisal of this historical stage. It may take a rather long time to fully understand and assess some of the particular issues involved. We will probably be able to make a more correct analysis of this period in history after some time has passed than we can right now.

IV. STUDY THE NEW SITUATION AND TACKLE THE NEW PROBLEMS

In order to look forward, we must study the new situation and tackle the new problems in good time; otherwise, there can be no smooth progress. In three fields especially, the new situation and new problems demand attention: methods of management, structure of management and economic policy.

So far as methods of management are concerned, we should lay particular stress on overcoming bureaucratism.

Our bureaucracy, which is a result of small-scale production, is utterly incompatible with large-scale production. To achieve the four modernizations and shift the technological basis of our entire socialist economy to that of large-scale production, it is essential to overcome the evils of bureaucracy. Our present economic management is marked by overstaffing, organizational overlapping, complicated procedures and extremely low efficiency. Everything is often drowned in empty political talk. This is not the fault of any group of comrades. The fault lies in the fact that we haven't made reforms in time. Our modernization programme and socialist cause will be doomed if we don't make them now.

We must learn to manage the economy by economic means. If we ourselves don't know about advanced methods of management, we should learn from those who do, either at home or abroad. These methods should be applied not only in the operation of enterprises with newly imported technology and equipment, but also in the technical transformation of existing enterprises. Pending the introduction of a unified national programme of modern management, we can begin with limited spheres, say, a particular region or a given trade, and then spread the methods gradually to others. The central government departments concerned should encourage such experiments. Contradictions of all kinds will crop up in the process and we should discover and overcome them in good time. That will speed up our progress.

Henceforth, now that the question of political line has been settled, the quality of leadership given by the Party committee in an economic unit should be judged mainly by the unit's adoption of advanced methods of management, by the progress of its technical innovation, and by the margins of increase of its productivity of labour, its profits, the personal income of its workers and the collective benefits it provides. The quality of leadership by Party committees in all fields should be judged by similar criteria. This will be of major political importance in the years to come. Without these criteria as its key elements, our politics would be empty and divorced from the highest interests of both the Party and the people.

So far as the structure of management is concerned, the most important task at present is to strengthen the work responsibility system.

Right now a big problem in enterprises and institutions across the country and in Party and government organs at various levels is that nobody takes responsibility. In theory, there is collective responsibility. In fact, this means that no one is responsible. When a task is assigned, nobody sees that it is properly fulfilled or cares whether the result is satisfactory. So there is an urgent need to establish a strict responsibility system. Lenin said, "To refer to collegiate methods as an excuse for irresponsibility is a most dangerous evil." He called it "an evil which must be halted at all costs as quickly as possible and by whatever the means".⁷⁴

For every job or construction project it is necessary to specify the work to be done, the personnel required to do it, work quotas, standards of quality, and a time schedule. For example, in introducing foreign technology and equipment we should specify what items are to be imported from where, where they are going, and who is to take charge of the work. Whether it is a question of importing foreign equipment or of operating an existing enterprise, similar specifications should be made. When problems arise, it

doesn't help just to blame the planning commissions and Party committees concerned, as we do now—the particular persons responsible must feel the heat. By the same token, rewards also should go to specific collectives and persons. In implementing the system according to which the factory directors assume overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committees, we must state explicitly who is responsible for each aspect of the work.

To make the best use of the responsibility system, the following measures are essential.

First, we must extend the authority of the managerial personnel. Whoever is given responsibility should be given authority as well. Whoever it is—a factory director, engineer, technician, accountant or cashier—he should have his own area not only of responsibility but of authority, which must not be infringed upon by others. The responsibility system is bound to fail if there is only responsibility without authority.

Second, we must select personnel wisely and assign duties according to ability. We should seek out existing specialists and train new ones, put them in important positions, raise their political status and increase their material benefits. What are the political requirements in selecting someone for a job? The major criterion is whether the person chosen can work for the good of the people and contribute to the development of the productive forces and to the socialist cause as a whole.

Third, we must have a strict system of evaluation and distinguish clearly between a performance that should be rewarded and one that should be penalized. All enterprises, schools, research institutes and government offices should set up systems for evaluating work and conferring academic, technical and honorary titles. Rewards and penalties, promotions and demotions should be based on work performance. And they should be linked to increases or reductions in material benefits.

In short, through strengthening the responsibility system and allotting rewards and penalties fairly, we should create an atmosphere of friendly emulation in which people vie with one another to become advanced elements, working hard and aiming high.

In economic policy, I think we should allow some regions and enterprises and some workers and peasants to earn more and enjoy more benefits sooner than others, in accordance with their hard work and greater contributions to society. If the standard of living of some people is raised first, this will inevitably be an impressive example to their “neighbours”, and people in other regions and units will want to learn from them. This will help the whole national economy to advance wave upon wave and help the people of all our nationalities to become prosperous in a comparatively short period.

Of course, there are still difficulties in production in the Northwest, Southwest and some other regions, and the life of the people there is hard. The state should give these places many kinds of help, and in particular strong material support.

These are major policies which can have an effect on the whole national economy and push it forward. I suggest that you study them carefully.

During the drive to realize the four modernizations, we are bound to encounter many new and unexpected situations and problems with which we are unfamiliar. In particular, the reforms in the relations of production and in the superstructure will not be easy to introduce. They touch on a wide range of issues and concern the immediate interests of large numbers of people, so they are bound to give rise to complications and problems and to meet with numerous obstacles. In the reorganization of enterprises, for example, there will be the problem of deciding who will stay on and who will leave, while in that of government departments, a good many people will be transferred to other jobs, and some may complain. And so on. Since we will have to confront such problems soon, we must be mentally prepared for them. We must teach Party members and the masses to give top priority to the overall situation and the overall interests of the Party and the state. We should be full of confidence. We will be able to solve any problem and surmount any obstacle so long as we have faith in the masses, follow the mass line and explain the situation and problems to them. There can be no doubt that as the economy grows, more and more possibilities will open up and each person will be able to make his contribution to society.

The four modernizations represent a great and profound revolution in which we are moving forward by resolving one new contradiction after another. Therefore, all Party comrades must learn well and always keep on learning.

On the eve of nationwide victory in the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole Party to start learning afresh. We did that pretty well and consequently, after entering the cities, we were able to rehabilitate the economy very quickly and then to accomplish the socialist transformation. But we must admit that we have not learned well enough in the subsequent years. Expending our main efforts on political campaigns, we did not master the skills needed to build our country. Our socialist construction failed to progress satisfactorily and we experienced grave setbacks politically. Now that our task is to achieve modernization, our lack of the necessary knowledge is even more obvious. So the whole Party must start learning again.

What shall we learn? Basically, we should study Marxism-Leninism and

Mao Zedong Thought and try to integrate the universal principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of our modernization drive. At present most of our cadres need also to apply themselves to three subjects: economics, science and technology, and management. Only if we study these well will we be able to carry out socialist modernization rapidly and efficiently. We should learn in different ways—through practice, from books and from the experience, both positive and negative, of others as well as our own. Conservatism and book worship should be overcome. The several hundred members and alternate members of the Central Committee and the thousands of senior cadres at the central and local levels should take the lead in making an in-depth study of modern economic development.

So long as we unite as one, work in concert, emancipate our minds, use our heads and try to learn what we did not know before, there is no doubt that we will be able to quicken the pace of our new Long March. Under the leadership of the Central Committee and the State Council, let us advance courageously to change the backward condition of our country and turn it into a modern and powerful socialist state.

PUT ON THE AGENDA SETTLEMENT OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE MOTHERLAND

January 1, 1979

Today is New Year's Day 1979, an extraordinary day. It is extraordinary because it is different from other New Year's Days in three ways. First, the focus of the work in the whole country has been shifted onto the four modernizations. Second, relations between China and the United States have been normalized. Third, we have put on the agenda the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the reunification of China. Therefore, on this New Year's Day we are very happy. These three things show that since the smashing of the Gang of Four, we have scored substantial achievements in both domestic work and international affairs.

Last year, production in our country was satisfactory, much better than expected. This is inseparable from our efforts to conscientiously expose and criticize Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and eliminate their pernicious influence. What is even more gratifying is that since the downfall of the Gang of Four, the people throughout the country have come to enjoy ease of mind and have been united as one. Last year, the political situation characterized by both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, as advocated by Chairman Mao as early as 1957, gradually came into being. This was most clearly reflected at the working conference of the Central Committee and the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee our Party just held. To sum up, this general mood and situation is a political situation of liveliness. We should maintain this general mood and situation throughout the country—in the Party, in the government and in the army, and among the people. This constitutes the political basis for

Speech delivered at the forum on the "Message of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to the Taiwan Compatriots" held by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

realizing the four modernizations. Without this political situation, it will be impossible for us to achieve the four modernizations. Over a fairly long period of time, we failed to properly deal with the relationship of democracy to centralism, and we did not have much democracy. Therefore, we should promote democracy even more.

Last year we scored many significant achievements in international affairs, which were represented by the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between China and Japan⁷⁵ and the normalization of relations between China and the United States. We were able to put on the agenda the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the reunification of China just because we had scored significant achievements in domestic work and international affairs. On this extraordinary day, we should also be soberly aware that it is an arduous task to realize the four modernizations. There are many things we do not yet understand, and we are inexperienced. Therefore, we should study and work hard. We should also recognize that we shall inevitably make mistakes in certain matters and encounter difficulties in some areas. However, as long as the people throughout the country work with one heart and one mind, are eager to learn, consolidate and maintain the situation of stability and unity and uphold democratic centralism, our cause will be vigorously furthered.

The fundamental policies we followed in handling international affairs last year were formulated by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, but they died before they could implement those policies. We have fulfilled some of their desires. The signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between China and Japan and the normalization of relations between China and the United States are beneficial to peace and stability in the world and to the international fight against hegemony. Now as we still face many problems, we must continue to work hard. In international affairs we should continue to consolidate and develop the gratifying situation we have created. I am convinced that every member present here is joyful and optimistic about the current situation and will be happy to make his or her own contribution to it.

WE SHOULD MAKE USE OF FOREIGN FUNDS AND LET FORMER CAPITALIST INDUSTRIALISTS AND BUSINESSMEN PLAY THEIR ROLE IN DEVELOPING THE ECONOMY

January 17, 1979

We are very pleased to hear that you have excellent suggestions as to how to develop the economy. Today I should like to talk on this topic.

Now that we are developing the economy on a large scale, we have come to understand that we do not have adequate knowledge or funds. At the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, the Party decided to shift the focus of its work onto socialist modernization. As we have wasted a lot of time, we now have to develop rapidly. But how can we do this without repeating the mistakes we made in 1958?⁷⁶ This is a problem we must solve. At present, it is necessary to develop the economy in many ways. For example, we can utilize foreign funds and technology, and overseas Chinese and foreign citizens of Chinese origin should be allowed to establish factories in China. In order to absorb foreign capital, we may either use compensatory trade or establish Sino-foreign joint ventures, beginning with enterprises where the turnover of capital is quick. Of course, we must not use more foreign capital than we can repay.

We should allow former capitalist industrialists and businessmen to play a role, using those who are well-trained and appointing capable individuals as cadres. Since you are familiar with them, you will be able to persuade them to assume appropriate positions. Take tourism for example, you can recommend capable industrialists and businessmen to serve as managers of tourist companies; some of them can serve first as advisors. I also hope that you will recommend industrialists and businessmen with knowledge of techniques as well as managerial expertise to manage enterprises, especially those enterprises comprising new trades in China. We should utilize Chinese

Excerpt from a talk with Hu Juewen, Hu Zi'ang, Rong Yiren and other leaders of industrial and commercial circles.

people, both at home and abroad, as long as they are patriotic, devoted to work and capable.

We should implement our policies concerning the above-mentioned industrialists and businessmen and their descendants. These people stopped receiving a fixed rate of interest⁷⁷ long ago. As long as they no longer exploit others, we have no reason to continue to label them “capitalists”. After we have implemented these policies, these people will retain some of their money. They should be allowed to set up factories or invest in tourism in order to earn foreign capital. It is better for them to use their money to do something rather than keeping it idle. Industrialists and businessmen should choose a few projects in which they are willing to invest. In short, both industrialists and businessmen and their money should be utilized.

Comrade Rong Yiren,⁷⁸ I hope that you will concentrate on economic work and on opening to the outside world in any way that you see fit. You should follow this rule: accept only those tasks which you consider reasonable and refuse any unreasonable ones which the government assigns to you; you have full powers to deal with corporate affairs. You will not be blamed should you deal with some affairs wrongly. You should manage the economy according to economic principles. When signing contracts, you should judge from commercial perspectives, signing only those contracts which will bring about profit and foreign exchange. You should proceed regardless of administrative interference. The full powers mentioned above include the power to employ personnel. You should not hesitate to do anything conducive to socialist economic development.

UPHOLD THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES

March 30, 1979

Comrades,

This forum on the principles for the Party's theoretical work has been in session for some time. With the meeting drawing to an end, the Central Committee has asked me to set forth a few views on the subject.

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

This meeting is being held in accordance with a decision of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. That session and the Central Working Conference prior to it confirmed the important work of the Central Committee since the smashing of the Gang of Four. Those two meetings decided that the nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the Gang of Four could be considered successfully completed and that, beginning from this year, the Party must shift the focus of its work to socialist modernization. The Third Plenary Session solved a series of major problems left over from the recent history of the Party in order to rally the whole Party and army and our people of all nationalities to march forward towards the grand objective—the four modernizations. Both meetings were of great significance in the history of the Party. At this forum on the principles for theoretical work convened after the Third Plenary Session, the participants have spoken frankly and put forward a number of questions deserving our attention and study. On the whole, the meeting has been fruitful. As I said at the Central Working Conference, it is essential that we emancipate our minds, use our heads, seek truth from facts and unite as one and look to the future. We must continue to follow these principles unswervingly. The important thing now is to go a step further in popularizing and applying them by proceeding from reality

A speech at a forum on the principles for the Party's theoretical work.

and linking them closely with the present situation and our tasks.

We need to make an adequate assessment of all aspects of the situation since the toppling of the Gang of Four, and particularly since the Third Plenary Session. In the two and a half years since the overthrow of the Gang, we have destroyed most of its counter-revolutionary political forces and readjusted and strengthened our leading bodies at various levels. Leadership in the Party, the government and the army is now mainly in the hands of cadres worthy of the people's trust, and most of the work in these three spheres has returned to normal. This is a momentous, hard-won achievement. We have freed ourselves from the effects of the decade of turmoil created by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and secured a political situation marked by stability and unity; this situation is both a prerequisite and a guarantee for our socialist modernization. All of us present here, all members of our Party, and especially those in leading posts, should treasure this political situation and lay great stress on preserving it. Stability and unity, of course, must be based on principle. As regards our ideological and political orientation, it can be said that through our exposure and criticism of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and, in particular, through our discussions of ideological and theoretical problems at the Central Working Conference and the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee this past winter, we have basically returned to the correct path of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, which we mean to follow at all times. China's economy has taken a turn for the better and production has been rapidly restored in all sectors. This political and economic situation has made it possible for the whole Party to begin shifting the focus of its work to socialist modernization this year. This is a great turning point in China's history. Although we have been engaged in socialist construction for many years, we have good reason to consider this the beginning of a new phase of historical development. Events of the past three months have proved conclusively that the guiding principles laid down at the Third Plenary Session are correct and enjoy the firm support of the whole Party and people. Throughout the country, stability and unity are being consolidated and a buoyant democratic life is developing both inside and outside the Party. Our Party's fine traditions have been largely revived, much progress has been made in emancipating thinking inside and outside the Party and the work style of seeking truth from facts is becoming ever more widespread. Furthermore, the implementation of the Party's policies has aroused the enthusiasm of millions upon millions of people both inside and outside its ranks, and in the rural areas the two documents on agriculture adopted at the Third Plenary Session⁷⁹ have been warmly received by the cadres and the masses of peasants. The victory in our counter-attack waged

in self-defence on Viet Nam⁸⁰ has immensely heightened China's prestige in the international struggle against hegemonism as well as the prestige of the army among our own people. This counter-attack has demonstrated that our army still deserves to be called the valiant and battle-tested People's Liberation Army, and that it remains the Great Wall of defence of our socialist modernization.

Furthermore, it must be stressed that we have done a lot of diplomatic work in the past two years and have secured an excellent international environment for the realization of China's four modernizations. Judging from the international reaction to our defensive counter-attack on Viet Nam, we have the genuine sympathy of the vast majority of people. It is now even clearer to everyone how brilliant and far-sighted was the strategy of differentiating the three worlds formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the evening of his life.⁴¹ It is also clearer how brilliant and far-sighted were his policy decisions on this issue, namely, that China should side with the third-world countries and strengthen its unity with them, try to win over the second-world countries for a concerted effort against hegemonism, and establish normal diplomatic relations with the United States and Japan. This strategic principle and these policies have been invaluable in rallying the world's people to oppose hegemonism, changing the world political balance, frustrating the Soviet hegemonists' arrogant plan to isolate China internationally, improving China's international environment, and heightening its international prestige.

In short, if we compare the country today with what it was at the time when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four ran riot, we see that radical changes have taken place in every respect. Under the correct leadership of the Central Committee, the Party, the army and the people are once again filled with confident hope for the future of our great socialist motherland. Anyone who fails to recognize that is bound to make major errors.

But at the same time we are confronted with some rather serious difficulties, and failure to recognize that too will likewise lead to major errors. First of all, we must make a sober appraisal of our country's economy, which has long suffered damage from Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, and reach a common view of the subject. In the past decade we have failed to rid the economy of the serious imbalances which have made it impossible to achieve a steady and reliable high rate of growth. It appears that in the general process of advance, our economy—that is, our agriculture, industry, capital construction, transport services, domestic and foreign trade, and banking and finance—needs a period of readjustment in order to change from varying degrees of imbalance to relative balance. The present readjustment is different

from that of the early 1960s. Being made at a time when the economy is growing, it aims to lay a solid foundation for the four modernizations. However, it is necessary to make a partial retreat. Some unrealistically high targets, which it would do more harm than good to aim at, must be resolutely lowered, and some ill-managed enterprises which run at a heavy loss must be consolidated within a certain time span or even temporarily shut down so that consolidation can be carried out. We must take one step back in order to take two steps forward. At the same time, in order to achieve the four modernizations, we must be earnest in solving a variety of problems related to our economic structure, and this too involves an extensive and complex readjustment. If we can smoothly carry out our tasks for 1979, the first year of readjustment, we will have made a big advance, a good beginning in shifting the focus of our work.

When there are disproportions in the economy, correct readjustment must be made in order for it to make steady progress; this fact is borne out by our historical experience in the economic readjustments of the years immediately following Liberation and of the early 1960s.⁸¹ We must therefore tell the people throughout China that no headway can be made unless such a readjustment is carried out, and that while the process is going on everyone must have full confidence in, and comply with, the arrangements made by the Party and the government. It should be recognized that, compared with the readjustment in the early sixties, the current one has many more conditions in its favour, but that it also faces some difficulties. During the readjustment of the sixties, the leadership at all levels and the sense of organization and discipline both inside and outside the Party were better than now, when there are certain elements of political and ideological instability. At present the various localities face the enormous task of clearing away the problems left behind by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four after their decade of trouble-making. Their poisonous influence—reflected particularly in factionalism and anarchism—has begun to spread again among a small section of people, along with doubts about socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. And some of our cadres, faced with entirely new historical tasks, have not sufficiently freed themselves from old ideas, nor are they good at studying the new situations and solving the new problems. Moreover, we are still plagued by the force of habit of the small producer and by the habits of bureaucracy. It is quite obvious that under these circumstances extensive readjustment may be accompanied by small or big disturbances. We can avoid them only if we have strong, centralized leadership and a strict sense of organization and discipline, only if we strengthen our efforts to maintain

public and political order and to educate people in this regard, and only if we firmly improve the style of work in the Party and take further steps to restore its fine traditions of seeking truth from facts, following the mass line and working hard. Otherwise, these disturbances could become serious obstacles to our modernization programme at its very outset. The Central Committee has now decided to set up a Financial and Economic Commission, headed by Comrades Chen Yun⁸² and Li Xiannian,⁸³ which will give unified direction to financial and economic work and to the current readjustment. The Central Committee, the State Council and the leading bodies in various localities have taken, and will continue to take, measures to strengthen public order, consolidate socialist legality and ensure stability and unity while resolutely promoting democracy. Discipline inspection commissions have been established by the Central Committee and local organizations of the Party. Their main task is to help the Central Committee and the local Party committees to improve their style of work. We have full confidence in our ability to surmount the temporary obstacles to our advance and to lead the Party and people to victory in our modernization drive.

What is our main task at present and for a fairly long time to come? To put it briefly, it is to carry out the modernization programme. The destiny of our country and people hinges on its success. Given our present conditions, it will be precisely by succeeding in the four modernizations that we will be adhering to Marxism and holding high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought. And if we fail to proceed from this reality and to concentrate on the four modernizations, it will mean that we are departing from Marxism while indulging in empty talk about it. At the present time, socialist modernization is of supreme political importance for us, because it represents the most fundamental interest of our people. Today every member of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League and every patriotic citizen must devote all his energies to the modernization drive and do all he can to overcome every difficulty under the unified leadership of the Party and government.

II. THE NECESSITY OF UPHOLDING THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES IN THE DRIVE FOR THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

To achieve the four modernizations and make China a powerful socialist country before the end of this century will be a gigantic task.

In our democratic revolution, we had to act in accordance with China's

specific situation and follow the path discovered by Comrade Mao Zedong of encircling the cities from the rural areas. Now, in our national construction, we must likewise act in accordance with our own situation and find a Chinese path to modernization.

At least two important features of our situation must be taken into account in order to carry out the four modernizations in China.

First, we are starting from a weak base. The damage inflicted over a long period by the forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism reduced China to a state of poverty and backwardness. However, since the founding of the People's Republic we have achieved signal successes in economic construction, established a fairly comprehensive industrial system and trained a body of technical personnel. From Liberation to last year, the average annual rate of growth in our industry and agriculture was fairly high by world standards. Nonetheless, because of our low starting point, China is still one of the world's poor countries. Our scientific and technological forces are far from adequate. Generally speaking, we are 20 to 30 years behind the advanced countries in the development of science and technology. In the past three decades our economy has gone through two reversals. The havoc wrought by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four in the decade 1966-76 has had particularly grave consequences. Our present readjustment is aimed precisely at eliminating those consequences.

Second, we have a large population but not enough arable land. Of China's population of more than 900 million, 80 per cent are peasants. While there are advantages to having a large population, there are disadvantages as well. When production is insufficiently developed, it poses serious problems with regard to food, education and employment. We must greatly increase our efforts in family planning; but even if the population does not grow for a number of years, we will still have a population problem for a certain period. Our vast territory and rich natural resources are big assets. But many of these resources have not yet been surveyed and exploited, so they do not constitute actual means of production. Despite China's vast territory, the amount of arable land is limited, and neither this fact nor the fact that we have a large, mostly peasant population can be easily changed. This is a distinctive characteristic which we must take into account in carrying out our modernization programme.

To accomplish modernization of a Chinese type, we must proceed from China's special characteristics. For example, modern production requires only a small number of people, while our population is enormous. How shall we reconcile these two facts? Unless we take all factors into account, we shall be faced for a long time with the social problem of insufficient employment.

There are many problems in this connection which Party comrades doing practical and theoretical work must study together. We can surely find ways of solving these problems. But I am not going to discuss them today.

What I want to talk about now is ideological and political questions. The Central Committee maintains that, to carry out China's four modernizations, we must uphold the Four Cardinal Principles ideologically and politically. This is the basic prerequisite for achieving modernization. The four principles are:

1. We must keep to the socialist road.
2. We must uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. We must uphold the leadership of the Communist Party.
4. We must uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

As we all know, far from being new, these Four Cardinal Principles have long been upheld by our Party. The Central Committee has been adhering to these principles in all its guidelines and policies adopted since the smashing of the Gang of Four, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee.

We have criticized, on both a theoretical and a practical level, the phoney, ultra-Left socialism pushed by the Gang of Four, which boils down to universal poverty. We have always followed the principles of socialist public ownership and distribution according to work. We have always followed the policy of developing socialist economic construction mainly through self-reliance—supplemented by foreign aid—and through the study and acquisition of advanced technology from abroad. We have tried to act in accordance with objective economic laws. In other words, we have adhered to scientific socialism.

We have smashed the feudal fascism of the Gang of Four, redressed many injustices, solved many problems left over from the past, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restored and extended socialist democracy. And particularly since the Third Plenary Session, we have created a lively political situation of the type Comrade Mao Zedong had long looked forward to in his lifetime.

We have restored the three major features of the Party's style of work,⁶⁵ which had been trampled upon, improved the system of democratic centralism in the Party, and reinforced unity throughout the Party and between the Party and the masses. All this has enormously enhanced the Party's prestige and strengthened its leadership of the state and society.

We have broken the mental shackles forged by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and have insisted that leaders should be regarded as human beings, not demigods. We have always tried to understand Marxism-Leninism and

Mao Zedong Thought correctly and as an integral, scientific system, and have always proceeded from reality and sought truth from facts. In other words, we have restored the original features of Mao Zedong Thought and defended the eminence of Comrade Mao Zedong as a great figure in the history of the Chinese revolution and of world revolution.

Nevertheless, the Central Committee believes that today there is still a tremendous need to stress propaganda on the four cardinal principles. This need continues because some Party comrades have not yet freed themselves from the evil influence of the ultra-Left ideology of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. A handful have gone so far as to spread rumours and calumnies, attacking the principles and policies adopted by the Central Committee since the toppling of the Gang of Four and particularly since the Third Plenary Session as running counter to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It is necessary to continue emphasizing the Four Cardinal Principles also because a handful of people in society at large are spreading ideas which are against them or at least cast doubt on them, and because individual Party comrades, instead of recognizing the danger of such ideas, have given them a certain degree of direct or indirect support. Although the number of such persons both inside and outside the Party is very small, we must not overlook their impact on that account. Facts show that they can do great damage to our cause and that they have already done so. Therefore, it is not enough for us to keep on resolutely eliminating the pernicious influence of the Gang of Four, helping those comrades who have been misled by it to come to their senses, and rebutting the reactionary statements of those who slander the Central Committee. While continuing to do all these things, we must also struggle unremittingly against currents of thought which throw doubt on the Four Cardinal Principles. Both the ultra-Left and Right currents of thought run counter to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and obstruct our advance towards modernization. We have conducted massive criticism of the ultra-Left thinking spread by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four (there is no question that this thinking too is in opposition to the four cardinal principles, only it is opposition from the “Left”), and we will go on criticizing it relentlessly. But what I want to emphasize now is criticism of a trend of thought which is sceptical of, or opposed to, our Four Cardinal Principles, but which comes from the Right.

First, we must keep to the socialist road. Some people are now openly saying that socialism is inferior to capitalism. We must demolish this contention. In the first place, socialism and socialism alone can save China — this is the unshakable historical conclusion that the Chinese people have drawn from their own experience in the 60 years since the May 4th

Movement [1919]. Deviate from socialism and China will inevitably retrogress to semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism. The overwhelming majority of the Chinese people will never allow such a retrogression. In the second place, although it is a fact that socialist China lags behind the developed capitalist countries in its economy, technology and culture, this is not due to the socialist system but basically to China's historical development before Liberation; it is the result of imperialism and feudalism. The socialist revolution has greatly narrowed the gap in economic development between China and the advanced capitalist countries. Despite our errors, in the past three decades we have made progress on a scale which old China could not achieve in hundreds or even thousands of years. Our economy has attained a fairly high rate of growth. Now that we have summed up experience and corrected errors, it will undoubtedly develop more rapidly than the economy of any capitalist country, and the development will be steady and sustained. Of course, it will take a considerable period of time for the value of our national output per capita to catch up with and surpass that of the developed capitalist countries. In the third place, let's ask: Which is better, the socialist system or the capitalist system? Of course the socialist system is better. In certain circumstances, a socialist country may make serious errors, and even experience such major setbacks as the havoc created by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. Naturally, this has its subjective causes, but basically it is due to influences inherited from the old society with its long history, influences that cannot be swept away overnight. Capitalist countries with a long feudal history—such as Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Italy—all experienced major setbacks and reversals at different times (counter-revolutionary restorations occurred in Britain and France while Germany, Japan and Italy had periods of fascist rule). But relying on the socialist system and our own strength, we toppled Lin Biao and the Gang of Four without too much difficulty and quickly set our country back on the road to stability, unity and healthy development. The socialist economy is based on public ownership, and socialist production is designed to meet the material and cultural needs of the people to the maximum extent possible—not to exploit them. These characteristics of the socialist system make it possible for the people of our country to share common political, economic and social ideals and moral standards. All this can never happen in a capitalist society. There is no way by which capitalism can ever eliminate the extraction of super-profits by its millionaires or ever get rid of exploitation, plundering and economic crises. It can never generate common ideals and moral standards or free itself from appalling crimes, moral degradation and despair. On the other hand, capitalism already has a history of several hundred years, and we have to

learn from the peoples of the capitalist countries. We must make use of the science and technology they have developed and of those elements in their accumulated knowledge and experience which can be adapted to our use. While we will import advanced technology and other things useful to us from the capitalist countries—selectively and according to plan—we will never learn from or import the capitalist system itself, nor anything repellent or decadent. If the developed capitalist countries were to rid themselves of the capitalist system, their economy and culture would certainly make greater progress. That is why the progressive political forces in the capitalist countries are trying to study and propagate socialism and are fighting to eliminate the injustices and irrational phenomena endemic in capitalist society and to carry out socialist revolution. We should introduce to our people, and particularly to our youth, whatever is progressive and useful in the capitalist countries, and we should criticize whatever is reactionary and decadent.

Second, we must uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have conducted a lot of propaganda explaining that the dictatorship of the proletariat means socialist democracy for the people, democracy enjoyed by the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people, the broadest democracy that has ever existed in history. In the past, we did not practise democracy enough and we made mistakes. Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, while boosting their so-called “all-round dictatorship”, exercised a feudal fascist dictatorship over the people. We have smashed this dictatorship, which had nothing in common with the dictatorship of the proletariat but was its diametric opposite. Now we have corrected the past mistakes and adopted many measures to constantly expand democracy in the Party and among the people. Without democracy there can be no socialism and no socialist modernization. Of course, democratization, like modernization, must advance step by step. The more socialism develops, the more must democracy develop. This is beyond all doubt. However, the development of socialist democracy in no way means that we can dispense with the proletarian dictatorship over forces hostile to socialism. We are opposed to broadening the scope of class struggle. We do not believe that there is a bourgeoisie within the Party, nor do we believe that under the socialist system a bourgeoisie or any other exploiting class will re-emerge after exploiting classes and the conditions of exploitation have really been eliminated. But we must recognize that in our socialist society there are still counter-revolutionaries, enemy agents, criminals and other bad elements of all kinds who undermine socialist public order, as well as new exploiters who engage in corruption, embezzlement, speculation and profiteering. And we must also recognize that

such phenomena cannot be all eliminated for a long time to come. The struggle against these individuals is different from the struggle of one class against another, which occurred in the past (these individuals cannot form a cohesive and overt class). However, it is still a special form of class struggle or a special form of the leftover, under socialist conditions, of the class struggles of past history. It is still necessary to exercise dictatorship over all these anti-socialist elements, and socialist democracy is impossible without it. This dictatorship is an internal struggle and in some cases an international struggle as well; in fact, the two aspects are inseparable. Therefore, so long as class struggle exists and so long as imperialism and hegemonism exist, it is inconceivable that the dictatorial function of the state should wither away, that the standing army, public security organs, courts and prisons should wither away. Their existence is not in contradiction with the democratization of the socialist state, for their correct and effective work ensures, rather than hampers, such democratization. The fact of the matter is that socialism cannot be defended or built up without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Third, we must uphold the leadership of the Communist Party. Since the inception of the international communist movement, it has been demonstrated that its survival is impossible without the political parties of the proletariat. Moreover, since the October Revolution it has been clear that without the leadership of a Communist Party, the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction would all be impossible. Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society.... Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully."⁸⁴ This truth enunciated by Lenin remains valid today. In our country, in the 60 years since the May 4th Movement, no political party other than the Communist Party of China has integrated itself with the masses of the working people in the way described by Lenin. Without the Chinese Communist Party there would be no socialist new China. The misdeeds of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four aroused the resolute opposition of the whole Chinese people as well as of the whole Party precisely because Lin Biao and the Gang cast aside the Chinese Communist Party, the long-tested leading force that maintains flesh-and-blood ties with the masses. And if the Party's prestige among the people throughout the country has been enhanced since the downfall of the Gang of Four, and particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh

Central Committee, it is precisely because the entire nation pins all its hopes for the future on leadership by the Party. Although the mass movement of 1976 that culminated in the incident at Tiananmen Square where the people gathered to mourn Premier Zhou Enlai³⁵ was not led by the Party organizationally, it staunchly supported the Party's leadership and opposed the Gang of Four. The revolutionary consciousness of the masses in that movement was inseparable from the education given by the Party over the years, and it was precisely members of the Party and the Communist Youth League who were the principal activists among them. Hence we must on no account consider the mass movement at Tiananmen Square to have been a purely spontaneous one like the May 4th Movement, which had no connection with Party leadership. In reality, without the Chinese Communist Party, who would organize the socialist economy, politics, military affairs and culture of China, and who would organize the four modernizations? In the China of today we can never dispense with leadership by the Party and extol the spontaneity of the masses. Party leadership, of course, is not infallible, and the problem of how the Party can maintain close links with the masses and exercise correct and effective leadership is still one that we must seriously study and try to solve. But this can never be made a pretext for demanding the weakening or liquidation of the Party's leadership. Our Party has made many errors, but each time the errors were corrected by relying on the Party organization, not by discarding it. The present Central Committee is persistent in promoting democracy in the Party and among the people and is determined to correct past errors. Under these circumstances, it would be all the more intolerable to the masses of our people to demand the liquidation or even the weakening of leadership by the Party. In fact, bowing to this demand would only lead to anarchism and the disruption and ruin of the socialist cause. Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, as they put it, kicked aside the Party committees to "make revolution", and it is clear to all what kind of revolution they made. If today we tried to achieve democracy by kicking aside the Party committees, isn't it equally clear what kind of democracy we would produce? In 1966 the Chinese economy, having gone through a few years of readjustment, was in a position to develop rapidly. But Lin Biao and the Gang of Four did it grave damage. Only now, under the leadership of the Central Committee and of the State Council, has our economy returned to the road of sound growth. If a handful of people are again allowed to kick aside the Party committees and make trouble, the four modernizations will vanish into thin air. This is not an exaggerated statement I am making to scare people; it is the objective truth corroborated by a wealth of facts.

Fourth, we must uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

One of the key points of our struggle against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four was opposition to their falsification, doctoring and fragmenting of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Since the smashing of the Gang, we have restored the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and have guided ourselves by them. This is a resounding victory for the whole Party and people. But a few individuals think otherwise. Either they openly oppose the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, or else they uphold Marxism-Leninism in word only while in deed opposing Mao Zedong Thought, which represents the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. We must oppose these erroneous trends of thought. Some comrades say that we should uphold “correct Mao Zedong Thought”, but not “erroneous Mao Zedong Thought”. This kind of statement is also wrong. What we consistently take as our guide to action are the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought or, to put it another way, the scientific system formed by these tenets. When it comes to individual theses, neither Marx and Lenin nor Comrade Mao could be immune from misjudgements of one sort or another. But these do not belong to the scientific system formed by the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Now I want to talk at some length about Mao Zedong Thought. China’s anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution went through innumerable cruel defeats. Was it not Mao Zedong Thought which enabled the Chinese people — about a quarter of the world’s population—to find the correct road for their revolution, achieve nationwide liberation in 1949, and basically accomplish socialist transformation by 1956? This succession of splendid victories changed not only China’s destiny but the world situation as well. From the international point of view, Mao Zedong Thought is inseparably linked with the struggle against hegemonism; and the practice of hegemonism under the banner of socialism is a most obvious betrayal of socialist principles on the part of a Marxist-Leninist party after it has come to power. As I have already mentioned, in the evening of his life Comrade Mao Zedong formulated the strategy of differentiating the three worlds and personally ushered in a new stage in Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations. By so doing he created new conditions for the development of the worldwide struggle against hegemonism and for the future of world politics. While conducting our modernization programme in the present international environment, we cannot help recalling Comrade Mao’s contributions. Comrade Mao, like any other man, had his defects and made errors. But how can these errors in his illustrious life be put on a par with his immortal contributions to the people? In analysing his defects and errors, we certainly should recognize his personal

responsibility, but what is more important is to analyse their complicated historical background. That is the only just and scientific—that is, Marxist — way to assess history and historical figures. Anyone who departs from Marxism on so serious a question will be censured by the Party and the masses. Isn't that natural?

Mao Zedong Thought has been the banner of the Chinese revolution. It is and always will be the banner of China's socialist cause and of the anti-hegemonist cause. In our forward march we will always hold the banner of Mao Zedong Thought high.

The cause and the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong are not his alone: they are likewise those of his comrades-in-arms, the Party and the people. His thought is the crystallization of the experience of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle over half a century. The case of Karl Marx was similar. In his estimation of Marx, Frederick Engels said that it was only thanks to Marx that the contemporary proletariat became conscious for the first time of its own position and demands and of the conditions necessary for its own liberation. Does this mean that history is made by any one individual? History is made by the people, but this does not preclude the people from respecting an outstanding individual. Of course, this respect must not turn into blind worship. No man should be looked upon as a demigod.

To sum up, in order to achieve the four modernizations we must keep to the socialist road, uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the leadership of the Communist Party, and uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The Central Committee considers that we must now repeatedly emphasize the necessity of upholding these Four Cardinal Principles, because certain people (even if only a handful) are attempting to undermine them. In no way can such attempts be tolerated. No Party member and, needless to say, no Party ideological or theoretical worker, must ever waver in the slightest on this basic stand. To undermine any of the Four Cardinal Principles is to undermine the whole cause of socialism in China, the whole cause of modernization.

Is the Central Committee making a mountain out of a molehill when it takes this view of the matter? No, it is not. In the light of current developments the Party has no choice.

In the recent period a small number of persons have provoked incidents in some places. Instead of accepting the guidance, advice, and explanations of leading officials of the Party and government, certain bad elements have raised sundry demands that cannot be met at present or are altogether unreasonable. They have provoked or tricked some of the masses into raiding Party and government organizations, occupying offices, holding sit-down

and hunger strikes and obstructing traffic, thereby seriously disrupting production, other work and public order.

Moreover, they have raised such sensational slogans as “Oppose hunger” and “Give us human rights”, inciting people to hold demonstrations and deliberately trying to get foreigners to give worldwide publicity to their words and deeds. There is a so-called China Human Rights Group which has gone so far as to put up big-character posters requesting the President of the United States to “show concern” for human rights in China. Can we permit such an open call for intervention in China’s internal affairs? There is also a so-called Thaw Society which has issued a declaration openly opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat on the ground that it “divides mankind”. Can we tolerate this kind of freedom of speech which flagrantly contravenes the principles of our Constitution?

In Shanghai there is a so-called Democracy Forum. Some of its members have slandered Comrade Mao Zedong and put up big counter-revolutionary posters proclaiming that “proletarian dictatorship is the source of all evils” and that it is necessary to “resolutely and thoroughly criticize the Communist Party of China”. They allege that capitalism is better than socialism and that, therefore, instead of carrying out the four modernizations China should introduce what they call “social reform”, by which they mean that it should turn to capitalism. They publicly declare that their task is to settle accounts with those whom the Gang of Four called the capitalist roaders but whom it had failed to deal with. Some of them have asked to go abroad to seek political asylum, and some have even made clandestine contact with the Kuomintang secret service, plotting sabotage.

It is obvious that these people are out to use any and all means to disrupt our effort to shift the focus of our work to the achievement of modernization. If we ignored these grave problems, our Party and government organs at various levels would be so harassed that they would find it impossible to function. How, then, could we concentrate on the four modernizations?

It is true that there are very few such incidents and that the overwhelming majority of our people disapprove of them. Nevertheless, they merit our serious attention. First, these trouble-makers generally say they speak in the name of democracy, a claim by which people are easily misled. Second, taking advantage of social problems left over from the time when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four held sway, they may deceive some people who have difficulties which the government cannot help to clear up at the moment. Third, the trouble-makers have begun to form all kinds of secret or semi-secret organizations which seek to establish contact with each other on a nationwide scale and at the same time to collaborate with political forces in

Taiwan and abroad. Fourth, some of these people work hand in glove with gangster organizations and followers of the Gang of Four, trying to expand the scope of their sabotage. Fifth, they do all they can to use as a pretext — or as a shield—indiscreet statements of one sort or another made by some of our comrades. All this shows that the struggle against these individuals is no simple matter that can be settled quickly. We must strive to clearly distinguish between people (many of them innocent young people) and the counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have hoodwinked them, and whom we must deal with sternly and according to law. At the same time, we must educate comrades throughout the Party about the necessity of sharpening their vigilance, bearing in mind the interests of the country as a whole and uniting as one under the leadership of the Central Committee. We must encourage them to continue the emancipation of their minds and consistently promote democracy so that they can mobilize all positive forces while at the same time endeavouring to clear up the ideological confusion among a small section of the people, especially young people.

We must make a special effort to explain the question of democracy clearly to the people, and to our youth in particular. The socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought—all these are tied up with democracy. What kind of democracy do the Chinese people need today? It can only be socialist democracy, people's democracy, and not bourgeois democracy, individualist democracy. People's democracy is inseparable from dictatorship over the enemy and from centralism based on democracy. We practise democratic centralism, which is the integration of centralism based on democracy with democracy under the guidance of centralism. Democratic centralism is an integral part of the socialist system. Under this system, personal interests must be subordinated to collective ones, the interests of the part to those of the whole, and immediate to long-term interests. In other words, limited interests must be subordinated to overall interests, and minor interests to major ones. Our advocacy and practice of these principles in no way means that we can ignore personal, local or immediate interests. In the final analysis, under the socialist system there is a unity of personal interests and collective interests, of the interests of the part and those of the whole, and of immediate and long-term interests. We must adjust the relations between these various types of interests in accordance with the principle of taking them all into proper consideration. Were we to do the opposite and pursue personal, local or immediate interests at the expense of the others, both sets of interests would inevitably suffer. In the final analysis, the relations between democracy and centralism and between rights and duties

are the political and legal expressions of the relations between these diverse interests. This is precisely why Comrade Mao Zedong said that 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. That is the political situation which exists when there is true socialist democracy—the situation we must strive to create today and in the years to come.

We have not propagated and practised democracy enough, and our systems and institutions leave much to be desired. The constant promotion of democracy is therefore a firm, long-term Party objective. However, while propagating democracy, we must strictly distinguish between socialist democracy on the one hand and bourgeois, individualist democracy on the other. We must link democracy for the people with dictatorship over the enemy, and with centralism, legality, discipline and the leadership by the Communist Party. At present when we are confronted with manifold difficulties in our economic life which can be overcome only by a series of readjustments and by consolidation and reorganization, it is particularly necessary to stress publicly the importance of subordinating personal interests to collective ones, interests of the part to those of the whole, and immediate to long-term interests. Only when everyone—whether inside or outside the Party, in a leading position or among the rank and file—is concerned for the overall interests shall we be able to overcome our difficulties and ensure a bright future for the four modernizations. Conversely, departure from the four cardinal principles and talk about democracy in the abstract will inevitably lead to the unchecked spread of ultra-democracy and anarchism, to the complete disruption of political stability and unity, and to the total failure of our modernization programme. If this happens, the decade of struggle against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four will have been in vain, China will once again be plunged into chaos, division, retrogression and darkness, and the Chinese people will be deprived of all hope. This is a matter of deep concern not only for the Chinese people of whatever nationality but also for all people abroad who wish to see China strong, and even for those who merely wish to expand trade with China.

Here I would like to raise the question of standards of social conduct. Thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and government, these standards were quite sound in our country for a decade or more after the founding of the People's Republic. Most of the young people who grew up under the Party's education had high ideals, ardently loved the socialist motherland, responded actively to the calls of the Party and government, defended the people's interests, helped safeguard public order, and generally

displayed a fine spirit of dedication and discipline. This type of conduct on the part of young people had a good influence on the conduct of other members of society, and vice versa. And this won the praise of foreigners as well as of our own people. However, in the decade of the “cultural revolution”, Lin Biao and the Gang of Four plunged our Party, government and society into chaos, poisoned the minds of many young people and did grave damage to socialist moral standards. The situation has improved considerably since the downfall of the Gang of Four, but we must not underestimate the residue of their pernicious influence in certain spheres. The present state of affairs is entirely incompatible with the requirements of the shift of focus in the Party’s work. We encourage normal contact between Chinese and foreigners, because it is essential to the growth of understanding and friendship between our people and other peoples and to the acquisition of foreign technology and funds. There will be a vast increase in such contact in the future. However, some unhealthy phenomena have emerged among a small number of young people, because we have not adequately educated or guided them. Some young men and women blindly admire the capitalist countries, and some even show a blatant disregard for both national and personal dignity in their contact with foreigners. This is a matter requiring our serious attention. It is imperative that we educate our younger generation, take effective measures in all spheres to raise the standards of social conduct and deal sternly with offensive behaviour which seriously lowers them.

To raise the standards of social conduct, we must first of all improve the Party’s work style, and in particular this requires that leading Party comrades at all levels set a good example. The Party is a model for our entire society, and the leading Party comrades at all levels are models for our entire Party. If the Party organization ignores the views and interests of the masses, how can it expect to win their trust and their support for its leadership? If leading cadres in the Party do not set strict standards for themselves and observe Party discipline and the laws of the state, how can they be expected to help reform the standards of social conduct? How can they do so if, in violation of Party principles, they engage in factionalism, use their positions to obtain personal privileges, seize advantages through connections or influence, indulge in extravagance and waste, and seek personal gain at the expense of the public interest? How can they do so if they fail to share the joys and sorrows of the masses, refuse to be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, disobey the decisions of the Party organization and reject supervision by the masses or even retaliate against those who criticize them? In the present period of historical change, when problems have piled up and a thousand things wait to be done, it is crucial for us to strengthen the

leadership of the Party and correct its work style. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Once our Party's style of work is put completely right, the people all over the country will learn from our example. Those outside the Party who have the same kind of bad style will, if they are good and honest people, learn from our example and correct their mistakes, and thus the whole nation will be influenced."⁸⁵ Only if we improve the Party's style of work can the standards of social conduct be improved and the Four Cardinal Principles be upheld.

Is anything I have said here out of keeping with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee? No, everything I have said relates to measures that must be taken to carry out the principles and policies laid down at that session. Let me repeat: If we fail to adopt these measures, these principles and policies will come to naught. So will our effort to shift the focus of our work, so will our modernization programme, and so will the promotion of democracy inside and outside the Party. Therefore, it is entirely wrong to say, as some have said, that the Central Committee has decided on a "tightening up" policy, or that it has changed its policy of promoting democracy. Only by upholding the Four Cardinal Principles to which our Party has always adhered, and by firmly correcting the unhealthy tendencies which hamper the implementation of the principles and policies set forth at the Third Plenary Session can we advance steadfastly and victoriously towards our great objective.

III. TASKS OF OUR IDEOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL WORKERS

At the forums organized by the Central Committee and the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to discuss the principles for the Party's theoretical work, many questions have been raised. I cannot address them all now. But today I would like to discuss two matters related to the tasks of our ideological and theoretical workers. Since I am not thoroughly familiar with the situation, and particularly with local conditions, I ask you to decide whether what I say is entirely correct or not.

First, about the requirements of our present ideological and theoretical work.

Marxist ideological and theoretical work cannot be divorced from current politics. By politics here I mean the overall situation in the domestic and international class struggle and the fundamental interests of the Chinese

people and the people of the world in current struggles. It is inconceivable that anyone can become a Marxist thinker or theorist if he is divorced from the overall political situation, if he doesn't study it, if he doesn't assess the actual development of the revolutionary struggle. If this is not so, what was the point of our devoting more than six months last year to discussions about practice being the criterion for testing truth? Scientific socialism develops in the course of actual struggle, and so do Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We will not, of course, backtrack from scientific socialism to utopian socialism, nor will we allow Marxism to remain arrested at the level of the particular theses arrived at as long as a century ago. This is why we have often repeated that it is necessary to emancipate our minds, that is, to study new situations and solve new problems by applying the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

What is the most important new problem in the new situation of China today? It is, of course, the realization of the four modernizations, or as I said before, the realization of a Chinese type of modernization. We have said that by studying in depth the new conditions and new problems encountered in realizing the four modernizations, and by working out solutions to those problems—solutions that will serve as guidelines for our action—our ideological and theoretical workers will be making a major contribution to Marxism and a genuine effort to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Of course, this does not imply that we should neglect to make serious in-depth studies of ideological and theoretical problems not directly related to the four modernizations. We must on no account overlook the study of basic theories in philosophy and the social sciences any more than in the natural sciences, because such study is indispensable to major advances in all these spheres.

In the second part of my speech, I talked about the four cardinal principles which we must uphold in order to accomplish the four modernizations. Although, as I said, these principles are nothing new, they have taken on fresh significance in the new situation before us, and so we should make new and convincing expositions of them based on the wealth of new facts. Only in this way can we educate the people of the whole country, including our youth, the workers and all the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, and convince people abroad who look to present-day China for the truth. This is a momentous theoretical and political task, and it certainly cannot be accomplished just by rehashing the same old arguments copied from a book. It is honourable, creative and scientific work which places great demands on our revolutionary theorists. Because of the decade of troubles generated by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, so much ideological

nonsense has been spread for so long that people have lost confidence in many cadres and teachers engaged in political and educational work. This is not the fault of these cadres and teachers. They too are deeply disturbed, as are many parents, old workers and veteran fighters. This is another significant circumstance exploited by the handful of hostile trouble-makers. Our comrades on the ideological and theoretical front must quickly organize their forces and draw up plans to fill the vacuum in the shortest possible time by publishing a series of articles and books, including readers and textbooks, new in content and ideas and presented in fresh language—in other words, works that will carry weight. I suggest that the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee take charge of this task. I also suggest that the authors of really good books and articles be awarded monetary prizes by the Party and government, so that the work in this sphere, which is seemingly routine but actually very demanding, is given due recognition.

Realizing the four modernizations is a many-sided, complex and difficult undertaking. The task of the ideological and theoretical workers cannot be confined to discussion of the basic principles. We are confronted with many questions of economic theory, including both basic theory and theory applied to particular spheres such as industry, agriculture, commerce and management. Lenin called for more talk about economics and less about politics. In my opinion, his words are still applicable with regard to the proportion of effort that should be devoted to theoretical work in these two spheres. I am not saying, of course, that there are no more questions to be studied in the political field. For many years we have neglected the study of political science, law, sociology and world politics, and now we must hurry to make up our deficiencies in these subjects. Most of our ideological and theoretical workers should dig into one or more specialized subjects. All those who can do so should learn foreign languages, so as to be able to read important foreign works on the social sciences without difficulty. We have admitted that we lag behind many countries in our study of the natural sciences. Now we should admit that we also lag behind in our study of the social sciences, insofar as they are comparable in China and abroad. Our level is very low, and for years we haven't even had adequate statistical data in the social sciences, a lack that is naturally a great obstacle to any serious study. So our ideological and theoretical workers must make up their minds to catch up. They must concentrate on specialized fields, carry on investigations and studies of actual situations, familiarize themselves thoroughly with their subjects and guard against empty talk. Empty talk is of no help whatever to our modernization programme. Also, our ideological and theoretical workers should always guard against self-satisfaction, narrow-minded

conservatism and ignorant boasting, failings which Comrade Mao Zedong warned us against. Only by admitting our backwardness can we overcome it. It should be pointed out that the responsibility for our present state of backwardness lies in the first place with the Central Committee and the Party committees at other levels, because they have not used the proper methods in guiding ideological and theoretical work, have set up too many forbidden zones, and have failed to give adequate attention or support to such work. Today, at this meeting, I make this self-criticism on behalf of the Central Committee. From now on, Party committees at all levels, from the Central Committee down, will be required to give the correct orientation to ideological and theoretical work and to recognize its importance. Ours is a big Marxist party. If we don't stress the study of Marxism, if we don't advance Marxism in step with the development of practice, how can we do our other work well? In that case, won't our call to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought be so many empty words?

Second, about my views on some theoretical questions.

A lot of questions have been raised in the discussions among theoretical workers in the last few months. Many of them need continued study. Here I would like to express my views on a few of the more pressing ones.

1. On the basic contradictions of socialist society and the principal contradiction in the current period. In regard to basic contradictions, I think it is still best to put the question the way Comrade Mao Zedong did in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People". He wrote: "In socialist society the basic contradictions are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base."¹⁷⁸ He made a long statement in this connection which I shall not repeat here. Of course, pointing out the basic contradictions does not automatically solve the problem, and deep-going, concrete study is still required. But judging from practice over the past 20 years or so, Comrade Mao's formulation is more accurate than others. As for the question of what is the principal contradiction in the current period—what is the main issue or central task confronting the Party and the people in the current period—actually this question was answered by the decision of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee to shift the focus of our work to socialist modernization. The level of our productive forces is very low and is far from meeting the needs of our people and country. This is the principal contradiction in the current period, and to resolve it is our central task.

2. On class struggle in socialist society. I touched on this question earlier when discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Class struggle exists

objectively in socialist society. It should be neither underestimated nor exaggerated. Otherwise, as practice has shown, we shall make serious mistakes. The problem of whether or not class struggle of one kind or another always exists throughout the entire historical period of socialism involves many complicated and difficult questions both of theory and practice, and they cannot be answered merely by quoting from books by our predecessors. We should continue to study these questions. But, to put it briefly, the class struggle in socialist society at present is, and will continue to be, clearly different from that in historical class societies. This, too, is an objective fact we cannot deny if we want to avoid serious mistakes.

3. On continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice has proved that this formulation is wrong if it is construed—as it was when it was advanced—to mean “seizing power from the capitalist roaders”, or making revolution by kicking aside the Party committees and toppling everything. As for making a new interpretation, that is something we can continue to study within the Party.

4. On whether there can be further discussion of certain formulations involving the line of the Party’s Eleventh Congress.⁵¹ The Party’s line, like its resolutions, should always be tested in practice. This is a principle repeatedly expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong. It should never be said that once a formulation has been adopted by a Party congress, there can be no further discussion of its correctness. If that were so, how could new formulations be put forward at a subsequent Party congress? It often happens that because of a change in the actual situation, the Central Committee has to amend the resolution of one Party congress before the next. Owing to the changes in the actual situation and in our own understanding of it, the line formulated by the Party’s Eleventh Congress underwent necessary readjustment at the successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee, and particularly at the Third Plenary Session. Further readjustments may also be required in the future. This is entirely normal. But according to Party discipline, discussion of formulations involving the line of the Eleventh Congress (except for those on which the Central Committee has made formal decisions) should be confined to appropriate Party meetings.

However, in the study and discussion of ideological and theoretical questions, we must always resolutely follow the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend”, the principle of the “three don’ts” (don’t pick on others for their faults, don’t put labels on people, and don’t use a big stick), and the principle of emancipating our minds, abandoning blind faith and proceeding from reality in everything. All this was decided upon by the Third Plenary Session, and we reaffirm

them here. We cannot allow the slightest deviation from these principles.

Comrades! The current period represents a momentous turning point in the history of our Party and state. The Party has led the Chinese people in surmounting the many difficulties created by the Gang of Four and in transforming a country that had been reduced to chaos into one of order and rapid progress. The magnificent prospect of the accomplishment of the four modernizations is inspiring our Party, army and people, and drawing them forward. Our cadres and masses are vying with one another to contribute to the realization of this bright future. In this period our ideological and theoretical workers have a particularly heavy responsibility. They have scored major successes since the downfall of the Gang of Four and significant achievements since the Third Plenary Session. It would be wrong to underestimate their achievements. However, the situation is developing very rapidly and our work must keep pace with it. I hope that this important meeting will help the Party's ideological and theoretical workers to a better understanding of the current situation and our tasks, of the Party's principles and policies and of their own work. I hope that it will inspire them to rally more closely around the Central Committee, and that they in turn, through their effective work, will inspire the whole people to rally more closely around the Communist Party. Let us work with one heart and one mind to firmly implement the principles of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, to shift the focus of the Party's work and to surmount all difficulties so as to win great victories in China's four modernizations.

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE TASKS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE IN THE NEW PERIOD

June 15, 1979

Fellow Committee Members and Comrades,

The Second Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is now open.

It is convening after the decision by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to shift the focus of the work of our Party and state to socialist modernization. Accordingly, its goal is to further mobilize and unite the people of all nationalities in China and all patriotic forces in our country so as to promote socialist modernization.

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the founding both of the great People's Republic of China and of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. China has now entered a new historical period in which the central task is to achieve the four modernizations. Our revolutionary united front has likewise entered a new historical period in its development.

During these three decades, the class situation in Chinese society has changed fundamentally. The position of our working class has been enormously strengthened, and our peasants have been members of collectives for more than 20 years. The worker-peasant alliance will be further consolidated and developed on the new basis of socialist modernization. Chinese intellectuals, including the overwhelming majority of the old intellectuals from pre-Liberation society, have become part of the working class and now serve the cause of socialism consciously and actively.

Through democratic reform and socialist transformation, all fraternal nationalities in China one after another have long since taken the socialist road, and they have formed a new, socialist type of relationship among themselves—a relationship of unity, fraternity, mutual assistance and

Opening speech at the Second Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

co-operation. China's patriots, whatever their nationality and religion, have made considerable progress along this road. In the course of bringing about the four modernizations, the nationalities will achieve an even greater degree of socialist unanimity and their unity will become stronger and stronger.

The means of production formerly owned by the Chinese capitalist class came under state control long ago, and the payment of a fixed rate of interest⁷⁷ ended 13 years ago. The overwhelming majority of the capitalists with the capacity to work have transformed themselves into working people who earn their own living in our socialist society. Our successful completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is one of the most brilliant victories in the history of socialism in China and indeed in the world. It was won because the Chinese Communist Party led our country's working class in implementing the Marxist policies formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the light of China's specific conditions, and because most members of the capitalist class, especially the progressives among them, played a positive, co-operative role in accepting this transformation. Today, as working people, they are contributing their share to our socialist modernization.

China's democratic parties have a glorious history in the democratic revolution and they also performed notable services during the socialist transformation. This the Chinese people will never forget. Now all these parties have become political alliances of those socialist working people and those patriots supporting socialism with whom these parties are respectively linked. All are political forces that serve socialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The thoughts of our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hong Kong) and Aomen (Macao) and of Chinese nationals overseas turn with longing to the motherland, and their sense of patriotism has grown constantly stronger. They are playing an increasingly important and positive part in the effort to achieve the great goal of reunifying our motherland, in supporting the country's modernization and in strengthening the international struggle against hegemonism.

All these changes demonstrate that China's united front has become a broad alliance of socialist working people and patriots supporting socialism, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The tasks of the united front and of the CPPCC in the new period are to mobilize all positive forces, strive to transform all negative forces into positive ones, and unite with all the forces that can be united so that all can work in harmony to maintain and strengthen political stability and unity in China and make

it a modern, powerful socialist country.

To realize the four modernizations, it is essential to promote socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system. The CPPCC is an important organization for promoting people's democracy and maintaining contacts with people in different walks of life. To achieve China's socialist modernization it continues to be necessary for the participants in the CPPCC to hold consultations and discussions on the nation's general principles, its political life and the social and economic questions related to modernization. It is still necessary for them to exercise supervision over each other and over the enforcement of the Constitution and law. We must give scope to the free airing of views and make full use of all talents. We must uphold the principle of the "three don'ts": don't pick on others for their faults, don't put labels on people, and don't use a big stick. And we must encourage the full expression of opinions, demands, criticisms and suggestions from all quarters, so that the government can benefit from them, promptly discover and correct its own shortcomings and mistakes and push forward all phases of our work.

To achieve the four modernizations, it is essential that we strengthen the ideological and political education of the whole people, while maintaining the proletarian dictatorship over the handful of anti-socialist elements. The CPPCC will undoubtedly continue to perform a very useful role in this work. The united front and the CPPCC should carry forward the tradition of self-education and self-remoulding, continue ideological remoulding in accordance with the formula "unity—criticism—unity",¹⁷⁰ and help the masses and prominent individuals in various spheres to constantly strengthen unity and make new progress on the common basis of service to socialism.

The current situation, both international and domestic, is very favourable to the great cause of the reunification of our country. The Chinese Government has clearly proclaimed the general principles concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland. The CPPCC should take an active part in promoting the patriotic united front and working for Taiwan's early return, so as to accomplish national reunification. At the same time, it should actively expand people-to-people diplomacy, promote amicable exchanges with foreign friends and make its contribution to the growth of the international united front against aggression and expansionism.

In this new historical period, the CPPCC has a glorious task to fulfil, and it can do a great deal in its capacity as a united front organization. Let us unite under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought

and, led by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, march forward along the socialist road towards the magnificent goal of the four modernizations.

May this session enjoy complete success!

NEITHER DEMOCRACY NOR THE LEGAL SYSTEM SHOULD BE WEAKENED

June 28, 1979

We must strengthen both democracy and the legal system because they have been ineffective. In order to strengthen our democracy, we have to improve our legal system. Nothing can be accomplished without an extensive democracy and a sound legal system. We have suffered a great deal from disorder and turmoil. Not long ago some leading administrative organs in Shanghai were violated, and this type of offence cannot be allowed to happen again. In fact, it reflected an ideological system which urges beating, smashing, looting and violence, as was advocated by the Gang of Four.

We really have had no laws and no legal system to follow for many years now. At this session of the National People's Congress, we formulated seven laws. Some of these laws contained articles which revised the Constitution. For example, we restored our former administrative structure by disbanding the revolutionary committees.⁸⁶ This was a necessary precondition for creating a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness. If we do not establish such a political situation, the four modernizations cannot be realized. Following this session, we shall formulate a series of laws. We lack many necessary civil laws. We also need to enact many laws governing economic development, such as those pertaining to factories. The laws that we have made are too few. We need about one hundred of laws which we do not presently have. Therefore, we have much work to do and this is just the beginning. We must promote our democracy and our legal system. They are like a person's two hands; if either one is weak, the person will not be able to accomplish anything.

Excerpt from a talk with the eighth delegation for visiting China of the Komei Party of Japan headed by Yoshikatsu Takeiri, the Chairman of the Party's Central Executive Committee.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL LINE GUARANTEES THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINES

July 29, 1979

Taking the country as a whole and considering the major issues, we can say that the debate over the thesis that practice—as opposed to the “two whatevers”¹⁸—is the sole criterion for testing truth has pretty definitely settled the question of what our ideological line should be. It has restored and developed the ideological line advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, that is, to seek truth from facts, to integrate theory with practice and to proceed from reality in everything. This is very important. The article on the criterion of truth in the daily *Guangming Ribao*⁸⁷ had immediate and strong repercussions. When some people said that its author was “chopping down the banner” [of Mao Zedong Thought], my interest and attention were further aroused. Lin Biao¹ was the first to cause confusion about our Party’s ideological line. The *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* which he launched vulgarized and fragmented Mao Zedong Thought instead of helping people to study and apply it correctly and as an integral whole in considering problems, raising them for discussion and solving them. I disapprove of the “two whatevers” because they don’t represent Marxism-Leninism or Mao Zedong Thought. That is why I proposed that Mao Zedong Thought should be studied correctly and as an integral whole and later elaborated on how this should be done. At the outset, quite a few people opposed the view that practice is the only criterion for testing truth, but now it is gradually being accepted by most of the cadres and masses throughout the country. The debate is still going on, and it is highly significant that the Navy is beginning to pay more attention to the question. The discussion on the criterion of truth is a fundamental one, for it is impossible to establish a correct political line—let alone carry it out—unless we clarify our ideological line and

Talk to comrades attending an enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the Chinese Communist Party committee of the Navy.

emancipate people's minds. Our political line is to achieve the socialist modernization of our country. The Gang of Four came up with the idea, rather an impoverished socialism than a rich capitalism. But socialism cannot endure if it remains poor. If we want to uphold Marxism and socialism in the international class struggle, we have to demonstrate that the Marxist system of thought is superior to all others, and that the socialist system is superior to the capitalist. Without emancipating our minds, seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice, it would have been impossible for us to work out our present set of general and specific policies and thus arouse the people's enthusiasm; and we could not possibly succeed in modernizing and in demonstrating the superiority of our socialist system. Yesterday some comrades from Shandong Province said that in one of their counties which used to be very backward, the people have overcome their long-standing difficulties and made notable progress by emancipating their minds and developing production in accordance with local conditions. Our ideological line is important because it serves as the basis for working out our political line. Whether a correct political line can be implemented depends primarily on whether we have a correct ideological line. Therefore, we should not belittle the importance of the discussion about practice being the sole criterion for testing truth. This discussion is of tremendous significance, for the essential question it involves is whether or not we shall adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Despite the fact that some people still have reservations, the Party's ideological line and political line have been established. What question remains to be settled, then? The extremely important question of organizational line. Once a political line has been set, it has to be concretely implemented by people, and the results will vary depending on who does the implementing, those who are in favour, those who are against, or the middle-of-the-roaders. This raises the question of what kind of people should be our successors.

Since the overthrow of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, and especially in the past year, we have made remedies with regard to cases in which the charges were false or which were dealt with unjustly or incorrectly. Many veteran cadres have returned to their previous posts or to similar ones. All this was necessary. But now the average age of members of our leading bodies is too high and their level of energy is too low. That is true in the army as well. The task that now faces the veteran comrades is to select healthy young people to take over from us. We should try to solve this problem while we are still around, because it will be hard for others to do so after we've left the scene. We are pretty clear now about the thinking and political stand of

different people and we can tell who supports the Party's line, has strong Party spirit and steers clear of factionalism. Party spirit includes keeping in contact with the masses, working hard and living simply, and seeking truth from facts. We have several criteria for selecting cadres, but two of them are most important. One is support for the political and ideological lines established by the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee, and the other is strength of Party spirit and avoidance of factionalism.

We must take note of the fact that a fair number of people are still opposed to the Party's current political and ideological lines. The system of ideas they cling to is, generally speaking, that of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, according to which the present policies of the Central Committee are retrograde and Right opportunist. On the pretext of supporting Comrade Mao Zedong, they are following the principle of the "two whatevers". In fact, they are merely peddling the old stock in trade of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four in new guise. Most of them were promoted during the "cultural revolution" and they have their own vested interests. They yearn for the past, because the present policies do not yield much advantage to them. Through effort on our part, some of them may change their attitude, but perhaps not all can do so. If we entrust power to those who have not changed, how can we expect them to listen to the Party? They'll stir up trouble whenever there's a chance. When I took charge of the work of the Central Committee in 1975, Wang Hongwen⁴² said, "Let's wait and see how things stand 10 years from now!" Some people still take that wait-and-see attitude. We mustn't be so naive as to underestimate the influence of Lin Biao and the Gang. We must take the long view and select competent successors for our cause while we are still around. We should enlist those comrades who have given a good account of themselves, give them a few years of training and personally watch them mature, and if we find we've chosen the wrong people we can still change them for others. The biggest, most difficult and most pressing problem in our organizational line is to select the proper successors. Of course, the organizational line also involves other problems, such as how to reduce overstaffing and establish a retirement system. The temple isn't big enough for too many deities. Clearly, unless the old withdraw, there will be no room for the young. So the veteran comrades should deliberately make way. We should have an overall point of view and subordinate minor interests to major ones. We shouldn't get upset when our concrete personal interests are affected. A retirement system will be worked out. But what is most important is to select and train our successors. In some places, because the leading bodies are still wedded to seniority, they do not give full play to the ability of newly

recruited young members. We have a lot of talented people. The key thing is to emancipate our minds and break away from convention. If we boldly promote these younger people and give them a free hand at their new posts, within one or two years they'll be able to handle things. I have often reminded people that during our advance into southwestern China in the War of Liberation [1946-49], when there weren't enough local cadres some of our platoon leaders, company political instructors and battalion and regimental cadres had to serve as secretaries of county Party committees. Tempered through several years of work, those platoon and company cadres (all of whom were good to begin with, of course) became as competent as those of battalion and regimental rank, and they made very good county secretaries.

A correct organizational line guarantees that a political line will be put into effect. The organizational line is now on our agenda. We'll be ashamed to go to face Marx if we fail to solve this problem well. It is a comparatively easy one to solve while veteran comrades are still around. But there will be total chaos if it remains unsolved when we have gone. Don't think that there can be no more chaos in China: those who belong to the factional systems of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four are deaf to the Party's directives and would like nothing better than nationwide confusion. We must guarantee China's stability and the realization of the four modernizations by following the correct organizational line and by choosing successors who truly uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and have strong Party spirit.

SOME COMMENTS ON ECONOMIC WORK

October 4, 1979

At this forum we shall mainly discuss economic work. I should like to air some ideas on current and future economic work.

1. Economic work is a political task of prime importance and the economic question is an overriding political question. I think that we must concentrate on economic work for a long time to come.

By the political task, we are referring to the four modernizations. We used to have the ambitious goal of realizing the four modernizations by the end of the century. Later we changed the goal the “Chinese-style” modernizations, intending to lower the standard a little. We did this because our per capita GNP will not actually grow very high. According to statistics from Australia, the per capita GNP in the United States was more than US \$8,700 in 1977, ranking fifth place in the world. That of Kuwait was more than \$11,000, ranking first place; that of Switzerland was \$10,000, ranking second place; that of Sweden was more than \$9,400, ranking third place; and that of Norway was more than \$8,800, ranking fourth place. Will China’s per capita GNP reach \$1,000 by the end of the century? Not long ago, I said that when our per capita GNP reached that figure we will be in a much better position and able to provide more support to the poor countries of the Third World. We cannot do so now. China’s per capita GNP is probably below \$300, so it is hard for us to increase it even 200 or 300 per cent. We shall have to work as hard as we did before. Even lowering the previous goal and fulfilling the lower targets, we shall still spare no effort to promote economic development and we will do every aspect of our work effectively. It is impossible for us to accomplish the four modernizations by empty talk. Economic development should be the central task of Party committees at all levels.

In addition to economic work, the Party committees perform many

Excerpt from a talk at a forum of the first secretaries of the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional committees of the Communist Party of China.

other kinds of work, but many issues involve economic affairs. For instance, the question of ideological line requires thorough discussion. Instead of conducting campaigns, such endeavours should be accomplished through routine and chiefly economic work. If we combine discussions concerning the criterion for judging truth with practical work, we shall achieve better results and avoid formalism. For example, a production team should discuss how to improve productivity by making full use of every hill, water surface, plot and corner. A factory should discuss how to expand production, increase variety, improve the quality of its products, reform administration, open up markets, solve the workers' and staffs problems, and help eliminate the practice of anyone taking advantage of social connections to secure special privileges. If we discuss those questions and emancipate our minds, we shall achieve better results. We should advocate a method of work that encourages every production team, factory, and school to solve their own problems. Some movements which we carried out, learning theory for example, failed to combine with actual practice. As a result, people became fed up. Of course, I am not saying that political work is no longer necessary. Some people think that closure of the political departments means that political work is not necessary. What are the Party, the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, and the women's federations doing? They are doing political work. We need to do this work earnestly. However, political work should be carried out through economic work and a political problem should be settled from an economic angle. For example, the issues of implementation of the Party's policies, of employment, and of the return to our cities of educated urban young people who work in the countryside and in mountainous areas are all social and political problems that should be solved mainly from an economic perspective. If the economy does not develop, these problems can never be solved. The above-mentioned policies are primarily policies concerning the economy. To create more jobs, Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai are practising collective ownership. They are using economic policies to settle political problems. In solving such problems, we should have a broad outlook and adopt flexible policies. In a word, we should use economic methods to solve political and social problems. We should open all possible avenues and try all possible means to settle problems that arise. Now that we have set a high goal, we must realize it and not indulge in empty talk. As I said before, our economic work should be done more carefully.

2. I favour the idea that we should encourage people. But I must stress that we need true, not false encouragement. That is to say, our efforts should produce practical results. Scientifically speaking, we should act according to realistic principles. Economic work should be done in accordance with

economic law. We must follow scientific methods without practising fraud or chanting empty slogans.

If we want to do our work according to economic law, we should train people to act accordingly. We need specialists. There are so many people who are jacks-of-all-trades and masters of none serving as cadres. We have 18 million cadres but lack technical cadres, technicians, managerial staff, and other professionals. If we can increase by 1 million our judicial cadres, employ an additional 2 million qualified teachers, and utilize 5 million scientific researchers and 2 million capable businessmen and businesswomen, progress will be much easier. Our present personnel structure is irrational and it will take a long time to change it, so we need to set about this now. Otherwise we shall not be able to operate excellent machinery and equipment. We should be confident that we can train such people. Comrade Fang Yi⁸⁸ related to me that we have fine directors in the departments and bureaus of the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry. These intellectuals are between 40 and 50 years old and graduated from universities and colleges in the 1950s or 1960s. They are very energetic, conversant in professional knowledge and good at negotiating with foreigners. I believe that such people can be found in all departments. Why aren't they promoted? What are the obstacles to this? We must eliminate these obstacles. Of course, this is easy to say but it must be accomplished step by step. If we fail in this endeavour, our goals will be slow to achieve and may become hopeless. Organizational line is a major question. We do have talented people who have been stifled. With regard to the personnel system, which is connected with the promotion of talented people, we should establish a retirement system. All departments and units in the country should establish special sections to minister to those who are retired and who can serve as advisors. These sections should also take charge of their political treatment and welfare. If we properly resolve the question of retirement, we can easily utilize talented people. It requires much effort, but we have to do this now.

Giving real encouragement also requires us to do our work in a correct manner. For instance, our targets should not be exaggerated and our products should be up to standard and marketable. If your products are not in demand, why should you manufacture so many? If there are no raw materials, how can you plan to manufacture products? If materials are not up to standard, what will you be able to do with your products? By true encouragement I mean that we should emancipate our minds and solve problems in a realistic manner. When we improved the railway system in 1975, there was a problem: it was difficult for railway workers, especially engine drivers, to take a bath. The workers got dirty during their work and needed to take a

bath, Was it that difficult for such a large enterprise to produce a few shower nozzles? Nothing was done. I think that such is the case throughout the country. Solutions depend on human effort. If someone acts, results will follow. When there are many problems, people often simply give up trying to solve them. Consequently, nothing is accomplished.

3. I should like to talk about economic readjustment. The essence of the eight-character policy is readjustment. What is the purpose of readjustment? As I see it, it is to create conditions so as to ensure a better and faster growth rate during and especially after economic readjustment. During a recent discussion about the growth rate, we considered whether to increase the total value of industrial and agricultural output by 8 or by 6 per cent over the next two years. In my opinion, it does not matter whether the growth rate is higher or lower. The increase by 6 per cent is all right, provided that this is a realistic and not an inflated figure. During the “cultural revolution”, the figures published were falsified. There were duplicate calculations, products were not marketable, and their quality was very poor. It is good for us to consider the history when we ponder current issues. In the future, the growth rate figures must be genuine and not be exaggerated, and our products must be of high quality. In this way, the true level of our economic development will be reflected. If we can accomplish this, other methods of work can be altered, our managerial and technological levels can be raised, and many more benefits can be secured. We should also realize that we cannot count on achieving this unless we quicken our pace in 1982 and 1983. Therefore, we have to make preparations in advance. The current economic readjustment should thus include preparatory work. If we do not start it now, there will be no new production capacity. It takes five or six years to open a mine and about five years to build a power plant. Some projects require funding not at the beginning, but after two or three years. If we do not make preparations now, worry later will be useless. There are many examples of this. It will be too late if we do not begin to upgrade and renovate enterprises, apply new technologies and train key technical staff. We should look both backward and forward and take a long-range view. It is not enough for us to project our economic work to 1982. Starting in 1983, we should have a reasonable growth rate, which cannot be achieved at the last minute. We should start the work now, including specific projects. This requires that in making plans and considering questions, we should have a broad outlook, for example, plans to be implemented three years down the road.

4. I am proposing that we thoroughly research how to use foreign capital. I agree with the analysis made by Comrade Chen Yun⁸² that foreign capital falls under two categories: invested foreign currency and loans for

equipment. No matter what category foreign capital belongs to, we should utilize it, because the chance to do so does not arise often and it is a great pity if we do not make use of this opportunity. After World War II, some countries devastated by war, including a few European countries and Japan, developed by using loans, but mainly by importing technology and patents. If we can make good use of this opportunity, we may attract even more foreign capital. The cardinal issues are how to make efficient use of foreign capital, how to make every project bring about economic returns as quickly as possible, and how to solve the problem of repayment. It is a very important policy to use foreign capital, and I think that we should adhere to this policy. As for the methodology, we should focus mainly on establishing joint ventures as well as conducting compensatory trade and allowing foreign entrepreneurs to set up factories in China. When I visited Singapore, I discovered how the country used foreign capital. Singapore enjoys three benefits from its foreign-funded factories. First, 35 per cent of the profits from foreign-funded enterprises were turned over to the government as taxes. Second, workers received earnings for their labour. Third, foreign-funded enterprises encouraged the development of other services and trades and brought about more income for Singapore. We should weigh the advantages and disadvantages, do our accounting and be determined to use foreign capital even if we suffer some losses. In any case, foreign-funded enterprises create new productive capacities in China and help some of our enterprises to expand. I think that in studying financial and economic questions, we should concentrate on and take advantage of expertise in using foreign capital. If this is not done, it will be a great pity. At present, we are experiencing circumstances which allow us to do this. The reason why foreigners come to invest in China is that they judge that China really is solvent. China has rare metals and all kinds of mineral resources, so foreigners know they can make profits here. If we were not solvent, no one would invest in China. We must demonstrate solvency in every project introduced from abroad. We should launch new projects in order to gain more experience. Comrade Chen Yun has proposed that we research project one by one, and I agree with his view. Foreign entrepreneurs invest here in order to make a profit, so we should ensure that they can make more profits from investments in China than they can make through investments in other countries. In this way, our country will be more competitive. We have inexpensive labour, which is to our advantage. However, we should not suffer enormous losses. So long as we continue to launch projects, we can gradually learn how to attract foreign investments. In addition, projects introduced from abroad must help our enterprises to expand. In other words, we can

and should provide much equipment and many services for projects introduced from abroad. In the case of some machines and equipment, we can utilize drawings and specifications provided by foreign entrepreneurs and produce them ourselves. In this way, a project introduced from abroad will help some of our industries to develop. After we master imported technologies, we can use them in other fields.

5. I should like to talk about our system. Is our financial system centralized or decentralized? I think that it is inadequately centralized as well as inadequately decentralized. Since the central authorities control only limited revenue, can this really be called a centralized system? On the whole, our financial system is comparatively centralized. We need to delegate some financial resources to local authorities so that the latter have more financial power and more room for manoeuvre. This is the general financial principle we should establish. However, our financial system is inadequately centralized. I am unable to make concrete proposals concerning specific aspects of finance which should be more centralized and what financial control should be delegated to local authorities. Therefore, you should discuss this. I assure you that, in any case, we should continue to give enterprises more decision-making power, because this helps us to expand production. In the past, we exercised a too centralized management of the economy; this impeded economic development. Our system also exercised a too rigorous control over some sectors, in particular, foreign trade. Too many regulations are not conducive to the development of foreign trade or an increase in foreign earnings. For example, the iron and steel products of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company are in demand in foreign markets. However, according to the current international price for iron and steel, for every ton exported, we suffer a 40 yuan loss. Why can't our government provide a subsidy of 40 yuan for every ton exported, which will then bring in more foreign currency? Many countries subsidize exports. So this problem involves the superstructure, our system, and policies. We should encourage the export of products which are in demand, because this is very advantageous and brings in foreign currency. There are many complaints about our finance departments and banks. Some feasible projects need only an investment of several hundred thousand yuan and can bring in profits very quickly. However, these projects cannot be launched because of limitations imposed by the financial and banking systems. I am afraid that this situation occurs often. If we exercise a too rigorous control over the economy and there is no room for manoeuvre, we shall be stifled. Of course, we must act prudently with projects that require investments of up to tens of millions of yuan. Some of these projects can bring us quick profits, therefore, the finance departments and banks

should support them. In this way, the economy will thrive. This is not simply a problem of financial centralization or decentralization. We must truly operate our banks on a commercial basis. Why have so many unmarketable products been stockpiling in every province and city? One reason for this is that under our present financial system we allocate funds rather than grant loans by banks. This system must be reformed. Any company that wants to purchase materials should obtain loans from banks, repaying them with interest.

Local authorities may not have a full understanding of some of these matters. I think that most of the suggestions made by comrades from various localities are good. But I should like to emphasize one point. If the central authorities do not have at their disposal a certain amount of funds, many undertakings that should be initiated but would require investments beyond the financial capability of local authorities will not be initiated. Some key projects that can only be invested in by the central authorities may be affected. Most enterprises in China, including some major enterprises, have been placed under the authority of the localities, so the central authorities have only a limited amount of income from the enterprises which remain under their control. This problem needs to be studied. At present, people often say that the central authorities centralize too much power and delegate too little to local authorities, and that they do not reflect on the issue of what should and must be centralized. However, the central authorities must ensure that some power be centralized.

Naturally, people have differing opinions about economic problems. Since our country is very big and our aspirations are very lofty, all of us should pool our wisdom in order to settle the question of how to develop the economy smoothly, withstand risks, overcome difficulties and barriers, and seek rapid economic development. Therefore, at this meeting you should fully raise any pertinent issues. I propose holding a lively face-to-face debate and avoid any covert politics. Truth prevails following debate. Some comrades have proposed that the central authorities and comrades from all provinces and municipalities reveal their tentative plans. At this meeting, not all of their problems can be solved. After problems are posed, we should sort them out, weigh the advantages and disadvantages and decide what to do. We should never think that our solutions and ideas are completely correct. Comrades from the various localities have made many suggestions to the central authorities, some of which are very acute. This should give no cause for criticism, because it is quite right for them to consider one matter or problem from a certain angle and in light of the conditions existing in their respective provinces and municipalities. From the perspective of considering

the country as a whole, it may be impossible to solve their problem. At present, we should strive for consensus and take the overall situation into account. At this meeting, problems will be posed first, and then the central authorities, in particular, the Financial and Economic Commission, will sort them out and derive fairly workable solutions to them. The reason I say this is that solutions should be practical. It is impossible for solutions to be completely correct. We cannot find panaceas and our solutions must be tested through practice in the days to come. Practice should be our criterion for judging truth. We should improve on these solutions after a couple of years. However, this will not work if we cannot reach a consensus, in which case it will be very difficult to solve problems. Consequently, since cadres spend days merely drawing circles around their names on documents submitted for approval and await the decisions of others, matters that should be handled rapidly are handled slowly and problems that should be solved cannot be solved. At present, we need to reach a common understanding. If we reach a consensus, we can make concerted efforts.

6. We should lose no time in increasing production and economizing. If we do this, our economic growth rate could be more than 6 per cent. We should increase production and economize as much as possible. This is not a short-term goal for only this year or next year, but extends far in the future. Over the last two years, we have increased our production capability through capital construction. However, more importantly, we should make good use of our existing production capability. We should stress practical results and do solid work to improve the variety of products and their quality, particularly the latter. Improving the quality of products is the most important issue facing economic readjustment. If we accomplish this, we shall gain more benefits and lay a more solid foundation than ever in our work.

ALL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND FEDERATIONS OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE ARE POLITICAL FORCES SERVING SOCIALISM

October 19, 1979

During this new historical period, China's patriotic revolutionary united front also enters a new stage of historical development. The united front is still a magic weapon. It should not be weakened but must be strengthened, and it should not be diminished but should be expanded. It has become the broadest alliance of all our socialist labourers and patriots who support socialism and the reunification of the motherland. The task facing the united front during this new period is to bring every positive factor into play, unite with all forces we can unite with, make concerted efforts to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century, and promote and accomplish the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the reunification of China.

All of the democratic parties as well as the federations of industry and commerce are important components of China's patriotic revolutionary united front. They have been cooperating with our Party for a long time and also fighting side by side with it, and they are its close allies. In the struggle to succeed in the new-democratic revolution and to found the People's Republic of China, all the democratic parties played an important role. Since the founding of the People's Republic, all the democratic parties as well as the federations of industry and commerce have made valuable contributions in urging and helping their members and people with whom they have affiliation to accept socialist transformation and to participate in socialist construction and in the fight against enemies at home and abroad. During the ten years when the vicious Lin Biao and the Gang of Four ran rampant,

Excerpt from a speech at a banquet given by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee to the delegates attending the conference of all democratic parties and the conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

all the democratic parties and federations of industry and commerce had to cease their activities and many of their members were subjected to cruel persecution. However, most of them have withstood this severe political test with firm faith in the leadership of the Communist Party and unequivocal resolve to embark on the socialist road. This is commendable. The democratic parties and the federations of industry and commerce have become political unions and mass organizations, consisting in part of socialist labourers with whom they have contact, patriots supporting socialism, and other political forces aimed at furthering socialism. Construction and development of socialism has become the common interest and aspiration of all democratic parties, federations of industry and commerce, and our Party. During this new historical period, the democratic parties and federations of industry and commerce continue to play an important role that cannot be ignored. We believe that in the future the democratic parties and federations of industry and commerce will make even greater contributions to consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity, accelerating the socialist modernization drive, promoting democracy, strengthening the legal system, conducting self-education and striving for the reunification of the motherland.

Many of the members of the democratic parties and the federations of industry and commerce, and the people with whom they have affiliation are intellectuals of a comparatively high cultural and scientific level who have a wealth of experience gained in practice and are specialists. All of them are indispensable forces needed in the modernization drive. Since many former capitalist industrialists and businessmen are very experienced in managing and running enterprises and doing economic work, they can play a positive role in readjusting China's economy and promoting modernization. Also, the former Kuomintang military and governmental personnel and other patriots can use their special knowledge and social connections to facilitate useful contributions to the modernization programme and the effort to reunify Taiwan with the motherland. At present, there are still many problems in arousing and giving play to the initiative of intellectuals, specialists, and other people from all walks of life. These people are experiencing difficult conditions in their life and work. We should make inquiries, study these problems, and then take effective measures to solve them gradually. We hope that all democratic parties will cooperate with the Party and the government so that we can make a concerted effort to improve the living and working conditions of these people.

Multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party⁸⁹ ensues from specific historical conditions and the realities in our

country, and is also a characteristic of and an advantage to our political system. In 1956, when the socialist system was basically established in our country, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the principle of “long-term coexistence and mutual supervision” towards all democratic parties, which has been a consistent policy for a long time now. During the current new Long March, to consolidate and safeguard the political situation of stability and unity and handle state affairs, it is very important to exercise mutual supervision, fully develop socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system under the guidance of the Four Cardinal Principles. Since the Chinese Communist Party plays a leading role in the country’s political activities and all undertakings, the correctitude of the Party’s line, principles and policies, and whether or not we can do our work successfully have a direct bearing on the future of the country and the success or failure of the socialist cause. Meanwhile, since our Party is the party in power, some of our comrades are prone to be tainted with subjectivism, bureaucracy or sectarianism. Therefore, there is a great need for our Party to listen to opinions from all quarters, including different views from all the democratic parties and accept criticism and supervision by all quarters so as to pool the wisdom of the masses, compensate for each other’s deficiencies, overcome our shortcomings and avoid making mistakes. We sincerely hope that all the democratic parties and federations of industry and commerce will act as the masters of the country, concern themselves with state affairs and devote themselves to the socialist cause. We also hope that they will bravely and conscientiously air opinions on major state policies and all aspects of work, making suggestions and criticisms, and thereby become our Party’s allies, who can give forthright counsel and assist in handling state affairs smoothly.

Accomplishing the return of Taiwan to the motherland for national reunification is a common aspiration of the Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, and is a glorious and sacred task facing our patriotic revolutionary united front. The major policies which the Chinese government has announced concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland give full consideration to the circumstances, interests and future of the Taiwan people and authorities, and are therefore completely fair and reasonable. All Chinese patriots belong to one big family. Those who promote the reunification of the motherland render valuable service to the nation and to the Chinese people. We cooperated with the Kuomintang two times in history. The great cause of the reunification of the motherland is an important issue that conforms to the historical trend of the times and satisfies the needs of the Chinese people. We hope to work together with the Taiwan authorities

in this respect. Since the compatriots in Taiwan have been patriotic for a long time, they will certainly make valuable contributions to the cause of the reunification of the motherland. The democratic parties and federations of industry and commerce maintain extensive links with and have great influence among our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and among the Chinese residing abroad, so we hope that you will help bring Taiwan back to the motherland.

We are in a great era serving as a link between the past and the future and are undertaking a great cause that has not been undertaken by our predecessors. As we advance, we shall encounter difficulties and resistance. However, so long as we adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles, strengthen the great unity among all China's nationalities and continue to develop the revolutionary patriotic united front, no difficulties can prevent us from progressing and all obstacles will be overcome. Our cause must succeed, and we shall unquestionably attain our goals. Let us, under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, help emancipate people's minds, maintain the political situation of stability and unity, achieve the four modernizations and accomplish the reunification of the motherland. Let us work together to build China into a powerful modern socialist country.

SPEECH GREETING THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF CHINESE WRITERS AND ARTISTS

October 30, 1979

Delegates and Comrades,

Today, delegates representing our writers, dramatists, artists, musicians, performing artists, motion picture personnel and other workers in literature and art are gathered here to sum up their basic experience over the past 30 years and to discuss ways of building on their successes, overcoming shortcomings and thus making literature and art flourish in the new historical period. This is a happy and historic occasion and on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, I am pleased to greet you warmly.

Taking part in this congress are veteran writers and artists who participated in the new cultural movement at the time of the May 4th Movement [1919], others who contributed to the cause of the people's liberation during later revolutionary periods, others who grew up after the founding of the People's Republic [1949], and still others who emerged in the struggle against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. Also present are writers and artists from among our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. This congress reflects the unprecedented unity of writers and artists throughout the country.

In the 17 years before the "cultural revolution", our line in literature and art was in the main correct and there were remarkable achievements. The allegation that our literature and art were then under the "dictatorship by the proponents of a sinister line"³⁴ was nothing but slander on the part of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. During the 10 years when they ran riot, many outstanding works were proscribed, and many writers and artists framed and persecuted. A great number of our comrades and friends in literary and art circles resisted or fought against Lin Biao and the Gang with dignity and honour. Our writers and artists made admirable, lasting contributions in the struggle of the Party and the people to overthrow Lin Biao

and the Gang. I salute them all.

Since the Gang was smashed, the Party's policy concerning intellectuals has been implemented in literary and art circles under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Party. A great many literary and art works that were popular in the past are once more available to the public. Writers and artists, with their minds at ease, are again enthusiastic and creative. In the few years since the criticism of the crimes and absurdities of Lin Biao and the Gang, many excellent novels, poems, plays, films, works of balladry, reportage pieces, musical compositions, dances, photographs and works of fine art have been produced. They have helped to break the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the Gang and to eliminate their pernicious influence. They have helped to emancipate people's thinking, stimulate their enthusiasm and inspire them to march towards the goal of the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Looking back over the last three years, I think that our writers and artists, like workers in other fields, have scored considerable achievements. They should enjoy the respect, trust and love of our Party and people. Through the ordeal of struggle, by and large our writers and artists have proved good, and the Party and people rejoice in this.

Delegates and Comrades,

Our country has entered a new period, a period of socialist modernization. Alongside the expansion of our productive forces, we should also reform and improve our socialist economic and political structures, build a highly-developed socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. While working for a socialist civilization which is materially advanced, we should build one which is culturally and ideologically advanced by raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation and promoting a rich and diversified cultural life inspired by high ideals.

The overriding nationwide task for a considerable time to come will be to work single-mindedly for the four modernizations. This is a great enterprise which will determine our country's destiny for generations to come. The masses and cadres in all fields of endeavour should promote the emancipation of the mind, foster stability and unity, support the reunification of the motherland, and strive for the four modernizations. The basic standard for judging all our work is whether it helps or hinders our effort to modernize. The writers and artists, together with the educators, theorists, journalists, political workers and other comrades concerned, should carry out a protracted and effective struggle in the ideological sphere against all ideas and habits that obstruct the four modernizations. They should criticize the ideology of the exploiting classes and the conservative, narrow-minded

mentality characteristic of small producers, criticize anarchism and ultra-individualism, and overcome bureaucracy. They should revive and carry forward the revolutionary traditions of our Party and people, cultivate fine morals and customs, and contribute to the building of a socialist civilization with a high cultural and ideological level.

In the pursuit of this noble cause, writers and artists find broad prospects opening before them. They are assuming important tasks, which they alone can perform, in order to meet the people's varied cultural needs, help bring up a new socialist generation, and raise the ideological, cultural and moral levels of our society.

Our literature and art belong to the people. Our people are hardworking, brave, indomitable and resourceful, and full of ideals. They love the motherland and socialism. They have the interests of the whole nation at heart and their sense of discipline is strong. For thousands of years, and especially in the half century since the May 4th Movement, they have struggled arduously and confidently, overcoming all obstacles in their way and writing many brilliant chapters in our annals. No enemy, however strong, has subdued them and no difficulties, however great, have stopped their advance. Our literary and artistic creations must give expression to our people's outstanding qualities and celebrate their triumphs in revolution, in construction and in struggles against all kinds of enemies and hardships.

Our writers and artists should try harder to portray and help foster the new socialist man and achieve greater successes in doing so. We must portray the new features of the pioneers in the modernization drive, their revolutionary ideals and scientific approach, their lofty sentiments and creative ability, and their broad and realistic vision. Through images of this new man, we must stimulate the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism and inspire their creative activities, which are of historic significance in the pursuit of the four modernizations.

Our socialist writers and artists should create vivid, inspiring flesh-and-blood characters. Through them they should truthfully depict our rich social life and the inner qualities of our people as shown in their social relations, and give expression to the trend of historical development and to the demands of our progressive era. They should endeavour to educate the people in socialist ideology and imbue them with the drive and spirit necessary to build national strength and prosperity.

China has a long history, a vast territory, and a huge population. Our people are of many nationalities and of different professions, ages, experience and educational levels, and they have varied customs and cultural traditions and varied preferences in literature and art. All creative works—whether epic

or cameo, serious or humorous, lyrical or philosophical—should have their place in our garden of literature and art, so long as they help to educate and enlighten the people while providing them with entertainment and aesthetic pleasure. The deeds of heroes, the labour, struggles, joys and sorrows, partings and reunions of ordinary people, and the life of our contemporaries and of our predecessors—all these should be depicted in our works of literature and art. We should draw on and learn from all that is progressive and advanced in the literature, art and performing arts of old China, and of other countries as well.

We must adhere to the principle put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong—that literature and art should serve the broadest masses and, first of all, the workers, peasants and soldiers. We must always uphold the principles of “letting a hundred flowers bloom”, “weeding through the old to bring forth the new” and “making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China”. We should encourage the unhampered development of different forms and styles in literature and art, as well as the free discussion of theories of literature and art among exponents of different views and schools of thought. Lenin once said that in literature “greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content”.⁹⁰ With the four modernizations as our common objective, the road before literature and art should become broader and broader. Guided by the correct principles for creative work, writers and artists should deal with an ever wider range of themes, increasingly vary their means of expression, and dare to blaze new trails. We must guard against or overcome the tendency to be formulistic and abstract, which produces monotonous, stiff, mechanical and stereotyped works.

Writers and artists who are responsible to the people should always keep their faces turned towards the masses and constantly improve their skills, doing their best to avoid slipshod work, seriously considering the likely impact of their works on society and trying to provide the people with the best mental nourishment. Lin Biao and the Gang of Four corrupted people’s minds and poisoned the social atmosphere with reactionary and decadent exploiting-class ideology. Our revolutionary traditions and fine customs were seriously undermined as a result. Our writers and artists should use their creative works to broaden the people’s mental horizons, and continue to fight resolutely against the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the Gang. They should remain clear-headed when confronted by the proponents of erroneous tendencies, whether from the “Left” or from the Right, who are always attempting by one way or another to create disturbances and sabotage stability and unity, against the interests and wishes of the overwhelming

majority of the people. Through literary and artistic creation and in close co-ordination with other ideological workers, they should help to raise the people's consciousness, make them understand the harmfulness of these erroneous tendencies and arouse strong public opinion against them, so that all society will unite to condemn and oppose them.

Writers and artists should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought so as to enhance their own ability to understand and analyse life and to see through appearances to the essence. We hope that more and more comrades in their ranks will become real "engineers of the human soul". In order to educate the people, one must first be educated himself; in order to give nourishment to the people, one must first absorb nourishment himself. And who is to educate and nourish our writers and artists? According to Marxism, the answer can only be: the people. It is the people who nurture our writers and artists. The creative life of all progressive writers and artists is rooted in their intimate ties with the people. Creativity withers when these ties are forgotten, neglected or severed. The people need art, but art needs the people even more. Writers and artists should consciously draw source material, themes, plots, language and poetic and artistic inspiration from the life of the people and be nourished by the dynamic spirit of the people, who make history. Fundamentally, this is the road which our socialist literature and art must take if it is to flourish. We believe that our writers and artists will march forward along this road steadily and unswervingly.

Writers and artists also need to constantly improve their professional skills. They should earnestly study, assimilate and expand upon all that is best in the literary and artistic techniques of every land and every age and perfect art forms with the distinctive features of our own nation and our own time. Only those writers and artists who defy difficulties, who study and practise diligently, and who dare to explore new ground can scale the artistic heights.

We sincerely hope that our writers and artists will unite more closely and expand their ranks. Whether professional or amateur, all socialist and patriotic writers and artists and all those who support the reunification of our motherland should try harder to help and learn from each other and to concentrate their energies on literary and artistic creation, study and criticism. It is for the people to judge the ideological and artistic value of a work. Listening with an open mind to criticism from different quarters and accepting useful advice are the key to constant progress and improvement. In literary and art circles we should encourage comradely, friendly discussions in which facts are presented and things are reasoned out. Such discussions

should take place between creators who belong to different schools or work in different forms, between creators and critics, and between creators and their audiences. In the process, both criticism and counter-criticism should be permitted, the truth should be upheld and mistakes corrected.

Writers and artists of the older generation bear an important responsibility for discovering and training young people of talent. Our young writers and artists are vigorous and perceptive and in them lies the future of our literature and art. We should help them eagerly and also make strict demands on them, so that they will not become divorced from life but will make steady progress both ideologically and in their art. As for the middle-aged generation, they are the mainstay of our literary and art work, and we should make it possible for them to contribute all they can.

Special stress must be laid on the training of talented writers and artists. For a country as big as ours, with a population of over 900 million, we really have too few who are outstanding. This is quite out of keeping with the demands of our times. Through improved ideological and administrative work, we should create the necessary conditions for persons of outstanding talent to emerge and mature.

Party committees at all levels should give good leadership to literary and art work. Leadership doesn't mean handing out administrative orders and demanding that literature and art serve immediate, short-range political goals. It means understanding the special characteristics of literature and art and the laws of their development and creating conditions for them to flourish. That is, it means creating conditions that help writers and artists to improve their skills and to produce fine works and performances truly worthy of our great people and era. At present, it is particularly important to help writers and artists to continue emancipating their minds, to break the mental shackles fastened on them by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and to keep to the correct political orientation. We must do everything—including providing appropriate material conditions—to ensure that our writers and artists can give full expression to their insight and talent. We maintain that leaders should exchange views with them as equals, and that those among them who are Party members should set an example through their own creations and unite with their non-Party colleagues so that all can advance together. The bureaucratic style of work must be dropped. There must be no more issuing of administrative orders regarding the creation and criticism of literature and art. To think that such a practice upholds Party leadership can only produce results opposite to those intended. It is essential to adhere to the ideological line of dialectical materialism, and to analyse both positive and negative experience in the development of our literature and art over the past 30 years.

We must get rid of all stereotypes and conventions and study new situations and solve new problems in conformity with the characteristics of the new historical period China is in. The preposterous ways of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four undermined the Party's leadership in literature and art and destroyed their vitality. In the production of literature and art, which involves complex mental labour, it is essential that writers and artists follow their own creative spirit. What subjects they should choose for their creative work and how they should deal with those subjects are questions that writers and artists themselves must examine and gradually resolve through practice. There should be no arbitrary meddling in this process.

Delegates and Comrades,

At the time of the founding of our People's Republic, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "an upsurge in economic construction is bound to be followed by an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere".⁹¹ After waging bitter struggles and overcoming many difficulties, we have smashed the Gang of Four and thus removed our biggest stumbling block. We can now say with full assurance that this upsurge will not take long to appear and that the conditions are daily ripening that will enable us genuinely to put into practice the Marxist policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend". Thanks to the hard work of the masses of writers and artists, a new period of flourishing literature and art will unfold before us.

The present congress is the first gathering of writers and artists from all over the country in this period of our new Long March. You comrades have been invited to it on the strength of your already considerable successes. We are sure that after the congress you will produce more and better works of literature and art to offer to the motherland and the people.

I wish this congress complete success!

SENIOR CADRES SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN MAINTAINING AND ENRICHING THE PARTY'S FINE TRADITIONS

November 2, 1979

Today I wish to speak to our senior cadres on a number of questions.

I. MATERIAL BENEFITS FOR SENIOR CADRES

The document "Some Regulations Concerning the Material Benefits for Senior Cadres", which is about to be circulated by the Party's Central Committee and the State Council, was drafted mainly by the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection with the participation of some other departments concerned. Necessary revisions will be made according to the views expressed in your discussions. I have read the record and am very pleased because not only are you all in favour of adopting these regulations but you have asked that they be made stricter and more specific. This shows that the overwhelming majority of our senior cadres are concerned for the overall interests of our Party and state and understand the general situation. After review and endorsement by the Political Bureau, the document will be distributed to the units concerned for trial application before it is formally promulgated. Basically, these regulations reaffirm the provisions in force before the "cultural revolution". There aren't many new ones, and some are not so strict as before. Those that concern housing are an instance. Although the document prescribes that each person may have only one residence, it may vary in size. But a few people now have two or three residences! And they are not all senior cadres, some are at lower levels. The document stipulates that whatever the size of the residence, the occupants must pay

Speech at a meeting of cadres of the rank of vice-minister and above from the central Party, government and army organizations.

rent for all rooms except those used for offices and reception. This is unchanged from before the “cultural revolution”, when we all paid for living space. Many other provisions remain the same—for example, the one regarding payment for the use of official cars for private purposes. In fact, by and large we have now restored our old regulations without adding many new or stricter ones. I think these rules will work, because they did before the “cultural revolution”.

Their introduction is somewhat overdue, as we have been too busy to attend to it before. But if we delay further, we'll find it hard to justify ourselves before the people. As you know, one of the chief subjects of conversation among the masses recently has been precisely the pursuit of personal privileges by cadres. This, I am afraid, pertains mainly to senior cadres. Of course, I'm not saying that all senior cadres are like that. Many, in fact, live very simply. However, there are indeed some whose addiction to personal privileges is rather serious. That is also true of some cadres at middle and lower levels, such as certain secretaries of commune and county Party committees and certain comrades in factories, mines and other enterprises. We must realize that this is not only a problem relating to the style of the Party. It has become a general tendency in our society—a social problem. To overcome it we must start now by establishing regulations with regard to the material benefits for senior cadres and then, step by step, introduce similar regulations for cadres at other levels. If our senior cadres take the lead, the problem will be easier to solve. Both the masses and the cadres at the grass roots are against privilege-seeking, especially by cadres at the higher levels but also by those in the middle and lower ranks. The people resent it greatly when cadres seek privileges.

At present, the people at large are most worried by three problems, namely, rising prices, privilege-seeking by cadres and the housing shortage. Some people have tried to exploit for ulterior motives the widespread dissatisfaction among the masses (including Party members and cadres) over privilege-seeking (including “back-door” dealings). This is true of certain persons who use the “Xidan Wall”⁹² as well as of some bad elements among the people coming from different localities to lodge appeals with the central authorities. You have to stop and think for a minute, for some really outrageous things are happening. For example, some persons have an insatiable desire for a life of ease and comfort and are always making their homes bigger, better and more beautiful. Others violate rules and regulations in various ways for their own convenience. This sort of wrongdoing alienates us from the masses and the cadres and debases social morality. People are very sensitive to it.

We must revive and develop further the Party's fine traditions of hard work, simple living and close ties with the masses. All of us grew up the hard way and went through many bitter times in the Agrarian Revolutionary War [1927-37], the War of Resistance Against Japan [1937-45] and the War of Liberation [1946-49]. Life was very tough, too, during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea³ [1950-53]. How is it that we were able to overcome all those difficulties and hardships? Basically it's because our cadres and Party members shared the hardships with the masses. Just look back at the years 1958 and 1959, when we made "Left" errors so grave that the economy suffered a major setback and we had to slash the investment in capital construction from nearly 30 billion yuan to a little over 5 billion, transfer 20 million workers and office staff from cities to the countryside and shut down a number of factories. How is it that we were able to manage all that? Why was it then possible for us to readjust the economy rather smoothly? Because our Party maintained close ties with the masses and its prestige was high among them. We told the people the difficulties, explained issues clearly, and did a lot of work. Transferring 20 million people to the countryside was itself no easy job. If not for the high prestige enjoyed by the Party and the government, it couldn't have been done. Besides, the general social conduct then was different from that today, and our cadres were in closer touch with the masses. All that made it possible for us to overcome the difficulties quickly. Material conditions today are somewhat better than they were then and except for housing, our people's standard of living has improved. So why do the masses still have so many complaints against us? It has a lot to do with the fact that some of us, especially the higher-level cadres, are divorced from the masses. Of course, it also has something to do with our not having done enough work in certain areas, including propaganda and education. We haven't put the problems plainly before the masses, reached a common understanding with them and discussed and solved those problems together with them.

One important cause of our divorce from the masses is privilege-seeking by cadres. A cadre who pursues personal privileges inevitably divorces himself from the masses. When comrades pay too much attention to their personal or family interests, they don't have much time and energy left to devote to the masses, and at best they attend perfunctorily to matters they can't dodge. We have a few people now who act like overlords, and some of their behaviour is truly shocking. They divorce themselves from the masses and lower-ranking cadres, and their subordinates follow suit, which results in deterioration of the general standard of social conduct. At what time in the past did a Party committee secretary—a secretary of a county or commune

Party committee, say—have as much power as he has today? Never! And there are a few people now who abuse this power and encroach upon the interests of the masses, pursue a privileged life-style for themselves and even act tyrannically and outrageously. What's more, they seem to think it's natural to behave that way. Recently many people have come to the capital to appeal to the central authorities for help. It's true that there are a few bad elements among them. There are also some whose complaints, though wholly or partly justified, are hard for us to deal with for the time being, limited as we are by the present conditions. But most of the complaints are about problems which can and should be solved in line with the present Party and government policies. Yet a small number of comrades take a bureaucratic, apathetic attitude towards these problems and put off taking any action. And a handful, violating law and Party discipline, have gone so far as to retaliate against people who come with grievances. This is absolutely wrong and intolerable. If our senior cadres can first solve problems in their own attitude and behaviour such as those I have mentioned above, then they can tackle similar ones in other spheres throughout the country with justice on their side. If we fail to solve our own problems, we'll have no right to say anything about the conduct of others, for people will simply retort, "What about you?" In short, it is high time to establish the regulations I've been talking about.

I would also like to say that privilege-seeking by some of our senior cadres has affected their relatives and children, leading them astray. A small number of comrades are in bad repute both in their own units and elsewhere mostly because of their children's misdeeds. For instance, before the "cultural revolution", Party and state secrets were kept pretty well and rarely leaked out. Today, some cadres' children have free access to classified documents and spread their contents at will. There have even been individual cases in which the sons or daughters of cadres have sold or given secret information to foreigners. This is one of the main reasons why many of our secrets can't be kept now. Incidentally, some current practices simply must be changed. We used to have a rule that classified documents were not to be taken out of the office and that the persons responsible for secret documents must travel in pairs when conveying them from place to place. Nowadays, some people just stuff classified documents into their briefcases and carry them wherever they please. Documents belonging in confidential files are entrusted to individuals who keep them wherever they like. This simply won't do. Regulations are needed. As there are no office rules at present, some senior cadres are accustomed to working on public business at home. I'm not saying that those few comrades who are aging and in poor health may not do so.

But generally speaking, it should be avoided. Many things can be settled by discussion in the office. Why, then, do we just route documents around so that people can read them and check off their names? Isn't this bureaucracy? Some papers circulate for as long as six months without any decision being made. Nobody knows whether those who checked off their names approve or disapprove of the content.

To rectify the Party's style of work and improve social conduct, we should start with the senior cadres. Implementing "Some Regulations Concerning the Material Benefits for Senior Cadres" will have many good effects. First and foremost, it will naturally help to reduce bureaucracy. Of course, we may find our lives a bit less comfortable, but they'll still be far more comfortable than those of ordinary cadres and the masses. The regulations may sometimes cause us inconvenience. For example, if we call a car to go to the movies, we'll have to pay for the transportation. But if you don't want to spend the money, you can just stay home. What's so terrible about that? Once this document is promulgated by the Central Committee and the State Council, it will have the force of law—you'll have to abide by it, like it or not.

Before the "cultural revolution", we did attend to the problem of how to narrow the gap in living standards between the senior cadres on the one hand and the lower-level cadres and the masses on the other. We lowered the salary scales of senior cadres three times and explicitly stipulated that there should be no more increases. It was decided that with the expansion of production, only workers and office staff and lower-level cadres would get gradual pay raises, and the standard of living of the masses should be improved gradually. Considering certain needs of senior cadres that arise from the nature of their work, we have decided that their salary scales should not be lowered further, nor should there be any widening of the gap between their pay and living standards and those of lower cadres, workers and office staff and others. Senior cadres should cease to enjoy privileges which frequently exceed their salaries in value. Our present problem is not that our senior cadres are too highly paid but that they have too many privileges. This is liable to alienate them from the masses and the lower-ranking cadres, and even to corrupt their family members, debase the general standard of social conduct and make it impossible to overcome bureaucracy. Therefore, all of us, including comrades in the Political Bureau, must be fully prepared mentally for the enforcement of these regulations. We have to put up with inconveniences. Only then will we have the right to speak.

Although the document has not yet been formally discussed and endorsed by the Political Bureau, the Central Committee is determined to solve

this problem. It was not easy for us to make up our minds to do this, because we knew we would offend some people. A small number will not agree with our decisions, and they will be the first ones we'll have to offend. And while most of us will favour this document in principle, when it is actually enforced and directly affects us individually, some of us will feel resentful. We must straighten out our thinking on this issue. Not only should we conscientiously observe the regulations ourselves, but we should convince our family members and other persons concerned that they are correct. We should all think back and realize how much better our life is now than before!

II. SELECTING SUCCESSORS

The problem of cadres' material benefits affects the senior cadres first of all. Another problem, the selection of successors, is even more directly related to them.

The line and principles adopted for the modernization programme are correct, but the problem—and it is a serious one—is lack of trained personnel necessary to carry them out. The reason is simple: everything has to be done by people. Without a great many qualified people, we will not achieve our goal. So we urgently need to train and promote large numbers of them for our modernization programme. The selection of successors is a new task and a responsibility for our veteran comrades and high-level cadres. Most of them are around 60 years old now, or even older. Their energy is, after all, running out. Otherwise, why do some work at home? Why can't they put in eight hours a day at the office? Certainly some of the comrades here are able to work eight hours a day in the office, but I doubt if even half of you can do it. We veterans have rich experience, but we should know our own limitations in energy. Take me. I have much less energy than I used to. I can manage two activities a day—one in the morning and one in the afternoon—but arrange another in the evening and it's too much. This is a law of nature and it can't be helped. Since the smashing of the Gang of Four, we have rehabilitated our veteran comrades one after another and reinstated nearly all of them in their original posts or equivalent ones. Thus, the number of our cadres has increased. To reinstate our veteran comrades is necessary and correct. But the problem we face is the shortage of younger, professionally competent cadres. Without them it will be impossible to carry out the programme of modernization. We veteran comrades should be soberly aware that the selection of successors can't be delayed any longer. Otherwise, the

drive for the four modernizations will become a pipe dream. I believe you comrades have heard and seen plenty of things that prove this.

We veteran cadres have the responsibility of making earnest efforts to select successors. During my recent inspection tour, I spoke of this wherever I went. So did Comrade Ye Jianying²³ in his National Day address [1979]. Veteran and high-level cadres should attend to this personally; they should make investigations, talk to others, listen to the views of the masses and get ready to hand over their responsibilities. Today, the criterion for judging if an old comrade or higher cadre measures up to the requirements for a Party member or a cadre is whether he makes a serious effort to select qualified successors. We are asking that the replacement or reappointment of the top three comrades in leading groups at all levels (including Party branches) be completed within about three years. In the higher-level organs we should consider, as the first step, promoting younger comrades to the second and third senior posts, while the veteran comrades remain in overall charge for some time. In the organs at lower levels, if promising young comrades are available they can be directly chosen to serve even in the top post. If we don't solve this problem at all levels within the next three years or so, it will be even more difficult later. We should make a concrete assessment of younger people. A small number of them were so poisoned by the ideas of the Gang of Four that even today they are still unable to recognize their errors; on no account can we choose such persons as our successors. If we don't give due attention to this now, by the time we have all died or become too old to work many such people may be climbing up to succeed us, and that would be a disaster for our Party and our state. Haven't we reversed many wrong verdicts pronounced during the period when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were running rampant? If such persons are allowed to succeed us and hold power, they will certainly change those verdicts back again.

Today we have a favourable condition for choosing successors, namely, we know where people stand politically. In his National Day speech, Comrade Ye Jianying put forward three requirements for successors: first, they must resolutely support the Party's political and ideological lines; second, they must be selfless, abide strictly by the law and discipline, uphold Party spirit and be completely free of factionalism; and third, they must be deeply committed to the revolutionary cause, have a strong sense of political responsibility and be professionally competent. In addition, they must be energetic enough to work eight hours a day. We must never neglect this point. You can't do valuable work in the modernization drive if you have no professional knowledge, no enthusiasm for work or no energy. No matter how brilliant your ideas may be, it's hard to work well without enough

energy. We must realize that the careful selection of fine successors is of strategic importance and will have profound consequences for the long-term interests of our Party and our state. If we don't solve the problem properly in the next three years or so, who knows what will happen in 10 years' time? All of us should be concerned about the future of our country, people and Party. We must realize that this is a matter of fundamental importance. We now have correct ideological and political lines, but if we don't do good organizational work, it will be impossible to ensure that the correct political line is carried out. In that case we will have failed the Party and the people.

Our senior cadres must assume personal responsibility for selecting as our successors cadres who meet the three requirements. We should first straighten out our own thinking so that we attend to this task actively and on our own initiative. We mustn't rely solely on the Organization Department of the Central Committee, because they don't know all the different lines of work, and they don't know all the cadres well. Successors should be chosen promptly, the sooner the better. The real mainstays of our cause today are around 40 years old, and only very few of them are around 30. We should not hesitate to promote people of these age groups. When you comrades assumed important responsibilities as regimental, divisional or army-level commanders, you were very young, just in your twenties. Can it be that young people today aren't as smart as they were then? Not at all! But they are overshadowed by us it's the old custom of promoting by seniority that has prevented the young people from coming up. Many comrades who may not appear to be fully qualified for leading posts before they assume them will in fact quickly prove to be so if they are promoted and given some help.

It is also necessary to pick younger officers for the higher organs of the armed forces, those of the greater military regions for instance. Because of the special characteristics of our armed forces, officers should still be promoted grade by grade. Nevertheless, some old conventions need to be broken. Government institutions and production enterprises are different from the army, and schools and scientific research institutions are even more so. In such units, rules can be overridden to select and promote talented people. Some provincial, municipal or autonomous-region Party committees have promoted one or two relatively young cadres who, although they are already in their forties or early fifties, are still called "young" and whose names always appear at the bottom of the list of leading cadres. This shows the old conventions have not yet been completely discarded. Another problem is the overstaffing of the leading bodies--the standing committee of a Party committee tends to have 15 to 18 members or even more. What we should do now is to thoughtfully select young and competent comrades for

the top and second posts in leading organs at the middle and lower levels, and for the second and third posts in the higher organs. And we should prepare to let them take over the top posts at all these levels after, say, two, three or five years. If it turns out that we've chosen the wrong person, we can always replace him. We still have time.

With regard to training and promotion in schools and scientific research institutions, as I said yesterday at the meeting to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, we should establish a system of academic degrees and titles and of titles for different technical personnel. Now that we have several young scientists who have won fame both at home and abroad, why can't they be promoted to the rank of professor or research fellow? In intellectual work whoever has made contributions should be given a corresponding title regardless of seniority. In factories too, we should always select directors those who have the greatest technical or managerial competence, regardless of age or seniority. Let me tell you something. The system of picking workshop chiefs and group leaders by democratic election, which we introduced into some factories as an experiment, has proved very effective. The important thing is to link the good operation of an enterprise with the workers' own vital interests, so that the people the workers elect to run an enterprise are those they believe will run it well, because a well-run enterprise means bonuses for the workers as well as greater contributions to the state. So far we have solved only the problem of electing workshop chiefs and group leaders; we shall have to study the question of how to choose factory directors and managers.

To sum up, we can succeed in our modernization programme only if we work harder to train and promote able people. In colleges and universities faculty members should have the title of professor (of the first, second or third grade), associate professor, lecturer or teaching assistant. In scientific research institutions, there should be research fellows (of the first, second or third grade), associate researchers, assistant researchers and research trainees. In the enterprises, there should be senior engineers and engineers, senior accountants and accountants, and so on. Whoever meets the requirements should get the corresponding title and pay. Salaries may still be fixed rather low at present, but they shouldn't be too low. We must do away with equalitarianism and the practice of "sharing food from the same big pot". The salary of an outstanding research fellow may be more than that of the head of the institute, while in a college or university, a prominent professor may be paid more than the president. Only then will people be encouraged to improve their qualifications and will capable persons come to the fore. We must establish a system under which people with specialized knowledge

and in the prime of life are placed in posts which give full scope to their talents. I would like to mention here that in general, scientists should not be bothered with administrative matters but should be enabled to concentrate as much as possible on their own specialities so as to do the best possible research.

We should make a special effort to seek out and promote middle-aged cadres. In perhaps five years' time a number of able people will emerge from among our college or university graduates. They will all be under 30, and we should make a point of promoting them. In the present circumstances, however, the emphasis should be on promoting the middle-aged and selecting those who meet the three requirements to take over leading positions. The veteran comrades should make way for them. In seeking out able personnel, we should break out of the old routine ways. We must bear in mind that this task is a "project of century-long significance". But let's not talk about 100 years, let's just talk about the next 10. This whole matter was on my mind back in 1975, when Chairman Mao asked me to take charge of the Central Committee's work. Wang Hongwen⁴² ran off to Shanghai, where he told people to wait and see how things stood in 10 years' time. I talked with Comrade Li Xiannian⁸³ about what would happen to people like us in 10 years. As far as age is concerned, they had the advantage of us, as they do of the comrades present here. If people who cling to the ideology of the Gang of Four were to take power one day, you wouldn't be able to overcome them. How much longer can you expect to live? And even if you are still around at that time, your minds won't be too clear. That is a law of nature.

We say that capitalist society is bad, but it doesn't hesitate to discover and utilize talent. One of its traits is that it makes use of anyone who is qualified, regardless of seniority, and this is considered natural. In this respect, our system of selecting cadres is outmoded. The seniority system represents a force of habit and is backward.

Our cause will have a bright future if we can select the right people for the right jobs. The reason is self-evident: it is not enough just to formulate correct ideological and political lines and define the objectives of the four modernizations; there must be people to do the work. Who is to undertake the job? It's no good for us just to sit in the office checking our names off papers that are routed to us—there's no hope in that. It's the younger people who are doing the real work today. Since that is so, why not promote them to leading posts? Some people say the younger comrades don't have enough prestige and authority to keep things in hand. Well then, help them out. What's more, we have too many "temples" now. Recently we have been considering whether it is good to have so many ministries and commissions

under the State Council. Do we need so many departments and bureaus under each ministry or commission? Or so many branches in the army? Can't we carry out some kind of reform? In my view, we simply can't have government organs and military commands that are so swollen and unwieldy. The damaging effects of bureaucracy in our organizational structure and work methods are visible on every side. There are too many "temples" and each has too many "deities". Veteran comrades stand in the way and younger people have no chance to come forward. Therefore, we must reform the present cadre system and establish one that facilitates the promotion of younger cadres.

A couple of years ago I proposed setting up a system of advisorships. It wasn't completely successful, however, because many people didn't want to become advisors. Now it is clear that the advisor system alone won't solve the problem and that the important thing is to have a retirement system. This question deeply concerns each one of us, and I ask you to think it over carefully. Unless this system is established, it will be impossible to reduce overstaffing, to make organizations less unwieldy and to give younger people an opportunity to move up. When we have regulations explicitly stating the retirement age for cadres of different levels and departments, everyone will know when he is supposed to retire. Before the "cultural revolution", we did consider creating such a system. But it didn't seem very pressing then, because most of the comrades present here today were only in their late forties. It is now 13 years since 1966, and most of you are around 60. So the problem has become urgent and must be solved soon. Will a retirement system mean that some comrades will be slighted? It's not a question of slighting anybody, but of addressing a major problem that affects the prosperity and vitality of our Party and our state. It seems that the advisor system is one way out and that it should therefore be maintained. But what is more important is to establish a retirement system. Many comrades have made this suggestion, but we have not discussed it formally yet. Today I'm just stating my views in advance.

The old comrades have many responsibilities now. What is the most important? To select successors well. When the right successors are chosen, we will have fulfilled our obligations and our life's work will be more or less complete. For us, the day-to-day work comes second, third, fourth, fifth or even sixth. Our first priority should be a good choice of successors.

What I am talking about today may not be very pleasant for senior cadres. You may say, "Just look, we veteran cadres are in for hard times now. There are regulations that restrict our material benefits. Special prerogatives are out. And now comes this talk about retirement, and about 'deities' in

temples giving way to new ones, and so on. Isn't all this directed at us older comrades?" I don't think that's the right way to look at it. We ourselves should be conscious of these necessities. As for me, I'd like to retire right now if the Party would let me. I really mean it. That's the truth. But in the interest of our cause as a whole I can't retire yet, nor do I think you would agree to my doing so. I feel keenly that the question brought up today is of overriding importance. We must look to the future, for our cause will affect generations to come. The matters I've been talking about are very important and they will surely affect some of us—and possibly all of us—at some time in the next 10 years. Suppose we think further ahead, say, 20 years. What problems may be encountered then, and what may happen? How many of the comrades present will still be around 20 years from now? Of course, I would like to see you all enjoy long lives, but the laws of nature are inexorable. If we don't look further ahead, if we don't consider this question from the point of view of the fundamental interests of our Party and state, we can't arrive at the correct conclusions, and we will find it difficult to make decisions on many issues or to handle things properly.

III. LOOKING AFTER THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING

Our Party used to have excellent relations with the people. Keeping close ties with the masses is a fine tradition of our Party, but Lin Biao and the Gang of Four nearly destroyed it. Still, it wouldn't be in keeping with reality to put all the blame for our present alienation from the people on Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, for we have our own share of responsibility. Some of the things that alienate us from the people, including preferential treatment, existed before the "cultural revolution", though to a far less serious extent than today. At that time, cadres had self-discipline and were concerned about the people. Now things are different. In the past, when a leading comrade inspected a place, he would first go and see the condition of the kitchen, toilets and bathing facilities. There are still comrades like that, but not many. Quite a few simply don't get in touch with the people. Some school leaders don't talk to students and don't even have much contact with the teachers. Our past experience tells us that we should be especially concerned for the people in times of adversity. So long as we are concerned for them, identify ourselves with them and share their lot instead of seeking privileges, all problems can be readily solved and all difficulties overcome.

In passing I would like to mention our propaganda and educational

work. It is highly important and has yielded very good results, but recently our propaganda on some issues has been rather one-sided and not well thought out. As a result, comrades working at the grass-roots level have run into difficulties. For instance, *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) published two articles within a short interval about the people coming from different localities to appeal to the central authorities for help.⁹³ When the first article appeared on September 17, people began streaming into Beijing. The second article, which came out on October 22, clarified things and the number of such people soon dropped. What does this show? It shows the tremendous influence newspapers alone can exert. If comrades in different organizations really explain to the people the problems facing our country, or even compare the difficulties of today with those of 1962,⁹⁴ and if they explain to them the measures we are taking to overcome the difficulties, the people are sure to feel and react differently. So long as we maintain close ties with the people and explain things to them patiently, we will have their sympathy and understanding and will be able to surmount any difficulties, however great.

The problems that are arising now show that we have been quite alienated from the people for a considerable time. We should do painstaking ideological work among them, including those who are always putting up big-character posters and making public speeches at the "Xidan Wall".⁹² Of course, it is necessary to crack down on the handful of bad elements. But we should adopt dual tactics in dealing with these elements and place the emphasis on educating them and splitting their ranks. Further, we were completely right to establish the policy of economic readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, and it is increasingly clear that readjustment in particular is necessary. However, since in our propaganda and educational work we have failed to keep up with developments, a fair number of people have wrongly found this policy demoralizing. This, together with the rise in prices, has led them to feel there is no hope for the four modernizations. So our educational work, including work through the mass media, must catch up with policy changes. Whenever a problem comes up, every locality and every institution should take on the task of educating the masses by explaining the issue to them properly. It is essential that we heed the voice of the masses, discuss the conduct of affairs with them and work with them to overcome difficulties. Students in some schools have complained about their living conditions, saying that no one is paying attention to the way their kitchens are run, that spinach, after one rough cut, is thrown into the pot with the dirt still on it. It shouldn't be too hard to wash spinach clean and cut it into small pieces, and it wouldn't add to the

cost. However, it will be difficult to solve even simple problems like this without proper educational work and close contact with the masses and cadres at lower levels. More often than not, it has been our failure to do our work well and promptly that has given rise to the existing problems and that has caused so many petitioners to come from different localities to seek help from the central authorities. Of course, some of them are bad people who break the law and regulations, and that cannot be attributed to shortcomings in our work.

At present cadres throughout the country, and first of all the senior cadres, should set an example and take the lead in reviving and enriching our Party's traditions of working hard, living simply and maintaining close ties with the masses. We will run into a variety of difficulties in our effort to achieve the four modernizations because we lack experience in such matters. For one thing, we are short of managerial and technical personnel. For another, technical transformation of an enterprise reduces the size of the work force needed, and this creates the difficult problem of how best to employ the extra workers. Furthermore, we are going to establish a retirement system. This is undoubtedly correct, but many people won't like the idea, so we will run into difficulties there too. In the final analysis, these problems can be solved only if we have faith in the masses, rely on them and stick closely to the mass line. It is up to the veteran cadres to take the lead in further developing our Party's tradition of maintaining close ties with the masses. Younger cadres should be selected and promoted to leading positions at different levels. The veteran cadres should pass on their experience to them, help and guide them and set a good example for them so that they will inherit and develop the Party's fine traditions of hard work and plain living and closeness to the masses. They should be taught that to solve problems it is not enough merely to be young and to possess professional knowledge. It is essential to have a good style of work. But what is most important is to maintain close ties with the masses. We should not be overlords and should guard against the arbitrary and bureaucratic ways of high officials in the yamen [government offices in feudal China]. These are some of the fundamental views of Comrade Mao Zedong, and we should still act in accordance with them.

Comrades, our senior cadres are all long-tested veterans nurtured and educated by the Party over a long period. The overwhelming majority of you have always obeyed the Party and acted in the spirit of its directives. You struggled against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. You work for the cause of the Party and the people faithfully and wholeheartedly, and you have maintained our Party's fine traditions and style. We are confident that under

the new historical conditions and in the course of the new Long March towards the four modernizations, you will all respond eagerly to the Party's call, set an example for others and take the lead in further developing the Party's fine traditions of hard work and plain living and of closeness to the masses. We are confident that you will conscientiously follow the regulations, oppose the pursuit of personal privileges and check all unhealthy trends, and that you will strive to seek out and train successors, gradually handing over your responsibilities and thus completing your glorious mission.

WE CAN DEVELOP A MARKET ECONOMY UNDER SOCIALISM

November 26, 1979

Gibney: Over a fairly long period of time China has remained closed off from the United States. For such a country as China, it is really a big challenge to achieve rapid modernization. It seems that China has to carry out a new revolution.

Deng Xiaoping: Modernization does represent a great new revolution. The aim of our revolution is to liberate and expand the productive forces. Without expanding the productive forces, making our country prosperous and powerful, and improving the living standards of the people, our revolution is just empty talk. We oppose the old society and the old system because they oppressed the people and fettered the productive forces. We are clear about this problem now. The Gang of Four said it was better to be poor under socialism than to be rich under capitalism. This is absurd.

Of course, we do not want capitalism, but neither do we want to be poor under socialism. What we want is socialism in which the productive forces are developed and the country is prosperous and powerful. We believe that socialism is superior to capitalism. This superiority should be demonstrated in that socialism provides more favourable conditions for expanding the productive forces than capitalism does. This superiority should have become evident, but owing to our differing understanding of it, the development of the productive forces has been delayed, especially during the past ten-year period up to 1976. In the early 1960s, China was behind the developed countries, but the gap was not as wide as it is now. Over the past 11 or 12 years, from the end of the 1960s through the 1970s, the gap has widened because other countries have been vigorously developing their economies, science and technology, with the rate of development no longer being

Excerpt from a talk with Frank B. Gibney, Vice-Chairman of the Compilation Committee of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. of the United States, Paul T. K. Lin, Director of the Institute of East Asia at McGill University of Canada, and others.

calculated in terms of years, not even in terms of months, but in terms of days. For a fairly long period of time since the founding of the People's Republic, we have been isolated from the rest of the world. For many years this isolation was not attributable to us; on the contrary, the international anti-Chinese and anti-socialist forces confined us to a state of isolation. However, in the 1960s when opportunities to increase contact and cooperation with other countries presented themselves to us, we isolated ourselves. At last, we have learned to make use of favourable international conditions.

We must realize the four modernizations. To attain this objective, we must rely on our own efforts, on correct principles and policies, and on specific effective measures. Some people doubt whether we can accomplish the modernization drive and ask us on what basis we can achieve the four modernizations. We enjoy four favourable conditions for attaining the goal of modernization as follows.

First, we have abundant natural resources. China is a country with vast territory and abundant energy and mineral resources, including almost all the ferrous, nonferrous and rare metals. If these resources are exploited, they will produce great economic power.

Second, over the past 30 years, regardless of the follies that we have committed, we have laid a preliminary material foundation for industry, agriculture, science and technology, thus creating a basis for achieving the four modernizations. We now have over 2 million machine tools, and produce more than 100 million tons of oil, over 600 million tons of coal, and more than 30 million tons of steel annually. In short, we have laid the material foundation for realizing the four modernizations.

Third, we believe that the Chinese people are apt. For about ten years, the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four fettered people's thinking and restrained them from bringing their wisdom and creativity into full play. But now we are encouraging people to emancipate their minds and reiterating the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", as was proposed by Chairman Mao Zedong, so as to create the necessary conditions for arousing the Chinese people's initiative and bringing their intelligence and wisdom into full play. We are strengthening and promoting democracy for the same purpose. But some people mistake our expanding democracy for advocating anarchy. In fact, anarchy was practised in the days of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. Development is out of the question under anarchy. If you had come to China in the 1950s or in the early 1960s, you would have found that our social conduct was good. During those hard times, people observed discipline, took the overall situation into consideration, combined personal interest with

the overall interests of the collective, the state and society, and conscientiously overcame difficulties with the government. It was in this way that we passed through the three years of economic difficulties beginning in 1959. However, Lin Biao and the Gang of Four completely corrupted this good social conduct. Now, the “Xidan Wall”⁹² in Beijing has for some time been a place where those people, who do not work, often create disturbances. They are perniciously influenced by the ideology of the Gang of Four and gather to make trouble and even to engage in espionage. Although a few of them are well-intentioned, actually they are imbued with the ideology of the Gang of Four. They practise ultra-individualism and anarchy. Although these young people are few in number, they have enormous influence. We have adopted a serious attitude towards them for the purpose of educating the younger generation. Therefore, we maintain that while strengthening democracy, we should improve the socialist legal system. We should emancipate our minds and restore the good social conduct that prevailed for a long time. We shall try to fully arouse the initiative of the people in order to accomplish the four modernizations, but we have a precondition, that is, we need to create a political situation characterized by social stability and unity. Meanwhile, we should also pay attention to training personnel. For many years, we have neglected scientific research and education, resulting in great losses in this area. Therefore, we must strengthen science and education, discover capable personnel and make good use of them. To sum up, we should arouse the initiative of our people. As long as we put to use the wisdom and intelligence of the people, China has high hopes.

Fourth, to realize the four modernizations, we must follow the correct foreign policy of opening to the outside world. Although we rely primarily on our own efforts, on our own resources and on our own foundations to realize the four modernizations, it would be impossible for us to achieve this objective without international cooperation. We should make full use of advanced scientific and technological achievements from around the world and also of potential funding from abroad so that we can accelerate the four modernizations. This opportunity did not exist for us in the past. Later, when conditions changed, we failed to make use of them for some time. It is high time that we learn to utilize this opportunity.

The principles and objectives of the four modernizations were formulated by Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, but owing to the interference of the Gang of Four, we could not actually implement them. After the downfall of the Gang of Four, we made great efforts to solve the numerous problems they had caused. It was not until last year that we began to shift our focus onto the drive for modernization.

What is the most significant political task for China? It is the achievement of the four modernizations. During the drive for modernization we are bound to solve complicated problems and encounter difficulties. For instance, our departments are overstaffed. Also, we must master modern science and technology, but we do not yet have enough competent personnel. We need the political situation of stability and unity that we have basically already created, but still, many problems remain to be solved. We participate in international cooperation, but still we need experience in learning to absorb advanced foreign science and technology and foreign capital. However, despite various difficulties and problems, I am convinced that we have taken the correct road towards modernization. We are confident that we can gradually remove the obstacles and overcome our difficulties and shortcomings. Perhaps we shall not score any notable achievements in two or three years, but a great change will take place in a few more years. Although some people still doubt whether we can achieve the four modernizations, the Chinese leaders and the majority of the Chinese people are convinced that we shall succeed in our modernization programme.

Gibney: The United States made a big mistake when it interpreted the socialism of China as a copy of that of the Soviet Union. Could China have been so ideologically confused initially as to have completely imitated and adopted the socialist style of the Soviet Union, failing to make it into a Chinese-style socialist road?

Deng: The socialist road of China is not the same as that of the Soviet Union. They were different from each other from the very start in that China's socialism had its own characteristics ever since the founding of the People's Republic. For instance, we adopted the policy of redemption instead of that of deprivation in our socialist transformation of capitalist enterprises. As a result, we succeeded in abolishing the bourgeoisie and carrying out the socialist transformation without affecting the national economy. Besides, the political situation characterized by both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, as advocated by Chairman Mao Zedong, is not similar to that of the Soviet Union. However, some of our economic systems, especially enterprise management and organization, have been greatly influenced by the Soviet Union. For this reason, it is advantageous that we inherit the advanced methods of operation, management, and scientific development from advanced capitalist countries. We are still having many difficulties reforming these aspects of our economy.

Gibney: It is wonderful that the initiative of the Chinese people is being aroused. But someday in the future, with China remaining a socialist country

and operating within the limits of socialism, will China develop some kind of market economy?

Deng: Market economy involves only the foreign-funded enterprises. Taking the country as a whole, this is not a problem. The state-owned sector and collectively owned sector are still the mainstay of our economy. Although in our economy there may be some investment from overseas Chinese which might be in the form of capitalism, it is different from regular foreign investment because the majority of these overseas Chinese come to China with reverence, hoping to develop their socialist motherland. Some people are afraid that China will take the capitalist road if it tries to achieve the four modernizations with the help of foreign investment. No, we will not take the capitalist road. The bourgeoisie no longer exist in China. There are still former capitalists, but their class status has changed. Although foreign investment, which belongs to the capitalist economy, occupies a place in our economy, it accounts for only a small portion of it and thus will not change China's social system. Achievement of common prosperity characterizes socialism, which cannot produce an exploiting class.

Paul T. K. Lin: China made a mistake when it placed restrictions on its socialist market economy too early and too rapidly. Because of this, do you think China needs to make its socialist market economy play a bigger role under the guidance of a planned socialist economy.

Deng: It is wrong to maintain that a market economy exists only in capitalist society and that there is only "capitalist" market economy. Why can't we develop a market economy under socialism? Developing a market economy does not mean practising capitalism. While maintaining a planned economy as the mainstay of our economic system, we are also introducing a market economy. But it is a socialist market economy. Although a socialist market economy is similar to a capitalist one in method, there are also differences between them. The socialist market economy mainly regulates interrelations between state-owned enterprises, between collectively owned enterprises and even between foreign capitalist enterprises. But in the final analysis, this is all done under socialism in a socialist society. We cannot say that market economy exists only under capitalism. Market economy was in its embryonic stages as early as feudal society. We can surely develop it under socialism. Similarly, taking advantage of the useful aspects of capitalist countries, including their methods of operation and management, does not mean that we will adopt capitalism. Instead, we use those methods in order to develop the productive forces under socialism. As long as learning from capitalism is regarded as no more than a means to an end, it will not change the structure of socialism or bring China back to capitalism.

CHINA'S GOAL IS TO ACHIEVE COMPARATIVE PROSPERITY BY THE END OF THE CENTURY

December 6, 1979

The objective of achieving the four modernizations was set by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou Enlai. By achieving the four modernizations, we mean shaking off China's poverty and backwardness, gradually improving the people's living standards, restoring a position for China in international affairs commensurate with its current status, and enabling China to contribute more to mankind. Backwardness will leave us vulnerable to bullying.

The four modernizations we are striving to achieve are modernizations with Chinese characteristics. Our concept of the four modernizations is different from yours. By achieving the four modernizations, we mean achieving a comparative prosperity. Even if we realize the four modernizations by the end of this century, our per capita GNP will still be very low. If we want to reach the level of a relatively wealthy country of the Third World with a per capita GNP US \$1,000 for example, we have to make an immense effort. Even if we reach that level, we will still be a backward nation compared to Western countries. However, at that point China will be a country with a comparative prosperity and our people will enjoy a much higher standard of living than they do now. At that time, we could offer more assistance to the poor countries of the Third World. By that time, China's domestic markets will be larger and, accordingly, its trade and other economic exchanges with other countries will expand.

Some people are worried that if China becomes richer, it will be too competitive in world markets. Since China will be a country with only a comparative prosperity by that time, this will not be the case. To be frank, the mainland's volume of foreign trade is less than that of Taiwan. Even if the per capita GNP on the mainland reaches the present level of Taiwan, the mainland will not be a threat to world markets, because by that time there will be a greater demand for supply at home.

Excerpt from a talk with Masayoshi Ohira, Prime Minister of Japan.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS BEFORE US

January 16, 1980

Comrades,

On New Year's Day I spoke for about 15 minutes at a meeting of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Later, Comrade Hu Yaobang⁹⁵ and others asked me to speak to more comrades about our expectations for their work in the coming year. At present there are some problems within the Party and among the people which call for solution. Of course, it is impossible for me to cover them all in my speech today, and the comments I am going to make on some of them may not be adequate. But since you want me to speak, I will do so.

I would like to discuss the following three topics: first, the three major tasks for us in the 1980s and the situation—mainly the domestic one—as we enter the new decade; second, the four essential problems to be solved, or the four prerequisites for achieving the four modernizations; and third, upholding and improving leadership by the Communist Party.

The *first topic*, then, is the three major tasks we have to perform in the 1980s and the domestic situation as we enter this decade.

Let me begin by defining our tasks. The three major ones are as follows:

First, in international affairs we must continue to oppose hegemonism and strive to preserve world peace. There is a consensus throughout the world that the 1980s will be a dangerous decade. So the task of opposing hegemonism will be on our daily agenda. The 1980s are off to a bad start, what with the Afghanistan affair⁹⁶ and the Iranian affair,⁹⁷ not to mention the Vietnamese⁹⁸ and Middle Eastern⁹⁹ questions which came up earlier. There may be many similar problems in the future. In a word, the struggle against hegemonism is a grave task constantly confronting our country.

Second, we must work for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, for

Speech at a meeting of cadres called by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

China's reunification. We will endeavour to attain this goal in the 1980s; it will be an ever-present and important issue on our agenda, though there may be twists and turns in the course of its development.

Third, we must step up economic construction; that is, we will step up the drive for China's four modernizations. To put the matter in a nutshell, the four modernizations mean economic construction. Without sound economic foundations, it will be impossible to modernize our national defence, and science and technology should primarily serve economic construction.

Modernization is at the core of all these three major tasks, because it is the essential condition for solving both our domestic and our external problems. Everything depends on our doing the work in our own country well. The role we play in international affairs is determined by the extent of our economic growth. If our country becomes more developed and prosperous, we will be in a position to play a greater role in international affairs. Already our international role is not insignificant. With a stronger material base, we will be able to enhance it. In the final analysis, the return of Taiwan to motherland—the reunification of the country—also depends on our running our affairs at home well. We are superior to Taiwan politically and in terms of economic system, but we must surpass Taiwan, at least to a certain extent, in economic development as well. Nothing less will do. With the success of the four modernizations and more economic growth, we will be in a better position to accomplish reunification. Therefore, in the final analysis, the two tasks of opposing hegemonism and reunifying the country by achieving the return of Taiwan to the motherland both require that we do well in our economic development. Of course, we have to handle our many other affairs well too, but economic development is primary.

Today is January 16, 1980, the 16th day of the new decade. The 1980s will be a very important decade both for China and for the world as a whole. It is hard to predict what may happen internationally, but the 1980s are likely to be a decade of great turbulence and crises. We believe, of course, that world war can be put off and peace maintained for a longer time if the struggle against hegemonism is carried on effectively. This is possible, and it is precisely what we are working for. Like the people of the rest of the world, we really need a peaceful environment, and thus, for the interest of our own country the goal of our foreign policy is a peaceful environment for achieving the four modernizations. These are sincere words, not just empty rhetoric. This is a vital matter which conforms to the interests not only of the Chinese people but also of the people in the rest of the world.

We want to achieve the four modernizations by the end of this century, which means that counting from this New Year's Day, there are only 20

years left—the 1980s and the 1990s. Failure to achieve decisive successes in our four modernizations during the 1980s would be tantamount to a setback. Therefore, this is a decade of great importance—indeed, a crucial decade—to China’s development. So long as we lay solid foundations during this decade and continue our efforts to build on them in the next, we can count on achieving modernization of a Chinese type within the next 20 years. There is real hope. Although a period of 20 years sounds quite long, the time will slip by very quickly. From the very first year of the 1980s, we must devote our full attention to achieving the four modernizations and not waste a single day; since this general task is now before us nothing should be allowed to divert our energies.

What is our domestic situation as we enter the 1980s? With our goal and tasks now set, we should take stock of the context in which we have to work. Some of the masses and some Party members—even some of our cadres—are not quite clear about what we have accomplished since we smashed the Gang of Four [in 1976]. They are not satisfied with the progress, thinking it much too slow. Because of their dissatisfaction, they are uncertain whether our political line and the four modernizations can be carried through. Of course, there are still some people hostile towards our current ideological, political and organizational lines, but I am not talking about them. I just want to make a few comments with regard to those comrades who are not very optimistic or who are not sufficiently convinced that our future is bright.

It should be pointed out that the situation is very favourable. First of all, in the three years and three months since the overthrow of the Gang of Four, and especially in the year since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, events have moved very rapidly nationwide—even faster than the Party expected. A lot of work was done in the first two years. Without the preparations during those years, it would have been impossible to lay down the Party’s ideological and political lines so explicitly at the Third Plenary Session; so it should be clearly stated that the work done in those two years paved the way for the Third Plenary Session. That session solved not only problems of the 10-year “cultural revolution”, but also, to a great extent, problems accumulated over the whole period since 1957. We should all think back; has there or has there not been a fundamental change in the Party thanks to the efforts of the last three years? Has there or has there not been a fundamental change in the leading bodies and in the ideological line? I don’t mean to suggest that all problems have been solved. But a fundamental change has indeed taken place, and that is what counts most. Of course there are still a great many problems to be solved. In point

of fact, we are solving them step by step and will continue to do so. But all in all, there cannot be the slightest doubt about this fundamental change, because in the last three years much work has been done to set things to rights, and our achievements have been enormous. It is wrong to underestimate them.

Let us review here the major work we've done in the political, economic and diplomatic spheres.

On what grounds can we say that a fundamental change has taken place in the political situation? First of all, we have settled accounts with the Gang of Four and launched a nationwide campaign to uncover their factional set-up and to expose and criticize their crimes; basically we have consolidated our leading bodies at all levels. That was the political prerequisite for all our other achievements in the last three years. Second, the democratic life of the Party and the country has begun to get back on the track. The democratic system has been strengthened and extended year by year. Although a good number of important problems still call for deeper study and continued efforts should be made to promote what is beneficial and get rid of what is harmful, we must recognize what is really predominant and essential. For the 29 years since the founding of New China we have had no criminal law. Though we tried repeatedly to draw up such a code and it went through more than 30 drafts, nothing ever came of the project. Now a code of criminal law and a code of criminal procedure have been adopted and promulgated and are being implemented. The whole nation sees in them the hope for a strictly enforced socialist legal system. This is no small achievement. Third, in these three years, and particularly in the past year, a great number of individual cases in which the charges were false or which were unjustly or incorrectly dealt with have been re-examined at the central level and in different localities and the verdicts reversed. According to incomplete statistics, 2.9 million people have been rehabilitated, as have an even greater number whose cases were not included among those needing special inquiries. We have reversed the judgement on the Tiananmen Incident³⁵ and remedies have been made for the cases of a large number of comrades, including Peng Dehuai, Zhang Wentian, Tao Zhu, Bo Yibo, Peng Zhen, Xi Zhongxun, Wang Renzhong, Huang Kecheng, Yang Shangkun, Lu Dingyi and Zhou Yang, in which the charges were false or which were unjustly or incorrectly dealt with. And very soon we will clear the name of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Moreover, we have nullified the wrong designation, dating from 1957, of large numbers of people as bourgeois Rightists. Here I would like to mention in passing that the anti-Rightist struggle of 1957¹⁰⁰ was necessary and correct. Our comrades can well recall the situation in 1957. In eight years, between 1949 and 1957,

we had basically completed the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and thus entered the stage of socialism. At that point an ideological current appeared, the essence of which was opposition to socialism and to leadership by the Communist Party. And some people were making vicious attacks. It would not have been right for us to refrain from striking back. What, then, was wrong with the anti-Rightist struggle? The problem was that, as it developed, the scope and targets of the attack were unduly broadened, and the blows were much too heavy. Large numbers of people were punished inappropriately or too severely. Wronged for many years, they were unable to apply their intelligence and talents for the benefit of the people, and this was a loss not only to them personally but to the country as a whole. Therefore, it is a very necessary and important political measure to remove the label “bourgeois Rightist” from all of them, to nullify the wrong designation of the great majority of them and to assign appropriate jobs to all concerned. Nevertheless, it does not follow that the anti-socialist ideological current did not exist in 1957 or that the counter-blow against it was unwarranted. To sum up, the anti-Rightist struggle was not wrong in itself; the problem was that its scope was unduly broadened. Fourth, we have removed the label “stinking Number Nine”¹⁰ from the intellectuals as well as the labels “landlord”, “rich peasant” and “capitalist” from the overwhelming majority of persons formerly in those categories. Isn’t this a major political event involving the whole nation? Fifth, we have by and large summed up the experience and lessons of the past 30 years, including the lessons of the “cultural revolution”, and have cleared the name and restored the traditions of the Party’s Eighth National Congress.¹⁰¹ The 1979 National Day speech made by Comrade Ye Jianying²³ on behalf of the Central Committee not only summed up in a sense the “cultural revolution” but in fact summarized the experience and lessons of the 30 years since the founding of the People’s Republic. The history of our Party probably ought to be written in the same vein; it may not be appropriate to dig into minute details. Haven’t we been saying that we should tackle historical issues in broad outline and not go into too much detail? The same approach should be followed in future. In evaluating public figures and history, we hold that one should look at things scientifically from all sides and guard against being one-sided or swayed by emotions. This is the only attitude that conforms to Marxism and to the interests and wishes of the nation. We will probably work out a formal resolution on certain historical questions this year. Sixth, in the last three years we have correctly interpreted Mao Zedong Thought and restored its original features. This is known to all. Through the discussions of the thesis that practice is the sole criterion for

testing truth, we have established the Party's ideological line, or rather we have restored the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. As a result, we are properly implementing the policy of correctly differentiating and handling the two different types of contradictions [those among the people and those between the people and the enemy], the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend",⁷³ and the principle of the "three don'ts"¹⁰²—all advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong over the years. Seventh, our work in education, science and culture has begun to return to normal. Eighth, the work of our public security, procuratorial and judicial departments, the work among our nationalities, the united front work, the work of our trade unions, Youth League and women's federations, and in other areas are all being brought back onto the right track. I have cited just a few examples, which are by no means exhaustive. It was not easy to solve so many problems in such a short time; three years ago it would have been inconceivable. The solution of these problems has brought about a change in the outlook of the Party and of the country and has brought stability, unity and liveliness to the political situation. These changes have made it possible for us to shift the focus of our work and, with our minds at ease, concentrate our efforts on socialist modernization. Without such changes, this would have been absolutely impossible. The facts confirm that we have done much hard work and achieved tremendous successes in the political sphere in the last three years.

In the economic sphere also the last three years have witnessed significant achievements. We often say that our economic work suffered from 10 years of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, and it was already quite chaotic before then. That these three years of effort have restored our economy to the present level is in itself a major accomplishment. In the 20-odd years since 1957, the focus of our work was never really shifted to economic development, so there are many accumulated problems. Some people are now critical of our past economic work. In fact we were inexperienced in many areas, and what good experience we gained was never systematized and institutionalized. Many problems have not been satisfactorily solved. Especially during the decade-long "cultural revolution" when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were running amuck, everything was thrown into chaos. It is therefore fair to say that the economic departments should not be the first to be blamed for the past failures in our economic work, and that apart from the sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, the primary responsibility rests with the Central Committee of the Party. The economic departments of course also had their shortcomings and should sum up their experience. But now we should all look ahead, make positive suggestions and

not get bogged down in complaining or assessing blame. It must be noted that the leading comrades of our economic departments at all levels have done a lot of work in the last three years. On the other hand, a good number of comrades who were shunted aside for many years and haven't been back in their original posts very long, have lost touch with the situation; even those who stayed at their posts all through are confronted with new problems they find hard to grasp immediately. Inevitably there are shortcomings in their work because they don't have a very good understanding of either domestic or international developments. So long as they study the new situation and new problems with an open mind, their performance will improve.

After more than two years of effort, we have formulated the general policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving China's economy. This policy was not arrived at haphazardly but was based on a summing-up of past experience and an analysis of the present situation, and it was formulated with a view to doing our work better and with quicker results. It has become increasingly clear that it is absolutely necessary and correct to establish this general policy.

As regards work in rural areas, the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party took two decisions,⁷⁹ drew up a series of policies and measures concerning work in rural areas and decided to raise the government purchase price of grains and other farm products. Since the session we have increased the wages and salaries of workers and other employees. Great strides have been made in providing job opportunities through various channels; last year alone more than seven million people were provided with employment, and the effort will be continued this year. The textile and other light industries have been strengthened and capital construction has been scaled down. We are experimenting with the granting of greater decision-making power to enterprises. While the financial structure is being reformed step by step, experimental measures have been decided on for the gradual introduction of other reforms in the economic structure. We have many more problems to solve and must continue our efforts to readjust and restructure the economy. However, we should recognize that we have scored great achievements in the economic field in the last three years, and especially in 1979. Let us consider the situation in the rural areas. One characteristic of China is that 80 per cent of its population still lives in the countryside. The overwhelming majority of China's villages have taken on a new look, and the peasants' minds are quite at ease. Doesn't this show that the policies of our Party and state are effective? Things are fairly complicated in the urban areas and, in particular, some confusion has arisen in the matter

of commodity prices. But production in most factories and other enterprises is now much more orderly, and the people's standard of living has begun to improve gradually as a result of the increases in wages, employment and housing. All these accomplishments are attributable to our recent exertions.

In economic development, we are searching for a road that both conforms to China's actual conditions and enables us to proceed more quickly and economically. We are experimenting with such things as expanding democratic management and the decision-making power of enterprises, increasing specialization and co-operation, combining planned regulation with market regulation,¹⁰³ integrating advanced technologies with existing intermediate technologies, using foreign funds and expertise in a rational way, and so on. While learning from all this, we have "paid tuition fees" and suffered some losses, but the important thing is that we are accumulating experience, which is beginning to show results. What is necessary now is to sum up this experience so as to do things faster and better, and to formulate both the guiding principles for the economic structural reform and a long-term programme for the development of the economy as a whole. These tasks are vital and we cannot afford either to approach them too hastily or to postpone them. The Central Committee hopes that comrades engaged in practical and theoretical work on the economic front will unite, co-operate closely and learn from each other. We hope they will not just indulge in empty talk but conduct investigations and studies and repeated discussions so that within the year they can submit to the Central Committee several feasible plans for the reform and a long-term programme for economic development.

In foreign affairs, in the past three years we have established diplomatic relations with the United States, concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with Japan⁷⁵ and made state visits to them. Comrade Hua Guofeng²² has visited Korea, Romania, Yugoslavia and four other European countries. Comrade Li Xiannian⁸³ and I have visited a number of Asian and African countries. Many other delegations at various levels have been sent to scores of countries throughout the world. Almost all the vice-premiers and most vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress have made trips abroad. In the past three years, and particularly last year, we organized an unprecedented number of visits to different parts of the world, and we received leaders of some foreign countries almost every month. These activities have initiated a new diplomatic pattern for our country, provided us with rather favourable international conditions for our four modernizations and expanded the ranks of the international forces ranged against hegemonism. Our co-operation with the third-world countries has

continued to grow. Our self-defensive counter-attack on Viet Nam⁸⁰ has brought us victories both military and political, and has been a major, long-term factor both in stabilizing the situation in Southeast Asia and in carrying on the worldwide struggle against hegemonism.

I have described in broad outline what we have done in the political, economic and diplomatic spheres in the past three years, focusing on the year following the Third Plenary Session. We must not lose sight of our achievements. We must recognize that our efforts in these years have built a sound foundation for the 1980s in the political, economic and other spheres at home and in our foreign relations.

In short, the situation as we begin the 1980s is excellent. We have paved the way for victorious advance in all spheres and so are entering the new decade full of confidence. It is groundless and utterly wrong to be sceptical about the domestic situation and the future of the four modernizations. Of course, it is understandable that for a time some of the masses may be somewhat disappointed in the Party and socialism: their minds were poisoned during the decade when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were riding high, and they don't understand many things because we haven't conducted enough education among them. With patience and confidence, we should be able gradually to change their state of mind. But our cadres, particularly the higher ones, must have a high political consciousness and remain absolutely firm on the fundamental issues. Only in this way can we unite and educate our whole Party and people so that all can enter the 1980s with full confidence.

My *second topic* is the four essential problems to be solved or, to put it another way, the four prerequisites for achieving the four modernizations.

These four prerequisites, which were first put forth at the meeting of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and were generally well received, are as follows: (1) a firm and consistent political line; (2) political stability and unity; (3) hard struggle and a pioneering spirit; and (4) a contingent of cadres with an unswerving socialist orientation and with professional knowledge and competence. These four points do not, of course, cover everything, but they sum up the main things we should do and indicate the proper direction for our current endeavours.

First, it is essential to follow a firm and consistent political line.

We now have such a line. In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, Comrade Ye Jianying formulated the general task—or, if you will, the general line—as follows: Unite the people of all our nationalities and bring all positive forces into play so that we can work with one heart and one mind, go all out, aim

high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modern, powerful socialist country. That was the first fairly comprehensive statement of our present general line. This general line is of immense political importance today—how can it be otherwise? It represents our long-term task. If a massive war breaks out and we have to fight, we will have to suspend our efforts to fulfil this task, but otherwise, we must keep at it consistently and devotedly. Having experienced many twists and turns in our work during the past 30 years, we have never really been able to shift its focus to socialist construction. Consequently, the superiority of socialism has not been displayed fully, the productive forces have not developed in a rapid, steady, balanced way, and the people's standard of living has not improved much. The decade of the "cultural revolution" brought catastrophe upon us and caused profound suffering. Except in the event of a massive war, we must steel ourselves to carry out this task with constancy and devotion; we must make it our central task and allow nothing to interfere with its fulfilment. Even if there is a large-scale war, afterwards we will either pick up where we left off or start over. The whole Party and people should form this high resolve and keep to it without faltering. Had it not been for the "Left" interference, the reversals of 1958⁷⁶ and especially of the "cultural revolution", significant progress would certainly have been achieved in our industrial and agricultural production and in science and education, and the people's standard of living would certainly have improved to a fair extent. We could have accomplished these things simply by working conscientiously and methodically, even without applying the experience of the advanced countries and having the high resolve we have today. Take steel for instance. If there had been steady development, by now we could have been producing at least 50 to 60 million tons of usable steel a year. Today we enjoy very favourable international conditions and we can be fully confident that our future will be bright as long as the whole Party and people, with one heart and mind, resolutely follow the political line formulated by the Central Committee.

The tasks to be performed in building a modern, powerful socialist country are numerous. They are also interdependent: economic development cannot be separated from educational and scientific undertakings or from political and legal work, and none of them should be emphasized to the neglect of the others. For many years, one serious shortcoming in our planning has been the failure to balance development in the various fields. There have been imbalances between agriculture and industry; among farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery; between light and heavy industry; between the coal, power, petroleum and transportation

industries on the one hand and other industries on the other; between the “bones” and the “flesh” (that is, between industry on the one hand and housing, transportation and other urban development, commerce and service trades on the other); and between accumulation and consumption. This year’s planning is a little better, but it takes a tremendous effort to bring about a fundamental change. There is one additional important imbalance: the one between economic development and the development of education, science, culture and public health services. State expenditures for the latter are too limited and out of proportion to those for the former. Even some of the other third-world countries pay far greater attention to these areas than we do. India, for example, spends more money on education. Egypt has a population of only 40 million, but its educational spending per capita is several times ours. In short, we must be determined to substantially increase state expenditures for education, science, culture and public health services. Owing to financial difficulties this year, we can only take care of key projects in these areas, but beginning next year, or at the latest the year after, state expenditures must be increased annually without fail; otherwise, our efforts to modernize will get nowhere. Since our modernization programme covers many fields, it calls for an overall balance and we cannot stress one to the neglect of the others. But when all is said and done, economic development is the pivot. Any deviation from this pivotal task endangers our material base. All other tasks must revolve around the pivot and must absolutely not interfere with or upset it. In the 20-odd years since 1957 we have learned bitter lessons in this respect.

At present some people, especially young people, are sceptical about the socialist system, alleging that socialism is not as good as capitalism. Such ideas must be firmly corrected. The socialist system is one thing, and the specific way of building socialism another. Counting from the October Revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union has been engaged in building socialism for 63 years, but it is still in no position to boast about how to do it. It is true that we don’t have enough experience either, and perhaps it is only now that we have begun in earnest to search for a better road. Nevertheless, the superiority of the socialist system has already been proved, even though it still needs to be displayed in more, better and more convincing ways. In the future, we must—and certainly will—have abundant facts with which to demonstrate that the socialist system is superior to the capitalist system. This superiority should manifest itself in many ways, but first and foremost it must be revealed in the rate of economic growth and in economic efficiency. Otherwise, there will be no point in our trying to blow our own horn. And to achieve a high rate of growth and high efficiency, it is essential to carry

out our political line consistently and unfalteringly.

Second, it is essential to maintain political stability and unity.

Without political stability and unity, it would be impossible for us to settle down to construction. This has been borne out by our experience in the more than 20 years since 1957, and especially by last year's. Now we have achieved—or basically achieved—political stability and unity. This situation has not been easy to bring about, and with destabilizing factors still existing in different quarters, it is far from consolidated. Comrades at various posts must jointly take responsibility for preserving and developing it.

In addition to stability and unity, we must maintain liveliness. Liveliness has not come easily either, but it has grown along with stability and unity. Under the socialist system both aspects form a unified whole and are not—ought not to be—fundamentally contradictory. But what if, at a certain time and with regard to certain questions, liveliness comes into conflict with stability and unity? Then what should we do? We should try to achieve liveliness on condition that stability and unity are not adversely affected. Some comrades today are a bit confused on this question; it seems they have forgotten all the grief we have been through. After our success in socialist transformation, we launched one political movement after another, each time delaying our progress in many things and dealing unjustly with many people. In the final analysis, to take advantage of the superiority of socialism means to substantially develop the productive forces and gradually improve the people's material and cultural life. Without political stability and unity none of that will be possible—and there will be no liveliness either.

There are now certain ideological trends in our society, particularly among some young people, which merit serious attention. For instance, could some of the posters that appeared on the "Xidan Wall"⁹² last year be considered a contribution to liveliness? What would have happened if we had continued to allow such posters to be put up without restraint? There have been many similar cases in China and elsewhere in the world. One must not take such things lightly, thinking that they won't cause disturbances. Even a handful of persons could undermine our great undertaking. Therefore, if we are to make progress in an orderly way, when liveliness clashes with stability and unity, we can never pursue the former at the expense of the latter. The experience of the "cultural revolution" has already proved that chaos leads only to retrogression, not to progress, and that there must be good order if we are to move forward. Under China's present circumstances it is clear that without stability and unity we have nothing. In their absence, democracy and the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend"—among other things—are out of the question.

Since our people have just been through a decade of suffering, they cannot afford further chaos and will not permit it to recur. Conversely, with socialist stability and unity, we will be able to accomplish step by step and in a planned fashion everything that can possibly be accomplished and to meet the people's demands to the fullest possible extent.

As I said earlier, destabilizing factors still exist. The residual influence of the Gang of Four is still being felt in the organizational and ideological fields, and we must not underestimate its harmfulness or we are likely to make mistakes. There are still factionalists around as well as newly emerging elements who engage in beating, smashing and looting. There are also hooligan gangs, criminals and counter-revolutionaries who carry on underground activities in collusion with foreign forces and the kuomintang secret service. Nor can we take too lightly the so-called democrats and other persons with ulterior motives who flagrantly oppose the socialist system and Communist Party leadership. Their position is clear. Although they sometimes claim to support Chairman Mao and the Party, they are essentially opposed to Party leadership and socialism. In reality, these people think that capitalism is better than socialism and that Taiwan is better than the mainland. Of course, they don't really know what capitalism means or what the realities on Taiwan are. Many of them have simply been led astray and should be educated and brought back to the right path. But we must fully recognize the general tendency and the real aim of these "democrats" and not be too naive about them. In addition, there are anarchists, ultra-individualists and so on, who disrupt public order. All these constitute destabilizing factors. Although each is different in nature, it is entirely possible under certain circumstances for these people to coalesce into a destructive force which can cause us considerable trouble and losses. That is just what happened last year, and it could happen again. Some people ask, "Since the exploiting classes have been abolished, how can there still be class struggle?" We can see that both these things are objective facts. Our present struggles against the various kinds of counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs, criminals and criminal gangs guilty of serious offences do not all constitute class struggle, but they contain elements of class struggle. Naturally we must make a clear distinction between the two different types of contradictions. We should educate the overwhelming majority of persons who disrupt public order—all those who can be educated—and take stern legal steps against those who are beyond education or who prove incorrigible. Towards the latter, we must not be tender-hearted. A small number of comrades, including leaders in some localities, are still soft on such persons. In some places, the measures taken against them are far from effective or stem. The people will resent it if we tolerate these remnants

of the Gang of Four, counter-revolutionaries and other criminals. We have recently taken measures to crack down on them, with only preliminary results. We must continue to strike resolutely at various kinds of criminals, so as to ensure and consolidate a sound, secure public order. We must learn to wield the weapon of law effectively. Being soft on criminals only endangers the interests of the vast majority of the people and the overall interests of our modernization drive.

In this struggle against crime all Party members and cadres, and the higher ones in particular, must take a firm, clear-cut stand. It is absolutely impermissible to propagate freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and of association in ways implying that counter-revolutionaries may also enjoy them, and it is absolutely impermissible to make contacts with counter-revolutionaries and other criminals unbeknownst to the Party organization. I am referring to sympathetic contacts and naturally do not include those made for the purpose of dissuading these persons from evil-doing. There really are some comrades whose contacts with such people are sympathetic. For instance, some clandestine publications are beautifully produced. Well, where did the paper come from? And which printing house did the job for them? It's not likely that they have their own presses. Aren't there Party members in the printing houses that turn these things out? Among their supporters there must be some Party members or even cadres holding fairly high posts. We must make it clear to these Party members that their stand is very mistaken, very dangerous, and that unless they correct their mistakes immediately and thoroughly, they will be subjected to Party disciplinary measures. To sum up, Party organizations at all levels down to the branches must be firm and show no hesitation or ambiguity about fighting counter-revolutionaries, saboteurs and all other kinds of criminals.

Some people may ask whether we are following a "tightening up" policy again. But since we have never pursued a "loosening up" policy on such matters, naturally there is no question of "tightening up" now. When did we ever say that we would tolerate the activities of counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs? When did we ever say that the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be abolished? There is no question that those activities should now be dealt with severely, because they are becoming outrageous. The state simply cannot afford to sit back and do nothing. Only by taking stern legal measures against these criminals can we bring a number of misguided young people around to the right road. We must publicize the legal system and make everyone really understand the law, so that more and more people will not only refrain from breaking it but actively uphold it. By dealing sternly with these criminals now, we will be giving some kind of education not only to

the overwhelming majority of offenders, but to the whole Party and people. Throughout the country we must resolutely implement the following principles: the law must be observed; law enforcement must be strict; law-breakers must be dealt with accordingly; and all persons are equal before the law.

If we are really going to consolidate stability and unity, we must of course rely primarily on measures that are positive and fundamental, on economic growth and the development of education and, at the same time, on the perfecting of the legal system. When our economic and educational work is proceeding satisfactorily and our legal system and judicial work are improved, the orderly progress of society as a whole can largely be guaranteed. But the legal system will be improved only gradually in the course of practice, and we can't wait for that. When we fail to mete out stern punishment to so many criminals, can we even speak of having a legal system? All those who undermine stability and unity in any way must be dealt with sternly, according to the merits of each case.

In order to maintain stability and unity, comrades working in the fields of propaganda, education, theoretical studies and literature and art must join in a common effort. There is not the slightest doubt that successful work in all these fields can play a significant role in ensuring, maintaining and extending political stability and unity, but by the same token a serious deviation from the policies set for them can foster the growth of destabilizing factors. We hope newspapers and magazines will carry more ideological and theoretical explanations of the need for stability and unity, and that they will publicize the superiority of socialism, the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the strength of Party leadership and the unity between Party and people, the tremendous achievements and bright future of socialist China, and the idea that to work hard for that future is the highest mission and honour for the youth of our time. In short, we must turn the Party's newspapers and magazines into ideological centres for promoting nationwide stability and unity. Newspapers and periodicals and the radio and television services should all consider it their regular, fundamental task to promote stability and unity and raise the socialist consciousness of young people. Comrades working in the media have achieved significant successes in the past three years, and are doing well on the whole, but their work also has shortcomings. They must listen to differing opinions from various quarters and analyse and improve their work. The literary and art circles have just convened their national congress. We have stated that there should be no arbitrary intervention concerning what to write about and how to write it. This actually places heavier responsibility and higher demands on the writers and artists themselves. We will adhere to the policy

of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend” and the “three don’ts”,¹⁰² and we will drop the slogan that literature and art are subordinate to politics, because it is too easily used as a theoretical pretext for arbitrary intervention in literary and art work. Long practice has proved that this slogan has done more harm than good to the development of literature and art. Of course this doesn’t mean that they can be divorced from politics. That is impossible. Every progressive and revolutionary writer or artist has to take into account the social effects of his works and the interests of the people, the state and the Party. The fostering of a new socialist man means politics. The new socialist man will of course work hard for the interests of the people, defend the honour of the socialist motherland and dedicate himself to her future. Literature and art can have an enormous impact on ideological trends among the people, particularly among young people, as well as on social stability and unity. We sincerely hope that all comrades in literary and art circles and those engaged in education, journalism, theoretical and other ideological work will constantly bear in mind the country’s overall interests and try to raise the socialist consciousness of the people and in particular of the youth.

Will the maintenance of stability and unity hinder the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom”? Not in the least. We will always persist in the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend”. But this doesn’t mean the policy can be implemented in ways detrimental to the overall interests of stability and unity. If anyone thinks it can be implemented in disregard of stability and unity, he is misinterpreting and abusing it. We are practising socialist, not capitalist, democracy. So the upholding of stability and unity and of the Four Cardinal Principles is entirely in line with our adherence to that policy. Some people claim that the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee adopted a “loosening up” policy whereas the Four Cardinal Principles represent a “tightening up” policy. This is sheer distortion that a Party member not only must not tolerate, but must firmly oppose. The Four Cardinal Principles require us first and foremost to uphold socialism. Can we ever stop upholding socialism? How can there be any stability, unity, or socialist modernization if we don’t uphold socialism? The Third Plenary Session has called for the achievement of stability and unity—for carrying out a programme of socialist modernization on the basis of stability and unity. That represents the highest interest of the whole people. The policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend” must, of course, serve this interest; it absolutely must not run counter to it.

It is the firm policy of our Party to persistently expand democracy and develop the legal system. But as with China's modernization, democracy and the legal system cannot be put into practice by the method of the Great Leap Forward or the method of "speaking out freely and airing one's views fully". That is to say, we must do things methodically and under proper leadership. Otherwise, we will only foster turmoil, hold back the four modernizations and impair democracy and the legal system. The *si da*¹⁷⁹—that is, speaking out freely, airing one's views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates—have been written into the Constitution. But when we sum up our historical experience, we have to recognize that, taken as a whole, these practices have never played a positive role. The masses should have the full right and opportunity to express responsible criticisms to their leaders and to make constructive suggestions, but "speaking out freely and airing one's views fully" is evidently not the proper way to do that. Therefore, in the light of long practice and in accordance with the opinion of the great majority of the cadres and masses, the Central Committee is going to submit to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the coming session of the NPC a proposal that the *si da* provision be deleted from the Constitution.

Third, we must work hard and with a pioneering spirit.

This spirit is essential if we are to achieve the four modernizations. The fact that China is poor, has weak economic foundations and is backward in education, science and culture means that we have to go through a hard struggle. A few small low-wage countries and regions have found it relatively easy, for a limited time, to penetrate the world market with cheap products, because certain large developed countries, acting in their own interests, have assisted them with funds and technology. In these situations the capitalists have released a small part of their huge profits to the workers in these places, whose standard of living has apparently improved quite rapidly. For a large socialist country like China, however, no such short cut is possible. We want to make use of foreign funds and technology and to actively expand our foreign trade, but we must rely primarily on our own efforts. We are opposed to those absurd, reactionary concepts of "impoverished socialism", "transition in poverty to a higher stage", and "making revolution in poverty" touted by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. But we are also opposed to the idea of turning China into a so-called welfare state right now because that's impossible. We can only improve our standard of living gradually, on the basis of expanded production. It is wrong to expand production without raising the people's standard of living; but it is likewise wrong—in fact impossible—to raise the people's standard of living without expanding

production.

We stand for the principle, “to each according to his work”, and we favour public citations and material rewards for those individuals and organizations that have made outstanding contributions. We are also in favour of allowing a part of the population or certain localities to become well-off first through hard work which earns them greater income. This is our firm position. But we should also note the tendency of some individuals and organizations to pay attention only to earning more for themselves without taking into account the interests of others. Some have gone so far as to ignore the interests of the country as a whole and to flout discipline. For example, because we were somewhat negligent in our work last year, bonuses were issued indiscriminately to the tune of over five billion yuan. While many such bonuses were distributed legitimately, a considerable proportion of the total, amounting to a sizable sum, was not. Bonuses were issued even by some units which failed to fulfil their quotas of production and profit. Indiscriminate price rises for some commodities were often directly related to the pursuit of bonuses by certain enterprises. In many places, workers’ real income was doubled as a result of excessive bonuses. On the other hand, many people, particularly those in educational and scientific research institutions, government departments and the army, received no bonus at all. This unreasonable disparity in remuneration gave rise to new social problems. If two billion of the yuan paid out in bonuses last year had been held in reserve, everyone would have fared better this year and it would have been unnecessary to discontinue many capital construction projects. While the issuing of excessive bonuses may have served to improve the standard of living of a minority, it has also created many difficulties for the nation as a whole. In passing, I would like to say that the decision to raise the state purchase prices for farm products was entirely correct and has played a tremendous role in stimulating agricultural production. However, a summing-up of our latest experience in this regard may show that if we had raised the purchase prices in two steps, it would have had a less adverse effect on finances and prices. Similar problems may crop up in our future work. Therefore, we must once again bring home to the cadres and the rank and file the idea that because ours is a poor, big country, we must work hard with a pioneering spirit. The gradual raising of the people’s income and standard of living must be tied to the expansion of production. While we will follow the principle of “more work, more pay”, every comrade must take into account the interests of the whole country and of other people. In handling such matters, we must act judiciously and give good guidance to the masses; under no circumstances should we irresponsibly try to arouse their enthusiasm

by making loose promises. For instance, a recent report describes how a certain plant in Beijing, which manufactured 20,000 9-inch black-and-white TV sets last year—that is, an average of over 50 sets a day—recently introduced a Japanese production line for the 12-inch type with a designed capacity of 600 sets per day and is now turning out some 400 a day. So some of the personnel began to talk about getting more bonuses. However, we cannot afford to issue bonuses in exact proportion to the growth of labour productivity. As masters of the country, the working people should create more profits for it and thus increase state revenues, so that the state may in turn use these revenues for other purposes, such as expanded reproduction and capital construction to speed up our economic development. Those who work harder should indeed earn more, but one must take society as a whole into account. Look at that TV plant for example. Although only one production line is involved, the interests of the other workshops must also be considered. We are now confronted with a constantly increasing number of such practical problems to which everyone must give some thought.

We must have a clear understanding of the need to work hard and develop a pioneering spirit. Because China has such weak economic foundations, such a huge population and so little arable land, we cannot greatly increase our labour productivity, revenues and expenditures and volume of exports and imports overnight; nor can our national income grow very rapidly. Therefore, in some of my talks with foreigners, I have said that our four modernizations are of a Chinese type. Not long ago, during a discussion with a foreign guest I was asked: “What do those four modernizations of yours really mean?” I told him they mean that we will try to reach a per-capita GNP of US\$1,000 by the end of this century, and that we can then say our society is fairly well-off. That answer was not precise, of course, but neither was it given casually. At present, our per-capita GNP only comes to a little more than US\$200; to reach \$1,000 the present figure has to be quadrupled. In Singapore and Hong Kong, per-capita GNP is more than \$3,000. It is not easy for us to reach that level, because conditions in our country, with its vast expanse of land and huge population, are quite different. But it should be said that if our per-capita GNP really reaches \$1,000, life in China will be far more comfortable than it is in places where the per-capita GNP is \$2,000. Why? Because in China there is no exploiting class or system of exploitation, and so the national income is entirely used for the good of society as a whole, a large portion of it being directly distributed among the people. In those other places, however, there is a great disparity between rich and poor, and the larger part of the wealth is concentrated in the hands of the capitalists.

We must always bear in mind that ours is a big country with a huge population and weak economic foundations. Only through long, hard struggle can we catch up with the developed countries. Take coal output for example. In 1978 the total amount of marketable coal mined in the United States was in excess of 599 million tons, and the output of raw coal in the Soviet Union was 724 million tons. Our raw coal output last year was more than 630 million tons, which seems not bad by comparison. If reckoned per capita, however, ours is lower by far. Take steel for another example. In Japan the figure is almost one ton per person while in the United States and the Soviet Union, it is one ton to every two persons. In many European countries, such as France, Great Britain and West Germany, it is also roughly one ton to every two persons. If we wanted to reach the level of one ton of steel to every two Chinese by the end of this century, it would take 600 million tons—assuming that our population reaches only 1.2 to 1.3 billion. That is neither possible nor necessary. If our steel production reaches 100 million or 200 million tons, it will be one ton to every twelve or six persons. To sum up, because of various favourable conditions that we enjoy, there is no doubt that we will be able to catch up with the advanced countries. But we should also be aware that in order to narrow and eventually eliminate the gap created over two or three centuries, or at least over one century, we must be determined to work hard with a pioneering spirit for a long period of time. We have no alternative.

In this arduous task we must first of all call on our Communist Party members and cadres, and particularly senior cadres, to take the lead. Aren't we opposed to the pursuit of personal privilege? To put a stop to it will take a serious struggle. It is not only a number of senior cadres who seek personal privileges but also some at all levels and in all departments. In short, some of our cadres have become overlords. Our Party members, cadres, and particularly senior cadres must try to revive the glorious Yan'an tradition and to learn from Comrade Zhou Enlai and others to set examples of hard work and the pioneering spirit. The Central Committee has already worked out some relevant regulations and will follow with more and stricter ones. We must make an earnest effort to educate Party members and cadres who have violated these regulations, and we should take organizational measures or even disciplinary sanctions against those who fail to respond.

The problem of combating the pursuit of personal privilege is only one of many we face in promoting hard work and a pioneering spirit. The biggest problems are to put a stop to the various forms of waste, to raise labour productivity, to reduce the proportion of goods unwanted by society and the number of factory rejects, lower production costs, and increase the utilization

rate of our funds. We must make everyone realize that neither money nor products grow on trees and that waste in any form is a crime. As production grows, we must ensure further expansion, carry out capital construction, achieve an overall balance in the economy and undertake long-overdue projects. For instance, urban development projects—construction of sewage systems, housing, transportation and the setting up of schools. Our teachers and scientists are faced with many difficulties in their living conditions, which urgently need to be overcome. Many intellectuals who are very capable earn well under 100 yuan a month. Given slightly better working and living conditions, they would be able to solve many more problems for the state and the people and create immense additional wealth. I could cite many other examples. Thus, even the slightest degree of extravagance, whether before, during or after production and construction, is impermissible. It is gratifying that significant progress was made last year in increasing production and practising economy, but there is still a lot of waste. The responsibility for this waste, including the issuing of excessive bonuses mentioned earlier, rests primarily with the cadres. The relevant departments under the State Council have recently worked out new regulations on bonuses, which will be formally passed down to the units at lower levels and should be strictly implemented. The four modernizations will get nowhere if each unit insists on going its own way, as so often happens now.

Fourth, there must be a contingent of cadres who have an unswerving socialist orientation together with professional knowledge and competence.

In order to achieve the four modernizations under China's socialist system, our cadres must of course keep to the socialist road, master the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and abide by Party and state discipline. I should point out that some infiltration of bourgeois ideology is inevitable because of the non-socialist ideas that already exist in our Party and country, the 10-year rampage of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, and the fact that we maintain and are developing diplomatic and trade relations with capitalist countries, among other factors. That is why it is necessary to stress repeatedly that our cadres must keep to the socialist road. It is particularly important to reaffirm this point today. When we study the technology and management experience of capitalist society, we must never allow ourselves to worship capitalist countries, to succumb to corrosive capitalist influences or to lose the national pride and self-confidence of socialist China. A foreign scholar of Chinese descent recently stated that he hopes that China will under no circumstances take the road followed by Taiwan or go about modernization the way Taiwan has, because Taiwan's economy is virtually dominated by the United States. In selecting and promoting cadres, we must make sure they

keep to the socialist road, and we must strengthen education among those who don't meet this requirement, or when necessary transfer them to other, less important posts. With proper leadership and planning, we must vigorously promote—throughout the Party and country—socialist morality, love for the socialist motherland and a sense of national dignity. Moreover, we should inculcate the revolutionary qualities that inspire people to keep to the socialist road and combat corrosive capitalist influences. There is a tendency now among some young people to neglect politics. The whole Party must be aware of the seriousness of this problem, analyse its causes and apply itself earnestly to solving it.

However, the four modernizations cannot be achieved merely by keeping to the socialist road; we must also master professional knowledge and skills. No matter what job a person has, he must acquire the specialized knowledge it entails and become professionally competent; those who fall short of this standard must study. Some should continue their studies, but others, who are really unable or unwilling to learn, should be transferred to other posts. We must reorganize the leading bodies at all levels according to professional standards, take full advantage of the ability of specialized personnel and encourage the masses to study and work in accordance with the demands of their jobs.

Here I would like to say a few words on the relationship between the terms “red” and “expert”. Being “expert” does not necessarily mean one is “red”, but being “red” means one must strive to be “expert”. No matter what one's line of work, if he does not possess expertise, if he does not know his own job but issues arbitrary orders, harming the interests of the people and holding up production and construction, he cannot be considered “red”. Unless this problem is solved, we cannot possibly achieve the four modernizations. There is a widespread feeling, both at home and abroad, that overstaffing, bureaucracy and a dilatory style of work have become prevalent among us. Quite a few people just muddle along, sitting through meetings and checking off their names on documents, while many problems that could be solved by a single telephone call remain unsolved for half a year or longer. How can we possibly achieve the four modernizations this way? Many foreigners say that the four modernizations will get nowhere if China goes about them in this fashion. Our own people at home sometimes say the same thing. They are right. Then what is the solution? It is to change this situation in which cadres lack professional knowledge and competence. Are there too many cadres in China? In a vast country like ours, 18 million cadres are not too many in terms of absolute numbers to run the various trades and professions. The problem is that the composition of our cadre force is

irrational: there are too many people who are not professionally competent and too few who are. For example, we now need at least one million additional cadres for the administration of justice, including judges, lawyers, procurators and specialized police. There are very few cadres who have studied law or are familiar with the law, who would be fair in enforcing it, who have the required political and moral integrity, and who are qualified in all these ways to be lawyers and judges. Or take the case of teachers. Even if we had two or three million more college and primary and secondary school teachers who were really qualified for their jobs, there would still not be enough. There are large numbers of children in primary and secondary schools, but very few college and university students; on-campus college students number only one million. In the United States, 10 million out of its population of 220 million are college students, averaging one for every 22 persons. If our on-campus college students were to reach even two or three million, we would have a good number of trained, specialized personnel. But this would require an increase in the number of both college faculty members and professional college administrators. We do not have enough primary and secondary school teachers either, and many of those we do have are overburdened, so that educational standards are lowered. In addition, we need a great many school administrators, who should also be trained professionals. Should the leader of a school Party committee, for instance, be a professional? Yes, he should. Although he may not be on the teaching staff, he should at least know something about education, have training as an administrator and know how to manage his particular type of school. The current problem, in a nutshell, is not that we have too many cadres but that their training does not match their work, and that too few of them have specialized training in their particular field of endeavour. The solution lies in education. One way is to open schools and training courses for cadres, another is self-education. It is essential for everyone to devote serious effort to study. Whatever one's age, one should try to master the knowledge in one's own field. As for those who are unable or unwilling to learn, the only alternative is to have them transferred; otherwise they will hold up the advance of our cause. In selecting cadres in future, we should attach particular importance to the mastery of professional knowledge. For a long time we have failed to pay proper attention to this qualification, and if we continue to neglect it we shall find it impossible to carry out our modernization programme. A person may have ardour for socialist construction, but if he doesn't master professional skills and study conscientiously, he will not be able to make the contribution he should to that construction or play his proper part in it; on the contrary, he may even play a negative role. Times have changed. For a

long time we copied the experience of the army in the war years. In fact, if we really made a careful study of the army's experience during those years, we might find that it too shows the primary importance of being both "red" and "expert". A good many comrades who are present here joined the revolution during the war years. Is there any one of you who was not specialized to one degree or another in military affairs? Unless you were, you couldn't have done anything useful. Of course, in fighting a war we need a variety of skills, including those related to logistics. Logistics is an essential part of warfare. At that time the two qualities "red" and "expert" were inseparable, and it was not too hard to be both. Now things are different. Economic construction involves a large number of trades and fields of expertise, each one requiring specialized knowledge and the constant accumulation of new knowledge. Even the armed forces are different today. Our armed forces used to rely on "millet plus rifles"; so long as you knew how to shoot, use a bayonet and throw a hand-grenade, you could go to the front. Today our navy has sophisticated technical knowledge to master and so does our air force. The work of staff officers has also changed; they must have a much wider range of knowledge today. So the armed forces can no longer rely solely on past experience either—and this is precisely the problem we have to solve. Whether it's a question of economic construction, education, science, public security and legal work or anything else, we suffer from an acute shortage of specialized personnel. Therefore, we need to build up a huge contingent of cadres who combine an unswerving socialist orientation with professional knowledge and competence.

Does our need for an increasing number of specialized personnel mean that we now have none? No. The problem is that our Party committees at different levels, and especially some veteran comrades, haven't paid enough attention to the matter and have failed to make a conscious effort to look for, select and train specialized personnel and help them in their work. A few days ago, a symposium on particle physics held in Guangzhou came out with some very gratifying news: so far as theoretical work in this field is concerned, we are quite close to the level of the most advanced countries—in other words, our level is pretty high. Moreover, some of our young people educated here have achieved success in this field, though far fewer than in the advanced countries. This shows that we are not devoid of talented scientists. The problem is that many of them go undiscovered, and that they cannot do what they are capable of because their working conditions are too poor and their incomes too low. We veteran comrades should not look down on young people or think they are invariably less competent than we are. In fact, at what age did we ourselves begin our careers? Didn't we start doing

significant work in our early twenties? Are young people nowadays less intelligent than we were then? I think we ought to be more open-minded and consider the overall interests and the future of our cause. We should make a real effort to discover capable persons and, having found them, give them earnest help. We should make sure that the leadership of professional organizations at different levels, including the leadership of their Party committees, is gradually taken over by people with professional skills. At present, particular attention should be paid to promoting cadres from among persons who are about 40 years old. What's the significance of this age group? In general, they are comrades who entered university during the 1950s. It is now 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic. If these people graduated from university between 1961 and 1966 at the age of about 25, they are now some 40 to 45 years old. Of course, the cadres we select should also include those who are around 50. People in these age groups are an important asset for us. I am afraid few of the comrades present here belong to them and that's too bad. If the day comes when comrades around 40 predominate at meetings like this, it will be a sign that our cause is vigorous and flourishing. We should not console ourselves with the thought that we ourselves can still muddle along all right but should keep in mind the future of our cause. China has only a limited number of competent personnel to begin with, so we simply cannot continue to waste talent: we can't afford it. The primary task—that of first importance—now facing our veteran comrades is to promote younger cadres. Even if it means we have to skimp on some of our other work, so long as we do this job well, we'll have something to say for ourselves when we go to meet Marx. Otherwise, we'll have nothing to say.

The *third topic* I want to talk about is upholding and improving Party leadership.

To accomplish the three major tasks I have outlined for the 1980s and to ensure the four prerequisites for modernization will take strenuous effort. But I believe it can be done, provided we uphold and improve Party leadership and make that leadership the driving force behind all work. Upholding the Four Cardinal Principles means upholding socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and Party leadership. The crucial thing is to uphold Party leadership. Ours is a party rooted in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; it is the core force which leads in the struggle for the cause of socialism and in the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is the advanced contingent of the proletariat, possessing socialist and communist consciousness and revolutionary discipline. Our Party's ties with the masses and its

leadership in the struggle for the cause of socialism in China have been established over a period of 60 years. The Party cannot do without the people and the people cannot do without the Party—and no force on earth can alter this fact. It is true that there is some ideological confusion on this question at present. Some young people have developed a blind faith in the so-called democracy of capitalist society. In 1957 there was a demand for “rotating the leadership”. Now the “democrats” and some people who put up big-character posters on “Xidan Wall” are harping on the same theme. So we have to clarify this issue. In the final analysis, without Party leadership, it would be impossible to achieve anything in contemporary China, and naturally it would be out of the question to accomplish the three major tasks or to ensure the four prerequisites I have specified. Without Party leadership, there would be no correct political line, no political stability and unity, no hard struggle or pioneering spirit, and no way of forming a contingent of truly “red” and “expert” personnel, personnel who have in particular professional knowledge and competence. Thus, there would be no force in China capable of leading our drive for socialist modernization, our effort to reunify the motherland or our struggle against hegemonism. This is an objective fact no one can deny. Those naive young people who for the moment doubt this fact will eventually come to recognize it.

Let us glance back at the road we have travelled. Without the Communist Party of China, would the Chinese revolution have been victorious? Never. One should not belittle our Party. I read an article recently which said that at its Fourth National Congress¹⁰⁴ our Party had only between 900 and 1,000 members. Yet it succeeded in bringing about co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and in pushing forward the Northern Expedition [1924-27]. Later when the revolution suffered defeats, only a party such as ours was able to survive 10 years of bloody terror, the “encirclement and suppression” campaigns by armies a million strong, and the 25,000-li Long March. Thanks to the Party’s leadership and their own bitter struggles, the Chinese people finally succeeded in founding the People’s Republic of China. Our Party has also made serious mistakes, but they have been corrected by the Party itself not by any extraneous force. Even the overthrow of the Gang of Four was brought about by the Party, representing the interests and demands of the people. China always used to be described as “a heap of loose sand”. But when our Party came to power and rallied the whole country around it, the disunity resulting from the partitioning of the country by various forces was brought to an end. So long as the Party exercises correct leadership, it can rally not only its whole membership but also the whole nation to accomplish any mighty undertaking. After all, what

is the good of the multi-party system in capitalist countries? That system came into being as a result of strife and competition among different sections of the bourgeoisie, and none of the parties represents the interests of the masses of working people. The people in capitalist countries do not, and cannot possibly, share any common ideal; many of them simply don't have any ideals at all. This state of affairs is not the strong point of these countries but their weakness: it prevents them from concentrating all their forces, many of which hamstring and work against each other. While there are also many parties in our country, our non-Communist parties serve the cause of socialism on the basis of their recognition of leadership by the Communist Party. The whole Chinese nation shares common basic interests and a common lofty ideal, namely, to build and develop socialism and ultimately realize communism. Therefore, we can unite as one under the leadership of the Communist Party. While the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between our Party and all other parties must be upheld, China and China's drive for socialist modernization must be led by the Communist Party. This is an unshakable principle. In its absence China would retrogress into division and chaos, and modernization would become impossible.

At the same time, it should be recognized that in order to uphold Party leadership, we must strive to improve it. Lin Biao and the Gang of Four inflicted great damage on our Party, and we should realize that its prestige among the people has therefore fallen. In the past when we were faced with a difficulty, any call by the Party or any directive from the Central Committee would draw an immediate response and the whole nation would rise to meet the challenge. The difficulty would then be overcome. Under the Party's unified leadership, the serious difficulties we encountered in 1959, 1960 and 1961 were rapidly surmounted. These are things worth remembering. When more than 20 million workers and office staff were transferred to the countryside in those years, they didn't even grumble, because we followed the mass line and clearly explained to them the reasons why the move was necessary. It would not be so easy to do such a thing now. Why? Because when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were in power, they ruled as a clique, kicking aside Party committees to "make revolution" and throwing the Party into disorder. The urgent problem now confronting us is to restore the Party's fighting capacity. As the vanguard of the proletariat, the Party should be a united fighting force with a high level of political consciousness and discipline. Only when the Party is restored to that state will it possess fighting capacity.

Several questions are involved here. First, a number of our Party

members do not measure up to standards. Some of the new members who joined the Party during the “cultural revolution” are not qualified because, never having received Party education, they cannot set an example to the masses. Some veteran members who used to be qualified over many years in the past don’t quite measure up any more either, because they no longer set an example. We advocate Party spirit and oppose factionalism. Some people still obdurately cling to their factions, and a fair number of Party members, including some veterans, hold factionalism higher than Party spirit. How can we consider them still qualified? Why was our Party so powerful in the past? In the war years we often said that if Party members made up 30 per cent of an army company, that company must be very good and have a strong fighting capacity. Why? Because Party members were invariably the first to charge and the last to withdraw on the battlefield, the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts in daily life. Therefore, they became models for the masses and the core of their units. That is a simple truth. And it was not easy to be a Party member then. If you were a Party cadre, a company commander or a platoon leader, you often had to carry two or three rifles on the march [one for yourself, the others for comrades]. Now some Party members are different. They join the Party in order to be the first to enjoy comforts and the last to bear hardships. When we talk about opposing privilege-seeking, in fact we have in mind the conduct of some Party members and cadres. That’s why we say that as we go about restoring our Party’s fine traditions and style of work, we face a problem about the qualifications of Party members. The question of whether a Communist meets the requirements for Party membership applies not only to new Party members but also to a number of veterans. So our Party really does need consolidation. At present we have a total of 38 million members. If each and every one of us measured up to the standard, what a mighty force we would have! The problem now is that a number of Party members don’t measure up, so we must consolidate the Party through education. The Central Committee is considering revising the Party Constitution. The Constitutions adopted at the Ninth and Tenth National Party Congresses¹⁰⁵ were actually inadequate documents. They didn’t properly set forth the rights and duties of Party members or specify the requirements for membership of state what should be done with those who fail to meet them. So they need to be revised. The requirements for Party membership must be strict. We should educate all members by discussing the draft of the revised Constitution before it is formally adopted at the Twelfth National Party Congress.

To improve Party leadership, it is necessary to improve its present state and the system under which it functions, in addition to making changes in

the Party's organization. This is a complicated question. As we all know, shortly after we took over the cities, Chairman Mao said that we would soon put aside some of the things we knew well and be confronted with things with which we were unfamiliar. This problem has now become all the more pressing and serious because we have failed to really come to grips with it for so long. Leading the work in a region, department, factory, school or army unit has now become much more complicated and difficult than ever before. Take our economic work for example. It is true that we have quite a number of accomplishments to our credit, but have we really learned systematically how to develop a planned socialist economy? Developing a planned socialist economy on a nationwide scale is quite different from planning the economic work of the former Liberated Areas. Moreover, economic work today is much more complex than it was in the 1950s. The conditions are different and the tasks before us are different too. Now that there are new developments in science and technology and in international exchanges of personnel and information, our economy should be measured by world standards and must become competitive internationally. Faced with the new problems that are constantly emerging, our Party—we Communists—and the rest of the Chinese people should always be learning. We cannot reconcile ourselves to lagging behind others; if we do, we will not survive. But how many of our Party members, and particularly our leading cadres, have mastered professional knowledge? Can we go on in this way? Of course, even when Party members have mastered professional knowledge, the Party must not substitute itself for all other organizations and monopolize everything; still less can it afford to do so now. The Party should assume leadership, but these problems must be conscientiously studied and solved. I think the Party must make preparations now to discuss the problems I have been talking about, and they should figure prominently on the agenda of our next national congress. We should solve them earnestly and systematically.

Many problems concerning the improvement of Party leadership remain to be solved. For instance, we have said all along that in a factory the director should assume overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee, in an army unit the senior officers should do so, and in a school the principal. If these systems are to be continued in future, is it necessary for the committees of general Party branches to lead work in the workshops and for Party branches or groups to lead the work teams and groups in factories? Likewise, is it necessary for the committees of general Party branches to lead the individual university departments? Is this form of leadership beneficial to the functioning of factories and universities? Can it give substance to the Party's role of leadership? If these questions are not

properly settled, Party leadership will not be strengthened; on the contrary, it may be harmed or weakened. How should the Communist Party exercise leadership? Should it do so through the organizational forms I have just described? Or through other means, such as having Party members set the example by, for instance, studying assiduously to acquire professional knowledge and become experts in particular spheres, bearing hardships first and enjoying comforts last, and carrying heavier work loads than others do? The Party committee of a factory should always see to it that the production plans are met in terms of quantity, quality and production costs, that their factory is technologically advanced and scientifically and democratically managed, that the managerial personnel have authority commensurate with their posts and can function efficiently and methodically, that the workers and office staff enjoy democratic rights and suitable working and living conditions and facilities for study, that talented persons are trained and promoted through election or otherwise, and that all capable persons—whether Party members or not—have the opportunity to put their skills to the best use. When all these things are ensured, Party leadership can be judged effective and competent. With this way of working, which is far better than having a finger in every pie, the Party's prestige will naturally grow.

To sum up, we are now confronted with the important problem of how to improve Party leadership. If we don't study and solve it, Party leadership cannot be upheld and the Party's prestige cannot be enhanced.

In order to uphold and improve Party leadership, Party discipline must be strengthened. During the "cultural revolution", Party discipline was lax, and even now it has not yet been fully restored. This is one important reason why the Party is unable to play its proper role. Because of lax discipline, many Party members simply do as they please, without implementing—or fully implementing—the Party's line, principles, policies and decisions or performing their assigned tasks. If a party allowed each member to speak and act freely according to his own will, naturally it would have no unity of will and no power to fulfil its tasks. Thus, in order to uphold and improve Party leadership, it is essential to strictly uphold and greatly strengthen Party discipline. Individual Party members must be subordinate to the Party organization, the minority to the majority, the lower Party organizations to the higher, and all Party constituent organizations and members must be subordinate to the Central Committee. These principles must be strictly observed. Otherwise, the Party will not form a fighting collective and will not be qualified to serve as the vanguard of the proletariat.

Here I would say that of all these principles the most important is that all Party constituent organizations and members must be subordinate to the

Central Committee. Though it has made mistakes, the Central Committee has itself corrected them. It is impermissible for anyone to use these mistakes as an excuse for resisting the leadership of the Central Committee. Only when all the constituent organizations and members are strictly subordinate to the Central Committee can the Party lead the entire membership and the whole nation in accomplishing the great task of modernization. Party organizations and the commissions for discipline inspection at different levels must take stern disciplinary measures against anyone who seriously violates this principle, because it embodies the highest interests of the Party and of the nation. We must take pains to ensure and develop Party democracy. When a Party member disagrees with a Party decision, he may express his views and reservations through organizational channels or even to the Central Committee directly. Party organizations at all levels up to and including the Central Committee should give such views serious consideration. Until such time as any changes are made by the Party, however, the member concerned must obey the original decisions of the Central Committee and other Party organizations. His public statements must be in accordance with Party decisions, and he must not wilfully spread misgivings, discontent or opposition concerning the line, principles and policies of the Central Committee. Party newspapers and journals must in all circumstances publicize the Party's views. Of course Party members are entitled to criticize shortcomings and mistakes in Party work, but the criticism should be constructive and should include suggestions for improvement. Isn't it often said nowadays that this or that question is open to discussion? Yes, certainly there can be discussion, but it should be conducted within the scope and in the forms allowed by Party principles and decisions. If this were not the case, that is, if everyone went his own way without acting on the Central Committee's principles, policies and decisions, the Party would be sapped of its strength and could never achieve unity or have fighting capacity. Therefore, we must resolutely eradicate the trend towards anarchism that was introduced into the Party by the Gang of Four as well as the trend towards various kinds of bourgeois liberalism that is emerging within the Party. Only when the Party's unity and fighting capacity are fully guaranteed can the tasks we have outlined today be accomplished.

In the final analysis, the major tasks and the essential principles I have mentioned all relate to the necessity of building a Party worthy to lead. We have always said that the Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct party. While there have been gaps in our work because of our historical setbacks, they have basically been filled in through our efforts over the past three years or are being filled in now. In the future, we will try to

do our work correctly, in other words, to make fewer mistakes and avoid major mistakes and reversals. When mistakes are made, we will rectify them as soon as possible. We are fully confident that the Party and the Central Committee can achieve their objectives. China needs our Party to accomplish modernization. Similarly, China's prominent position in the international struggle against hegemonism and for human progress presupposes the existence of our Party. We must uphold and improve Party leadership and strengthen the Party's discipline and fighting capacity so as to measure up to our responsibility, the enormous responsibility of leading our country and the people of all its nationalities.

ADHERE TO THE PARTY LINE AND IMPROVE METHODS OF WORK

February 29, 1980

Today I want to discuss three subjects: first, this session itself; second, the political, ideological and organizational lines of the Party; and third, methods of work.

First, about this session. It is a highly important one and has been very successful, as successful as the Third and Fourth Plenary Sessions of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party. The political life of the Party is more spirited now than it has been for many years. This session, at which everyone has spoken his mind freely, has given genuine expression to the collective wisdom and leadership of the Central Committee, and has set a good example for our inner-Party life which should be emulated in the Party's leading organs at all other levels.

The issues resolved at this session are all significant ones, namely: the strengthening and improvement of the Party's leadership, including leadership by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; the re-establishment of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; the drafting of a revised Party Constitution, and the formulation of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life". Ours is a party in power. It must be admitted that the Party's leadership has been impaired for a fairly long period. To restore the position and role of our Party among our own people of whatever nationality and on the international scene is a vital task for us. I think the decisions and documents adopted by the present session with a view to accomplishing this task are all correct. This session genuinely embodies our Party's work style, namely, that of seeking truth from facts. The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is a major matter and we have handled it very well. Could it have been settled earlier? I think not. But we would probably be making a mistake if we didn't settle it now. The session

Speech at the third meeting of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

has also decided to propose to the National People's Congress the deletion of the provision in Article 45 of the Constitution concerning the *si da*,¹⁷⁹ that is, speaking out freely, airing one's views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates. This action will be of great value in ensuring stability in the country's political life. In short, the questions discussed at this session are very important ones and have been well handled.

The news of this session and its documents can be expected to evoke widespread and favourable response not only inside our Party and among the whole Chinese people but also in the rest of the world. For some time, people abroad have been saying that though the line and policies of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China may be correct, their continuity and stability are in some doubt. The documents of this session and the series of political and organizational measures it has adopted provide a good answer to this sort of talk. I believe that our entire Party and our people of all nationalities will be satisfied with our decisions. Internationally, they will certainly help strengthen the confidence reposed in us by foreign comrades and friends and by others who co-operate with us in varying degrees. This will help both in China's struggle to achieve the four modernizations and in the international struggle against hegemonism.

Second, the question of adhering to the Party's political, ideological and organizational lines, which I want to speak about at greater length.

Our political line for the present stage has gradually taken shape since the Eleventh National Congress,⁵¹ and especially since the Third and Fourth Plenary Sessions of the Eleventh Central Committee. The Third Plenary Session formulated or, one might say, reaffirmed the Party's ideological line. Subsequently the Central Committee came to feel that it would be impossible to ensure the carrying out of the Party's political and ideological lines without going on to settle the question of organizational line. Indeed settling it is one of the main tasks of our present session. Of course, the Central Committee had started to deal with it after the smashing of the Gang of Four, and much has been done already. For instance, a group of people, including me, have re-emerged to work. But it is only since the Third Plenary Session that the issue has been raised more explicitly. This shows that we have made much progress in our work since then.

In sum, the political line of the Party at the present stage is to work with one heart and one mind for our country's four modernizations. This should be done resolutely and wholeheartedly despite all interference. Without the four modernizations, many problems are incapable of solution. The growth of the economy, increasing the national income, gradually improving the people's standard of living, and the corresponding consolidation and streng-

thening of our national defence—all these hinge on the success of the four modernizations. The present plenary session has discussed the draft of the revised Party Constitution. The purpose of this revision is to further clarify the position and role of the Party in carrying out modernization. What should a party in power be like? What should a member of such a party be like if he is to be worthy of the name? How are we to judge whether its leadership is competent? Comrades taking part in the discussion of the draft revised Constitution think it gives satisfactory answers to these questions as no previous document has done. This does not mean that the draft is already perfect. It may have to undergo several more revisions before it can be really satisfactory. As for the formulation of the political line, the draft of the revised Party Constitution has made it more comprehensive by adding a new point—that China should be transformed into a culturally and ideologically advanced and highly democratic socialist country. But the relevant sentence is a bit too long and should be made more concise so that it can be easily remembered. No matter how the Party's political line is formulated, however, the essence is to work for the four modernizations, and our most important tasks are economic construction and the development of the economy and the productive forces. We must stick doggedly to this undertaking and not delay its fulfilment by a single day. Although our comrades have a multitude of other matters to deal with, I hope they will pay constant attention to economic work.

While working with complete dedication for the four modernizations, we must, with equal dedication, preserve and develop a political situation marked by stability, unity and liveliness. This is a most significant task for us at all times. And it is with this task in mind that we are proposing the deletion of the provision on the *si da* from the Constitution. We are doing so not because we are against socialist democracy, but because practice over the years has shown that the *si da* are not a good method of promoting either stability or democracy. Promoting socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system are two aspects of a single whole. Democracy can be promoted through many channels. For instance, the document “Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life” stipulates that every Party member should speak the truth and place all his ideas on the table for discussion. At our present session, everyone has spoken his mind freely and if anyone, including members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, has said anything inappropriate, others have been able to correct that person. This is very good. How can anyone be faultless in what he says? How can every remark one makes in impromptu discussion be perfectly correct? Our session has proceeded in a very good atmosphere, and the spread of this

democratic atmosphere will help to preserve and develop a political situation marked by stability, unity and liveliness. That can never be achieved through the *si da*.

To bring about such a political situation, we must solve problems inherited from the past and distinguish between right and wrong on major issues. We have already solved many such problems, but quite a few others still await solution. Our purpose in solving them is, as stated in the Third Plenary Session documents, to become united as one and look to the future. We want everybody to be concerned with, and work for, the four modernizations, rather than waste a lot of time settling old scores. If we can't unite people and get them to look forward, it will just show that we haven't done our job well. That is why we often say that it is better to solve the major historical problems in broad outline than to go into too much detail. Here I am referring not to any specific case but to general historical problems—the sort of problems we will have to deal with when we draft the resolution on certain questions in the history of the Party. It will not be appropriate for us to go into too much detail.

The resolution on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi states that our Party made some mistakes before the “cultural revolution” and that Liu Shaoqi did so too like a number of other comrades. I think this formulation is fair and conforms to reality. We must not give the impression that only one particular individual made mistakes while all the others were correct. I am qualified to say this, because I too made mistakes. We were among the activists in the anti-Rightist struggle of 1957,¹⁰⁰ and I share the responsibility for broadening the scope of the struggle—wasn't I General Secretary of the Central Committee then? We also let ourselves get carried away in the Great Leap Forward of 1958,⁷⁶ and I think quite a few of the older comrades present here did too. So these aren't just the problems of one individual. We should admit that no one is exempt from making mistakes. Speaking personally, if I am given an assessment of 60 per cent for good deeds and 40 per cent for those which were not so good, I'll be quite satisfied, because there will be more good than not so good. Since we maintain that even Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes, how was it possible for Comrade Liu Shaoqi not to have made any? And how was it possible for other comrades not to have done so too? The assessment of Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the resolution on his rehabilitation will enable people both inside and outside the Party and both at home and abroad to see still more clearly that the Chinese Communist Party is a party which seeks truth from facts and which dares to face up to reality and tell the truth. Any other assessment of Comrade Liu Shaoqi would not correspond to reality. There is no one who never makes mistakes; the

only difference lies in the gravity of the mistakes people make.

We must continue to solve problems left over by history. Take the question of Comrade Qu Qiubai,¹⁰⁶ who was mentioned at this session. It was unjust to call him a renegade, and that assessment must be corrected. But when handling such historical problems, we should ask people to look forward rather than get bogged down in minor issues. Some comrades whose problems have in fact been solved should not ask the Central Committee to issue more documents concerning them. It isn't good to issue too many documents.

Next, I would like to say something about the ideological line. The Third Plenary Session laid down—or more precisely, reaffirmed—the Party's Marxist ideological line. Marx and Engels propounded the ideological line of dialectical and historical materialism, a line which Comrade Mao Zedong summarized in the four Chinese characters “Seek truth from facts”. To seek truth from facts, we must proceed from reality in all things, link theory with practice and hold practice to be the touchstone of truth—that is the ideological line of our Party. When we say this line has been reaffirmed, we mean it has been restored. It was abandoned for a period to the great detriment of the Party's cause, the country and the image of the Party and the state. But still, it must be remembered that this ideological line was laid down by Comrade Mao Zedong, and that he adhered to it through most of the years during which he led the Chinese revolution. In implementing this ideological line, we must oppose dogmatism and revisionism and stick to the Four Cardinal Principles.¹⁸¹ If we deviate from the Four Cardinal Principles, we will lose the essence, lose our bearings, and then it will be impossible to implement the Party's ideological line. The principle we advocate—seeking truth from facts—is a basic component of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, our advocacy of it can in no way be construed to mean that we can separate ourselves from the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, or that we can neglect the great contribution Comrade Mao Zedong made in formulating this principle. We must never sully the glorious image of Comrade Mao Zedong in the entire history of the Chinese revolution, and never waver on the principle of holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. We should understand this and bear it in mind. For it serves the interests not only of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese nation but also of the international communist movement.

The importance of the discussion of practice as the criterion of truth is becoming clearer all the time. This discussion has been launched to counter the “two-whatevers”¹⁸ viewpoint and is intended to prevent Marxism-

Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought from turning into dogma. At the Third Plenary Session, this notion was expressed in the phrase “studying new situations and solving new problems”. We said last year that this discussion should be related to reality and that problems should be solved in the light of concrete conditions. That is to say, in adhering to the Party’s ideological line, we must also look forward rather than back. All problems should be handled in such a way as to focus the attention of the whole Party and people on how to restore and raise the Party’s prestige and strengthen and improve the Party’s leadership, and how to solve our new problems at home and in foreign relations.

It is impossible to achieve the four modernizations without using our brains and emancipating our minds. What does emancipating our minds mean? It means that, guided by Marxism, we should break the fetters of habit, subjectivism and prejudice, and study new situations and solve new problems. In emancipating our minds, we should never deviate from the Four Cardinal Principles or impair the political situation marked by stability, unity and liveliness. The whole Party should be united in its understanding of this question. If, like some of the people who put up big-character posters on the “Xidan Wall”,⁹² a person “emancipates his mind” by departing from the Four Cardinal Principles, he is actually placing himself in opposition to the Party and the people.

Emancipation of the mind should be accompanied by really solving problems. We have not a few ideological sluggards who indulge in empty talk or stereotyped phrases. We don’t yet have many comrades who carefully study fresh situations and solve fresh problems and who really use their minds to think out ways of accelerating our advance, the development of the productive forces and the rise in national income or of improving the work of the leading bodies. For instance, right now, we are badly in need of qualified personnel. So we urgently need to think over carefully such questions as just why some outstanding people cannot be promoted at present, and how we can remove the obstacles in their path. And we should adopt some effective measures. If we older comrades, myself included, fail to do this well, we won’t be able to hold our heads up. Some local authorities act only on instructions from above; without them they daren’t make a move. Can we call this having emancipated minds? We’ve often said that people in production teams too should emancipate their minds, use their brains, and solve their own concrete problems. I think that if, when faced with concrete problems, a Party organization in a production team, factory, workshop or section can follow the mass line, consult the rank and file, offer good advice, call on the Party members to lead by example and so really solve

the problems, such a Party organization is making valuable contributions to the four modernizations.

This session has made a series of highly important policy decisions with regard to organizational line. However, in the Party as a whole, a number of vital questions have yet to be settled, and that is a fact we must soberly recognize. For example, our present institutions are far from suited to the needs of the four modernizations. But the crucial task before us remains the selection of worthy successors. Party committees at all levels from the Central Committee down, and especially our older comrades, should never forget to confront this issue seriously and take on this solemn responsibility. Time is pressing and we must solve this problem properly and as soon as possible. In 1975, Wang Hongwen⁴² said that they [the Gang of Four] would wait and see how things stood in 10 years' time. I talked about this with Li Xiannian⁸³ and some other comrades. I was then already 71. In terms of life expectancy we were no match for the Gang. So already at that time we felt that we really must promote younger comrades to leading positions. This is a very practical and pressing issue. When we hold a plenary session of the Central Committee five years from now, quite a few of us here today will no longer be able to work, and by then it will be too late to consider the question of successors.

There are two sides to the present situation. On the one hand, there are still a number of factionalists who stick to the ideological system of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, people who used to engage in beating, smashing and looting, and who were so ferocious that, as the saying goes, they had "horns on their heads and spikes on their backs". They are a major destabilizing factor. In the course of implementing the Party's line, principles and policies we will always find some of these obstructive people who may bring things to a halt at any moment. We shall be making a grave mistake if we are soft on the remnants of the Lin Biao clique and the Gang of Four—especially on those who reject education and refuse to change their stand—and if we let such persons remain in important positions. On the other hand, we do have a number of fine young people. And in the fields of economic construction, science and technology, culture and education and so on, there are many people who are professionally competent, have managerial ability and really know how to do their work. People who are politically and ideologically sound, strong in Party spirit, thoughtful and vocationally skilled are to be found in large numbers in all departments and localities. So, on the one hand, we must deal sternly with the factionalist elements and, on the other, we must select successors from among comrades who are young, healthy and have a good all-round record. The prospects for our cause will become more and more promising if we can solve this major problem within three to five

years.

I would like to ask the comrades present here to consider whether we can elect as members of the next Central Committee 50 people who are under 50 years old. And a fair number of delegates to the next National Congress of the Party should also be under 50. If we can't achieve these two things, our next Party Congress cannot be reckoned a success. Later on, the average age of Party Congress delegates and members of the Central Committee should continue to fall. This will be one of the chief signs that our cause continues to flourish.

At present, our Party really needs to be consolidated. Although this question we raised back in 1975, it has yet to be resolved. A significant portion of the 38 million Party members are not up to standard. After this session, we should conduct Party-wide education in conjunction with the discussion of the draft of the revised Party Constitution and with the implementation of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life". All veteran cadres should join in. It would also be good to have a small-scale rectification, which simply means seeing whether or not we measure up to the standards set in the relevant Party documents. If a Party member can meet 90 or even 70 to 80 per cent of the requirements, that will be very good. Of course, there are a great many Party members who are 100 per cent qualified. Criticism and self-criticism will be needed in the case of those members who don't meet the standards, and we should require them to change for the better.

The third subject I want to discuss today is our methods of work and ways to overcome bureaucracy. This is another urgent problem facing us. In order to overcome bureaucracy, we must first of all study the question of structural reform. Of course, we have to improve our methods of work as well. We can't just sit and wait for the various structures to be reformed. Our methods of work should meet the needs of the four modernizations, and we should improve them more quickly.

We should promote democracy, but at the same time we need centralism. Now and perhaps for a rather long time to come, we will have to stress centralization where it is really required, so as to increase efficiency. We stress collective leadership, and when we discuss succession nowadays we mean collective succession; this is very good and very important. However, we must at the same time establish a system of division of labour with individual responsibility. There should be collective leadership in settling major issues. But when it comes to particular jobs or to decisions affecting a particular sphere, individual responsibility must be clearly defined and each person should be held responsible for the work entrusted to him. I think it

is fair to say that the former Secretariat of the Central Committee was quite efficient, partly because once the relevant decisions were made, specific tasks were assigned to particular persons, who were given broad powers and allowed to handle matters independently. But now we only tick off documents [indicating that we have read them] and no one is responsible for any thing in particular. Consequently, the solution of a simple problem can be delayed for six months or a year or even indefinitely, vanishing without a trace in red tape. The people are dissatisfied with our low level of efficiency. How can we achieve the four modernizations this way? I hope that once the Secretariat is re-established, the members of the Central Committee and the State Council will set an example by solving problems collectively and stop the practice of just ticking off documents in their separate offices. It isn't necessary for all members of the Secretariat or the State Council to take part in settling every question—sometimes it is enough for a few persons to discuss and decide on them. Some matters can be acted on as they are being reported to the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. Those which require discussion by the higher bodies can wait, but not those which only need to be reported for the record. Collective leadership with division of labour and individual responsibility should be practised at all levels. Take the case of a factory in which the director assumes overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. The committee need only handle important political matters and questions of principle, while all matters relating to production and administration should be left to overall management by the director. On no account should the Party committee monopolize responsibility for all matters, great and small. The director and deputy directors should each bear specific responsibility for one area or another—technology, scientific research, financial affairs, support services and the like—though they can, of course, discuss and decide matters together when necessary. People working at all levels should be efficiency-minded. Naturally, under this system it may be difficult to avoid mistakes, but that is still a better situation—and easier to rectify—than one in which there are discussions without decisions, decisions without implementation, and endless procrastination and delays in solving problems.

Meetings should be small and short, and they should not be held at all unless the participants have prepared. People should speak briefly and to the point. Give your opinions on the question under discussion, say what you are for or against and state your reasons concisely. If you don't have anything to say, save your breath. Don't hold meetings which are marathons of empty talk, and don't stray from the subject at hand. It will be disastrous if even after we have shifted to short meetings and the collective solution of

problems we still go on talking things to death. To sum up: the only reason to hold meetings and to speak at them is to solve problems.

This session has been quite efficient: we have solved a lot of problems quite satisfactorily within a few days. Our plenum has set a good example, and I find that very encouraging for the future of our cause.

STREAMLINE THE ARMY AND RAISE ITS COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS

March 12, 1980

The problems of the army which I have recently discussed with some comrades include four main ones: First, reducing “bloatedness”; second, reforming structure; third, improving training; and fourth, strengthening political and ideological work.

First, I’ll discuss the question of reducing “bloatedness”.

This old question is the chief topic of the present meeting. Can our army fight? Can it deal with any emergency? I don’t mean an emergency like the self-defensive counter-attack on Viet Nam.⁸⁰ That kind of incident is easy to cope with. What I mean is: If we should be confronted with a more powerful adversary than Viet Nam, how reliable would our fighting ability be? Of course, we still have many disadvantages. For example, many of our cadres lack experience in directing operations because they have never seen action, our equipment is relatively backward, and so on. The battles against Viet Nam, however, showed that our troops are brave. That’s fine. In a war, we may suffer some reverses to start with. But things will change after a period of time since, being brave, our men can learn to fight skilfully. We are confident of that. However, we must soberly recognize that one of our main problems now is that the army is over-manned. If a war really breaks out, we will find it difficult even to disperse our forces, let alone direct operations. The current proposal for reducing “bloatedness” is primarily designed to solve such problems as organizational overlapping and overstaffing with the consequent inefficiency of command at various levels. We first made this suggestion in 1975 and some work was done, with noticeable improvement. But later this work ran into complications and was halted. In the last few years, army organizations at various levels have again been expanded, leading to a revival of bureaucracy. Today it’s very difficult to solve problems and

Speech at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

many have remained unsolved for a long time. Therefore, unless we reduce “bloatedness”, we won’t be able to raise the army’s combat effectiveness and work efficiency. In addition, our current military expenditures are rather high, to the detriment of national construction. The fact that the armed forces are over-manned also makes it harder to modernize their equipment. Our policy is to reduce manpower and use the money thus saved to renew equipment. If some of the savings can be used for economic construction, so much the better. After calmly assessing the international situation, we have concluded that it is possible to gain a longer period free from war than we had thought earlier. During this time, we should try our best to cut down military spending so as to strengthen national construction. In short, it is necessary to reduce “bloatedness” if we want to carry out the four modernizations or to streamline the army and raise its combat effectiveness.

The main purpose of our present streamlining is to reduce the number of unnecessary non-combatants and of personnel in leading and commanding organs—mainly cadres. The measures now adopted go a step further than those of 1975. For example, the number of commanders who are to remain at various levels will be smaller. Many comrades have suggested that in a regiment, in addition to the commander and political commissar, two deputy commanders and one deputy political commissar are sufficient. This is a good idea. It should be applied to the divisions as well. The present leading bodies are really too big. If the problem is not dealt with firmly, I don’t know what things will be like in a few years. Let’s compare 1975 with 1979. In 1975, the army already had to look after a fairly large number of cadres. Now, more than four years later, it has to look after still more, including those who should be retired. If we don’t make up our minds to do something about the problem now, it will snowball and be much harder to deal with in a few years. So we can’t afford to be indecisive. We must particularly take note of the ages of the cadres at the military-region, army and divisional levels. All of them are pretty much the same age—rather old. In a few years, they will all be elderly. Not only will they be unable to work at the army or divisional level, but they’ll find it difficult to work in the military-region commands or the general headquarters. This is a matter of a law of nature. How old will you comrades here be in five years? I’m afraid most of you, though not all, will find it hard to keep on working. Seven or eight years from now, you’ll be past 70. How could you see things through on the battlefield? If war should really break out, could you fight for three days and nights without sleep? The current move to reduce “bloatedness” will also help to renew the ranks of our cadres. The reason the lower-level cadres could not be promoted is that older ones have stood in their way. The same is true in civilian units.

Today, key posts can only be held by veteran comrades—in a few years we'll really be in a fix! So our current streamlining should trim the top layers, including those at the regimental, battalion and company levels, and create the necessary conditions for promoting new cadres.

I suggest that training courses of various kinds be run for those cadres whose posts are eliminated. What kind of training? To prepare them for the professions and trades they will enter. If the localities have no buildings to house classes, army barracks can be used and the localities can provide the teachers. The army can consult the relevant ministries under the State Council as to where these cadres should be placed after training. Or they can be employed in some civilian trades and professions in the localities. For instance, large numbers of cadres are needed by the public security and legal organs, where the skills required are pretty close to those of the army cadres. Right now we don't have enough policemen—especially police officers. There is also a shortage of presiding and ordinary judges in the courts and of lawyers and procurators. Generally speaking, capitalist countries are quite strict about requirements for law-court and police personnel. We should be even stricter. Apart from being well versed in laws, policies, regulations, procedures and precedents and relevant social data, such persons must be particularly public-minded, honest and upright. As we know, army cadres should be fairly well qualified in these respects. So the army can provide a large number of cadres for work in these fields. Also, we are short of teachers and can arrange for a number of demobilized cadres to teach. Of course, very few can serve as university instructors, but many could teach in secondary or primary schools. We should persuade such comrades to become teachers. A number of comrades have suggested that colleges and universities should employ military sports instructors, but only a limited number are needed. China has only a few hundred institutions of higher education. Supposing each one were to employ 10 people, only several thousand—ten thousand at most—could get such jobs. But the demand is much greater for secondary and primary school teachers. If we train qualified teachers, all of them can be employed by the localities. Also, there is a shortage of administrators in various fields. After training, army cadres who are qualified can take jobs of that sort. Commanding troops is a kind of administration; so army cadres do know something about it. Why is it that in foreign countries ex-officers are welcome in various fields? Because they have administrative skills in addition to a relatively high level of scientific knowledge and education. Only a few of our demobilized cadres know how to administer enterprises, but they have all administered army units. All they need is to have some training and to learn something about the trade in which they will be

employed. For some the training should last six months, for others a year or 18 months. Afterwards, it should be comparatively easy for the localities to find them jobs. It used to be that when a man was transferred out of the army to a civilian unit, if he wasn't appointed director of a political department he was assigned some routine job. Now there's a surplus of people for such jobs. So we have to train cadres through special classes or crash courses to meet the civilian needs. This is one of the measures we should take to prepare them for demobilization as the army is streamlined.

Second, on reforming structure.

In fact, the reform of structure and the reduction of "bloatedness" are two aspects of a single issue. Without the former, it is impossible to effect the latter. The structure of our army is now beset with problems. For example, why should the three general departments, the Headquarters of the General Staff, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department, all have such big establishments? In the past, whenever there was a new task to be done, new offices and new staff were added; no one ever talked about reducing personnel. You people have many complaints about official documents being endlessly routed around and about the length of time it takes to solve problems—all that is connected with administrative structure.

One of the important questions relating to structure and systems is the establishment of a system of military service and of retirement for officers. In the fifties regulations were drawn up to govern the military service of officers, but they didn't work and were later dropped. Actually, they were good on the whole and reflected the correct approach. If they had been applied, we wouldn't have the difficulties we are facing now. After this meeting has ended, we should devote some study to this question. We must have a retirement system. Not only the army but also the civilian units should work one out. The State Council should see to this. Since the army has to fight, the retirement age for military cadres should be lower than that for civilians. Of course, the regulations must be practicable. The vitality of our whole state will be affected if it fails to establish a retirement system. And the same applies to the army. With such a system, everyone will know when he is to retire, and the necessary arrangements can be made more easily. Otherwise, the problems have to be handled case by case and everything becomes difficult. To accommodate retired veterans, the army should build the necessary housing and then hand it over to the civilian units. This is the only way now, because the civilian units are not in a position to accommodate all the former army cadres right away. Another idea is to change the personnel in some sections of the army into non-military, non-uniformed

employees. This can also be done with quite a number of teachers at military colleges and schools; they don't all have to be in the army. Why do people who teach mathematics, physics and chemistry have to belong to the army? If they're professors or lecturers, then let them be just that. Army hospitals, too, can have civilian medical personnel with professional titles. What's the point of having so many administrative posts? All these solutions should be institutionalized, which will put an end to overstaffing in the army. Where only one person is required, there will be just one. Where several are needed, we'll have only that many. In short, necessary rules and regulations should be established, and we should assign people to make a special study of the matter to this end.

As part of the current streamlining we have drawn up a plan for modifying the size of the army, but both size and structure need further study. Some comrades have made good suggestions which merit our consideration. One is that some combined armies and divisions should be organized in accordance with the characteristics of the various war zones and with the constant improvement of military equipment. This would facilitate training in combined operations and help the officers learn to command special branches, thus gearing peace-time training to wartime needs and making it easier to conduct combined operations in emergencies. These questions should all be seen as concerning the systems of administration and structure and should be studied further. In the course of such studies, we may come upon other problems of organization and structure.

Third, on improving training.

In 1975 we proposed that training should be considered of strategic importance because, in the absence of war, it is the only way to improve the army's quality. Since then we have done much work on this question, but we still haven't settled it properly. Now I raise it again so that it may be settled and systematic measures adopted.

If we had to fight a war now we couldn't afford to have our officers ignorant of modern warfare. To be a company commander today isn't what it used to be. The same is true of a regimental commander. Today they must have knowledge—knowledge about warfare in the air, on the ground, under the ground, and under water, including communications and liaison. In terms of system, we must consider educating all officers, from platoon leaders up, in officers' training schools. Platoon or company officers should be graduates of junior infantry schools. Those who graduate with distinction can be put in command of companies, and the others of platoons. Battalion and regimental cadres should go through intermediate officers' training schools. Outstanding platoon and company commanders should be selected for these

schools and be appointed to battalion or regimental command only after a set period of study. Likewise, leading cadres at the army or divisional level should be appointed only after they have attended senior officers' training schools. We should regularize all this. Present conditions allow us to do so. In the past, we conducted training and study while fighting; that was the most effective kind of education. But now, even if a war were going on, you couldn't become competent without education in schools because military equipment is different from what it was, and many kinds of knowledge are needed to direct present-day operations. If a man doesn't even know how to use maps, what good is he? But what matters now is not just knowing how to read maps—that's easy to learn. Modern warfare is very complex, and even maintaining communications and liaison is by no means simple. How would you command a company equipped with tanks and artillery? Company commanders have to know how to do that. So they must study. The promotion of officers should also be systematized. At each step, a man should be promoted only after he has been through a period of study and increased his knowledge of modern warfare. This applies to the special arms too. Every time he speaks, Comrade Xu Xiangqian¹⁰⁷ suggests that we open more schools. This is a very good suggestion and quite correct. We should run schools well and enrol more students, even if it means cutting down the number of troops on active duty and at desk jobs.

We are paying attention to training troops under peace-time conditions, and that's very necessary. But the training has to go beyond marksmanship, bayonet practice and grenade-throwing. Because that's no longer enough. Every soldier must learn how to deal with tanks, aircraft and so on. We should also learn how to co-ordinate air and ground operations. When I suggested earlier that combined armies be organized, I meant combining the different units step by step so that, through peace-time training, our men can acquire such knowledge and skills.

Finally, let me discuss the strengthening of political and ideological work.

You comrades have touched on this in your speeches. Some have said that it is difficult nowadays to lead soldiers, particularly those from the cities. Some cities may send young people who aren't amenable to discipline into the army, and this problem should be kept in mind in future conscription. In any case, political and ideological work in the army must be strengthened. At present, it has been considerably weakened, and our political personnel don't know how to do their job. Actually, all military and political personnel in the army should engage in it. This morning I read a report from Qinghua University. It raised a vital issue, namely, that political and ideological work

has to be done among the students from their very first day there, and that Party and Youth League organizations and all teachers should join in. Qinghua's practice has proved quite effective, and the general atmosphere there is pretty good now. Qinghua's experience should draw nationwide attention. "Red and expert"—on no account must the "red" aspect be discarded. If it's important for a school to strengthen its political and ideological work, it's even more important for the army to do so. Attention should be paid to this question from a recruit's first day in the ranks.

EMARKS ON SUCCESSIVE DRAFTS OF THE “RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA”

March 1980-June 1981

I

I have gone over the outline of the resolution prepared by the drafting group, and my impression is that it is over-extended. We should avoid the narrative method and make the writing more succinct. There should be expositions of important questions, and a bit more expository language generally. And of course we have to be accurate.

The document should cover three main points:

First, affirmation of the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and explanation of the necessity to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This is the most essential point. We must hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought not only today but in the future. There has been considerable ideological confusion among a number of people ever since the decision of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party’s Eleventh Central Committee on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi was transmitted to the lower levels. Some people disagree with the decision, believing that it contravenes Mao Zedong Thought. Others think that the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi shows that Mao Zedong Thought is wrong. Both views are incorrect, and all

The “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China” was drafted under the guidance of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and of its Secretariat, with Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang presiding over the work. A drafting group was set up, with Comrade Hu Qiaomu as its principal leader. On a number of occasions between March 1980 and the Sixth Plenary Session of the Party’s Eleventh Central Committee in June 1981, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave his opinions on the drafting and revision of the resolution. Here are excerpts from nine of his talks.

such confused thinking must be clarified. The appraisal of Comrade Mao and of Mao Zedong Thought is a matter of great concern both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad. Not only all our Party comrades but also our friends in various quarters are concerned about what we have to say on this question.

The history of Mao Zedong Thought—its origins and development—should be written into the document. It can be said that Mao Zedong Thought assumed relatively complete form during the Yan'an period. The theories on the new-democratic revolution, including those on Party building and the principles on the handling of inner-Party relations, all essentially took shape around the time of the rectification movement [of the early forties] in Yan'an. The resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party adopted [in April 1945] by the [enlarged] Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in the main criticized the three “Left” lines¹⁰⁸ in contrast to the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong. But it did not systematically expound the entire content of Mao Zedong Thought. This time, as we intend to give a correct evaluation of Mao Zedong Thought and scientifically establish its guiding role, we have to expound its main contents in general terms, especially those elements which we shall continue to implement in the future. Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes during the decade of the “cultural revolution” [1966-76]. In our appraisal of him and of Mao Zedong Thought, we must analyse those mistakes in the spirit of seeking truth from facts.

The second main point should be an analysis, in the same spirit, of the rights and wrongs in the major events of the 30 years since the founding of New China, including a fair evaluation of the merits and demerits of some leading comrades.

Third, there should be a basic summary of our past work. As I said before, it is better to write it in broad outline and not go into too much detail. The purpose of summing up the past is to encourage people to close ranks and look to the future. We should try to ensure that when this resolution is adopted, the thinking of Party members and non-Party people alike will be clarified, common views will be reached and, by and large, debate on the major historical questions will come to an end. Of course, it will be difficult to avoid debates over the past completely. However, such discussions may be conducted in connection with the ongoing work in each period in the future. For the present, we should work with one heart and one mind for China's four modernizations, and all of us should unite as one and look forward. But that's not so easy to achieve. We must do our best to work out a good resolution so that we can reach a consensus and not let major

differences arise again. Then, even if the past is brought up, people won't differ significantly in their views. They will stick to talking over the content of the resolution and the lessons to be learned from past experience.

These three points constitute the general requirements or principles or guidelines for this resolution. The first is the most important, the most fundamental, the most crucial.

In the past, we often talked about 10 struggles between two opposing lines. How should we regard them now?

The struggle against Comrade Peng Dehuai¹⁰⁹ cannot be viewed as a struggle between two lines. Nor can the struggle against Comrade Liu Shaoqi.¹¹⁰ That makes two such struggles less. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing formed counter-revolutionary cliques. Chen Duxiu¹¹¹ and Comrades Qu Qiubai¹⁰⁶ and Li Lisan¹¹² did not engage in conspiracies. Luo Zhanglong¹¹³ tried to split the Party by setting up another central committee. Zhang Guotao¹¹⁴ engaged in conspiracy, and so did Gao Gang.¹¹⁵ And, of course, so did Lin Biao¹ and Jiang Qing.

It was correct to expose Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. Whether this struggle can be regarded as one between two lines is something that can be looked into further. I am quite clear on the whole story. After Comrade Mao Zedong proposed at the end of 1953 that the work of the Central Committee be divided into a "front line" and a "second line", Gao Gang became very active. He first gained the support of Lin Biao, which was what emboldened him to go ahead full steam. At the time, he was in charge in northeast China, while Lin Biao was in charge in central-south China and Rao Shushi¹¹⁶ in east China. So far as southwest China was concerned, he tried to win me over and had serious talks with me in which he said that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was immature. He was trying to persuade me to join in his effort to topple Comrade Liu Shaoqi. I made my attitude clear, saying that Comrade Liu's position in the Party was the outcome of historical development, that he was a good comrade on the whole, and that it was inappropriate to try to oust him from such a position. Gao Gang also approached Comrade Chen Yun⁸² and told him that a few more vice-chairmanships should be instituted, with himself and Chen each holding one of them. At this point, Comrade Chen Yun and I realized the gravity of the matter and immediately brought it to Comrade Mao Zedong's attention. It was highly irregular for Gao Gang to engage in behind-the-scene deals and conspiracies in his attempt to bring Comrade Liu Shaoqi down. Therefore, we should reaffirm that it was correct to struggle against Gao Gang. The Gao-Rao case was handled rather leniently. Hardly anyone was hurt. In fact, care was taken to protect a number of cadres. All in all, we had no choice but to expose Gao Gang and Rao Shushi

and deal with their case as we did. Our handling of it was correct from the present perspective as well. But so far as Gao Gang's real line is concerned, actually, I can't see that he had one, so it's hard to say whether we should call it a struggle between two lines. Please discuss this further.

The necessity for the anti-Rightist struggle of 1957¹⁰⁰ should be reaffirmed. After the completion of the socialist transformation,¹¹⁷ there was indeed a force—a trend of thought—in the country that was bourgeois in nature and opposed to socialism. It was imperative to counter this trend. I've said on many occasions that some people really were making vicious attacks at the time, trying to negate the leadership of the Communist Party and change the socialist orientation of our country. If we hadn't thwarted their attempt, we would not have been able to advance. Our mistake lay in broadening the scope of the struggle. The United Front Work Department wrote a report to the Central Committee suggesting that in all cases of persons wrongly labelled as Rightists, the judgements should be corrected, but that where the labels had been correct, the judgements should be allowed to stand. However, in the case of figures formerly prominent in the democratic parties who were correctly labelled Rightists, it should be written into the judgements on their cases that they had performed good deeds before the anti-Rightist struggle, and especially during the period of the democratic revolution. Their family members should not be discriminated against but should be properly looked after politically and in terms of their daily life and work.

The several points about our experience mentioned towards the end of your outline are well written, but I suggest you consider adding one or two more.

To sum up, historical questions should be expounded only in broad or general outline, and not in too much detail. As for the erroneous opinions of some of our comrades on a number of questions, you should brace yourselves and resist them. On the major issues, further exposition is needed. I suggest that you work out the draft as soon as possible.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the Central Committee, March 19, 1980)

II

Generally speaking, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership was correct

before 1957, but he made more and more mistakes after the anti-Rightist struggle of that year. “On the Ten Major Relationships” is a fine speech. So is “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People”. In his article “The Situation in the Summer of 1957”, Comrade Mao said that we must build a modern industrial and agricultural base in China and that only with its achievement could our socialist economic and political system be said to have obtained a fairly adequate material base. He said that to build socialism the working class must have its own army of technical cadres and of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theorists, and it must be a vast army, as a few would not suffice. He said that we should create a political situation in which we had both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. The two Zhengzhou Meetings¹¹⁸ were most timely. In the first half of 1959 we were correcting “Left” mistakes. And the early stage of the Lushan Meeting¹¹⁹ was devoted to economic work. With the issuing of Comrade Peng Dehuai’s letter, however, there was a change of direction. Comrade Peng’s views were correct, and it was normal for him as a member of the Political Bureau to write to the Chairman. Although he had his shortcomings, the way his case was handled was totally wrong. After that came the period of economic difficulties. In 1961, the Secretariat of the Central Committee presided over the drafting of the “Seventy Articles on Industrial Work”¹² and of a resolution on industrial questions. At the time Comrade Mao Zedong was quite satisfied with these articles and spoke highly of them. He said that we had finally managed to work out some guiding rules for industrial work. Earlier, we had drawn up the “Twelve Articles on Agricultural Work”¹²⁰ and the “Sixty Articles on the Work of the People’s Communes”.¹²¹ It seemed that Comrade Mao Zedong was then earnestly correcting the “Left” mistakes. His address at the conference attended by 7,000 comrades¹²² in early 1962 was also fine. At the Beidaihe Meeting¹²³ of July-August that year, however, he reversed direction again, laying renewed and even greater stress on class struggle. Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong did say in his speech at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee that the renewed emphasis on class struggle should not interfere with the economic readjustment then in progress. That speech had a positive effect. But after that session, he personally focused on class struggle by initiating the movement of the “four clean-ups”.¹²⁴ Later he wrote the two instructions on literary and art work,¹²⁵ and Jiang Qing’s⁴³ stuff began to surface. Towards the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965, in the discussions

on the “four clean-ups” movement, Chairman Mao held not only that there were capitalist roaders in power but that there were two “independent kingdoms” in Beijing. Judging from the developments between 1961 and 1966, we can see that the economic readjustment had obtained good results, that the economic and political situation was favourable, and that public order was good. In a word, in the 17 years following the founding of the People’s Republic, our work was basically correct, although there were setbacks and mistakes. We carried out the socialist revolution well, and Comrade Mao Zedong wrote good articles and put forth good ideas after we shifted our attention to socialist construction. When we talk about mistakes, we should not speak only of Comrade Mao, for many other leading comrades in the Central Committee made mistakes too. Comrade Mao got carried away when we launched the Great Leap Forward,⁷⁶ but didn’t the rest of us go along with him? Neither Comrade Liu Shaoqi nor Comrade Zhou Enlai nor I for that matter objected to it, and Comrade Chen Yun didn’t say anything either. We must be fair on these questions and not give the impression that only one individual made mistakes while everybody else was correct, because it doesn’t tally with the facts. When the Central Committee makes a mistake, it is the collective rather than a particular individual that bears the responsibility. We should analyse these matters by combining Marxism-Leninism with our practice so that we can make new contributions and push things forward.

The several points in the outline concerning our experience are good. The question is where to place them.

As far as the general organization is concerned, we should consider whether there should be a foreword containing a brief history of the new-democratic revolution prior to the founding of the People’s Republic, followed by a section covering the first 17 years of New China, a section about the “cultural revolution”, a section about Mao Zedong Thought and, finally, the concluding remarks. These concluding remarks should make it clear that, when all is said and done, our Party is a great party with the courage to face up to, and correct, its own mistakes. The most essential, the most fundamental, point in the resolution is that we must adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought. People inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad all expect us to expound and elucidate this issue and make some relevant generalizations.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the Central Committee, April 1, 1980)

III

I have gone over the draft of the resolution. It is no good and needs rewriting. We stressed at the very beginning that the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong must be affirmed and that Mao Zedong Thought must be adhered to and developed. The draft doesn't reflect this intention adequately. The passages dealing with the events before 1957 are all right as to the facts, but the way they are presented—the sequence and especially the tone of presentation—should be reconsidered and altered. We have to give a clear account of Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to China's socialist revolution and construction. Mao Zedong Thought is still in the process of development. We should restore and adhere to Mao Zedong Thought and go on developing it further. Comrade Mao laid a foundation for us in all these respects, and the resolution should fully reflect his ideas. It should cite some of his important articles and speeches in the period of socialist revolution and construction, such as "On the Ten Major Relationships", "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "The Situation in the Summer of 1957". They contain the ideas which we must continue to adhere to and develop today. We must give people a clear understanding of what specific ideas we have in mind when we say we will hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and adhere to Mao Zedong Thought.

The tone of the draft as a whole is too depressing—it doesn't read like a resolution. It seems it will have to be revised, which will take a lot of work. The emphasis should be on what Mao Zedong Thought actually is and what Comrade Mao Zedong's correct ideas were. Criticism of mistakes is necessary but it must be appropriate. Criticizing Comrade Mao's personal mistakes alone will not solve problems. What is most important is the question of systems and institutions. Comrade Mao made many correct statements, but the faulty systems and institutions of the past pushed him in the opposite direction. The mistakes Comrade Mao made in both theory and practice in his later years should be mentioned, but they should be dealt with properly and only in general outline. The main thing is to concentrate on the aspects in which he was correct, because that conforms to historical reality. Shouldn't the concluding section include a passage about our determination to go on developing Mao Zedong Thought? We should also criticize the "two whatevers".¹⁸ Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes consisted in violations of his own correct ideas. According to the "two-whatevers" viewpoint, we should adhere, without the slightest change, to Comrade Mao's erroneous views in his later years. The slogan "Act according to the principles laid down"¹²⁶ meant to act in accordance with the erroneous principles Comrade Mao laid

down in the evening of his life. The resolution should also discuss the influence of the vestiges of feudalism, but again in a proper way. Comrade Mao said on numerous occasions that he was against adulation of anyone, and he proposed that no places or enterprises should be named after leaders and that there should be no celebration of their birthdays and no presentation of gifts. It is precisely Mao Zedong Thought that the present Central Committee upholds, only we have given it concrete content.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the Central Committee, June 27, 1980)

IV

The inner-Party discussions, in which 4,000 comrades are participating, are still going on. I have read some summaries. The comrades have been airing their ideas freely and putting forward different views, some of which are very good. I think the draft of the resolution being discussed is still too long and needs to be condensed. Delete what is dispensable and give more prominence to the essentials. Many discussion groups want a section in the draft to be devoted to the period following the smashing of the Gang of Four. It seems we shall have to write one.

One most important question is whether the resolution should include an appraisal of the merits and demerits of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. If so, how should they be appraised? I talked to some comrades from the Guards Bureau under the General Office of the Central Committee; they told me they had read to their soldiers the transcript of my recent interview with the Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci and had organized some discussions on it. All the officers and men felt that what I had said was appropriate and acceptable. If we don't mention Mao Zedong Thought and don't make an appropriate evaluation of Comrade Mao's merits and demerits, the old workers will not feel satisfied, nor will the poor and lower-middle peasants of the period of land reform, nor the many cadres who have close ties with them. On no account can we discard the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. To do so would, in fact, be to negate the glorious history of our Party. On the whole, the Party's history is glorious. Our Party has also made big mistakes in the course of its history, including some in the three decades since the founding of New China, not least, so gross a mistake as the "cultural revolution". But after all, we did triumph in the revolution. It is

since the birth of the People's Republic that China's status in the world has been so greatly enhanced. It is since the founding of the People's Republic that our great country, with nearly a quarter of the world's population, has stood up—and stood firm—in the community of nations. That's how Comrade Mao Zedong put it: The Chinese people have now stood up. Our people at home and Chinese nationals abroad all felt this change deeply and strongly. It is also since the founding of the People's Republic that the country (excepting Taiwan) has been truly reunified. In old China, there was no national reunification in the true sense under the rule of the Kuomintang, much less in the previous years of constant fighting among warlords. Provinces like Shanxi, Guangdong, Guangxi and Sichuan could not be considered as being really united with the rest of China. Our country would still be in its old plight were it not for our Communist Party, our new-democratic revolution, our socialist revolution and the establishment of our socialist system. What we have achieved cannot be separated from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. It is precisely this point that many of our young people don't sufficiently appreciate.

The appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and the exposition of Mao Zedong Thought relate not only to Comrade Mao personally but also to the entire history of our Party and our country. We must keep this overall judgement in mind. We have emphasized it repeatedly ever since we started drafting this resolution. It must contain a section expounding Mao Zedong Thought. It's not merely a theoretical question that is involved but also and especially a political question of great domestic and international significance. If we don't have this section, or if it is badly written, it would be better to have no resolution at all. As to how to write it, we should of course give serious consideration to the suggestions made by the comrades.

It is right not to say that Mao Zedong Thought is a development of Marxism-Leninism in all its aspects or that it represents a new stage of Marxism. But we ought to recognize that Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. In the course of applying it to the solution of China's practical problems, our Party has indeed developed Marxism-Leninism in many respects. This is an objective reality and a historical fact. The draft resolution, however it is written, should also contain a clear exposition of the merits and demerits of Comrade Mao, the content of Mao Zedong Thought and its guiding role in our work both at present and for the future. Since the Third Plenary Session, we have been restoring the correct things advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong; we have been studying and applying Mao Zedong Thought correctly and as an

integral whole. The basic points of Mao Zedong Thought are still those we have enumerated. In many respects, we are doing things Comrade Mao suggested but failed to do himself, setting right his erroneous opposition to certain things and accomplishing some things that he did not. All this we shall continue to do for a fairly long time. Of course, we have developed Mao Zedong Thought and will go on developing it.

Mao Zedong Thought was set as the guiding thought for our whole Party at its Seventh National Congress.¹²⁷ The Party educated an entire generation in Mao Zedong Thought, and that is what enabled us to win the revolutionary war and found the People's Republic of China. The "cultural revolution" was really a gross error. However, our Party was able to smash the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and put an end to the "cultural revolution" and it has continued to advance ever since. Who achieved all this? Is it not the generation educated in Mao Zedong Thought? Now, when we speak of setting things right, we mean that we should undo the damage done by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, criticize the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years, and put things back on the right track of Mao Zedong Thought. In short, if we fail to include in the resolution a section concerning Mao Zedong Thought, which, since it has been proved correct in practice, ought to serve as the guideline for our future work, we will diminish the practical and historical significance of the revolution and construction we have engaged in and will continue to engage in. It would be a grave historical mistake not to expound Mao Zedong Thought in the resolution or to cease to adhere to it.

Today, some comrades attribute many problems to the personal qualities of Comrade Mao Zedong. As a matter of fact, there are quite a few problems that cannot be explained in that way. Mistakes are unavoidable under some circumstances even for people of fine quality. During the period of the Red Army, a campaign was mounted against the A-B ["Anti-Bolshevik"] Group¹²⁸ in the Central Revolutionary Base Area. Can it be said that all the participants in the campaign were bad people? At first, Comrade Mao Zedong also took part in this struggle, but he came to see what was wrong with it earlier than others and drew the necessary lessons. Later, in Yan'an, he put forward the principle of "killing none and arresting few".¹²⁹ In the exceptionally tense wartime conditions that then prevailed, when bad elements were discovered within our ranks, it was necessary to heighten our vigilance. However, when we failed to act soberly and make clear analyses but simply believed in confessions by the accused, it was hard to avoid mistakes. Objectively, the situation then was really tense but subjectively, of course, there was also the problem of our lack of experience.

And, in the “cultural revolution”, Comrade Mao Zedong did not intend to overthrow all the veteran cadres. For instance, from the very beginning Lin Biao was bent on persecuting Comrade He Long,¹³⁰ but Comrade Mao Zedong wanted to protect him. Despite the fact that Comrade Mao wanted to “rectify” anyone who disobeyed him, he still gave some consideration to how far he should go. We cannot say that he bore no responsibility for the intensified persecution of veteran cadres that occurred later, but he was not the only one to blame. In some instances, persecutions had already been carried out by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, while in others they took place behind Comrade Mao’s back. This notwithstanding, it must be said that the overthrow of a large number of cadres was one of the biggest tragedies of Comrade Mao Zedong’s later years.

In those years, Comrade Mao Zedong was in fact not so consistent in his thinking as he previously had been, and some of his statements were mutually contradictory. For instance, in appraising the “cultural revolution”, he said that its mistakes amounted to only 30 per cent and its achievements to 70 per cent. And when he referred to the 30 per cent of mistakes, he meant “overthrowing all” and waging a “full-scale civil war”. How can anyone reconcile this with the idea of 70 per cent achievements?

We should unequivocally criticize mistakes, including those by Comrade Mao Zedong. But we must seek truth from facts and analyse the different situations—and not attribute everything to the personal qualities of particular individuals. Comrade Mao Zedong was not an isolated individual, he was the leader of our Party until the moment of his death. When we write about his mistakes, we should not exaggerate, for otherwise we shall be discrediting Comrade Mao Zedong, and this would mean discrediting our Party and state. Any exaggeration of his mistakes would be at variance with the historical facts.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the Central Committee, October 25, 1980)

V

I think we can settle for this outline of the draft resolution.

We all agree that much was achieved during the first seven years of the People’s Republic. China’s socialist transformation was a success—a truly remarkable success—and it represented a major contribution by Comrade

Mao Zedong to Marxism-Leninism. Even today, we need to elaborate upon it in terms of theory. Of course there were shortcomings. Sometimes, in certain spheres, we were a bit too impetuous in our work.

Our work in the 10 years before the “cultural revolution” should be assessed as generally good; in the main, it proceeded along the right road. We suffered setbacks and made mistakes during that period, but the achievements were the main thing. The Party was then close in feeling to the masses and its prestige among them was high. The general atmosphere in society was fine, and the cadres and the people in general were in high spirits. Therefore, when we met with difficulties, we were able to get through them quite smoothly. There were some problems in the economy, but on the whole it made progress. While fully affirming our achievements, the resolution must also discuss the mistakes we made in the anti-Rightist struggle, in the Great Leap Forward and at the Lushan Meeting. In general, these mistakes were due to our inexperience and, of course, to the fact that success went to our heads. Naturally, Comrade Mao Zedong bore the chief responsibility for them, for which he criticized himself and assumed the blame. When all these matters are clearly set forth, we can move on to discuss how the “Left” ideology developed and how it eventually led to the outbreak of the “cultural revolution”.

The section dealing with the “cultural revolution” should be written in broad outline. I agree with Comrade Hu Qiaomu’s¹³¹ views. Compared with the mistakes made in the preceding 17 years, the “cultural revolution” was an error of particular gravity, one affecting the overall situation. Its consequences were so serious that they are still being felt today. We say that the “cultural revolution” wasted the talents of a whole generation of our people. In fact, it didn’t stop with just one generation. It opened the floodgates to anarchism and ultra-individualism, and seriously debased standards of social conduct. However, there were also some healthy phenomena even in that decade. The so-called February adverse current¹³² was not adverse at all; rather, it was a good current of repeated struggles against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four.

Comrade Hu Yaobang⁹⁵ has suggested that after the draft is completed we take it to some veteran cadres and statesmen, including Comrades Huang Kecheng¹³³ and Li Weihai,¹³⁴ and hear what they have to say. This is a good suggestion and I am in favour of it.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group for the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party”, March 18, 1981)

VI

I went to see Comrade Chen Yun the day before yesterday. He made two more suggestions for the revision of the draft resolution. One is that we should add a section reviewing the entire history of the Party in the 60 years since its founding, including the years before Liberation. With this 60-year review, he said, it will be possible to make a more comprehensive summary of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and contributions, and we will have an adequate basis for affirming Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and the necessity of adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought. This is a fine suggestion. Please convey it to the other members of the drafting group. The other suggestion by Comrade Chen Yun is that the Central Committee should encourage people to study, principally to study Marxist philosophy, with the emphasis on Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works. Comrade Chen Yun says that he has benefited a lot from studying them. Comrade Mao told him on three occasions that he must study philosophy. While in Yan'an, he read Comrade Mao's writings attentively, and that had a great influence on his own later work. Many of our cadres still don't understand philosophy and very much need to improve their way of thinking and work. We should select and publish in one book such articles as "On Practice", "On Contradiction", "On Protracted War", "Problems of War and Strategy" and "On Coalition Government". We should also select some works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin for study. In a word, it is essential to study Marxist philosophy and a little history as well. Young people don't know Chinese history, especially the history of the Chinese revolution and of the Chinese Communist Party. Please report these suggestions to Comrade Hu Yaobang. The resolution should contain a richer and more substantial exposition of Comrade Mao Zedong's contribution to Marxist philosophy. The conclusion should include some remarks encouraging people to study.

(Talk with a leading comrade of the drafting group for the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party", March 26, 1981)

VII

There have been several rounds of discussion of the draft resolution.

Many good suggestions have been made that should be accepted. However, there have also been some suggestions that are unacceptable. For instance, some people have suggested we declare that the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and the Ninth Party Congress¹⁰⁵ were not legitimate. But to deny their legitimacy would pull the rug out from under us when we say that during the “cultural revolution” the Party was still functioning and the State Council and the People’s Liberation Army were still able to do much of their essential work. Comrade Zhou Enlai gave an explanation at the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, saying that 10 members of the Central Committee had died by then and that the vacancies had all been filled by alternate members. Thus 50 members of the Central Committee, or more than half the total, were present at the session. That means the session was legitimate. So it’s not right to say that neither the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee nor the Ninth Party Congress was legitimate. This is clear if we take into consideration Comrade Mao Zedong’s policy decision (a wise one) in Yan’an concerning the legitimacy of the provisional central leadership set up in Shanghai in 1931 and of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee that it later convened.¹³⁵ Some comrades have argued that the Party ceased to exist during the “cultural revolution”. We can’t say that. Though the Party’s regular activities stopped for a period, it did in fact exist. If it didn’t, how could we have smashed the Gang of Four without firing a single shot or shedding a single drop of blood? The Party did exist during the “cultural revolution”. To deny the legitimacy of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee or of the Ninth Party Congress would be tantamount to saying that the Party ceased to exist for a period of time. This is not in accord with the facts.

During the “cultural revolution” great successes were achieved in our work in foreign affairs. Despite the domestic turmoil, internationally China’s status as a great nation was recognized and its stature rose. Kissinger¹³⁶ visited China in July 1971, and in October of that year more than two-thirds of the member states of the United Nations voted to restore the lawful seat of the People’s Republic of China in that organization, an event that greatly discomfited the United States. In February 1972, Nixon visited China, and the “Shanghai Joint Communique” was signed. In September of that year, China and Japan restored diplomatic relations. In April 1974, I attended the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly,⁵⁵ where I spoke on behalf of the Chinese Government and was accorded a warm welcome. After my speech, delegates from many

countries came up to shake hands with me. All these are facts.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group for the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party”, April 7, 1981)

VIII

We have spent more than a year writing this document, and it has gone through I don't know how many drafts. In October 1980, it was discussed by 4,000 comrades, who made many good and important suggestions. On the basis of their discussion and the more recent one by more than 40 comrades, it was again revised several times. More than 20 comrades, who worked really hard on it, have now produced the present draft.

Some comrades have said that perhaps we shouldn't be in such a rush to write this resolution. But that's wrong because people are waiting for it. In China, people both inside and outside the Party are waiting. If we don't come out with something, there can be no unity of views on major issues. The world is waiting, too. People are watching events in China with some doubts about its stability and unity. And one of their doubts is about whether we can produce this document, and if so, when. So we can't take any longer because further delay will be unfavourable. Of course, we want the draft to be good. In my estimation, the present draft can at least serve as a good basis. It has been prepared in conformity with the three basic requirements set down at the beginning, and it has fulfilled them.

If we are to get this document out soon, we cannot—and need not—hold another round of discussion by the 4,000 comrades. They have already aired their opinions, which have been fully incorporated in the revised draft. Our present method is to hold this enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau attended by more than 70 comrades, who will spend some time and energy scrutinizing the draft so as to further improve and finalize it. Once it is finalized it will be submitted to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee. We plan to publish it on the 60th anniversary [July 1, 1981] of the founding of our Party. There's no need to write much else to mark the anniversary. We should, of course, do something to commemorate it, and publishing this document will be the main thing.

In my opinion, a defect of this draft is that it is a bit too long. We tried

to condense it to no more than 20,000 characters but finally set the limit at 25,000. Now it runs to 28,000. My view now is that an excess of three to five thousand characters doesn't matter and that it needn't be cut further if that proves difficult. Of course, it would be better if, through discussion, you could condense it in some places.

This draft was revised on the basis of the discussion by 4,000 comrades and the recent discussion by more than 40 comrades. Many good suggestions have been incorporated. For instance, Comrade Chen Yun suggested that the resolution begin with a review of the Party's history in the 28 years before the founding of the People's Republic. That was a very valuable suggestion, and we now have this review at the beginning of the draft. There were many other valuable suggestions, and a reading of the draft will reveal the corresponding changes. Of course, some suggestions were rejected.

In short, there are two key questions. First, with regard to Comrade Mao Zedong: Which were primary, his achievements or his mistakes? Second, in the last 32 years, and especially the 10 years before the "cultural revolution", were our achievements or our mistakes primary? Was the situation in those years all dark, or was its bright side dominant? There is also a third question: Should we blame Comrade Mao Zedong alone for all the mistakes of the past, or should others also take some responsibility? This draft says in more than one place that the Central Committee of the Party should be held responsible for those mistakes and that other comrades should share the blame. I think that, relatively speaking, this conforms to reality. The fourth point is that although Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes, after all they are the mistakes of a great revolutionary, a great Marxist.

(Speech at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, May 19, 1981)

IX

On the whole, this is a good resolution and a good draft. From the beginning we have intended that this resolution should hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and make a balanced appraisal of the "cultural revolution" and of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, his achievements and mistakes, an appraisal based on facts. In this way the document can perform the same function as the 1945 resolution on the

history of our Party, that is, to sum up experience, unify thinking and unite all our comrades as one in looking to the future. I think this draft meets these requirements.

Drafting this resolution has taken more than a year, during which time it was discussed by 4,000 comrades and then by several dozen more and by an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau. Our discussion at this preparatory meeting for the Sixth Plenary Session, then, is the fourth round. I think we have been rather careful and conscientious in this matter.

The central issue remains how to assess Comrade Mao Zedong, and the draft deals with it in a well-measured way. For instance, whether or not to categorize his errors as errors of line is a question that has to be handled judiciously. We have decided not to refer to them by that term because in the past the formulations “struggle between two lines” and “error of Party line” were used inaccurately, indiscriminately and too often. Formerly we used to talk about several two-line struggles in the Party’s history, but from our present point of view it seems clear that at least two such designations cannot stand and ought to be reversed once for all. I am referring to the case of Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun¹³⁷ and the case of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou.¹³⁸ The basic verdict on the case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi remains unchanged, but it too can hardly be categorized as a struggle between two lines. Luo Zhanglong was said to have committed errors of Party line, but frankly I think that this categorization missed the mark. What Luo Zhanglong actually did was to engage in factional strife, split the Party and form another central committee. The case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi was of a similar nature though, of course, they did not form a separate central committee. Qu Qiubai’s errors lasted less than half a year and Li Lisan’s only three months. In the past, certain struggles in the Party’s history were inaccurately categorized as two-line struggles, and that is one reason why we don’t favour using this term. Another reason is that, for a long period, whenever differing views arose in the Party, they were dubbed differences of line and criticized as errors of line. So we must approach this issue very seriously, as it has to do with the improvement of our Party’s style of work. We shouldn’t refer to the Party’s Eleventh National Congress⁵¹ as having made errors of line. Neither should we describe the “cultural revolution” as an error of line; we should analyse its essence and see it for what it really was. As a matter of fact, the present analysis of the mistakes of the “cultural revolution” goes beyond the old concept of “error of line”. Of course, the fact that we don’t use the term “two-line

struggle” doesn’t mean that the word “line” should never be used again in any context. For instance, we used it to say that the Third Plenary Session established a correct ideological line, a correct political line and a correct organizational line, and we may use such formulations again in future. Not only the word “line” but also the term “general line” can still be employed. We use it now when we say that the four modernizations constitute our general line in the new period. We have used the word “line” in our current draft resolution, too, so it isn’t a matter of always avoiding it. In certain contexts, it reads quite smoothly and naturally, and the meaning is clear. However, so far as inner-Party struggles are concerned, we should judge their nature and the errors involved in each on their own merits. We should make their content clear and, in principle, should no longer present them as “struggles between two lines”. In this respect, our resolution can be seen as a precedent to be followed in the future. This is the first point I want to make.

Second, why are we now stressing that assessments must be balanced? Because certain recent remarks about some of Comrade Mao Zedong’s mistakes have gone too far. These excesses should be corrected so that, generally speaking, the assessment will conform to reality and enhance the image of the country and the Party as a whole. Part of the responsibility for some past mistakes should be borne collectively, though the chief responsibility, of course, lay with Comrade Mao. We hold that systems and institutions are the decisive factor, and we all know what they were in those days. At the time, we used to credit everything to one person. It is true that there were certain things which we failed to oppose and for which we should be held partly responsible. Of course, in the circumstances, it was really difficult to express any opposition. However, we cannot evade our own responsibility. It does us no harm to accept our share of the blame. On the contrary, we will benefit by drawing lessons from the experience. I am talking here about the matter insofar as the Central Committee is concerned. The local leaders bore no responsibility. Comrade Chen Yun and I were members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau then, so at least we two should be held responsible. But other leading comrades in the Central Committee should also bear some responsibility. Does this conform to the reality? Yes, it does. This is a tenable approach and will do us much good. It is what we meant when we originally said the assessment of Comrade Mao Zedong should be balanced and, moreover, based on facts.

Now the third point. The discussion of the draft touched on the

problems in the first two years after the downfall of the Gang of Four. Some comrades asked whether Comrade Hua Guofeng²² should be mentioned by name. After careful consideration, we decided that it wouldn't do not to name him. In this regard, the resolution should tally with the circular on the Political Bureau meetings held last November.¹³⁹ But the wording relating to him in our present draft resolution is much milder on many points and sounds more moderate or less severe than the language of the circular. I think that's better. Why? Because this is to be a resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party since the founding of the People's Republic, while the other was a decision of the Political Bureau. The resolution is a document that will enter the historical record. So, of course, will the documents of the Political Bureau, but the resolution is more weighty. I think, therefore, it does us no harm to word the resolution in more measured terms. However, Comrade Hua Guofeng's name must be mentioned, because that is in keeping with reality. If he were not mentioned by name, there could be no apparent reason for changing his post. That is the primary question. Was the decision of the Political Bureau correct and should Comrade Hua Guofeng's post have been changed? We must answer this question. Furthermore, it is necessary to do so in the light of current political developments. You all know what banner is being waved by the remnants of the Gang of Four and others who have ulterior motives. They used to wave the banner of the Gang of Four. What about now? Now it's the banner of Hua Guofeng, that is, they support Hua Guofeng. This trend merits serious attention. Of course, we should say—and I have said so to many comrades—that Comrade Hua Guofeng himself is not responsible for any of this, for he himself is not involved in any of these activities. Still, this trend in society warrants our attention. So it is beneficial to the Party and people that this resolution should mention Comrade Hua Guofeng by name and point out his mistakes. It is also most beneficial to Comrade Hua Guofeng himself.

There are some other questions. For instance, when we analyse the causes of the "cultural revolution", should we mention the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology? I think it does no harm to omit that reference. If and when it becomes necessary to counter the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology, we can deal with it in future documents. There is no hurry. That is not the question involved here. What should be criticized here is something else, to wit, the misunderstanding, dogmatic interpretation and erroneous application of Lenin's statement that small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily, hourly, and on a

mass scale. In analysing the causes of the “cultural revolution” this time, we need not refer to the petty bourgeoisie, neither need we copy the past formula that every mistake must necessarily have three causes, social, ideological and historical. We have used a new formulation this time, and that too is a good thing.

(Speech during the preparatory meeting for the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, June 22, 1981)

TO BUILD SOCIALISM WE MUST FIRST DEVELOP THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES

April-May 1980

I

Revolution means carrying out class struggle, but it does not merely mean that. The development of the productive forces is also a kind of revolution—a very important one. It is the most fundamental revolution from the viewpoint of historical development.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the Central Committee, April 1, 1980)

II

Over the past 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, we have laid the basic socialist foundation in agriculture, industry, and other areas. But we have a major problem, that is, we have wasted some time and our productive forces have developed too slowly. All revolution is designed to remove obstacles to the development of the productive forces.

Since socialism is superior to capitalism, socialist countries should be able to develop their economies more rapidly than capitalist countries, improving their people's living standards gradually and becoming more powerful. We have suffered some setbacks in this respect.

The objective of achieving the four modernizations was actually put forth by Chairman Mao and announced by Premier Zhou in his report on government work. But how did the Gang of Four respond? They said that it was better to be poor under socialism than to be rich under capitalism. It seemed to them that socialism meant pauperism. Marxists

have always held that socialism is superior to capitalism and that socialist countries should be able to develop their productive forces more rapidly than capitalist countries. Lin Biao and the Gang of Four totally deviated from the cardinal principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Being a large country, China should play a more important role in the world, but owing to its limited strength, it cannot play a greater role. In the final analysis, what we should do is try to promote China's development. It is not enough just to say we are poor, and actually, we are very poor. Such a status quo is far from being commensurate with the standing of a great nation such as ours. Therefore, starting last year, we shifted our focus onto economic development. We should unequivocally continue to do so. Developing the economy is a new endeavour for us, for which we must pay a price. We are exploring ways to develop the economy more rapidly and we have confidence that we can do so. We must emancipate our minds and we should do so even in answering the question as to what socialism is. If the economy remains stagnant and the people's living standards remain at a very low level for a long period of time, we cannot say that we are building socialism.

(Talk with Kenneth David Kaunda, President
of the Republic of Zambia, April 12, 1980)

III

We should research earnestly how to carry out socialist development. At this time, we are reviewing the experience gained in the past three decades since the founding of the People's Republic. To sum up, it is as follows. First, we should not adopt "Leftist" policies by divorcing ourselves from reality or skipping over necessary stages. Otherwise, the task of building socialism will not be accomplished. We have suffered losses from "Leftist" policies. Second, whatever we do must contribute to developing the productive forces. In our effort to do this, we should stress economic results. Unless we develop the productive forces, we cannot gradually increase people's incomes. We have suffered a great deal in this respect, especially during the ten years of the "cultural revolution". We should research why so many African countries which have been developing socialism have become poorer and poorer. We should not consider

it to be glorious merely to call our nation socialist, nor should we be content with this.

(Talk with the delegation from the Party of the National Liberation Front of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, April 21, 1980)

IV

“Socialism” is a good term, but if we fail to have a correct understanding of it and adopt correct policies for establishing it, we will not be able to demonstrate its essence. We believe the socialist road is the correct one. While carrying out reforms, we still adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles, one of which is to keep to the socialist road. In building socialism, each country should adopt policies commensurate with its particular conditions. As for a big country such as ours, we must give due consideration to the specific conditions in each area. For instance, we encountered the problem that some areas which were self-sufficient in grain had become grain-deficient. Of course, the growth of the urban population is one of the reasons for this change, but it is a minor one. The main reason lies in the fact that these areas proceeded without giving due consideration to the actual state of economic development, and that they did not act in accordance with the laws governing economic development. Policies formulated on this basis cannot arouse the people's initiative. In the past one or two years, we have emphasized that measures should be suited to local conditions and in rural areas we have improved the system of responsibility by which the fixing of output quotas is based on individual households and production teams. Consequently, conspicuous results have been achieved and output has doubled.

The greatest contribution Chairman Mao Zedong made in building socialism was his integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. We were particularly successful in carrying out the socialist transformation. At the time, in our effort to transform agriculture, we advocated establishing mutual aid teams and small cooperatives. Since they were small and distribution among the peasants was equitable, the output of grain increased and peasants' enthusiasm for production was enhanced. In order to transform capitalist industry and commerce,

we adopted the policy of redemption. While changing private ownership into public ownership, the development of the national economy was not affected. We have allowed individual handicrafts to exist for a long time now, and organized most of the handicraftsmen into collectively owned cooperatives according to the principle of voluntary participation. Because we did all this in light of the country's specific conditions, we suffered almost no setbacks. Production kept on increasing, no unemployment resulted, and there were ample products. But in 1958 we made a mistake by initiating the Great Leap Forward⁷⁶. We neglected the laws governing economic development and consequently production dropped. Thanks to the three years of readjustment of the economy, the national economy resumed a fairly smooth development. But then came the "cultural revolution", a disaster for the nation, causing economic chaos. For this reason, we have to take a few years to readjust the economy during our modernization drive. In short, we must act in accordance with economic laws.

According to our experience, in order to build socialism we must first of all develop the productive forces, which is our main task. This is the only way to demonstrate the superiority of socialism. Whether the socialist economic policies we are pursuing are correct or not depends, in the final analysis, on whether the productive forces develop and people's incomes increase. This is the most important criterion. We cannot build socialism with just empty talk. The people will not believe it.

(Talk with Aimed Ceca Toure, President of
the Republic of Guinea, May 5, 1980)

ON QUESTIONS OF RURAL POLICY

May 31, 1980

Now that more flexible policies have been introduced in the rural areas, the practice of fixing farm output quotas on a household basis has been adopted in some localities where it is suitable. It has proved quite effective and changed things rapidly for the better. Fixing output quotas on a household basis has been adopted in most of the production teams in Feixi County, Anhui Province, and there have been big increases in production. Nearly all the production teams in the same province's Fengyang County, which incidentally is the locale of the "Fengyang Flower-Drum" Opera, have been practising an all-round contract system, which inside of a year has resulted in an upswing in production that has transformed the county's prospects. Some comrades are worried that this practice may have an adverse effect on the collective economy. I think their fears are unwarranted. Development of the collective economy continues to be our general objective. Where farm output quotas are fixed by household, the production teams still constitute the main economic units. What does the future hold for these places? It is certain that as long as production expands, division of labour increases and the commodity economy develops, lower forms of collectivization in the countryside will develop into higher forms and the collective economy will acquire a firmer basis. The key task is to expand the productive forces and thereby create conditions for the further development of collectivization. To be specific, the following four conditions should be realized: First, a higher level of mechanization, one which is relatively well suited to local natural and economic conditions and welcomed by the people (here I mean mechanization in a broad sense, not merely mechanized ploughing, sowing and harvesting). Second, a higher level of management, combining accumulated experience and a contingent of cadres with fairly strong management abilities. Third, a developed diversified economy that leads to the

Excerpt from a talk with some senior officials under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

establishment of a variety of specialized groups or teams, which in turn leads to the large-scale expansion of the commodity economy in the rural areas. Fourth, an increase in the income of the collective, both in absolute terms and in relation to the total income of the economic unit involved. If these four conditions are realized, the localities that now fix output quotas on a household basis will develop new forms of collectivization. This sort of development won't come from above as the result of administrative decree, but will be an inevitable response to the demands of growing production.

Some comrades say that the pace of socialist transformation had been too rapid. I think there is some ground for this view. For example, in the co-operative transformation of agriculture, there was an upsurge every year or two, with one kind of organizational form being quickly replaced by another before the first one had time to be consolidated. The rapid, large-scale transition from elementary co-operatives to advanced co-operatives was a case in point. If the transformation had advanced step by step, with a period of consolidation followed by further development, the result might have been better. Again, during the Great Leap Forward in 1958,⁷⁶ before co-operatives of the advanced type had been consolidated, people's communes were set up on a large scale. As a result, we had to take a step back in the early sixties and again make production teams the basic accounting units of the collective economy. During the rural socialist education movement,¹²⁴ production teams of an appropriate size were arbitrarily divided into very small ones in some localities, while in others they were amalgamated into teams that were too large. Practice has shown this to be bad.

Generally speaking, the main problem in rural work is still that people's thinking is not sufficiently emancipated. This problem manifests itself not only in the matter of determining the organizational forms of collectivization. It also is apparent when it comes to developing production suited to local conditions. The latter means developing what is appropriate for a specific locality and not arbitrarily attempting what is unsuitable. For instance, many areas in northwest China should concentrate on growing forage grass in order to expand animal husbandry. Some cadres currently give little thought to planning new undertakings that would be suitable to local conditions and would produce economic gains and benefit the masses. Far from emancipating their thinking, these cadres still act according to fixed patterns. Thus there is still much work to do, even now that flexible policies have been adopted.

It is extremely important for us to proceed from concrete local conditions and take into account the wishes of the people. We must not propagate

one method and require all localities to adopt it. In publicizing typical examples, we must explain how and under what conditions people in these localities achieved success. We should not describe them as perfect or as having solved all problems; and we should certainly not require people in other places to copy them mechanically in disregard of their own specific conditions.

AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE FOR HANDLING RELATIONS BETWEEN FRATERNAL PARTIES

May 31, 1980

When a Communist Party comments on the actions of a foreign fraternal Party, it may often judge them according to some rigid formula or established pattern. Facts have shown that this approach gets one nowhere. Conditions vary greatly from country to country, the level of political awareness varies from people to people, and the class relations and the alignment of class forces in one country are vastly different from those in another. How can a fixed formula be applied mechanically despite all these differences? Even though you use a Marxist formula, it is hard to avoid mistakes if you don't integrate your formula with the reality in the country concerned. The Chinese revolution was carried out not by adopting the model of the Russian October Revolution but by proceeding from the realities in China, by using the rural areas to encircle the cities and seize power with armed force. Since the Chinese revolution succeeded by integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China, we should not demand that other developing countries, let alone the developed capitalist countries, adopt our model in making revolution. Of course, one cannot demand that they all adopt the Russian model, either.

The correctness of the domestic principles and line of a Party in a given country should be judged by that Party itself and by the people of that country. After all, it is the comrades in a particular country who know its specific conditions best. However, if a Party and the country which it leads pursue a foreign policy of interference in the internal affairs of other countries, or invasion or subversion of them, then any other Party is entitled to make its stand known and express its criticism. We have always opposed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union acting like a patriarchal party and displaying great-power chauvinism. It pursues a hegemonist line and policy

Excerpt from a talk with some senior officials under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

in foreign relations.

Similarly, the correctness of Eurocommunism should not be judged by outsiders: it is not for others to write articles affirming or denying it. It should be judged by the European Parties and peoples themselves, and in the final analysis their own practice will provide the answer. We can't criticize people when they conduct experiments in line with their own conditions. Even if they are wrong, it is up to them to sum up their own experience and try a different path.

On the whole, we know how we should handle our relations with other Parties. Looking back, however, we can see that we haven't always acted correctly. Some time ago, talking with Comrade Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, I said that we had previously expressed some incorrect opinions concerning his Party. He replied that they hadn't always acted correctly either. So I said that the past controversies between the two Parties should be forgotten altogether.

To sum up: we must respect the way the Parties and peoples of different countries deal with their own affairs. They should be left to find their own paths by themselves and explore ways to solve their own problems. No Party should act like a patriarchal party and issue orders to others. We object to being ordered about and we, for our part, will never issue orders to others. This should be regarded as an important principle.

ON THE REFORM OF THE SYSTEM OF PARTY AND STATE LEADERSHIP

August 18, 1980

Comrades,

The main task of this enlarged meeting is to discuss the reform of the system of Party and state leadership and some related questions.

I

Changing the leadership of the State Council will be a major item on the agenda of the forthcoming Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. The proposed changes will include the following: Comrade Hua Guofeng²² will no longer hold the concurrent post of Premier, which will be assumed by Comrade Zhao Ziyang;¹⁴⁰ Comrades Li Xiannian,⁸³ Chen Yun,⁸² Xu Xiangqian,¹⁰⁷ Wang Zhen¹⁴¹ and I will cease to serve concurrently as Vice-Premiers so that more energetic comrades can take over; Comrade Wang Renzhong¹⁴² will cease to serve concurrently as Vice-Premier, so that he can concentrate on his important job in the Party; and Comrade Chen Yonggui¹⁴³ has asked to be relieved of his post of Vice-Premier and the Central Committee of the Party has decided to endorse his request. Moreover, following consultations with the organizations concerned, we are proposing some personnel changes for the posts of Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. These changes have been repeatedly discussed by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and they will be incorporated into formal proposals which the Central Committee will submit

This speech to an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was discussed and endorsed by the Political Bureau on August 31, 1980.

to the forthcoming sessions of the NPC and the CPPCC for discussion and decision.

Why is the Central Committee proposing the above changes in the leadership of the State Council?

First of all, it is not good to have an over-concentration of power. It hinders the practice of socialist democracy and of the Party's democratic centralism, impedes the progress of socialist construction and prevents us from taking full advantage of collective wisdom. Over-concentration of power is liable to give rise to arbitrary rule by individuals at the expense of collective leadership, and it is an important cause of bureaucracy under the present circumstances.

Second, it is not good to have too many people holding two or more posts concurrently or to have too many deputy posts. There is a limit to anyone's knowledge, experience and energy. If a person holds too many posts at the same time, he will find it difficult to come to grips with the problems in his work and, more important, he will block the way for other more suitable comrades to take up leading posts. Having too many deputy posts leads to low efficiency and contributes to bureaucracy and formalism.

Third, it is time for us to distinguish between the responsibilities of the Party and those of the government and to stop substituting the former for the latter. Those principal leading comrades of the Central Committee who are to be relieved of their concurrent government posts can concentrate their energies on our Party work, on matters concerning the Party's line, guiding principles and policies. This will help strengthen and improve the unified leadership of the Central Committee, facilitate the establishment of an effective work system at the various levels of government from top to bottom, and promote a better exercise of government functions and powers.

Fourth, we must take the long-term interest into account and solve the problem of the succession in leadership. As precious assets of the Party and state, the older comrades shoulder heavy responsibilities. Their primary task now is to help the Party organizations find worthy successors to work for our cause. This is a solemn duty. It is of great strategic importance for us to ensure the continuity and stability of the correct leadership of our Party and state by having younger comrades take the "front-line" posts while the older comrades give them the necessary advice and support.

These considerations are put forth by the Central Committee with a view to carrying out the necessary reform of the system of Party and state leadership. The Central Committee has already taken the first step so far as Party leadership is concerned by deciding at its Fifth Plenary Session [in February 1980] to re-establish the Secretariat. This Secretariat has done a

remarkable job ever since its re-establishment. Now the proposed changes in the leadership of the State Council represent a first step in improving the system of government leadership. In order to meet the requirements of socialist modernization and of the democratization of the political life of the Party and state, to promote what is beneficial and eliminate what is harmful, many aspects of our system of Party and state leadership and of our other systems need to be reformed. *We* should regularly sum up historical experience, carry out intensive surveys and studies and synthesize the correct views so as to continue the reform vigorously and systematically, step by step from the central level on down.

II

The purpose of reforming the system of Party and state leadership and other systems is to take full advantage of the superiority of socialism and speed up China's modernization.

To take full advantage of the superiority of socialism, we should work hard, now and for some time to come, to achieve the following three major objectives: (1) In the economic sphere, to rapidly develop the productive forces and gradually improve the people's material and cultural life. (2) In the political sphere, to practise people's democracy to the full, ensuring that through various effective forms, all the people truly enjoy the right to manage state affairs and particularly state organs at the grass-roots level and to run enterprises and institutions, and that they truly enjoy all the other rights of citizens; to perfect the revolutionary legal system; to handle contradictions among the people correctly; to crack down on all hostile forces and criminal activities; and to arouse the enthusiasm of the people and consolidate and develop a political situation marked by stability, unity and liveliness. (3) In the organizational sphere, if we are to achieve these objectives, there is an urgent need to discover, train, employ and promote a large number of younger cadres for socialist modernization, cadres who adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles¹⁸¹ and have professional knowledge.

In the drive for socialist modernization, our objectives are: economically, to catch up with the developed capitalist countries; and politically, to create a higher level of democracy with more substance than that of capitalist countries. We also aim to produce more and better-trained professionals than they do. It may take us different lengths of time to attain these three objectives. But as a vast socialist country, we can and must attain them. The

merits of our Party and state institutions should be judged on the basis of whether or not they help us advance towards our objectives.

I would now like to discuss at some length the question of making the best use organizationally of the superiority of socialism and of consciously renewing the leadership in Party and government organs at the different levels so as to bring increasing numbers of younger and professionally more competent persons into leading positions.

We should have freely promoted and used younger comrades with both professional knowledge and practical experience, on the condition that we bore in mind the four cardinal principles. For years, however, we failed to do so. Then, during the “cultural revolution”, a great many of our cadres were persecuted by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, and our cadre work suffered seriously. That’s one of the reasons why most of our present leaders at various levels are too old. The question of qualified personnel is mainly one of organizational line. We need to turn out large numbers of trained people, and our major task at present is to discover and promote fine young and middle-aged cadres, even if we have to bypass certain regulations. This is not just the whim of a few veteran comrades: it is an objective and pressing need of our modernization drive.

Some comrades worry that in promoting young and middle-aged cadres we might select some factionalists or even some individuals who engaged in beating, smashing and looting during the “cultural revolution”. Their concern is not entirely groundless, because the leading bodies in some localities and departments have yet to be well consolidated and factionalists might seize upon the promotion of young and middle-aged cadres as an opportunity to upgrade their own followers. As I said in my speech of January 16 this year, we must not underestimate the residual influence of the Gang of Four in the organizational and ideological fields, and we must be clear-headed on this point. Those who rose to prominence by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their like in “rebellion”, those who are strongly factionalist in their ideas and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting must never be promoted—not a single one of them. And any who are already in leading posts must be removed without the slightest hesitation. They could do untold harm if, relaxing our vigilance, we allowed even a few to occupy leading posts, engage in further double-dealing, gang up with each other and conceal themselves in our ranks.

Some comrades argue that it is better to promote cadres one step at a time. In fact, I said so too in 1975 when expressing my disapproval of the erroneous practices during the “cultural revolution”. We shall never repeat the mistake of elevating cadres so quickly that they soar like a rocket or a

helicopter. Generally speaking, promoting cadres step by step means that they should go through the process of learning their profession, tempering themselves, working among the masses, and accumulating experience. But we can't stick to the old concept of a "staircase" forever. In promoting cadres we can't limit ourselves to having them step up from the district to the county level, then to the prefectural and provincial levels, as the present system in the Party and government requires. All trades and professions should have their own "staircases" as well as their own job categories and professional titles. With the advance of our socialist construction, we shall work out new requirements and new methods for the promotion of cadres and the use of trained personnel in the trades and professions. In future, many positions will be filled and titles granted solely on the basis of examinations. Only by doing away with the outdated concept of the "staircase", or by creating new staircases suited to the new situation and tasks, can we boldly break through the conventions in promoting cadres. But whether the staircases are new or old, we must not just pay lip-service to the necessity of promoting young and middle-aged cadres. We must see to it that the really outstanding ones are indeed promoted, and promoted in good time. We must not be too hasty in this matter, but if we are too slow we will retard our modernization programme. Hasn't it already been delayed long enough? Exceptional candidates should be provided with a sort of light ladder so they can come up more quickly, skipping some rungs. It is to make room for the young and middle-aged cadres that we have proposed reducing concurrent posts and eliminating over-concentration of power. How can they come up the staircase if all the steps are occupied, or if they aren't allowed to occupy the empty ones?

Some comrades worry that the young people may be too inexperienced and not equal to the tasks. As I see it, there's no need for worry. When we say a person is experienced or inexperienced, we are only talking in relative terms. To be frank, isn't it true that even old cadres may lack experience in dealing with the new problems in our modernization drive and may make mistakes on that account? Yes, younger people generally have less experience. But if you think back, many of us were in our twenties or thirties when we became higher cadres and were given rather important tasks. We should admit that some of the young and middle-aged comrades of today are no less knowledgeable than we were then. It is owing to objective conditions that they have not been adequately tested in struggle and have not gained sufficient experience as leaders. After all, if it's not your job, you don't worry about it. Give young and middle-aged comrades the job and they will gradually become competent. Most of the seven to eight million people

graduated from universities, colleges and vocational secondary schools since Liberation are of worker or peasant origin and have gone through more than 10 years of tempering. Despite their lack of college or vocational secondary education, some young and middle-aged cadres do have practical experience. Their level of general knowledge is relatively low, but surely many of them can become “red and expert”, provided they are given systematic training and education. Furthermore, there are many young and middle-aged people who have become qualified through diligent independent study. And among the educated youth who have settled in the rural areas, quite a few have acquired special skills by sharing the life of the masses and studying hard on their own. As a matter of fact, many young and middle-aged cadres have already become the mainstay in various fields of work. They understand the masses and the actual situation better than those cadres who are far removed from the grass roots. In much of our work, it is mainly these young and middle-aged cadres that we rely on. However, they have no power to make decisions, because they have not been duly promoted. So they have no choice but to keep asking for instructions from above. This has become a major cause of our bureaucratism. To sum up, we must never underestimate this large contingent of young and middle-aged cadres. Many of them are politically sound and are not involved in factionalism; their thinking is on the right track and they possess a fair amount of professional knowledge. So why shouldn't we select and use them, bypassing the conventional rules? In some enterprises and other units, cadres who volunteered for leading posts or were elected to them by the masses have achieved much in little time and proved more capable than cadres appointed from above. Doesn't that give us food for thought? Qualified young and middle-aged cadres are to be found everywhere. For years they disapproved of the evil-doings of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk in the “cultural revolution” and carried on active or passive resistance. They have conducted themselves well politically and are professionally competent and willing to work hard. Such people can be found in all trades, professions and units. The problem is that we have failed to discover and promote them. As for those people who are well trained but who, for a time, were misled by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and the like and so made some mistakes, we should not discard them if they have really become conscious of their mistakes and changed their attitude. More than a few of our comrades limit their vision to the people around them and invariably pick for promotion people they happen to know, instead of selecting the best by going deep among the masses. This, too, is bureaucracy of a sort.

We must draw lessons from the “cultural revolution”. At the same time, we must be soberly aware of the enormous task of modernization confronting

our country and of the fact that a great many of our cadres are not up to its requirements. We must endeavour to overcome short-sightedness and to take the long-term view. Now that we are equipped with correct ideological, political and organizational lines, we can certainly promote to leading positions a large number of fine young and middle-aged people so that our cause will be assured of successors who are, if possible, better than their predecessors. We can do so provided we work boldly yet carefully, conduct thorough investigation and study, and ask as many people as possible for their opinions.

Comrade Chen Yun said that in selecting cadres we should stress political integrity and professional competence. By political integrity he meant principally keeping to the socialist road and upholding leadership by the Party. With this as a prerequisite, he added, we should see to it that our cadres are younger on the average, better educated and better qualified professionally. Comrade Chen Yun said, moreover, that the employment and promotion of such cadres should be institutionalized. These ideas of his are very good. Many comrades pay scant attention not only to the problem of lowering the average age level of our cadres, but also to the problem of their becoming better educated and acquiring professional knowledge. This is yet another evil result of the long period of “Left” thinking about the question of intellectuals.

The problem facing us is that, in addition to the way of thinking of quite a few cadres, the existing organizational system also works against the selection and use of the trained persons who are so badly needed for China’s four modernizations. We hope that Party committees and organizational departments at all levels will make major changes in this area, resolutely emancipate their minds, overcome all obstacles, break with old conventions and have the courage to reform outmoded organizational and personnel systems. We also hope that they will try hard to discover, train and employ excellent, qualified persons by bypassing the conventional rules and that they will firmly oppose any move to keep such people down or to waste their talent. After the many tests of the past dozen years the political attitudes of our young and middle-aged comrades are basically clear to both the leadership and the rank and file. With veteran comrades still around, we should be able to select the right cadres if we combine the efforts of the leaders and the masses. We should, of course, proceed with this work methodically but not too slowly. If we fail to seize the present opportunity and leave the solution of this problem until the veterans are all gone, we’ll have waited too long and it will be much more difficult. We old comrades will have made a major historical mistake.

III

Some of our current systems and institutions in the Party and state are plagued by problems which seriously impede the full realization of the superiority of socialism. Unless they are conscientiously reformed, we can hardly expect to meet the urgent needs of modernization and we are liable to become seriously alienated from the masses.

As far as the leadership and cadre systems of our Party and state are concerned, the major problems are bureaucracy, over-concentration of power, patriarchal methods, life tenure in leading posts and privileges of various kinds.

Bureaucracy remains a major and widespread problem in the political life of our Party and state. Its harmful manifestations include the following: standing high above the masses; abusing power; divorcing oneself from reality and the masses; spending a lot of time and effort to put up an impressive front; indulging in empty talk; sticking to a rigid way of thinking; being hidebound by convention; overstaffing administrative organs; being dilatory, inefficient and irresponsible; failing to keep one's word; circulating documents endlessly without solving problems; shifting responsibility to others; and even assuming the airs of a mandarin, reprimanding other people at every turn, vindictively attacking others, suppressing democracy, deceiving superiors and subordinates, being arbitrary and despotic, practising favouritism, offering bribes, participating in corrupt practices in violation of the law, and so on. Such things have reached intolerable dimensions both in our domestic affairs and in our contacts with other countries.

Bureaucracy is an age-old and complex historical phenomenon. In addition to sharing some common characteristics with past types of bureaucracy, Chinese bureaucracy in its present form has characteristics of its own. That is, it differs from both the bureaucracy of old China and that prevailing in the capitalist countries. It is closely connected with our highly centralized management in the economic, political, cultural and social fields, which we have long regarded as essential for the socialist system and for planning. Our leading organs at various levels have taken charge of many matters which they should not and cannot handle, or cannot handle efficiently. These matters could have been easily handled by the enterprises, institutions and communities at the grass-roots level, provided we had proper rules and regulations and they acted according to the principles of democratic centralism. Difficulties have arisen from the custom of referring all these things to the leading organs and central departments of the Party and government: no

one is so versatile that he can take on any number of complex and unfamiliar jobs. This can be said to be one of the main causes of the bureaucracy peculiar to us today. Another cause of our bureaucracy is that for a long time we have had no strict administrative rules and regulations and no system of personal responsibility from top to bottom in the leading bodies of our Party and government organizations and of our enterprises and institutions. We also lack strict and explicit terms of reference for each organization and post so that there are no rules to go by and most people are often unable to handle independently and responsibly the matters, big or small, which they should handle. They can only keep busy all day long making reports to higher levels, seeking instructions from them, writing comments on documents and passing them around. Some people are seriously afflicted with selfish departmentalism: they are always ducking responsibility, jockeying for power and wrangling with others, thinking only of the interests of their own unit. What is more, we have no regular methods for recruiting, rewarding and punishing cadres or for their retirement, resignation or removal. Whether they do their work well or poorly, they have “iron rice bowls”. They can be employed but not dismissed, promoted but not demoted. These things inevitably result in overstaffing and in too many administrative levels and deputy and nominal posts, all of which, in turn, foster the proliferation of bureaucracy. Hence the necessity for radical reform of these systems. Of course, bureaucracy is also connected with ways of thinking, but these cannot be changed without first reforming the relevant systems. That is why we have made so little headway in our repeated attempts to reduce bureaucracy. Much work, including education and ideological struggle, has to be done to solve the problems I have mentioned in the various systems. But it must be done, or it will be impossible for us to make substantial progress in our economic and other work.

Over-concentration of power means inappropriate and indiscriminate concentration of all power in Party committees in the name of strengthening centralized Party leadership. Moreover, the power of the Party committees themselves is often in the hands of a few secretaries, especially the first secretaries, who direct and decide everything. Thus “centralized Party leadership” often turns into leadership by individuals. This problem exists, in varying degrees, in leading bodies at all levels throughout the country. Over-concentration of power in the hands of an individual or of a few people means that most functionaries have no decision-making power at all, while the few who do are overburdened. This inevitably leads to bureaucratism and various mistakes, and it inevitably impairs the democratic life, collective leadership, democratic centralism and division of labour with individual

responsibility in the Party and government organizations at all levels. This phenomenon is connected to the influence of feudal autocracy in China's own history and also to the tradition of a high degree of concentration of power in the hands of individual leaders of the Communist Parties of various countries at the time of the Communist International. Historically, we ourselves have repeatedly placed too much emphasis on ensuring centralism and unification by the Party, and on combating decentralism and any assertion of independence. And we have placed too little emphasis on ensuring the necessary degree of decentralization, delegating necessary decision-making power to the lower organizations and opposing the over-concentration of power in the hands of individuals. We have tried several times to divide power between the central and local authorities, but we never defined the scope of the functions and powers of the Party organizations as distinct from those of the government and of economic and mass organizations. I don't mean that there is no need to emphasize centralism and unification by the Party, or that it is wrong to emphasize them under any circumstances, or that there is never any need to oppose decentralism or the assertion of independence. The problem is that we have gone too far in these respects, and we have even failed to clarify what we mean by decentralism and assertion of independence in the first place. Now that ours has become the ruling party in the whole country, and especially since we have basically completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the Party's central task is different from what it was in the past. Now that we are engaged in the extremely difficult and complicated task of socialist construction, over-concentration of power is becoming more and more incompatible with the development of our socialist cause. The long-standing failure to understand this adequately was one important cause of the "cultural revolution", and we paid a heavy price for it. There should be no further delay in finding a solution to this problem.

Besides leading to over-concentration of power in the hands of individuals, patriarchal ways within the revolutionary ranks place individuals above the organization, which then becomes a tool in their hands. Patriarchal ways are an antiquated social phenomenon which has existed from time immemorial and has had a very damaging influence on the Party. Chen Duxiu,¹¹¹ Wang Ming¹⁴⁴ and Zhang Guotao¹¹⁴ were all patriarchal in their ways. During the period from the Zunyi Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee [in 1935] to the socialist transformation [in the mid-50s], the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong invariably paid due attention to collective leadership and democratic centralism, so that democratic life within our Party was quite normal. Unfortunately, this fine tradition has not

been upheld, nor has it been incorporated into a strict and perfected system. For example, when major issues are discussed inside the Party, very often there is insufficient democratic deliberation. Hasty decisions are made by one or a few individuals and votes are seldom taken, as they should be under the principle of majority rule. This shows that democratic centralism has not yet become a strictly applied system. After the criticism of the opposition to rash advance in 1958¹⁴⁵ and the campaign against “Right deviation” in 1959,¹⁰⁹ democratic life in the Party and state gradually ceased to function normally. There was a constant growth of such patriarchal ways as letting only one person have the say and make important decisions, practising the cult of personality and placing individuals above the organization. Lin Biao¹ propagated the “peak theory”, saying that Chairman Mao’s words were supreme instructions. This theory was widespread throughout the Party, army and country. After the smashing of the Gang of Four, the personality cult continued for a period of time. Commemorative activities in honour of some other leaders also sometimes smacked of the cult of personality. Recently, the Central Committee issued a directive insisting that there should be less publicity for individuals. It pointed out, among other things, that improper commemorative methods not only mean extravagance and waste and lead to divorce from the masses, but also imply that history is made by a few individuals—a notion which is detrimental to education in Marxism inside and outside the Party and to the elimination of feudal and bourgeois ideological influences. This directive, which contained some regulations designed to correct undesirable practices, is a very significant document. Here I must also mention that after 1958 residential quarters were built in many places for Comrade Mao Zedong and some other comrades on the Central Committee, and that after the downfall of the Gang of Four work still continued on some such building projects in Zhongnanhai.¹⁸⁰ All this had a very bad influence and entailed much waste. Furthermore, to this day a few high-ranking cadres are still given welcoming and farewell banquets, and traffic is held up and great publicity made wherever they go. This is most improper. All the practices I have mentioned, which seriously alienate us from the masses, must be banned at all levels from the top down.

Many places and units have their patriarchal personages with unlimited power. Everyone else has to be absolutely obedient and even personally attached to them. One of our organizational principles is subordination of the lower Party organizations to the higher, which means that a lower organization must implement the decisions and instructions from the higher one. This does not, however, preclude relations of equality among Party comrades. All Party members, those who take on leadership work as well as

the rank and file, should treat each other as equals, equally enjoy all rights to which they are entitled and fulfil all the duties they are expected to perform. Comrades at the higher levels should not imperiously order about those at lower levels, and they certainly must not make them do anything in violation of the Party Constitution or the country's laws. No one should fawn on his superiors or be obedient and "loyal" to them in an unprincipled way. The relationship between a superior and a subordinate must not be the one repeatedly criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong, the relationship between cat and mouse. Nor should it be like the relations in the old society between monarch and subject, or father and son, or the leader of a faction and his followers. The patriarchal ways I have described are partly responsible for the grave mistakes some comrades make. Even the formation of the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing was inseparable from the patriarchal ways surviving inside the Party. In a word, unless such ways are eliminated once for all, the practice of inner-Party democracy in particular and of socialist democracy in general is out of the question.

Tenure for life in leading posts is linked both to feudal influences and to the continued absence of proper regulations in the Party for the retirement and dismissal of cadres. The question of retirement did not arise during the period of revolutionary wars when we were all still young, nor in the fifties when we were all in the prime of life, but it was unwise of us not to have solved the problem later. Still, it should be acknowledged that it could not have been solved, or at least not completely, under the conditions then prevailing. In the draft of the revised Party Constitution discussed at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, it was proposed that life tenure in leading posts be abolished. As we see it now, this provision needs to be further revised and supplemented. What is essential is to improve the systems of election, recruitment, appointment, removal, assessment, impeachment and rotation of cadres and, in the light of specific conditions, to work out appropriate and explicit regulations for the terms of office and retirement of leading cadres of all categories and at all levels (including those elected, appointed or invited). No leading cadre should hold any office indefinitely.

During the "cultural revolution", Lin Biao and the Gang of Four did everything to procure a privileged life style for themselves and inflicted great suffering upon the masses. At present there are still some cadres who, regarding themselves as masters rather than servants of the people, use their positions to seek personal privileges. This practice has aroused strong mass resentment and tarnished the Party's prestige. Unless it is firmly corrected, it is bound to corrupt our cadres. The privileges we are opposed to today are

political and economic prerogatives not provided for by law or the existing regulations. The appetite for personal privilege shows that there are still lingering feudal influences. From old China we inherited a strong tradition of feudal autocracy and a weak tradition of democratic legality. Moreover, in the post-Liberation years we did not consciously draw up systematic rules and regulations to safeguard the people's democratic rights. Our legal system is far from perfect and has not received anywhere near the attention it deserves. Privileges are sometimes restricted, criticized and attacked, but at other times they are allowed to proliferate again. To eradicate privilege, we must solve both the ideological problems involved and problems relating to rules and regulations. All citizens are equal before the law and the existing rules and regulations, and all Party members are equal before the Party Constitution and regulations on Party discipline. Everyone has equal rights and duties prescribed by law, and no one may gain advantages at others' expense or violate the law. Whoever does violate the law must be subjected to investigation by the public security organs and brought to justice by the judicial organs according to law. No one is allowed to interfere with law enforcement, and no one who breaks the law should go unpunished. No one may violate the Party Constitution or discipline, and anyone who does must be subjected to disciplinary action. No one is allowed to interfere with the enforcement of Party discipline, and no one who does should be allowed to escape disciplinary sanctions. Only when these principles are implemented resolutely can such problems as the pursuit of privilege and the violation of law and discipline be eliminated for good. There must be a system of mass supervision so that the masses at large and the Party rank and file can supervise the cadres, especially the leading cadres. The people have the right to expose, accuse, impeach, replace and recall, according to law, all those who seek personal privileges and refuse to change their ways despite criticism and education. The people have the right to demand that these persons pay for what they have unlawfully taken and that they be punished according to law or through disciplinary measures. Regulations must be worked out governing the scope of powers attached to particular posts and the political seniority and material benefits of cadres at all levels. Here, the most important thing is to have definite organizations to exercise impartial supervision.

It is true that the errors we made in the past were partly attributable to the way of thinking and style of work of some leaders. But they were even more attributable to the problems in our organizational and working systems. If these systems are sound, they can place restraints on the actions of bad people; if they are unsound, they may hamper the efforts of good people or

indeed, in certain cases, may push them in the wrong direction. Even so great a man as Comrade Mao Zedong was influenced to a serious degree by certain unsound systems and institutions, which resulted in grave misfortunes for the Party, the state and himself. If even now we still don't improve the way our socialist system functions, people will ask why it cannot solve some problems which the capitalist system can. Such comparisons may be one-sided, but we must not just dismiss them on that account. Stalin gravely damaged socialist legality, doing things which Comrade Mao Zedong once said would have been impossible in Western countries like Britain, France and the United States. Yet although Comrade Mao was aware of this, he did not in practice solve the problems in our system of leadership. Together with other factors, this led to the decade of catastrophe known as the "cultural revolution". There is a most profound lesson to be learned from this. I do not mean that the individuals concerned should not bear their share of responsibility, but rather that the problems in the leadership and organizational systems are more fundamental, widespread and long-lasting, and that they have a greater effect on the overall interests of our country. This is a question that has a close bearing on whether our Party and state will change political colour and should therefore command the attention of the entire Party.

Some serious problems which appeared in the past may arise again if the defects in our present systems are not eliminated. Only when these defects are resolutely removed through planned, systematic, and thorough reforms will the people trust our leadership, our Party and socialism. Then our cause will truly have a future of boundless promise.

We cannot discuss the defects in our system of Party and state leadership without touching upon Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years. The resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, a document now being drafted, will include a systematic exposition of Mao Zedong Thought and a reasonably comprehensive assessment of Comrade Mao's own merits and demerits, including criticism of his mistakes during the "cultural revolution". As thoroughgoing materialists, we Communists cannot but accept what should be accepted and reject what should be rejected, basing our judgement strictly on facts. Comrade Mao rendered immortal service to our Party, our country and our people throughout his life. His contributions are primary and his mistakes secondary. But to avoid mentioning his mistakes because of his contributions would not be a materialist approach. Neither is it a materialist approach to deny his contributions because of his mistakes. The "cultural revolution" was a blunder and a failure because it ran completely counter to the scientific tenets of Mao Zedong Thought. These tenets, which have been

tested and proved correct through long years of practice, not only guided us to victory in the past but will remain our guiding ideology in the years of struggle ahead. It is incorrect and against the fundamental interests of the Chinese people to have any doubt or to waver to any degree on this important principle of our Party.

IV

Now I come to the question of eliminating the influence of feudalism and of bourgeois thinking.

All the defects I have just described bear the stamp of feudalism to one degree or another. Of course, surviving feudal influences are not manifested only in such defects. They are also to be seen in, for example, a lingering clan mentality and hierarchy in social relations, in certain instances of assumed inequality of status in the relations between leading comrades and their subordinates and between cadres and the masses, in a weak sense of the rights and duties of citizens, and in certain “mandarin” systems and high-handed work styles in industry, commerce and agriculture. In addition, there is excessive emphasis on regional and departmental jurisdictions in the management of economic work, which has led to compartmentalization and the tendency to profit at the expense of others. This has sometimes created unnecessary difficulties between two socialist enterprises or regions. The surviving influences of feudalism are also manifest in the autocratic style of work of some persons in the cultural sphere, in the failure to recognize how vital science and education are to socialism and how impossible it is to build socialism without them, in a closed-door policy and ignorant chauvinism in foreign relations, and so on and so forth. And let’s look at clannish practices. During the “cultural revolution”, when someone got to the top, even his dogs and chickens got there too; likewise, when someone got into trouble, even his distant relatives were dragged down with him. This situation became very serious. Even now, the abominable practice of appointing people through favouritism and factionalism continues unchecked in some regions, departments and units. There are quite a few instances where cadres abuse their power so as to enable their friends and relations to move to the cities or to obtain jobs or promotions. It is thus clear that the residual influences of clannishness must not be underestimated. We need to exert ourselves if these problems are to be solved.

Through 28 years of new-democratic revolution we succeeded in over-

throwing once for all the reactionary feudal regime and the feudal system of landownership. However, we did not complete the task of eliminating the surviving feudal influences in the ideological and political fields, because we underestimated their importance and because we quickly proceeded to the socialist revolution. Now it is essential to state clearly that we must continue to labour at this task and that we must carry out a series of effective reforms in our institutions. Otherwise, our country and people will suffer further losses.

To accomplish this task we must adopt the scientific approach of seeking truth from facts and apply Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in making a concrete and accurate analysis of the manifestations of the lingering influences of feudalism. First and foremost, we must draw a clear line of demarcation between socialism and feudalism and never allow anyone to oppose socialism under the pretext of opposing feudalism or to use the kind of phoney socialism advocated by the Gang of Four to promote feudalism. Second, we must carefully distinguish between the democratic values in our cultural heritage and the feudal dross, and between the lingering feudal influences and certain unscientific methods and unsound procedures in our work resulting from lack of experience. We should guard against raising yet another storm and indiscriminately labelling everything "feudal".

For most of the cadres and the masses, the process of eliminating surviving feudal influences is a kind of self-education and self-remoulding, which will enable them to free themselves from such influences, emancipate their minds, raise their political awareness, adapt themselves to the needs of our modernization programme and thus make contributions to the people, society and mankind. In endeavouring to eliminate these influences, we must stress the need to effectively restructure and improve the systems of the Party and state in such a way as to ensure institutionally the practice of democracy in political life, in economic management and in all other aspects of social activity and thus to promote the smooth progress of modernization. To this end we must conduct conscientious investigations and studies, compare the experience of other countries and work out realistic plans and measures by drawing on collective wisdom. We should not think that we have only to "put destruction first" and construction will follow automatically. It must be made very clear that no anti-feudal political movement or propaganda campaign should be launched. There should be no political criticism of the kind that has been directed at some individuals in the past, and still less should there be struggles directed against either the cadres or the masses. Historical experience has shown that no problem of mass ideological education was ever solved by launching a mass movement instead of organizing

exhaustive persuasion and calm discussion, and that no currently functioning systems were ever reformed or new ones established by substituting a mass movement for solid, systematic measures. This is true because solving the ideological problems of the masses and concrete problems in the organizational and work systems in a socialist society is, in principle, fundamentally different from cracking down on counter-revolutionaries and destroying the reactionary system in the period of revolution.

While working to eliminate feudal influence in the political and ideological fields, we must not in the least neglect or slacken criticism of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, of ultra-individualism and anarchism. Which of the two influences—feudal or bourgeois—is more serious? There can never be one answer to this question, because the extent of the influence may vary greatly, depending on the geographical region or the sector of work involved, the particular issue under consideration, and the ages, personal experience and cultural backgrounds of the persons affected. Furthermore, in our society, which was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial one for more than a century, feudal ideology is in some cases intermingled with bourgeois ideology and the slavish colonial mentality, and the three are sometimes inseparable. With the increasing international contacts of recent years, instances of worshipping things foreign, or fawning on foreigners have begun to appear, owing to the influence of the decadent ideology, work style and way of life of the bourgeoisie abroad. And such phenomena may increase in the future. This is a by no means trivial problem, and we must take it seriously and solve it.

China may be backward in economic and cultural development, but it is not necessarily backward in everything. Some foreign countries may be advanced in technology and management, but they are not necessarily advanced in everything. Our Party and people established a socialist system after long years of bloody struggle. After all, although our socialist system is still imperfect and has suffered disruption, it is much better than the capitalist system based on the law of the jungle and the principle of “getting ahead” at the expense of others. Our system will improve more and more with the passage of time. By absorbing the progressive elements of other countries, it will become the best in the world. Capitalism can never achieve this. It is absolutely wrong to lose faith in socialism and think that it is inferior to capitalism just because we have made mistakes in our practice of socialist revolution and construction. It is also absolutely wrong to think that in trying to eliminate surviving feudal influences we may spread capitalist ideology. We must firmly repudiate these wrong ideas and check their spread. By upholding the principle “to each according to his work” and by

recognizing material interests we intend to increase the material well-being of the entire people. Everyone is bound to have material interests, but this in no sense means that we encourage people to work solely for their personal material interests without regard for the interests of the state, the collective and other people, or that we encourage people to put money above all else. If we did that, what would be the difference between socialism and capitalism? We have maintained all along that in a socialist society there is a basic community of interests between the state, the collective and the individual. If they clash, it is the individual interests which should be subordinated to those of the state and the collective. Where necessary, all people with a high level of revolutionary consciousness should sacrifice their personal interests for those of the state, the collective and the people. We should make more efforts to disseminate this noble outlook among our people, especially the young people.

We have some young people now, including children of cadres, and even some cadres themselves, who have violated the law and regulations, accepted bribes and engaged in smuggling, speculation and profiteering so as to make money or to find a way to go abroad—at the expense of their own moral integrity, the dignity of our state and national self-respect. This is despicable. In the last couple of years, some pornographic, obscene, filthy and repulsive photographs, films, publications and the like have been smuggled into our country through different channels. These things have tended to debase the standards of social conduct and corrupt some young people and cadres. If we allow this plague to spread unchecked, it will affect many weak-willed persons and bring about their moral and mental degradation. Organizations at all levels should pay earnest attention to this problem and take firm and effective measures to ban and destroy this decadent rubbish and make sure that no more of it is allowed to enter China. Furthermore, in our domestic economic work, increasing numbers of individuals, groups and even enterprises and other units are engaging in illegal practices by distorting our economic policies and taking advantage of loopholes in our system of economic management. We must be constantly on guard against such illegal, anti-socialist activities and struggle against people who engage in them.

To sum up, elimination of surviving feudal influences must be combined with the criticism of decadent bourgeois ideas, such as the notion of putting profit above everything else and trying to “get ahead” at the expense of others.

Naturally, we should adopt a scientific approach towards capitalism and towards bourgeois ideas. Not long ago, in order to educate people in the revolutionary outlook, some localities again raised the slogan, “Foster prole-

tarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology”. I read the relevant documents and didn’t find anything wrong at the time. As I see it now, however, this old slogan is neither comprehensive nor precise enough. For lack of sufficient investigation and analysis, certain comrades have criticized as “capitalism” some of our current reforms, which are useful to the development of production and the socialist cause as a whole. They are wrong in this. We need to make further studies and correctly specify just what are the bourgeois ideas that should be sternly criticized and prevented from spreading, what are the capitalist tendencies in our economic life that should be firmly resisted and overcome, and what is the correct method of criticism. We must do this if we don’t want to repeat past mistakes.

V

The Central Committee of the Party has repeatedly examined the question of reforming our system of Party and state leadership. Some reform measures were initiated following the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, others will be put forward at the Third Session of the Fifth National People’s Congress, and still others will be adopted when conditions are ripe. In addition to the reforms I have already referred to, we are planning to gradually introduce the following major changes:

First, the Central Committee will submit proposals for revising the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China to the Third Session of the Fifth National People’s Congress. Our Constitution should be made more complete and precise so as to really ensure the people’s right to manage the state organs at all levels as well as the various enterprises and institutions, to guarantee to our people the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, to enable the areas inhabited by minority nationalities to exercise genuine regional autonomy, to improve the system of people’s congresses, and so on. The principle of preventing the over-concentration of power will also be reflected in the revised Constitution.

Second, the Central Committee has already set up its Commission for Discipline Inspection, and is now considering the establishment of an advisory commission (which may be given a different name). Together with the Central Committee itself, these commissions are to be elected by the National Congress of the Party, and their respective functions and powers are to be specified. In this way, a great many veteran comrades who have been working in the Central Committee and the State Council will be able

to put their experience to full use by giving guidance, advice and supervision. At the same time, the regular executive bodies of the Central Committee and the State Council will become more compact and efficient and the average age of their personnel will gradually go down.

Third, a truly effective work system will be set up for the State Council and the various levels of local government. From now on, all matters within the competence of the government will be discussed and decided upon, and the relevant documents issued, by the State Council and the local governments concerned. The Central Committee and local committees of the Party will no longer issue directives or take decisions on such matters. Of course, the work of the government will continue to be carried out under the political leadership of the Party. Strengthening government work means strengthening the Party's leadership.

Fourth, step by step and in a planned manner we should reform the system under which the factory director or manager assumes responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. We should first experiment with this reform in selected units, then gradually introduce it into more units, instituting a system under which factory directors and managers assume responsibility under the leadership and supervision of the factory management committee, the board of directors of the company, and the joint committee of united economic entities. We should also consider reforming the system under which university and college presidents and heads of research institutes assume responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. Through our experience over a long period of time, the old system of factory management has proven unfavourable to the modernization of both factory management and the industrial management system, and also to improvement of Party's work in factories. These reforms are designed to free the Party committees of routine matters, enabling them to concentrate on conducting ideological and political work and to take charge of organization and supervision. This does not weaken but improves and strengthens the leadership of the Party. The administrators of various units should conscientiously study the relevant managerial and technical skills, but they should not be engrossed in meetings for too long a period of time, remaining always laymen. If this were the case, we could never accomplish the goal of modernization. Most of these administrators are Party members. When the management system is reformed, the directors and managers should accept the leadership of higher-level administrative departments, the political leadership of higher-level Party organizations, and supervision by Party organizations at the same levels. The responsibilities of Party organizations at the same levels will not be diminished, rather, Party work will truly be streng-

thened. The Party organizations in factories, companies, colleges, schools and research institutes should educate all Party members well, do solid mass work and encourage Party members to play exemplary vanguard roles at their posts. The Party organizations should truly become the backbone of all enterprises and institutions and educate and supervise all Party members, so as to ensure the implementation of the Party's political line and the accomplishment of all tasks. Considering that this reform has a great impact on a large number of primary Party organizations throughout the country, we should continue to solicit opinions from all walks of life before making the decision to introduce this reform when conditions are ripe.¹⁴⁶

Fifth, congresses or conferences of representatives of workers and office staff will be introduced in all enterprises and institutions. That was decided long ago. The question now is how to popularize and perfect the system. These congresses or conferences have the right to discuss and take decisions on major questions of concern to their respective units, to propose to the higher organizations the recall of incompetent administrators, and to introduce—gradually and within appropriate limits—the practice of electing their leaders.

Sixth, Party committees at all levels are genuinely to apply the principle of combining collective leadership and division of labour with individual responsibility. It should be made clear which matters call for collective discussion and which fall within the competence of individuals. Major issues must certainly be discussed and decided upon by the collective. In the process of taking decisions, it is essential to observe strictly the principle of majority rule and the principle of one-man-one-vote, a Party secretary being entitled only to his single vote. That is, the first secretary must not take decisions by himself. Once a collective decision is taken, it should be carried out by all members, each taking his own share of responsibility. No buck-passing should be allowed on any account, and those who neglect their duties should be penalized. As the top person in the collective leadership, the first secretary of a Party committee must assume chief responsibility for its day-to-day work, while among its other members the stress should be on individual responsibility according to the division of labour. We should encourage leading cadres to shoulder responsibility boldly, but this is totally different from making arbitrary personal decisions. The two should never be confused.

I ask the comrades to study and discuss these six points carefully and to freely express their opinions, including divergent ones. With regard to some matters, after the central authorities have decided on general principles, experiments will have to be carried out in order to gain experience and pool collective wisdom. We will try to solve one specific problem after another

when the necessary conditions are ripe. The central authorities will make a formal decision on each of them and then draw up realistic, well-thought-out, practicable and lasting rules and regulations which should be systematically applied. Until such time as these are formulated and promulgated by the central authorities, work in various fields should continue to be carried out under the regulations now in force.

The purpose of reforming the system of Party and state leadership is precisely to maintain and further strengthen Party leadership and discipline, and not to weaken or relax them. In a big country like ours, it is inconceivable that unity of thinking could be achieved among our several hundred million people or that their efforts could be pooled to build socialism in the absence of a Party whose members have a spirit of sacrifice and a high level of political awareness and discipline, a Party that truly represents and unites the masses of people and exercises unified leadership. Without such a Party, our country would split up and accomplish nothing. The people of all our nationalities have come to a deep understanding of this truth through long years of struggle. The unity of the people, social stability, the promotion of democracy and the reunification of our country all depend on Party leadership. The core of the Four Cardinal Principles is to uphold leadership by the Party. The point is that the Party must provide good leadership; only through constant improvement can its leadership be strengthened.

We have before us the extremely arduous and complex task of socialist modernization. While many old problems still remain to be solved, many new ones are emerging. Only by consistently relying on the masses, maintaining close ties with them, listening to what they have to say, understanding their feelings and always representing their interests can the Party become a powerful force capable of smoothly accomplishing its tasks. At present, there are many ideological problems, both among the masses and in the Party, that call for solution. We must give priority to ideological and political work and earnestly endeavour to do it well, never slackening our efforts. This work should be performed by Party committees and leading cadres at all levels, as well as by all other Party members. It should be done painstakingly and thoroughly, with a clear objective in mind and in a way acceptable to the masses. Here the decisive condition for success is that all Party members, especially those in leading positions, be the first to do what they expect the masses to do. Thus, for our ideological and political work to be successful, it is necessary to improve the leadership provided by the Party and to improve its leadership system.

Comrades! The reform and improvement of the various Party and state systems is a long-term and difficult task, and the key to its accomplishment

is the reform and improvement of the system of Party and state leadership. We must thoroughly understand this. Comrade Mao Zedong and the other veteran revolutionaries who have already passed away left us without being able to complete this task, so it has fallen on our shoulders. All Party members, especially veteran comrades, should devote their efforts to it. We have done a good deal, solved many problems and accomplished much that reflects credit on us since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee. So we have a solid position from which to proceed further. The time and conditions are now ripe for us to undertake the task of reforming and improving the system of Party and state leadership so as to meet the needs of our modernization drive. While our generation may not be able to finish this work, at least we have the responsibility of laying a firm foundation and establishing a correct orientation for its accomplishment. This much, I believe, we can do.

ANSWERS TO THE ITALIAN JOURNALIST ORIANA FALLACI

August 21 and 23, 1980

Oriana Fallaci: Will Chairman Mao's portrait above Tiananmen Gate be kept there?

Deng Xiaoping: It will, forever. In the past there were too many portraits of Chairman Mao. They were hung everywhere. That was not proper and it didn't really show respect for Chairman Mao. It's true that he made mistakes in a certain period, but he was after all a principal founder of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. In evaluating his merits and mistakes, we hold that his mistakes were only secondary. What he did for the Chinese people can never be erased. In our hearts we Chinese will always cherish him as a founder of our Party and our state.

Question: We Westerners find a lot of things hard to understand. The Gang of Four are blamed for all the faults. I'm told that when the Chinese talk about the Gang of Four, many of them hold up five fingers.

Answer: We must make a clear distinction between the nature of Chairman Mao's mistakes and the crimes of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. For most of his life, Chairman Mao did very good things. Many times he saved the Party and the state from crises. Without him the Chinese people would, at the very least, have spent much more time groping in the dark. Chairman Mao's greatest contribution was that he applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, pointing the way to victory. It should be said that before the sixties or the late fifties many of his ideas brought us victories, and the fundamental principles he advanced were quite correct. He creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to every aspect of the Chinese revolution, and he had creative views on philosophy, political science, military science, literature and art, and so on. Unfortunately, in the evening of his life, particularly during the "cultural

Excerpts concerning domestic issues taken from the Chinese transcript of a two-part interview.

revolution”, he made mistakes—and they were not minor ones—which brought many misfortunes upon our Party, our state and our people. As you know, during the Yan’an days our Party summed up Chairman Mao’s thinking in various fields as Mao Zedong Thought, and we made it our guiding ideology. We won great victories for the revolution precisely because we adhered to Mao Zedong Thought. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought was not created by Comrade Mao alone—other revolutionaries of the older generation played a part in forming and developing it—but primarily it embodies Comrade Mao’s thinking. Nevertheless, victory made him less prudent, so that in his later years some unsound features and unsound ideas, chiefly “Left” ones, began to emerge. In quite a number of instances he went counter to his own ideas, counter to the fine and correct propositions he had previously put forward, and counter to the style of work he himself had advocated. At this time he increasingly lost touch with reality. He didn’t maintain a good style of work. He did not consistently practise democratic centralism and the mass line, for instance, and he failed to institutionalize them during his lifetime. This was not the fault of Comrade Mao Zedong alone. Other revolutionaries of the older generation, including me, should also be held responsible. Some abnormalities appeared in the political life of our Party and state—patriarchal ways or styles of work developed, and glorification of the individual was rife; political life in general wasn’t too healthy. Eventually these things led to the “cultural revolution”, which was a mistake.

Question: You mentioned that in his last years, Chairman Mao was in poor health. But at the time of Liu Shaoqi’s arrest and his subsequent death in prison Mao’s health wasn’t so bad. And there are other mistakes to be accounted for. Wasn’t the Great Leap Forward⁷⁶ a mistake? Wasn’t copying the Soviet model a mistake? And what did Chairman Mao really want with the “cultural revolution”?

Answer: Mistakes began to occur in the late fifties—the Great Leap Forward, for instance. But that wasn’t solely Chairman Mao’s fault either. The people around him got carried away too. We acted in direct contravention of objective laws, attempting to boost the economy all at once. As our subjective wishes went against objective laws, losses were inevitable. Still, it is Chairman Mao who should be held primarily responsible for the Great Leap Forward. But it didn’t take him long—just a few months—to recognize his mistake, and he did so before the rest of us and proposed corrections. And in 1962, when because of some other factors those corrections had not been fully carried out, he made a self-criticism. But the lessons were not fully drawn, and as a result the “cultural revolution” erupted. So far as Chairman

Mao's own hopes were concerned, he initiated the "cultural revolution" in order to avert the restoration of capitalism, but he had made an erroneous assessment of China's actual situation. In the first place, the targets of the revolution were wrongly defined, which led to the effort to ferret out "capitalist roaders in power in the Party". Blows were dealt at leading cadres at all levels who had made contributions to the revolution and had practical experience, including Comrade Liu Shaoqi. In the last couple of years before Chairman Mao's death he said that the "cultural revolution" had been wrong on two counts: one was "overthrowing all", and the other was waging a "full-scale civil war". These two counts alone show that the "cultural revolution" cannot be called correct. Chairman Mao's mistake was a political mistake, and not a small one. On the other hand, it was taken advantage of by the two counter-revolutionary cliques headed by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, who schemed to usurp power. Therefore, we should draw a line between Chairman Mao's mistakes and the crimes of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four.

Question: But we all know that it was Chairman Mao himself who chose Lin Biao¹ as his successor, much in the same way as an emperor chooses his heir.

Answer: This is what I've just referred to as an incorrect way of doing things. For a leader to pick his own successor is a feudal practice. It is an illustration of the imperfections in our institutions which I referred to a moment ago.

Question: To what extent will Chairman Mao be involved when you hold your next Party congress?

Answer: We will make an objective assessment of Chairman Mao's contributions and his mistakes. We will reaffirm that his contributions are primary and his mistakes secondary. We will adopt a realistic approach towards the mistakes he made late in life. We will continue to adhere to Mao Zedong Thought, which represents the correct part of Chairman Mao's life. Not only did Mao Zedong Thought lead us to victory in the revolution in the past; it is—and will continue to be—a treasured possession of the Chinese Communist Party and of our country. That is why we will forever keep Chairman Mao's portrait on Tiananmen Gate as a symbol of our country, and we will always remember him as a founder of our Party and state. Moreover, we will adhere to Mao Zedong Thought. We will not do to Chairman Mao what Khrushchov did to Stalin.¹⁴⁷

Question: Do you mean to say that the name of Chairman Mao will inevitably come up when the Gang of Four is brought to trial as well as when you have your next Party congress?

Answer: His name will be mentioned. Not only at the next Party congress but also on other occasions. But the trial of the Gang of Four will not detract from Chairman Mao's prestige. Of course, he was responsible for putting them in their positions. Nevertheless, the crimes the Gang of Four themselves committed are more than sufficient to justify whatever sentences may be passed on them.

Question: I have heard that Chairman Mao frequently complained that you didn't listen to him enough, and that he didn't like you. Is it true?

Answer: Yes, Chairman Mao did say I didn't listen to him. But this wasn't directed only at me. It happened to other leaders as well. It reflects some unhealthy ideas in his twilight years, that is, patriarchal ways which are feudal in nature. He did not readily listen to differing opinions. We can't say that all his criticisms were wrong. But neither was he ready to listen to many correct opinions put forward not only by me but by other comrades. Democratic centralism was impaired, and so was collective leadership. Otherwise, it would be hard to explain how the "cultural revolution" broke out.

Question: There was one personage in China who always went unscathed, and that was Premier Zhou Enlai. How do you explain this fact?

Answer: Premier Zhou was a man who worked hard and uncomplainingly all his life. He worked 12 hours a day, and sometimes 16 hours or more, throughout his life. We got to know each other quite early, that is, when we were in France on a work-study programme during the 1920s. I have always looked upon him as my elder brother. We took the revolutionary road at about the same time. He was much respected by his comrades and all the people. Fortunately he survived during the "cultural revolution" when we were knocked down. He was in an extremely difficult position then, and he said and did many things that he would have wished not to. But the people forgave him because, had he not done and said those things, he himself would not have been able to survive and play the neutralizing role he did, which reduced losses. He succeeded in protecting quite a number of people.

Question: I don't see how terrible things like the "cultural revolution" can be avoided or prevented from recurring.

Answer: This issue has to be addressed by tackling the problems in our institutions. Some of those we established in the past were, in fact, tainted by feudalism, as manifested in such things as the personality cult, the patriarchal ways or styles of work, and the life tenure of cadres in leading posts. We are now looking into ways to prevent such things from recurring and are preparing to start with the restructuring of our institutions. Our country has a history of thousands of years of feudalism and is still lacking in socialist democracy and socialist legality. We are now working earnestly

to cultivate socialist democracy and socialist legality. Only in this way can we solve the problem.

Question: Are you sure that things will proceed more smoothly from now on? Can you attain the goal you have set yourselves? I hear that the so-called Maoists are still around. By “Maoists” I mean those who backed the “cultural revolution”.

Answer: The influence of the Gang of Four should not be underrated, but it should be noted that 97 or 98 per cent of the population hate them intensely for their crimes. This was shown by the mass movement against the Gang of Four which erupted at Tiananmen Square on April 5, 1976,³⁵ when the Gang were still riding high, Chairman Mao was critically ill and Premier Zhou had passed away. Since the Gang’s overthrow [in 1976], and particularly in the past two years, the will and demands of the people have been given expression in the Third, Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. We are considering ways of resolving our problems by improving our institutions. Many issues have already been raised now. Particular emphasis is being laid on working single-mindedly for the four modernizations, and this is winning the hearts of the people. They want political stability and unity. They are fed up with large-scale movements. Such movements invariably ended up hurting a number—and not a small number—of people. Incessant movements make it practically impossible to concentrate on national construction. Therefore, we can say for sure that given the correctness of our present course, the people will support us and such phenomena as the “cultural revolution” will not happen again.

Question: The Gang of Four could only have been arrested after the death of Chairman Mao. Who engineered their arrest? Who initiated the idea?

Answer: It was collective effort. First of all, I think, it had a mass base laid by the April 5th Movement [of 1976]. The term “Gang of Four” was coined by Chairman Mao a couple of years before his death. We waged struggles against the Gang for two years, in 1974 and 1975. By then people clearly saw them for what they were. Although Chairman Mao had designated his successor, the Gang of Four refused to accept this. After Chairman Mao’s death, the Gang took the opportunity to try and get all power into their own hands, and the situation demanded action from us. They were rampant at that time, trying to overthrow the new leadership. Under these circumstances, the great majority of the comrades of the Political Bureau were agreed that measures had to be taken to deal with the Gang. The efforts of one or two individuals would not have sufficed for this purpose.

It should be pointed out that some of the things done after the arrest of

the Gang of Four were inconsistent with Chairman Mao's wishes, for instance, the construction of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall. He had proposed in the fifties that we should all be cremated when we died and that only our ashes be kept, that no remains should be preserved and no tombs built. Chairman Mao was the first to sign his name, and we all followed suit. Nearly all senior cadres at the central level and across the country signed. We still have that book of signatures. What was done in the matter after the smashing of the Gang of Four was prompted by the desire to achieve a relative stability.

Question: Does this mean that the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall will soon be demolished?

Answer: I am not in favour of changing it. Now that it is there, it would not be appropriate to remove it. It wasn't appropriate to build it in the first place, but to change it would give rise to all kinds of talk. Many people are now speculating whether we will demolish the Memorial Hall. We have no such idea.

Question: It is said that you are giving up the post of Vice-Premier.

Answer: I will not be the only one to resign. All other comrades of the older generation are giving up their concurrent posts. Chairman Hua Guofeng²² will no longer serve concurrently as Premier of the State Council. The Central Committee of the Party has recommended Comrade Zhao Ziyang¹⁴⁰ as candidate for that post. If we old comrades remain at our posts, newcomers will be inhibited in their work. We face the problem of gradually reducing the average age of leaders at all levels. We have to take the lead.

There were previously no relevant rules. In fact, however, there was life tenure in leading posts. This does not facilitate the renewal of leadership or the promotion of younger people. It is an institutional defect which was not evident in the sixties because we were then in the prime of life. This issue involves not just individuals but all the relevant institutions. It has an even greater bearing on our general policy and on whether our four modernizations can be achieved. Therefore, we say it would be better for us old comrades to take an enlightened attitude and set an example in this respect.

Question: I have seen other portraits in China. At Tiananmen I've seen portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin and particularly of Stalin. Do you intend to keep them there?

Answer: Before the "cultural revolution" they were put up only on important holidays. The practice was changed during the "cultural revolution", when they were displayed permanently. Now we are going back to the former way.

Question: The four modernizations will bring foreign capital into China,

and this will inevitably give rise to private investment. Won't this lead to a miniaturized capitalism?

Answer: In the final analysis, the general principle for our economic development is still that formulated by Chairman Mao, that is, to rely mainly on our own efforts with external assistance subsidiary. No matter to what degree we open up to the outside world and admit foreign capital, its relative magnitude will be small and it can't affect our system of socialist public ownership of the means of production. Absorbing foreign capital and technology and even allowing foreigners to construct plants in China can only play a complementary role to our effort to develop the productive forces in a socialist society. Of course, this will bring some decadent capitalist influences into China. We are aware of this possibility; it's nothing to be afraid of.

Question: Does it mean that not all in capitalism is so bad?

Answer: It depends on how you define capitalism. Any capitalism is superior to feudalism. And we cannot say that everything developed in capitalist countries is of a capitalist nature. For instance, technology, science—even advanced production management is also a sort of science—will be useful in any society or country. We intend to acquire advanced technology, science and management skills to serve our socialist production. And these things as such have no class character.

Question: I remember that several years ago, when talking about private plots in rural areas, you acknowledged that man needs some personal interest to produce. Doesn't this mean to put in discussion communism itself?

Answer: According to Marx, socialism is the first stage of communism and it covers a very long historical period in which we must practise the principle "to each according to his work" and combine the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, for only thus can we arouse people's enthusiasm for labour and develop socialist production. At the higher stage of communism, when the productive forces will be greatly developed and the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be practised, personal interests will be acknowledged still more and more personal needs will be satisfied.

Question: You mentioned that there are others who made contributions to Mao Zedong Thought. Who were they?

Answer: Other revolutionaries of the older generation, for example Premier Zhou Enlai, Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De—and many others. Many senior cadres are creative and original in their thinking.

Question: Why did you leave your own name out?

Answer: I am quite insignificant. Of course, I too have done some work.

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Question: Why did you leave your own name out?

Answer: I am quite insignificant. Of course, I too have done some work.

Otherwise, I wouldn't be counted as a revolutionary.

Question: What we did not understand was: If the Gang of Four was, as you said, a minority with all the country against them, how could it happen that they were holding the whole country, including the veteran leaders? Was it because one of the four was the wife of Mao Zedong and the ties between Mao Zedong and her were so profound that no one dared to touch her?

Answer: This was one of the factors. As I've said, Chairman Mao made mistakes, one of which was using the Gang, letting them come to power. Also, the Gang had their own factional set-up and they built a clique of some size—particularly they made use of ignorant young people as a front, so they had a fair-sized base.

Question: Was Mao Zedong blinded by her so that he wouldn't see what she was doing? And was she an adventuress like the Empress Dowager Yehonala?¹⁴⁸

Answer: Jiang Qing⁴³ did evil things by flaunting the banner of Chairman Mao. But Chairman Mao and Jiang Qing lived separately for years.

Question: We didn't know that.

Answer: Jiang Qing did what she did by flaunting the banner of Chairman Mao, but he failed to intervene effectively. For this he should be held responsible. Jiang Qing is rotten through and through. Whatever sentence is passed on the Gang of Four won't be excessive. They brought harm to millions upon millions of people.

Question: How would you assess Jiang Qing? What score would you give her?

Answer: Below zero. A thousand points below zero.

Question: How would you assess yourself?

Answer: I would be quite content if I myself could be rated fifty-fifty in merits and demerits. But one thing I can say for myself: I have had a clear conscience all my life. Please mark my words: I have made quite a few mistakes, and I have my own share of responsibility for some of the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong. But it can be said that I made my mistake with good intentions. There is nobody who doesn't make mistakes. We should not lay all past mistakes on Chairman Mao. So we must be very objective in assessing him. His contributions were primary, his mistakes secondary. We will inherit the many good things in Chairman Mao's thinking while at the same time explaining clearly the mistakes he made.

IMPLEMENT THE POLICY OF READJUSTMENT, ENSURE STABILITY AND UNITY

December 25, 1980

I

I fully agree with Comrade Chen Yun's⁸² speech. He correctly summed up our experience in handling a series of problems in economic work over the past 31 years and the lessons we have drawn from it. His statement will serve as our guide in this field for a long time.

I also fully endorse the arrangements with regard to the plan for 1981 approved by the Group for Financial and Economic Affairs under the Central Committee of the Party.

After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in December 1978, Comrade Chen Yun took charge of financial and economic work and proposed the policy of readjustment, which was adopted by the Central Working Conference in April last year. The policy was not effectively implemented, however, because Party members did not have a profound or unanimous understanding of the issues involved. A change in this situation took place only very recently and the current readjustment is in conformity with that policy.

As Comrade Chen Yun said, this readjustment is a sound and sober one. In carrying it out, we will curtail some of our construction projects, making adequate cutbacks in certain areas while striving for continued growth in others. This latter category will include agriculture, light industry and the production of daily necessities, along with development of energy resources and transportation and undertakings in science, education, public health and culture. In all of these areas conscientious efforts should be made for consolidation through improving management, upgrading the professional and technical skills of production workers and office staff, increasing productivity and efficiency, encouraging initiative and inventiveness and

Speech at a Central Working Conference.

reducing waste.

Why should we carry out the necessary readjustment and curtailment in some fields during the four modernizations? Because if we don't, we will be unable to ensure the steady growth of the economy. Our economy has all along been plagued with serious disproportions stemming from the historical conditions before Liberation and our protracted over-ambitious drive for success after the First Five-Year Plan [1953-57]. In addition, there was the damage wrought over 10 years by the "cultural revolution" and, then, our failure in the first two years after the smashing of the Gang of Four to assess the situation realistically. By the time of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, all this had created imbalances in finance, credit and material supplies as well as between foreign exchange receipts and payments. Changing this situation conforms fully to the general policy, set by the Third Plenary Session, of correcting "Left" errors and proceeding from reality in all things. It is also a necessary condition for the success of our modernization programme. However, because the readjustment was not carried out efficiently in the last two years, large financial deficits have accrued, too much currency has been issued and prices have steadily risen. Unless we now make a genuine effort at readjustment, we shall be unable to carry out the modernization programme smoothly. Only by making sufficient cuts in some fields will we be able to gain the initiative and achieve overall stability and thus ensure the healthy growth of the economy.

By sufficient cuts in certain fields we mean mainly that capital construction must be appropriately cut back and enterprises without adequate production conditions should either cut production, switch to other products, be amalgamated with others, suspend operations or simply close down. Administrative expenses (including those of the defence establishment and of all enterprises and institutions) should be cut back to achieve balance between financial revenues and expenditures, and between credit receipts and payments. Production and construction, the building of administrative facilities and the raising of the people's living standard should all be kept within the limits of financial capability so that expenditures remain equal to revenues. This is a realistic approach. Our resolve to proceed this way shows that we have really emancipated our minds and shaken off the fetters of erroneous "Left" policies that have hampered our work over the years.

Since in the past two years it has been difficult to reach a consensus on this issue even within the Party, it is obvious that a lot of work has to be done before the people in the whole country can achieve unity of understanding. We must make clear to them why further readjustment is imperative, what problems may arise in the process and what we hope to achieve by it.

This way, the people will understand the necessity of further readjustment, believe that the Party and government really have their fundamental interests in mind and come to realize that the purpose of the readjustment is to ensure the success of the modernization drive. Then they will give us their support. It is therefore very important that we do a good job in this respect. We must never expect to get things done simply by issuing curt orders.

Our economic readjustment is of far-reaching importance. It necessitates some changes in the plan and budget for 1981 adopted by this year's session of the National People's Congress and will affect the work and life of the whole people. We suggest, therefore, that the State Council consider making a report to the NPC Standing Committee at an early date. Once this report is made public, it can serve as a basis for publicizing the economic readjustment and explaining it to the people.

The readjustment we are now undertaking is designed to lay a firm base for steady progress so that we can be surer of realizing the four modernizations and be in a more favourable position to attain their specific goals. As for the road to be followed and the measures to be taken, we should continue trying to break away from stereotypes, whether old or new, and gain a clear and accurate understanding of China's actual conditions as well as the interrelation among various factors in our economic activity. On this basis, we should work out the guiding principles for a long-term programme and then draw up a realistic Sixth Five-Year Plan [1981-85]. Provided the country is united from top to bottom and our advance is orderly and steady, we can be confident of building a moderately developed modern economy in two decades and then going on to a higher level of modernization.

It is true that in the 31 years since the founding of the People's Republic we have made quite a few mistakes, including some serious ones, and suffered repeated setbacks that adversely affected the life of the people and retarded the progress of socialist construction. Nevertheless, through our endeavours over these years the number of industrial and transport enterprises has grown to nearly 400,000, and the value of the fixed assets of state enterprises has increased nearly 21 times compared with the early post-Liberation days. We have trained large numbers of skilled workers and nearly 10 million specialists and established a fairly comprehensive industrial system and economic system. The life of the whole people is far better than it was before Liberation. Compared with some major developing countries, China has achieved greater progress and a faster rate of growth. Over the past few years and at this conference in particular, we have reviewed our previous shortcomings and mistakes and correctly summed up our experiences both positive and negative, so that we could work out an overall programme of construc-

tion on a sound and realistic basis. We are sure to make steady progress towards our modernization goals provided we do the following: take advantage of the material conditions I have mentioned, heed the principles laid down for economic work, continue to strengthen and improve the Party's leadership, bring into play the superiority of the socialist system and the people's initiative and creativity, utilize our abundant natural resources more rationally, make our work conform increasingly to actual conditions, constantly sum up new experience, avoid new shortcomings and errors and, if any should occur, correct them in good time. Our future is bright. In this sense, the readjustment we are carrying out means a step forward, not backward.

II

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee called on all Party members to emancipate their minds, use their heads, seek truth from facts, unite in looking ahead, study new situations and solve new problems. With this as our guideline over the past two years, we have worked out a series of policies and carried out many reforms with marked success. In April last year we laid down the policy of readjusting the economy, while at the same time calling for its restructuring, consolidation and improvement. The masses and cadres sincerely support these correct Party policies, but they are also afraid that they will change some day. Their fear of reversals and upheavals is fully understandable.

So, does this readjustment mean changes in the principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session? Absolutely not. As I have said, the current readjustment means the continuation and development of these correct principles and policies, and the further implementation of the Third Plenary Session's guideline, that is, seeking truth from facts and correcting "Left" errors. If there are to be any changes, they can only consist of overcoming remaining defects in our work that are incompatible with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session, and of resolutely casting away unrealistic ideas and subjectively fixed over-ambitious targets. This is exactly what the Third Plenary Session line requires of us.

To ensure the smooth progress of this readjustment, we must continue to firmly carry out all the principles, policies and measures that have proved effective since the Third Plenary Session.

We must firmly maintain the Four Cardinal Principles—namely, keep-

ing to the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship (that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat), upholding leadership by the Communist Party and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. No one should be allowed to undermine these principles, and they should be codified in an appropriate form.

The core of these four cardinal principles is upholding leadership by the Communist Party. We have said many times that without leadership by the Party a big country like China would be torn by strife and incapable of accomplishing anything. Whether inside or outside the Party, all tendencies towards weakening, breaking away from, opposing or liquidating leadership by the Party must be criticized. The individuals involved should be educated or, if necessary, struggles should be waged against them. Leadership by the Party is the key to the success of the four modernizations and of the current readjustment.

To uphold the Party's leadership, it is imperative to improve that leadership and to refine the Party's style of work. The Party's work among the masses is now weaker than before the "cultural revolution" and some of the methods are cruder. This has impaired the ties between the Party and the masses. Only if these ties are greatly strengthened and deep-going political and ideological work is done among the masses will it be easy for us to overcome the many difficulties involved in economic readjustment. The unhealthy tendencies encountered among a handful of Party members and cadres are most harmful to our effort to restore the Party's prestige among the people. I share Comrade Chen Yun's view that the work style of a political party in power has a direct bearing upon its very survival. We must strictly implement the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and strive unremittingly to correct all bad trends. In particular, we must consistently oppose the erroneous, two-faced attitude of those who feign compliance with the line, principles and policies of the Central Committee while actually opposing them.

Reform of the system of Party and state leadership must be carried out prudently and in an orderly way. In short, we must see to it that those comrades who are still able to work for the Party can continue to do so. As for reforms in the system of leadership in the grass-roots units, experiments should be carried out first at a few chosen points. Pending the drafting and promulgation of relevant rules and regulations, the current ones should continue to apply to all other units. This is the general policy previously set by the Central Committee. During the economic readjustment enterprises and other units at the grass-roots level will have to do hard ideological, political, economic and organizational work. In order to gradually harmonize

the proportions between the different sectors of the economy and subordinate the interests of the part to those of the whole, certain construction projects must be discontinued, and some enterprises should either cut production, switch to other products, be amalgamated with others, suspend operations or simply close down. People in such units should be given systematic training and arrangements should be made for their well-being. To do all this well will not be at all easy. We hope that comrades at all levels, and at the grass-roots level in particular, will carry forward our glorious traditions, unite as one, work hard and uncomplainingly, share the burdens of the Party, the state and the people, and never slacken their efforts. The difficulties we are facing are one more test for Party members and cadres at all levels, especially the veteran comrades, who are faithful to the Party, stand fast at their posts and are devoted to their work. The Central Committee is confident that they will prove worthy of the great trust placed in them by the Party and the people.

We should continue to develop socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal system. This is a basic, consistent policy that has been carried out by the Central Committee ever since its Third Plenary Session, and there must be no wavering in its enforcement in future. There are still inadequacies in our democratic system, so it is necessary to draw up a whole series of laws, decrees and regulations to institutionalize democracy and give it legal sanction. Socialist democracy and socialist legality are inseparable. Democracy without socialist legality, without the Party's leadership and without discipline and order is definitely not socialist democracy. On the contrary, that sort of democracy would only plunge our country once again into anarchy and make it harder to truly democratize the life of the country, develop the economy and raise the people's standard of living.

Democratic centralism and collective leadership should be genuinely practised in inner-Party life as well as in the country's political life. Determined efforts should be made to rectify such bad practices as decision-making by a single person who alone has the final say in all things, or the refusal of a minority of cadres to implement collective decisions. Under present circumstances, it is particularly necessary to reaffirm the principle that individual Party members are subordinate to the Party organization, the minority to the majority, the lower Party organizations to the higher and all constituent organizations and Party members to the Central Committee. It is also essential to take firm action against all violations of discipline in the Party, army and government organizations.

Education in discipline and legality must be intensified in Party and government organizations, in the army, in enterprises and schools as well as

among the people as a whole. Immediate steps should be taken to work out rules of discipline where none exist and to improve existing ones where they are imperfect or irrational. Students in colleges and in secondary and primary schools, workers in offices and factories and soldiers should learn and observe the disciplinary rules of their respective units from the day they are registered or enrolled. Anarchism and violations of law and discipline must be resolutely opposed and checked. Otherwise it will be impossible for us to build socialism and modernize the country. Rational discipline does not conflict with socialist democracy. On the contrary, the two are dependent on each other.

Further efforts should be made to correct the over-concentration of power. Systematic measures should be adopted to institute a retirement system for cadres and abolish what is virtually a system of life tenure for leading cadres. Appropriate arrangements should be made for the political status of retired cadres, for their material benefits and so on.

In the past year the Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized that veteran cadres should make the selection and training of middle-aged and young cadres their first and most solemn duty. If we fail to do other work well, naturally we ought to make self-criticisms; but if we fail to do this work well, we will have made a mistake of historic magnitude. Our success in this area will ensure the smooth progress of our cause, and once again our veteran cadres will have made a great contribution to the Party and the people. I hope that they will all be most conscientious in this regard.

While making sure that we select cadres who will keep to the socialist road, we must reduce their average age and raise the level of their education and professional competence. The cadre system should be gradually improved to ensure this. Of course, cadres must be revolutionary. This requirement takes precedence over considerations of age, education and professional competence. That is why we say adherence to the socialist road is the primary qualification for a cadre. This doesn't mean, however, that comrades who have political integrity and the ability to work, who know how to study and are in good health but who do not meet all three requirements concerning age, education and professional competence, should leave their posts. The age requirement should not be too rigid, if only because without our present contingent of cadres we could fulfil none of our tasks—including the task of reducing the average age of cadres. But we should recognize that these three requirements are of strategic importance. We should, after all, have cadres who are younger, better educated and professionally more competent. For historical and practical reasons, some of our comrades do not yet fully understand how important this is. Extensive publicity should be given to this need, and it should be explained accurately, patiently and meticulously.

Meanwhile, appropriate measures should be taken to reduce the average age of our cadres and raise the level of their education and professional competence.

At present many units are overstaffed. And during the current economic readjustment some enterprises may cease operation partly or wholly. The localities and units concerned should arrange for cadres and workers in such organizations to engage on a rotating basis in some kind of productive labour—tree planting, road repair, water conservancy and urban development projects or the building of sanitation facilities. What is more important, however, is to be serious about giving them planned and regular training so as to raise their political awareness and professional competence and, by examinations, to discover and select from among them persons of outstanding ability. Economic readjustment is a positive step in achieving modernization, and training programmes are one of its important aspects. We often talk about increasing our investment in intellectual resources. If we take this opportunity to give planned and regular training to large numbers of cadres and workers in order to raise their political, cultural, technical and managerial levels, we will be making a fruitful investment. We should get all cadres and workers to understand fully the great importance of these training programmes, which should gradually be developed into a regular system applicable to all.

Good progress has been made in the reform of our economic structure and mechanisms. We should consolidate the gains already made, sum up our experience and analyse and solve new problems that have emerged in the process of reform. I fully agree with Comrades Chen Yun that for a time we should make readjustment our main job, with reform subordinate to readjustment so as to serve it and not impede it. The pace of reform should be slowed a little, but that doesn't mean a change in direction.

The Third Plenary Session's decisions on agriculture and the instructions issued this year by the Central Committee concerning the further strengthening and improving of the responsibility system in agricultural production have produced good effects and should continue to be implemented in earnest. We should pay attention to solving problems that may arise in the process. In modernizing China's agriculture we should not copy the Western countries or countries like the Soviet Union but should proceed along our own path, in keeping with the specific conditions in socialist China.

This year the number of industrial enterprises experimenting with extended decision-making powers has risen to more than 6,000, with an aggregate output value representing some 60 per cent of the national total. We have begun to find better ways of integrating the interests of the state,

the enterprises and the production and office workers, stimulating the initiative of all. We shall not increase the number of enterprises engaged in such experiments next year, but rather concentrate on summing up their experience and consolidating and improving the results gained.

It is absolutely necessary to have a high degree of centralism and unification during the readjustment. But we should continue to enforce those reform measures that have proved effective and should not backtrack. We should continue to stimulate the economy and to mobilize the initiative of the localities and enterprises, and of production and office workers as well. Meanwhile, we should guard against unthinking action, and particularly against the spontaneous and destructive tendency to seek gains for oneself or one's unit at the expense of the state and the people. In this connection, detailed laws and decrees should be drafted to prevent misinterpretation or abuse of decision-making power.

We should continue to open new avenues of employment for as many jobless persons as possible, mainly through the different forms of collective and individual economy. And we should fully protect the legitimate interests of workers in collectively-owned enterprises and of those who are self-employed, improve management of industry and trade and prevent unlawful activities.

We should continue to implement the decision to establish several special economic zones in Guangdong and Fujian provinces,¹⁴⁹ but the steps taken and methods used should be subordinated to the current readjustment and the pace should perhaps be slowed somewhat.

We should continue to carry out—on the premise of national independence and self-reliance—the series of economic policies for opening to the outside world that have already been adopted, and we should sum up our experience in order to improve them. We have paid dearly in this connection, because for many years we kept our door closed to the outside world and so we lacked experience. The main responsibility for that lies with the Central Committee, and I am also responsible personally.

We should continue to carry out our foreign policy of opposing hegemonism and working to safeguard world peace. Its successful application will enable us to secure a peaceful environment in which to carry on our construction for a relatively long period.

Fairly favourable conditions have been created for the present economic readjustment, thanks to the principles and policies implemented since the Third Plenary Session. So long as we persist in following these correct principles and policies, we are sure to achieve the readjustment goals.

III

Comrade Chen Yun has said that our economic work and our propaganda have an important bearing on whether our economic and political situation can steadily improve. He mentioned propaganda because he wants us to make a sober appraisal of our achievements and shortcomings in that work and to ensure that in future it is adapted to the requirements of the economic and political situation so that it helps rather than hinders the readjustment.

In fact, our propaganda includes all the Party's ideological and political work. Economic readjustment is a very difficult and complex task. We have already discovered quite a few attendant problems and will certainly encounter others we cannot now foresee. To fulfil our task and ensure unity of thought and action among all Party members, we must try to strengthen and improve the ideological and political work of the Party.

The discussion of the criterion for testing truth has done much to facilitate the successive political, economic and organizational reforms of recent years and has helped us to achieve notable successes on various fronts. Together with Party cadres at all levels, people working in the fields of theory, propaganda, journalism, education, literature and art have all achieved much in recent years and made great contributions to our cause. This should be fully recognized. For the most part our ideological work has been successful. That is the main thing to be said about it.

Emancipating our minds means making our thinking conform to reality—making the subjective conform to the objective—and that means seeking truth from facts. If we want to be practical and realistic in all our work, we must continue to emancipate our minds. It is obviously wrong to believe that we have done all we should in this regard, let alone that we have gone too far.

We must point out that there are still serious shortcomings in our propaganda work. Chief among these is our failure to propagate the Four Cardinal Principles actively, confidently and with good results, and to combat effectively the fallacious ideas opposed to them. Indeed, there is ideological confusion among some of our comrades. For example, some hold that adherence to the Four Cardinal Principles hampers the emancipation of the mind, that the strengthening of the socialist legal system hinders socialist democracy, and that well-founded criticism of wrong ideas is at variance with the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend”.⁷³

Of course, there are definite social and historical reasons for this

ideological confusion, and it cannot be dealt with in a crude way. But that doesn't mean that it should be allowed to continue. It should be cleared up practically and effectively. There is no denying that such confusion has provided favourable conditions for those who are always looking for a chance to stir up trouble. What is more serious is that, in our newspapers and magazines and inside the Party, very few people are bold enough to wage firm struggle against the erroneous views and ideological trends I have referred to, even when these are clearly in flagrant opposition to Party leadership and to socialism. Recently, people associated with illegal organizations have been especially active. They have seized on all kinds of pretexts to make unrestrained anti-Party and anti-socialist statements. These are danger signals that should put the whole Party, all our youth and the entire people on the alert.

It has become extremely important for the whole Party to strengthen ideological and political work and improve propaganda, because this will ensure that the current readjustment is carried out smoothly and that political stability and unity are consolidated.

Improving leadership by the Party means, primarily, strengthening our ideological and political work. The Central Committee holds that in principle Party organizations at all levels should leave as much as possible of the vast amount of routine administrative and professional work to government and professional units. Comrades in leading Party organs, in addition to seeing that the Party's general and specific policies are carried out and deciding on the assignment of important cadres, should devote most of their time and energy to ideological and political work, to mass work and to helping solve problems directly related to people. If all this cannot be fully realized at the present time, we must at least give ideological and political work an important place. Otherwise, the Party's leadership cannot be improved or strengthened.

In order to enhance this work, it is important to give proper attention to the following:

In our appraisal of the Party's record since the founding of the People's Republic, the tremendous achievements of the past 31 years must be fully affirmed. Shortcomings and mistakes should be seriously criticized, but we must never paint a picture that is all black. Even when it comes to such serious mistakes as the "cultural revolution", which was exploited by counter-revolutionary cliques, the historical episode as a whole should not be summarily dismissed as "counter-revolutionary". We must unswervingly adhere to this position of seeking truth from facts.

Similarly, in our appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong we should regard

his contributions as primary and his mistakes as secondary. This is in accord with the facts, and it cannot be doubted or denied. And his mistakes absolutely cannot be attributed to his personal character. To do that is non-Marxist and at variance with historical materialism. Obviously, to exaggerate under the sway of emotion Comrade Mao's mistakes can only mar the image of our Party and country, impair the prestige of the Party and the socialist system and undermine the unity of the Party, the army and our people of all nationalities.

Mao Zedong Thought, which has been proved correct through practice, remains our guiding ideology. We must adhere to it and develop it in the light of specific conditions, and we must disseminate it with full confidence, permitting no slackening of effort. Mao Zedong Thought should be differentiated from Comrade Mao's mistakes in his later years so that there is no confusion. Of course, this does not mean that in the evening of his life Comrade Mao never put forth any correct ideas.

Unhealthy tendencies do exist within the Party and a small number of leading cadres have exploited their positions to gain personal privileges. The Central Committee is determined to act on problems such as these and has started to solve them step by step. We should affirm that newspapers can play a useful role by publishing valid criticisms, but we must take care not to regard certain isolated phenomena as universal or to exaggerate limited problems and make them appear to be general ones. It is definitely untrue that all or the majority of our Party members have succumbed to unhealthy tendencies or that all or the majority of our leading cadres seek personal privilege. There is absolutely no "class of bureaucrats". It is impossible for such a class to exist in our country. In our propaganda, we should avoid creating any false impressions.

The sense of organization and discipline of all Party members should be strengthened through ideological and political work. As required by the Party Constitution, the Party's organizations at all levels and all members should act in conformity with decisions taken by higher organizations and, in particular, identify themselves politically with the Central Committee. This is of special importance now. The Party should take disciplinary measures against anyone violating this principle, and this should be the focus of its discipline inspection work at present.

We should educate all Party members so that they will act selflessly, put overall interests first, work hard, perform their official duties honestly and uphold communist ideas and morality. The socialist China we are building should have a civilization with a high cultural and ideological level as well as a high material level. When I speak of a civilization with a high cultural

and ideological level, I refer not only to education, science and culture (which are of course indispensable) but also to communist thinking, ideals, beliefs, morality and discipline, as well as a revolutionary stand and revolutionary principles, comradely relations among people, and so on. Acquiring and cultivating a revolutionary spirit does not necessarily require a high level of development materially or a very high level of education. Haven't we always worked for the revolution by employing the scientific theory of Marxism and maintaining a revolutionary spirit? From the Yan'an days to the founding of New China, was it not this precious revolutionary spirit—in addition to a correct political orientation—that enabled us to win the support of the entire Chinese people and of foreign friends? How can we build socialism without a high cultural and ideological level, without communist thinking and morality? The more firmly the Party and government carry out the policies of reforming the economy and opening to the outside world, the more must the Party members, and senior leading cadres in particular, cherish communist ideology and morality and act according to them. How can we educate the younger generation and lead our country and people in building socialism if we ourselves are unarmed ideologically? As far back as the period of the new-democratic revolution, we took communist ideology as a guide in all our work, calling on Party members and other progressive people to act and speak within the bounds of communist morality, commending and trying to spread the spirit of such slogans as “Serve the people wholeheartedly”, “The individual is subordinate to the organization”, “Be selfless”, “Utter devotion to others without any thought of self”, and “Fear neither hardship nor death”. We have now entered the socialist period, yet some people have had the audacity to criticize these high-minded revolutionary slogans. What is worse, this preposterous criticism, which should have been rejected, has found sympathy and support among some people in our own ranks. How can a Communist imbued with Party and revolutionary spirit tolerate such things?

Comrade Mao Zedong said that a man needs to have some revolutionary spirit. During the long years of revolutionary war our political orientation was correct and we based our actions on analyses of the actual situation. We promoted the revolutionary spirit, which inspires people to work tirelessly, observe strict discipline, make sacrifices, act selflessly and put the interests of others first, the spirit that gives people revolutionary optimism and the determination to overwhelm all enemies and surmount all difficulties in order to win victory. And we did win great victories. In our effort to build socialism and achieve the four modernizations under the correct leadership of the Central Committee, we need to encourage this same revolutionary

spirit. A Party member who lacks this spirit is not fit to be a Communist. But that is not all: we must call on members of the Party to foster this spirit among all our people, particularly our young people, through exemplary deeds, so that it becomes the main pillar of a culturally and ideologically advanced civilization in the People's Republic of China. Our country will then be looked up to by all revolutionary- and progressive-minded people in the world and admired by all who feel frustrated and suffer from spiritual emptiness for lack of purpose in their lives.

We must work hard to strengthen ties between the Party's organizations and its members on the one hand and the masses on the other. We should regularly and truthfully inform the people about our country's situation, including the difficulties we face and the policies and activities of the Party. We must strongly criticize and correct errors such as being divorced from the masses and being indifferent to their welfare. The masses are the source of our strength and the mass viewpoint and the mass line are our cherished traditions. The Party's organizations, its rank-and-file members and cadres must identify with the masses and never stand against them. Any Party organization that deplorably loses touch with the masses and doesn't mend its ways is forfeiting the source of its strength and will invariably fail and be rejected by the people. Party comrades, cadres at different levels and particularly leading cadres must always bear this in mind and measure all their words and deeds against this criterion.

We must do what we can to help the masses overcome every solvable problem. When difficulties cannot be resolved for the time being, we should explain the reasons patiently and honestly.

We must continue to criticize and oppose surviving feudal influences on ideology and politics both inside and outside the Party, and we must continue to formulate and improve laws and regulations based on socialist principles in order to eliminate those influences. At the same time, we should criticize and oppose the tendency to worship capitalism and to advocate bourgeois liberalization. We should criticize and oppose the decadent bourgeois ideas of doing everything solely for profit, seeking advantage at the expense of others and always putting money first. We should criticize and oppose anarchism and ultra-individualism. We shall continue to promote exchanges with friendly Western countries and to learn whatever is useful to us from capitalist countries. But we must carry this struggle in the ideological and political spheres through to the end. We must encourage patriotism and a sense of national dignity and self-confidence. Otherwise we will not be able to build socialism but instead will ourselves be corrupted by capitalist influences.

Education in politics, current affairs and ideology, including moral values and world outlook, should be strengthened in schools at all levels.

We must endeavour to strengthen the work of the trade unions, the women's federations, the Youth League, the Young Pioneers and the student associations. We must see to it that our teenagers and other young people are imbued with high ideals and moral integrity, that they are armed with knowledge, are physically fit and determined to make contributions to our people, to our country and mankind. We must make sure that from childhood on they cultivate good habits such as respecting discipline, observing good manners and safeguarding the public interest.

We should increase the confidence of all Party comrades in our ability to make China a powerful modern socialist country. Through the exemplary deeds of Party members at different posts we should influence the masses and draw them still nearer to us so that we can close ranks, inspire revolutionary enthusiasm, labour with single-minded devotion, and advance steadily towards our great goal. We must revive, enrich and propagate the spirit of Yan'an, the spirit of the early post-Liberation days, the spirit that enabled us to overcome our difficulties in the early 1960s. But we ourselves must be fully confident before we can educate the masses, unite with them and raise their confidence.

IV

The consolidation of political stability and unity is crucial to the success of the current economic readjustment. If stability and unity are disrupted, readjustment will be out of the question.

It has come to our attention that in some places a handful of trouble-makers are using methods employed during the "cultural revolution" to carry on agitation and create disturbances; some are even clamouring for a second "cultural revolution". A few young people in the frontier regions have been influenced by bad elements and have made trouble. A few ringleaders who control illegal organizations and publications are working hand in glove with each other. Anti-Party and anti-socialist statements have been published, reactionary leaflets have been distributed and political rumours have been spread. Remnants of the Gang of Four are still active. Serious crimes such as homicide, arson, dynamiting, robbery, burglary and rape (including gang rape) are being committed. Other criminal activities—smuggling, tax evasion, speculation and profiteering, the offering and taking of bribes, embez-

zlement and circumvention of law—have increased. There have also been other serious violations of law and discipline, such as divulging and trading in state secrets, wilfully giving out excessive bonuses in defiance of regulations, and illegally raising prices and disrupting the market. We must never cease to be on the alert against all such practices. Some are the acts of counter-revolutionaries, others are counter-attacks by remnants of the Lin Biao clique and the Gang of Four, some are sabotage by people who want chaos in the country, others are carried out by surviving elements of the exploiting classes, and still others stem from serious corrosion by feudal or capitalist ideas and corresponding life-styles. Depending on their nature, some may be categorized as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, while others are a form of class struggle reflected, in varying degrees, among the people. This shows us that although class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society, it still exists and cannot be neglected. If these problems—which differ in nature—are not handled promptly and unhesitatingly as required in each individual case but instead are allowed to spread and then converge, our stability and unity will be seriously undermined. Some of our comrades do not yet understand the gravity of these problems and fail to deal with them resolutely. Sometimes they even ignore them.

Therefore, we must strengthen the state apparatus of the people's democratic dictatorship. We must attack and split up those forces which are inimical to political stability and unity, and especially the remnants of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. We must take strong action to curb or prevent every kind of criminal activity.

It is the universal desire of our people to consolidate and develop political stability and unity. Sound ideological and political work is needed to mobilize and organize the masses to carry out, energetically and voluntarily, an effective struggle against all forces hostile to political stability and unity. We should not mount a political movement to accomplish this, as we have done in the past. We should abide by the principles of socialist legality. To this end, I suggest that in addition to the relevant inner-Party instructions, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council should formulate and promulgate appropriate regulations and decrees. If accompanied by Party-wide ideological and political work, propaganda through the mass media and education in the schools, these regulations and decrees can form a common code of conduct for the whole Party, the army and the people. This will bring about a gradual lessening of the disorder now obtaining in some places.

To ensure stability and unity, I suggest that state organizations adopt

appropriate laws and decrees calling for mediation in order to avoid strikes by workers or students. These documents should also rule out marches and demonstrations unless they are held by permission and at a designated time and place, forbid different units and localities from clubbing together for harmful purposes, and proscribe the activities of illegal organizations and the printing and distribution of illegal publications.

This is a political struggle, but it must be carried out within the framework of the law. It should be conducted actively but there must be sufficient preparation, and the measures adopted must be well-considered and within proper limits. Strong action should be taken—and repeated where necessary—against serious sabotage. In fighting anti-Party and anti-socialist forces and miscellaneous criminals all Party members and cadres should act according to the Constitution and within the bounds of laws and decrees. They should learn to use legal means (including economic penalties such as fines and heavy taxation). This is a new method that we must learn as quickly as possible in order to develop socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal system.

Great effort should be made to strengthen the public security, procuratorial and judicial departments, improve their work and enhance the political quality and professional competence of their personnel.

A number of good workers and cadres in the field of capital construction and a number of ex-servicemen should be trained to reinforce the public security, procuratorial and judicial departments.

After careful consideration and arrangements and with approval through specific procedures, martial law can be proclaimed if really necessary in certain places where serious disturbances have occurred. Specially trained troops may then be called in to restore and maintain public order and order in production and other work. The necessary legal training should be given to all officers and men.

All Party committees should strengthen their leadership and organize the units concerned to work out a comprehensive plan for ensuring political stability and unity and take resolute but appropriate measures to implement it, mobilizing people in all sectors.

Some may argue that by doing this we are trying to “tighten up” instead of continuing to “loosen up”, that we will be exercising dictatorship without democracy, and that the policies laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee are no longer operable. These views are altogether wrong. The Central Committee stated long ago that we will never “loosen up” with regard to the activities of counter-revolutionaries, anti-Party and anti-socialist elements and criminals, that we will always be against

letting them act with impunity. Ever since the founding of the People's Republic—with the exception of the “cultural revolution” which was a decade of domestic turmoil—we have persisted in exercising dictatorship over all kinds of hostile forces, counter-revolutionaries, and criminals who seriously jeopardize public order. We have never shown them any mercy.

This brings us to the question of how to understand and exercise the people's democratic dictatorship. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that people's democratic dictatorship means the combination of democracy among the people with dictatorship over the reactionaries. This, in essence, is the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in our country the term “people's democratic dictatorship” is more suited to the reality. The democratic rights of the people were trampled upon when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were in power. Since the downfall of the Gang of Four, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, we have been endeavouring to promote democracy. But much remains to be done and we should continue our efforts. As I mentioned earlier, we should be firm in systematically pushing forward the reform of our various political and economic systems. The general objective of these reforms is to ensure democracy and develop it both inside the Party and among the people.

While persisting in our effort to develop socialist democracy, we call on all our Party members and all our people to maintain strict vigilance against anti-Party, anti-socialist and criminal activities and to take firm action against them. Otherwise, not only will it be well-nigh impossible to carry out the economic readjustment, but the people's democratic rights—even their right to survival—will be endangered. If in some places criminals are allowed to make trouble with impunity, the democratic rights of the great majority there will be violated once again, just as they were during the “cultural revolution”. If that happened, it would be impossible to maintain, much less to consolidate and develop, nationwide stability, unity and liveliness. The excellent political and economic situation we have already created—a situation rarely equalled since the founding of the People's Republic—would be jeopardized. Whatever improvements we have achieved in the people's standard of living would be forfeited. The sufferings inflicted upon the great majority of the people, Party members and cadres during the “cultural revolution” are still fresh in our memory. How can we allow those “rebels” who so closely followed Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, or the handful of ringleaders who have persisted in following their evil course, to launch a second “cultural revolution”? We must never let them have their way in a single locality, department or unit, let alone in the country as a whole. The fact is, however, that they are already making trouble in a few units and

localities, and people there are very indignant. This being so, how can we sit back and decline to take strong action to protect the people's interests?

Marxist theory and objective reality have taught us again and again that only when the people, who form the overwhelming majority, enjoy a high degree of democracy can dictatorship be effectively exercised over the tiny minority who are our enemies. We have also learned that only when dictatorship is exercised over this tiny hostile minority can the democratic rights of the overwhelming majority—of all the people—be fully guaranteed. Under the present circumstances, therefore, it is in complete conformity with the desire of the people and the needs of socialist modernization to use the repressive power of the state apparatus to attack the counter-revolutionary saboteurs, anti-Party and anti-socialist elements and criminals guilty of serious offences and to split their ranks in the interests of social stability.

To sum up, our purpose in further readjusting the economy and in achieving greater political stability is to implement the consistent policies laid down since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. By carrying out these policies we will surely achieve victory for our cause.

OUR PRINCIPLED POSITION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SINO-U.S. RELATIONS

January 4, 1981

We hope that after assuming the presidency, Mr. Ronald Reagan will make new contributions to the development of Sino-U.S. relations. It was the Republican Party that turned a new page in Sino-U.S. relations during the administration of Mr. Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger.¹³⁶ We will always remember it was Mr. Nixon who was determined to improve Sino-U.S. relations during his presidency. When Jimmy Carter served as President, Sino-U.S. relations witnessed new development. However, in the latter period of President Carter's term, there was the Taiwan Relations Act.¹⁵⁰ On our part, we hope that Sino-U.S. relations will continue to develop. Frankly speaking, however, we were really disturbed by certain statements Mr. Reagan made in his election platform. When George Bush¹⁵¹ visited China, we said to him that we understood that statements made in election campaigns in his country might not necessarily be put into practice and that we would pay close attention to what actions Mr. Reagan takes after assuming office. When China and the United States established diplomatic relations in 1979, they settled the main question, the Taiwan question, and the United States recognized Taiwan as part of China. Only by settling this question could the two countries establish new relations and continue to develop them. The Taiwan question should be considered an issue of the past, but now it has been brought up again. We asked Mr. Bush to pass on to Mr. Reagan our clear-cut position on this question.

We have noticed that the American media and the statements of some people convey four viewpoints concerning this question. These viewpoints, if not clarified, are likely to cause regression in Sino-U.S. relations.

According to the first viewpoint, China is a very weak and poor country

Excerpt from a talk with Theodore Fulton Stevens, a Republican and assistant leader of the U.S. Senate, and Anna Chennault, Vice-Chairman of the Presidential Export Committee.

and has backward equipment, so it is a country that is of little importance and not worth a great deal of attention. This is by no means a minor issue, but a matter of judgment about the world's balance of power. We have always admitted that we are a weak and poor country. Nevertheless, China has its own advantages, that is, a vast territory and a large population. However, it is true that China is poor and has backward equipment. But we do have a sober estimate of our strength. We enjoy the advantages of being a vast country with a large population and we refuse to be misled by fallacies. The Chinese people have always acted in accordance with their own views. It is clear to all that the People's Republic of China was built through self-reliance. Even in times of great difficulty, we dared to face reality and confronted powerful forces with our limited strength. Poor and weak as it may be, China dares to face reality to handle its own affairs. Therefore, those who misjudge China's position in world politics will not have a correct international strategy.

According to the second viewpoint, China now looks to the United States for help, but not vice versa. Such a view has been expressed in the U.S. media on more than one occasion. Over the past two years, we did something undesirable, thereby causing some people's misconception. Due to a lack of proper control, quite a few Chinese delegations went to the United States. Worse still, some members of the delegations were imprudent in their words and deeds. Visits are a good rather than a bad thing, but they have created a false impression among some people that China must look to others for help. This is true not only in the United States but probably in European countries as well. From now on, we shall control the number of delegations sent abroad. Of course, this does not mean that there will be no more normal exchanges. Recently, we have been conducting economic readjustment. The fact that we published the amount of our deficits demonstrates that we still have some sort of self-confidence. Through readjustment, we can balance revenue with expenditure this year. Our Japanese friends say they do not believe that a balance between revenue and expenditure can be achieved by means of control. We, however, shall manage to do so. Furthermore, we affirm that in its drive for modernization, China must adhere to the principle of self-reliance. It is true that China is poor, but it has a strong point: it is relatively highly capable of surviving without outside help. Moreover, the Chinese are accustomed to being poor. The most typical example is that of the days of Yan'an when we did not have adequate food or clothing. We survived under extremely difficult circumstances in the anti-Japanese base areas at that time. Today, even if all connections with other countries were severed, China would continue to exist. Even if major turmoil and unexpect-

ed changes occurred in the world, China would endure. Therefore, the judgment that China has to look to others for help will lead to erroneous policy decisions.

According to the third viewpoint, if the U.S. government adopts a hard-line policy towards the Soviet Union, China must in turn set aside questions such as the one concerning Taiwan. However, we simply cannot and will not do that. Should this really be the case, that is, should the Taiwan question force a regression in Sino-U.S. relations, China will definitely not give way. Instead, China will certainly make an appropriate response. We maintain that stagnation in Sino-U.S. relations is undesirable and that regression is even more undesirable. However, if something forces a regression in relations, we cannot but face reality squarely. As to what degree relations may regress, that depends on the cause of the regression. While it is improper to dwell too much upon this matter, we must be clear that if the Taiwan question causes a regression in Sino-U.S. relations, China cannot but face reality and take an approach quite contrary to what some Americans have declared. China will not simply set aside the Taiwan question out of consideration of its strategy against the Soviet Union.

Recently, an event occurred in the Netherlands, reportedly concerning a Dutch company which was prepared to sign a contract with Taiwan to manufacture two submarines. The Dutch government intervened in order to stop this. However, some members of the Dutch government were in favour of this business deal and had support from Dutch citizens. We are currently focusing seriously on this matter. If the Netherlands refuses to alter its decision, Sino-Dutch relations will definitely suffer a setback. Of course, we shall make some effort in the hope that the Netherlands will change its position, because we are aware that the Dutch parliament adopted the decision by only a narrow majority. Therefore, it is not completely impossible to reverse it. If our efforts fail, we shall then adopt further measures. We hope similar events will not occur between China and the United States. Since Sino-U.S. and Sino-Japanese relations were normalized after settling the issue of recognizing Taiwan as part of China's territory, this remains the key issue determining whether or not Sino-U.S. relations, Sino-Japanese relations and China's ties with other countries will continue to develop.

We have noted that some people say that Mr. Reagan will send a private representative to Taiwan. Today I shall put it frankly that if this does take place, we shall not interpret this as a matter of sending a private representative, but rather as the establishment of a formal intergovernmental relationship. If this or similar events occur, we shall definitely consider it a policy decision of the U.S. government, that it has deviated from the principles as

defined in the Communique on the Establishment of Sino-U.S. Diplomatic Relations and the Shanghai Communique. The nature of such events will mean not only a stagnation but also a regression in Sino-U.S. relations.

According to the fourth viewpoint, the ideology the Chinese government follows is designed to destroy governments such as that of the United States. This concept is neither of the 1970s nor of the 1980s, but rather a viewpoint prevalent prior to the 1960s.

I reiterate that we sincerely hope Sino-U.S. relations will not stagnate, but will continue to develop. We pay close attention to the speeches given by a President both during the election campaign and prior to his assumption of office, and we formulate a certain understanding according to these speeches. However, we shall attach great importance to the actions taken by a new administration after it assumes office. What I have just said represents the official position of the Chinese government. I deem it highly important and necessary to let our American friends clearly understand the position of the Chinese government.

ON OPPOSING WRONG IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES

March 27, 1981

First, the core of our current work should be implementing the guidelines laid down by the Central Working Conference of December 1980. Our work should be carried out in accordance with the views expressed at that conference by the four comrades of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau,¹⁵² with the decisions of the Central Committee on the policies for current press and radio publicity, and with its directives on the handling of illegal publications and organizations and related problems.

Second, we should intensify propaganda and education concerning adherence to the Four Cardinal Principles,¹⁸¹ and write more articles on the subject. We should criticize wrong ideologies whether they are “Left” or Right.

Emancipation of the mind, too, means opposing both “Left” and Right ideologies. The call by the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee for emancipating our minds was directed at the “two whatevers”,¹⁸ and the emphasis was on correcting “Left” errors. Later a Right deviation emerged that must, of course, also be corrected.

The 1980 Central Working Conference made all this clear. The point now is to do more to publicize the necessity of adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles. We should not overlook the wrong, “Left” ideology, for it is deep-rooted. Stress should be put on rectifying any “Left” tendency in our guiding ideology, but that is not enough. We must at the same time correct the Right tendency.

Comrade Huang Kecheng¹³³ said that we should oppose “Left” ideology wherever it exists and also oppose Right ideology. I agree. And we should make a concrete analysis of what is “Left” and of what is Right.

Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily) is run quite well, and I hope the comrades concerned will continue their efforts. More articles should be

Summary of a talk with leading comrades of the General Political Department of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army.

written to explain, both ideologically and theoretically, the importance of adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles. Opposition to these principles and negation of them come from both the “Left” and the Right, and we should take both into consideration when writing articles.

Third, we have always said that it is necessary to stick to the principles of seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with practice and proceeding from reality in all things.

In drafting the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China”, we should seek truth from facts and conscientiously draw lessons from the “Left” mistakes. As regards the anti-Rightist struggle of 1957,¹⁰⁰ I have said more than once that there really were some persons then who made vicious attacks, but that we for our part over-reacted and unduly broadened the scope of the struggle. Of course, it cannot be said that all those who were criticized were completely correct, or that they had made no mistakes. In my opinion the anti-Rightist struggle can still be summed up as follows: It was necessary, but it was broadened too much. When the Great Leap Forward⁷⁶ started, was there anyone who opposed it? But later, some comrades, including Comrade Mao Zedong himself, found that there was something wrong with it. The two meetings Comrade Mao convened in Zhengzhou¹¹⁸ were precisely for the purpose of rectifying the “Left” errors in the Great Leap Forward. During the 17 years preceding the “cultural revolution” our work, in the main, proceeded along a correct path, though there were twists and turns and mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong should not be held solely responsible for everything; we ourselves should share the responsibility. We should sum up historical experience and draw the necessary lessons in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts.

To solve ideological problems in the army, we also need to seek truth from facts. Ideological work should be carried out according to the particular circumstances of each unit and each individual.

Fourth, we should not overlook the lingering “Left” influence in the army. Influenced by “Left” ideology, quite a number of people between 30 and 40 tend to look at things from a “Left” angle. Some army cadres, including a number with long service behind them, haven’t understood the policies applied since the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, which they regard as capitalist. This is mainly because they have been influenced by “Left” ideology. However, it cannot be said that the army is free from the influence of decadent bourgeois ideas. Some people, for example, welcome decadent music and approve of certain undesirable forms of social behaviour.

As for the “three supports and two military’s”,¹⁵³ I suggest you give them some study. It’s no good to say only one thing about them, that is, to simply heap praise on them. We must say two things. First, that at the time it was correct for the army to go to the civilian units and deal with the situations there, which were otherwise uncontrollable. So the “three supports and two military’s” did prove useful. But second, they also did great harm to the army, for in their wake they brought many bad things that greatly detracted from the army’s prestige. Among other things, they were responsible for much of the factionalism and some “Left” notions and practices.

In recent years, the army has done a lot of educational work. It has paid great attention to education concerning line, principles and policies, which has led to a positive change in the cadres’ thinking. The overwhelming majority of our cadres are good. We have only to do some educational work to change their thinking for the better. And we should do more.

Fifth, in rectifying “Left” and Right tendencies, we should not arbitrarily raise the matter to the level of a principle or launch a movement and have everyone make a self-criticism. If everyone had to do so, we would soon have another movement on our hands. Of course, the fact that we aren’t going to launch a movement doesn’t mean that our political work can be without orientation or that we don’t need to build momentum behind our effort.

We will still need a rectification campaign at the proper time. Without it some problems may be difficult to solve.

Sixth, Comrade Chen Yun⁸² suggested that we encourage study—mainly of philosophy and such philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong’s as “On Practice”, “On Contradiction”, “Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War”, “Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan” and “On Protracted War”. That’s a fine suggestion. I think we should launch a movement to study the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. This study should be integrated with study of the history of the Chinese revolution so as to help people understand how the Party led the revolution, how Comrade Mao contributed to it and how it succeeded. After the adoption of the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China”, we should organize people to study it carefully and then encourage them to do further reading in books.

Comrade Chen Yun said that when he came back to Yan’an from Moscow at the initial stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan [1937-45], Comrade Mao Zedong advised him on three occasions to study philosophy, emphasizing in particular the need to seek truth from facts. Comrade Chen

Yun said he benefited greatly from that study. Today we have some people who express an opinion on a question after only a cursory examination. The reason for this is that they are not well grounded in either theory or practice. Only when we have become well grounded in both will we really be able to correct our mistakes, both “Left” and Right. The reason the rectification movement back in the Yan’an days was directed against subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing was that it aimed to solve fundamental problems rather than side issues.

Seventh, there is one thing we have done very well recently, and that is to emphasize the importance of building a civilization with a high cultural and ideological level. This educational work, which has already proved so fruitful, should continue. The slogan of “four haves, three stresses and two defy’s”¹⁵⁴ raised by the General Political Department is very good. It should be applied in the army and widely disseminated.

Eighth, it is necessary to criticize the film script *Unrequited Love* because the issue involved is the upholding of the Four Cardinal Principles. Of course, when engaging in criticism we should present facts, reason things out and guard against being one-sided.

**CLOSING SPEECH AT THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION
OF THE ELEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CPC**

June 29, 1981

I believe that this plenary session has settled two questions very well indeed. First, it has adopted the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China”, which really lives up to our original requirements. It will be immensely important in unifying thinking inside the Party. Of course, as Comrade Hu Yaobang⁹⁵ said, it will still take another year’s work to really achieve that unity. But in any event we have a unified standard that from now on can serve as a guide to every Party member when making statements. Even if one has not yet straightened out his own thinking in this respect, in deference to organizational discipline he should take the resolution as a guide. We believe that it will stand the test of history.

The second question concerns personnel. At this session, we have elected Comrade Hu Yaobang Chairman of the Central Committee, and he has just made a brief speech that I think proves our choice was correct. And Comrade Zhao Ziyang¹⁴⁰ has also been promoted to a higher position in the Party.

So, in settling these two important questions, the session has taken major policy decisions and made major choices. We believe that both decisions and choices are correct. Hence, our session is of great significance. This is clear from our communique. We have definitely accomplished our mission.

Have you anything more to say, Comrades? If not, let us declare that the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee has successfully completed its work.

THE PRIMARY TASK OF VETERAN CADRES IS TO SELECT YOUNG AND MIDDLE-AGED CADRES FOR PROMOTION

July 2, 1981

My original intention in coming today was only to listen to what our comrades had to say. But the question of selecting and training young and middle-aged cadres is extremely important, so I have decided to say a few words about it myself. We constantly stress that it is a question of strategic importance on which the very destiny of our Party depends. It has now become extremely urgent to resolve this issue. If we don't resolve it within three to five years, we shall be faced with catastrophe. Foreigners have described our recent Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee as having arranged for the transfer of leadership and settled the question of top personnel without friction, and they have praised us for having dealt with these matters in an orderly way. Nevertheless, if we don't solve the problem of succession on a nationwide scale within three to five years, chaos may ensue. Some veteran cadres are no longer with us and others are no longer able to work, while new cadres cannot be promoted, or if they are, there is always some kind of objection. Many veteran cadres think the only good cadres are those who support them, and this seems to be a widespread phenomenon in the Party. To put it bluntly, the question of whether people are appointed on their merits or by favouritism has not been settled satisfactorily. I don't mean that this applies to all veteran comrades, but it does apply to a considerable number. I suggest we learn from Comrade Liu Lanbo,¹⁵⁵ who was mentioned at this meeting today. He personally recommended a younger comrade to succeed him as Minister of Electric Power. Why have you all been asked to stay on at the end of the Sixth Plenary Session for this two-day meeting to discuss Comrade Chen Yun's⁸² proposals for promoting and training young and middle-aged cadres and for retiring

Speech at a forum of secretaries of Party committees of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

old ones? It's because this question is very urgent, very important. Comrades from the army may recall that I brought up the question of lowering the average age of army cadres at a conference on political work convened in 1964.¹⁵⁶ That was 17 or 18 years ago. Although the question was not yet very urgent then, it had already surfaced. I also said at that conference that wisdom increases with age. But that was in the early sixties, and the situation today is completely different. In short, we have become more and more aware of the urgency of the matter. Therefore, the Central Committee has recently been considering the establishment of two central commissions under the new [Twelfth] Central Committee, an advisory commission and a commission for discipline inspection, to absorb a number of veteran comrades. The members of the Central Committee would be somewhat younger, which would be good for the future. We veteran comrades should have an enlightened attitude and take the lead in solving this major problem of reducing the cadres' average age. Otherwise, it will be impossible to solve. If the veteran comrades don't take the lead, the others will hesitate to select younger cadres. And even if you issue orders that younger cadres are to be selected, there is no certainty that the right persons will be chosen, for some comrades will still be considering which persons support them personally. We must be cautious, because the hard-core elements of the Gang of Four and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting during the "cultural revolution" are clever and opportunistic, and they know how to brag about themselves and flatter other people. Our veteran comrades are liable to be taken in by them. Therefore, the crux of the matter is that veterans should take the lead, really be selfless and keep the overall situation in mind.

After the Central Working Conference last December, Comrade Chen Yun put this question more sharply than before. He stated it well, and I agree with him. We had been rather timid at first, but on that occasion he suggested that it was not scores or hundreds of young and middle-aged cadres who should be selected for promotion but thousands and tens of thousands. And what he really meant was "tens of thousands"—the "thousands" was just thrown in for rhetorical effect. Some of those we select now will be removed from office when it becomes clear that they are not the right choices. For the present we may begin by selecting, say, 50,000. They should be recruited into the leading bodies after three to five, or perhaps seven to eight, years of work. That is, they will be prepared as successors to comrades now working at the provincial, municipal and ministerial levels (or at corresponding levels in large factories, mines and other enterprises), and the outstanding ones should be brought into the central organizations. Those who are now around 40 will then be 47 or 48—not so young any more. If

they are now around 50, they will be pushing 60. I am afraid that only a few comrades present here today are still young; generally speaking, all of us must be at least 60, and the great majority over 60. What about seven to eight years from now, when we are all close to 70 or even older? You can see that this is a matter we have to take very seriously.

Are the persons we need available? In my opinion, we should be able to find one or two hundred thousand. The question is whether we can make up our minds to look for them, whether we are ready to make a proper search by conducting the necessary investigations. What are the criteria? We need chiefly persons who graduated from college or university in the sixties. There should be 600,000 from the pre-“cultural revolution” years 1961-66, assuming there were 100,000 graduates a year. And if we include graduates from the vocational secondary schools, the total is nearly two million. These people are relatively well trained professionally. There are ample data to show that the great majority of the college and university graduates of those years have done pretty well. These people are now around 40. The deputy director I met in the No. 2 Motor Works graduated from college immediately before the “cultural revolution”, and he is now 39. Although some of these people behaved badly during the “cultural revolution”, most were “bystanders”.¹⁸² Take, for example, the comrade I have just mentioned. He disapproved of the “cultural revolution” and was attacked in its early days. Having been attacked during the “cultural revolution” is a measure of political merit. Are people like him qualified? He is now already a deputy director of a big motor works. Why could he not be given further training and sent to a Party school or assigned to some other post where he could be further tempered? People of his type are easy to find if only we keep our eyes open. In general, though, they are thought to be too inexperienced or, as people sometimes say, too “conceited”. I have my doubts about their being “conceited”. An enthusiastic and capable person is always self-confident and has ideas of his own. The more ideas you have, the more self-confident you are. There’s nothing bad about that. If the person really is a bit conceited, he will learn modesty when assigned to an appropriate post, for otherwise he will find it hard to work there. When I say we can find capable people, I mean there may be 150,000, not just 50,000. Among those with professional knowledge—apart from graduates of universities, colleges and vocational secondary schools—we have the numerous people who have educated themselves through independent study. The right people are on hand; the question is whether we select them or not. When Comrade Chen Yun spoke, one of the things he suggested was that the Organization Department under the Central Committee should establish an office to take charge of affairs relating to young and middle-aged

cadres. That is an important proposal.

What is essential is that once we have decided on the task of selecting young and middle-aged cadres for promotion, we should set about doing so. The work requires a defined objective. I would like to ask you to discuss whether we should draw up a five-year plan for it. The best thing would be a four-year plan ending in 1985 [to coincide with the end for the Sixth Five-Year Plan]. But I propose that we draw up two plans on this cadre question—a five-year and a 10-year plan. In the first five years we should select, say, 50,000 people and assign them to appropriate posts where they can be tempered. We should decide what percentage of leaders at the ministerial, departmental and bureau levels and at the provincial, municipal and autonomous-region levels should be around 50 and what percentage should be around 40, and then try to reach those percentages gradually within the next five years. For the second five years, we should set age limits for leaders at certain levels (for example, the provincial, municipal and autonomous-region and ministerial levels), which will apply with only certain special exceptions. Please discuss whether these proposals are feasible. I have been talking about details. The army has drafted some guidelines that it is now trying to apply. It has suggested age limits for regimental, divisional and army-level cadres of around 30, 40 and 50, respectively. Some units have complied with these regulations quite well; others have not. In the future, systems relating to civilian cadres—the retirement system, for instance—should also have specific age regulations. Other countries have retirement systems. For example, army officers in most countries retire at the age of 60, though they can take up civilian jobs afterwards. As for civilian officials, Japanese diplomats, for example, are expected to retire at 65, while some countries set even lower retirement ages. It seems to me that we too should have some age limits. Perhaps we cannot put such limits into effect in the first five years. But couldn't we set it as an objective for the second five-year plan? In addition to limits on cadres' ages, there should be limits on their number in a given unit. For example, aren't one minister and two to four vice-ministers enough for a ministry? Why do we need more than a dozen vice-ministers for each ministry when it is the departments directly subordinate to it that are in charge of professional work? Here I am talking about the need for a major reform. It is partly because of this overstaffing at the top that we have the problem of bureaucracy and so many things just don't get done. It is enough for a ministry to have four vice-ministers at the most and for a department or bureau to have still fewer deputy heads. Why should a department or bureau have so many deputy leaders? Two at most are enough. Our grave propensity to bureaucracy is inseparable from the current

overstaffing of our organizations. Of course, in the first five years there will be the question of replacing the old cadres by the young, and there will be a five- to ten-year period of transition. The central issue is whether in the first five years we can select about 50,000 cadres some of whom are just under 50, some around 40 and some even younger. And there should be a proper ratio of cadres in these different age groups. Then we can take up the question of how to rationalize our cadre system and administrative structure, a question which should be solved in a comprehensive way during the second five years. The first five years are the most important. During that period, comrades present here will have to take the responsibility. But by the second five years how many of us will still be around? How many will still be able to work as usual? It's hard to say. Five years from now, those who are now 65 will be 70. Time flies. Therefore, I raise both hands in support of Comrade Chen Yun's proposal. It remains to discuss the concrete measures to turn his proposal into reality. We have to be sensible in this matter. I have had a heart-to-heart talk with Comrade Chen Yun. Frankly, so far as the two of us are concerned, we would really be very happy to retire now. But of course we can't do that yet. What is our most important job, then? Naturally we have to concern ourselves with state policies and the Party's principles, but what is of the utmost importance is to settle the question of selecting young and middle-aged cadres for promotion. This is the principal task for the two of us. I hope that all comrades here who are more than 60 will also make settling this question their primary task. It's too important for us to neglect. That is all I want to say today.

CONCERNING PROBLEMS ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

July 17, 1981

A short time ago I told Comrade Hu Yaobang⁹⁵ that I wanted to talk with the propaganda departments about problems on the ideological front, especially those in literature and art. The Party's leadership on this front—including literature and art—has achieved noteworthy success. This should be affirmed. But certain tendencies towards a crude approach and oversimplification cannot be ignored or denied. However, a more important problem at present, I think, is laxity and weakness and a fear of criticizing wrong trends. As soon as you criticize something, you are accused of brandishing a big stick. It is very hard nowadays for us to carry out criticism, let alone self-criticism. Self-criticism is one of the three major features of our Party's style of work,⁶⁵ one of the chief characteristics distinguishing our Party from other political parties. For quite a number of our people, however, it now seems difficult to practise.

Prior to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee [late June 1981], the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army raised the question of criticizing the film script *Unrequited Love*. I have been taken aback by some other things I've read recently too. A young poet made an irresponsible speech at Beijing Normal University. Some students commented that although the Party organization had done a lot of ideological and political work among the students, that speech blew it all away. The university Party committee was aware of this matter but took no measures. It was a woman student who wrote a letter to the Party committee criticizing our weak ideological work. Recently in Urumqi, Xinjiang, a person in charge of the preparatory group for the formation of the local federation of writers and artists talked a lot of nonsense. Many of his views went far beyond certain wrong, anti-socialist statements criticized during the anti-Rightist struggle of 1957.¹⁰⁰ There are many other examples. To put it in a nutshell,

Summary of a talk with leading comrades of the central propaganda departments.

these people want to abandon the road of socialism, break away from Party leadership and promote bourgeois liberalization. Let us recall the 1957 experience. It was incorrect then to broaden the scope of the anti-Rightist struggle, but it was necessary to oppose the Rightists. You will certainly all remember how aggressive some Rightists were. So are some people today. We are not going to launch an anti-Rightist campaign again. But on no account should we give up serious criticism of erroneous trends. This type of problem has arisen not only in literary and art circles but elsewhere as well. Some persons are not on the right track ideologically. They make statements contrary to Party principles and are neither honest nor upright. Yet there are other people who admire them and eagerly publish their articles. This is quite wrong. Some Party members don't act in accordance with Party spirit but persist in factionalism. They must not be allowed to influence others, let alone to become leaders. Some persons now fancy themselves as heroes. Before they were criticized, they didn't attract much attention. But once they were criticized, they began to be sought after. This is an abnormal phenomenon and we must work seriously to eradicate it. Its social and historical background can be traced mainly to the 10-year turmoil of the "cultural revolution"; it is also connected with corrosion by bourgeois ideology from abroad. We must analyse each case concretely. At present, the main problem is not so much the existence of this phenomenon as the fact that we are too soft in handling it. There is laxity and weakness. Of course, in solving current problems, we should learn from past experience and refrain from launching a movement. We must analyse each case on its merits and treat each person who has made errors appropriately, according to the nature and seriousness of the mistakes. Methods of criticism must be studied. Arguments must hit the nail on the head. We must not resort to converging attacks and movements. But there must be ideological work, criticism and self-criticism. We must not lay aside the weapon of criticism. After that young poet delivered his speech at Beijing Normal University, some students said that if we allowed things to go on this way, our country would be ruined. He took a position opposite to ours. I have seen the movie *Sun and Man*, which follows the script of *Unrequited Love*. Whatever the author's motives, the movie gives the impression that the Communist Party and the socialist system are bad. It vilifies the latter to such an extent that one wonders what has happened to the author's Party spirit. Some say the movie achieves a fairly high artistic standard, but that only makes it all the more harmful. In fact, a work of this sort has the same effect as the views of the so-called democrats.

The essence of the Four Cardinal Principles¹⁸¹ is to uphold Communist

Party leadership. Without Party leadership there definitely will be nationwide disorder and China would fall apart. History has shown us this. Chiang Kai-shek was never able to unify China. The keystone of bourgeois liberalization is opposition to Party leadership. But without Party leadership there will be no socialist system. In confronting these problems, we must not take the old path and resort to political movements. We must, however, make appropriate use of the weapon of criticism.

It was right for *Jiefangjun Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*) to criticize *Unrequited Love*. The criticism was necessary, which must be affirmed. But the articles were not always entirely reasonable, and some of their tactics and arguments were not carefully thought out. *Wenyi Bao* (*Literary Gazette*) should publish several articles of high quality to comment on both *Unrequited Love* and related problems. We can't declare that a criticism is incorrect just because the methods used are not good enough.

Some young people are discontented with certain social conditions today. There is nothing strange about this and it is nothing to be afraid of. But we must guide such young people or they may go astray. It is good that many young writers have emerged in recent years. They have written a number of fine works. But we must admit that among them—and among some middle-aged writers too—there are also bad tendencies that have an adverse influence on some young readers, listeners and viewers. Our veteran writers who stick to the socialist position have the responsibility to unite and give proper guidance to the new generation. Otherwise, it won't be able to advance along the right path. If we don't do a good job in this respect, contradictions may intensify and result in major disruptions. In a word, we must uphold Party leadership and the socialist system. They must be improved, but that doesn't mean we can have bourgeois liberalization or anarchy. Just imagine what sort of influence *Sun and Man* would have if shown to the public. Someone has said that not loving socialism isn't equivalent to not loving one's motherland. Is the motherland something abstract? If you don't love socialist New China led by the Communist Party, what motherland do you love? We do not ask all our patriotic compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and in Taiwan and abroad to support socialism, but at the least, they should not oppose socialist New China. Otherwise, how can they be called patriotic? Of every citizen—and every young person—living under the leadership of the government in the People's Republic of China, however, we demand more. Above all, we demand that writers, artists and ideological and theoretical workers in the Communist Party observe Party discipline. Yet today many of our problems stem from inside the Party. If the Party can't discipline its own members, how can it lead the masses?

We insist on the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend”, and on handling contradictions among the people correctly. This will remain unchanged. True, the “Left” tendency still exists in the guidance of our ideological and cultural work, and we must resolutely guard against it and correct it. But that certainly doesn’t mean we should stop practising criticism and self-criticism. The main way to correctly handle contradictions among the people is to start from the desire for unity, carry out criticism and self-criticism and arrive at a new unity. The policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend” cannot be separated from the practice of criticism and self-criticism. In criticizing, we must be democratic and reason things out, but criticism should never be dismissed offhand as using the “big stick”. We must get clear on this whole question of criticism and self-criticism, for it is important in bringing along the next generation. I have mentioned a few works and views that need to be criticized. There are other works containing similar views. There also are certain tendencies towards bourgeois liberalization among theorists, but I am not going to elaborate on them here. Why is it the *Unrequited Love* and the speech by the young poet have the support of some people? That is something our comrades on the ideological front should ponder.

Since we began stressing the need to uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, comrades in our ideological circles have become clearer in their thinking. Because of this and also because of the resolute steps taken to get rid of illegal organizations and publications, the situation has improved. But we must remain on the alert. Some people are raising a banner in support of Comrade Hua Guofeng,²² while actually trying to overthrow you know who. Watch out! This shows how complicated the present struggle is, and how necessary it is to sharpen our vigilance.

It is no longer necessary for *Jiefangjun Bao* to continue its criticism of *Unrequited Love*. *Wenyi Bao* should publish some first-class articles on the subject, and they should be reprinted in *Renmin Ribao* (*People’s Daily*).

To sum up, our entire Party, army and people should unite as one, march in step, and work hard to achieve further success on the ideological, literary, art and other fronts under the firm leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and on the basis of the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China”, adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee.

BUILD POWERFUL, MODERN AND REGULARIZED REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES

September 19, 1981

Comrade officers and men,

You have successfully performed your task in these military exercises. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the State Council, and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, I want to express our warm greetings and congratulations.

These exercises have given us an opportunity to assess our achievements in building modern, regularized armed forces, and have simulated modern warfare fairly well. They represent part of our effort to explore combined operations by the various services and arms under modern conditions, and have enhanced the political consciousness and military capability of our army, especially its capacity to fight actual battles. This will give a great impetus to our efforts to build up the armed forces, train them and make them ready in the event of war. The exercises have achieved the anticipated results and have been a success. They have fully demonstrated that our people's forces, created by the Party and armed with Mao Zedong Thought, are politically and militarily sound, that they possess a fine style of combat and a strict sense of organization and discipline, and that they are combat-worthy. We are convinced that with such a fine army and with the support of the masses, we can defeat any aggressor.

At present our country is passing through a significant period in its history as we strive to carry forward the revolutionary cause and open up new vistas for it. Thanks to the vigorous implementation of the Party's correct line, principles and policies, political stability and unity have been enhanced throughout the Party and army and among our people of all nationalities, and the situation in all fields is steadily improving. On the

Speech on reviewing the People's Liberation Army units taking part in military exercises in north China. Comrade Deng Xiaoping was elected Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in June 1981.

international scene, the struggle against hegemonism has grown and the hegemonists are increasingly isolated. But we must recognize that the intensified rivalry between the superpowers and the quickened pace of global strategic deployment by the Soviet hegemonists present a serious threat to world peace and to our own national security. We must be constantly alert to this danger.

As a strong pillar of our people's democratic dictatorship, the army is entrusted with the glorious mission of defending our socialist motherland and China's four modernizations. We must therefore make it a powerful, modern and regularized revolutionary army.

We must adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles,¹⁸¹ strengthen political and ideological work, and try to make the armed forces a model so far as carrying out the Party's line, principles and policies is concerned.

On the basis of our steadily expanding economy, we must improve the army's weapons and equipment and speed up the modernization of our national defence.

We must further cement the army's relations with the civil authorities and the people, enhance unity inside the army, improve our work in building the people's militia and carry forward the glorious traditions of an army of the people.

We must intensify the army's military and political training and further enhance its political consciousness and military capability. We must work hard to improve its ability to conduct combined operations involving the various services and arms under modern conditions.

We must be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness and further promote the "four have's, three stresses and two defy's".¹⁵⁴ We must make greater efforts to cultivate a fine style of work and to foster a strict sense of organization and discipline in the armed forces.

We must make solid preparations to resist wars of aggression, make new contributions to the safeguarding of world peace and the territorial integrity of our country, and work for the early return of Taiwan to the motherland so as to achieve the sacred goal of national reunification.

STREAMLINING ORGANIZATIONS CONSTITUTES A REVOLUTION

January 13, 1982

I'll make a few points.

First, streamlining organizations is a matter of great importance. In fact it constitutes a revolution. If we fail to carry out this revolution, if we let the present overstaffed and overlapping Party and state organizations stay as they are—without clearly defined duties and with many incompetent, irresponsible, lethargic, under-educated and inefficient staff members—we ourselves will not feel satisfied and we will not have the support of the lower cadres, much less of the people. This situation cannot continue. It has become unbearable and will not be tolerated by the people or the Party. How can we permit its continuation if we want to keep to the socialist road and go on working for the four modernizations? All our veteran comrades should understand that the promotion of cadres who are more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more competent professionally is a strategic need for the revolution and construction. For us old cadres it is a most honourable and sacred obligation. It will be our last historical contribution to the Party and will put the Party spirit of each one of us to a severe test. So this matter must be resolved. It should have been resolved earlier, but unfortunately conditions have not been favourable. Today, having smashed the Gang of Four and held the Third through the Sixth Plenary Sessions of the Eleventh Central Committee, we have created such conditions. It is high time this matter was placed on our agenda. Can we afford to put it off a little longer? The longer we wait the harder it will be, because the problem will become worse, difficulties will multiply and every year more people will be involved. Besides, this is something that concerns many old comrades. Many politically conscious old comrades are still with us; they can set a good example and clear away obstacles. Here too we have a favourable condition.

Remarks at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the streamlining of the central organizations.

If we can reach a consensus of opinion, we can solve the problem more easily. There must be no further delay. In short, streamlining organizations constitutes a revolution. Of course, it is not our intention to overthrow anyone but to transform the organizational structure of our Party and state. If we don't carry out this revolution but let the old and ailing stand in the way of young people who are energetic and able, not only will the four modernizations fail but the Party and state will face a mortal trial and perhaps perish. No matter how correct all the other policies and principles of the Party and government and no matter how great our achievements, without this revolution the Party and government organizations will continue to lack vigour and efficiency, and they will be unable to implement our policies and principles fully and to score greater successes. How will the people be able to excuse us in that case? How can we ourselves have any peace of mind? We can't just dwell on our past achievements. We have to see the many problems surfacing every day.

My second point is that this problem concerns several million people. We are going to reduce our personnel not just by one million but by several. At the central level, we want to cut staff by one-third. At the lower levels, I think more than one-third should be trimmed. If we were to cut only one-fourth, that would still be five million people. Of course, they are not all cadres. Some will be ordinary working personnel including service workers. Each department or unit should determine its appropriate size and structure. Some persons should stay at their posts while others are taken out in rotation for training. After passing examinations, these trainees will return to their work and another group will go to be trained. Generally speaking, this plan will affect several million cadres at the higher, middle and lower levels. If we include enterprises and institutions that are also to be streamlined, even more people will be involved. In Party, government and mass organizations alone they will number four to five million. This is a big problem calling for a careful approach. But determination is of the first importance; meticulousness comes second. No matter how meticulous we are, we are bound to overlook something. That's inevitable. I must say this beforehand. Time is pressing because we plan to finish this revolution in two years, so strong will is required. Once the Political Bureau has approved the plans, we must stand firm and brook no interference. Some foreigners are saying we will fail. Our cadres at lower levels likewise feel it will be very hard. Let me repeat: Difficulties there will be, but if we make up our minds and stand firm, I don't believe we will fail. Don't we always have to be confident of final victory? In my view, we must proceed with complete confidence. There is no alternative. We can't waver. We can't compromise.

We can't give up halfway. We can expect some trouble, including demonstrations. But don't just agree in principle and then hesitate when personal interests are involved. Don't be afraid of the possibility of marches and demonstrations and of the appearance of big-character posters in the process of our organizational streamlining. This process will inevitably affect a number of persons who belong to one faction or another, triggering their factionalism and causing complications. But come what may, we must stick to our guns in this revolution, standing staunch and unshakable. A little trouble is nothing to worry about; it can't frighten us.

Thirdly, I suggest that the Political Bureau approve in principle the streamlining programme for the central state organs. But the programme for Party organs directly under the Central Committee isn't concrete enough. Perhaps the cuts are still too small. Let me be blunt: there may not be enough revolutionary spirit in the programme. I don't mean that we should dismantle the "big temple" of the organs directly under the Central Committee, but there are too many "small temples". What's more, there are too many deities in each. So there's a lot to be done. Don't think there isn't much to deal with. Take the mass organizations for example. The trade union, youth and women's organizations can take this opportunity to draw up plans for trimming their staffs and establishing compact, efficient structures, setting a good example. They used to have small staffs and organizational structures, but now they are quite big. Institutions which are not enterprises can also be streamlined. If the organizations under the State Council can reduce their staffs by a little more than 30 per cent, I'm afraid it won't do for the central Party and mass organizations to trim by only a few per cent. We can also approve in principle the programme for organs directly under the Central Committee, then investigate further. Don't think there is no more room for improvement. Taken as a whole, this programme is not revolutionary enough.

Although the army is just beginning to consider this problem, we are determined to reduce its size.

Once the streamlining programmes have been approved, they can get under way. First we can study the organizational structure and size of one or two departments. Take the State Council for instance. How many Vice-Premiers are needed? Some comrades at this meeting have proposed two. We may think in terms of two, but that may not be enough. Of course if two will do, I will approve. We can also have a few State Councillors. Their rank is equivalent to that of a Vice-Premier and as such they can pay state visits. But the State Councillors can be flexible in their functions, and the Premier can assign them a variety of tasks. With State Councillors we might be able

to do with fewer Vice-Premiers. Please discuss this. Ministries and commissions can start trimming now. We'd better begin with one or two so as to gain experience and see the reactions and problems. Everybody will see what happens, and the other ministries and commissions will be more confident and do better. In brief, we'll spend half a year on streamlining at the central level. That should be enough to get things into shape. How we deal with the persons who are no longer needed is another problem. It will take longer to complete that job. But so far as organizational structure is concerned, there should be preliminary results within six months. I think that's enough time to work out the size and structure of each ministry and commission. If it's really insufficient, we can take nine months, but no more. Of course, the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions can start carrying out their programmes after the central organizations have been doing so for a period. They don't have to wait until the central organs have finished. After programmes have been decided on and a few pilot units have gained experience, the local organizations can start their paring down. At the central level, we can take one or two units—The Ministry of Foreign Trade, for instance—to test our plan in practice. Again, couldn't we combine the Ministry of Water Conservancy and the Ministry of Electric Power? It shouldn't be hard to merge them. We'll watch to see what problems arise. There may be different reactions and questions raised from various angles. The streamlining programmes can't be perfect right away. If they are all right on the whole, that will do. We must be strict on matters of principle because it is only too easy to go soft. This time we must be strict and not ease up. For example, after we fix the quota for vice-ministers—that there will be so many and no more—although the incumbents may change in the future, the number cannot. This will facilitate replacements. Otherwise, there will be too many leaders. We'll arrange things so that it won't be easy to add even a single person. Thus the way can be paved for younger cadres to come up. With the number of personnel fixed, everyone will really have to do his job; there will be no room for nominal or semi-nominal posts. Some comrades say they are still up to their jobs, but if full responsibility really fell on them, could they handle it? They will have to take the test. If you were to ask me to work eight hours a day at my age, I'm sure I couldn't do it.

To sum up, we may approve these two programmes in principle today, and then we should move to implement them. We are going to spend a month or two trying them out in a couple of units, deciding on their structure and size, defining the duties of each unit and each person, assigning specific jobs to individuals and watching for problems.

My fourth and last point is that in this revolution we must pay attention

not only to cutting back staff but also to promoting people. I have just said that we have to cut staff by several million and that this matter must be handled well. But promotion is the primary issue. Selecting and promoting the right people to the leadership of ministries and their departments and bureaus is the most important thing. This is also true for the army. Promotion is primary, cutbacks are secondary. We must make the best choices, “selecting the virtuous and appointing the able”, as the saying goes. This embraces the three qualifications of political quality, competence and experience. “Virtuous” means of good political quality, while “able” means having professional knowledge, a good education, practical experience and a physical constitution up to the demands of the job. This time we are asking supernumerary and ailing old comrades to retire or to transfer to more suitable positions (I mean honorary positions). Who will replace them? The best candidates must be found. As I’ve said before, we must stick to the points Comrade Chen Yun discussed.¹⁵⁷ There are a few types of persons who can never be considered. We have plenty of people. In promotions, the key is to select younger people. Of course, there will probably be a transition period: For a year or two, especially right after the streamlining, elderly comrades will continue to serve as ministers. The reason is easy to understand. When the size of the State Council is reduced, the ministries and commissions will have more power and will in turn allow enterprises and institutions under them to have more authority. This too is part of setting things right. We should do our best to choose younger persons as vice-ministers and department and bureau chiefs. When we founded the People’s Republic, all our ministers were young, almost all of them in their thirties or forties. Many persons who are now our mainstays in different professions graduated from universities in the fifties and sixties and have much more knowledge than our former ministers had. Streamlining is a revolution. So is “selecting the virtuous and appointing the able”. We must do a good job of organizational trimming and—even more important—we must do a good job of promoting cadres. We must complete both these tasks at the same time and not leave them for some future campaign. The present streamlining can be seen as a small-scale campaign. We have said we will not launch any big campaigns. But this is just a small one and the methods are completely different from any we have used in the past.

That’s all I want to say on my four points.

COMBAT ECONOMIC CRIME

April 10, 1982

In my opinion, this is an important document. Although it deals with the struggle against criminal activities in the economic sphere, it should in fact be regarded as of greater significance.

What is the current situation? A number of cadres have been corrupted in the brief year or two since we adopted the policy of opening to the outside world and stimulating the economy. Quite a few are involved in economic crimes. Their misdeeds are more serious than the crimes exposed in the days of the movements against the “three evils”¹⁵⁸ and the “five evils”.¹⁵⁹ At that time, people who had embezzled 1,000 yuan or more were rated “small tigers” and those who had embezzled 10,000 or more, “big tigers”. Today, we have many cases of very big tigers. According to press reports, an offender who had embezzled 6,000 yuan was given lenient treatment, and another who had embezzled 50,000-60,000 yuan was sentenced to 15 years’ imprisonment. There are many appalling cases of embezzlement or other damage to the national interest running to sums far in excess of 10,000 yuan. Some involve individuals, some involve groups. According to data supplied by the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, large amounts of silver and gold were smuggled into Hong Kong in the last couple of years, causing the country heavy losses in foreign exchange. A lot of money has gone to line the pockets of certain individuals and groups. The sum would be even larger if we counted theft of public property and the like. We must not underestimate the gravity of all this. It is an ill wind and a strong one. Indeed, unless we take it seriously and firmly stop it, the question of whether our Party will change its nature may arise. This is not just alarmist talk.

We should enhance our understanding of the struggle against economic crime. At present, we have not reached a consensus on this matter. Some comrades are soft and hesitate to take action against offenders. Why?

Speech at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC, which discussed the document, “Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on Combating Serious Economic Crime”.

Ideologically, because they have not realized the gravity of the problem and treat it as an ordinary one. It's not as though the problem hadn't been raised before. We have been talking about it for a couple of years at the very least, and yet some comrades are still irresolute. Now we must not only issue the document but take determined action. Within these two months, each province should deal with some major cases. This is a different struggle from that against the Right deviation [in 1959], when it was easy to become confused and make mistakes because it was often difficult to distinguish Right deviations from "Left" ones. The theft of state property, embezzlement and bribe-taking all involve materials and money. This is very clear and it shouldn't be hard to avoid mistakes. If we want to break the force of this ill wind, we're going to have to take prompt, strict and stern measures. At present we think that we should not be too severe. But the ultimate penalty must be meted out in accordance with the law to some persons whose crimes are particularly grave. I assure you that it is impossible to stop this ill wind without a show of strength. We must get a firm grip on this problem now and deal with it in earnest. All cases must be handled promptly and in general severely. We cannot afford to take them lightly and be too lenient.

Another thing: Although we have said that we will not launch a movement against economic crime, we must make it clear that this is going to be a constant and protracted struggle. In my opinion, it will last at least until the day the four modernizations are achieved. If that means the end of the century, the struggle will have to be waged daily for 18 years. I think the process of socialist modernization will be accompanied by toil and struggle in four areas. These four areas, which may be called the four essential guarantees of our keeping to the socialist road, are: first, introducing structural reform; second, building a socialist civilization with a high cultural and ideological level; third, combating economic crime; and fourth, rectifying the Party's style of work and consolidating its organization, including upholding and improving leadership by the Party. The first three tasks have been placed on our agenda, but not as yet the fourth. Of course, the first three also have to do with the question of the Party's style of work. One way of consolidating the Party is to expel those members who are guilty of serious misdeeds and to discharge them from public employment. Embezzlers of very large sums must be expelled from the Party, no matter how much leniency is shown them because they have confessed their crimes; and if they are in military service, they must be expelled from the army. We cannot be so lenient as to allow them to remain in the Party or the army, much less be promoted. There is no way to justify that degree of leniency. They should be expelled from the Party, from the army and from public employment.

The struggle against economic crime is one way of ensuring that we keep to the socialist road and realize the four modernizations. It is an ongoing struggle, a regular item of work. If we don't make it so, how can we talk about keeping to the socialist road? Without this struggle, the four modernizations and the policy of opening to the outside world and stimulating the economy will end in failure. So we must employ dual tactics. That is, we must unswervingly pursue the policy of opening to the outside world and stimulating the economy and, at the same time, wage a resolute struggle against economic crime. There is no question that without such a struggle the overall policy will fail. With it, the policy of opening to the outside world and stimulating the economy will have a correct orientation. Of course, other problems may arise and we may also make other mistakes, but they will not be very serious. The struggle against economic crime is just beginning, and it is not a task for this year alone. It should start with a show of strength so that at least some people, including those who give themselves up, can be turned back from the wrong path. If instead of starting with such a show of determination we hesitate and delay, many more people may go astray, including some veteran cadres.

Let me say a few words in passing about Party consolidation. We must pay particular attention to the recent event in Feixiang County.¹⁶⁰ I would ask the Secretariat of the Central Committee to discuss it carefully and use it as a typical example of the kind of problems to be dealt with in the campaign to consolidate the Party. The present leading body of the county Party committee should be dissolved and a new one set up. Many other localities should pay attention to such matters.

CHINA'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE IN ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

May 6, 1982

China has not given much help to its third-world friends. That is because our country, although vast in territory, is very poor and still faces many difficulties. Since the founding of our People's Republic [in 1949], we have essentially solved the problems of food and clothing and have become self-sufficient in grain. That in itself is quite remarkable, because these problems remained unsolved for so long in old China. In industry, we have laid a comparatively sound foundation, and although we are still very backward in this regard, the present industrial base is much better than before. We are now devoting all our efforts to construction and the rather rapid development of our economy. When we have succeeded, we shall be able to do more for our friends in the third world. Our per-capita GNP is now only US\$250-260. Yours isn't high either, but our country has a great many more people, so if we are to increase the GNP by 100 dollars per capita, that means an additional 100 billion dollars. A large population brings its own difficulties and many problems that aren't easy to solve. A small country has some special advantages, as does a small population. Since your country is small in population and rich in natural resources, your affairs are easier to handle than ours.

Our country is now implementing an economic policy of opening to the outside world and using funds and advanced technology from abroad to help our economic development. This policy has already shown some positive results. However, it isn't easy to get funds and advanced technology from the developed countries. There are still some people around who are wedded to the ideas of the old-line colonialists; they are reluctant to see the poor countries develop, and attempt to throttle them. Therefore, while pursuing the policy of opening to the outside world, we must stick to the principle of relying mainly on our own efforts, a principle consistently advocated by

Remarks at a meeting with the Liberian Head of State, Samuel Kanyon Doe.

Chairman Mao Zedong since the founding of our People's Republic. We must seek outside help on the basis of self-reliance, depending mainly on our own hard work.

You would like to know about China's experience. The most important thing we have learned is to rely mainly on our own efforts. We have done many things on our own. The Soviet Union under Stalin gave us some assistance. But it began to take a hostile attitude towards us when Khrushchev¹⁶¹ came to power. It not only stopped helping us but stationed a million troops along the Sino-Soviet border to threaten us. The United States also was hostile to us for a long time until 1972, after which things changed somewhat. From the mid-50s to the 70s—that is, for more than 20 of the 32 years since the founding of our People's Republic—we had no outside help, or virtually none, and had to rely mainly on our own efforts. Having no outside help also had its positive side, because we were forced to exert ourselves. In the spirit of self-reliance we managed to make atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs and missiles and to launch man-made satellites. Thus the primary thing that we've learned from our experience and that we would like to propose to our third-world friends is self-reliance. Of course, that doesn't mean we shouldn't seek outside help, but the main thing is to rely on our own efforts. Through self-reliance we can unite the people, inspire the whole country to work hard for prosperity, and thus make it easier to overcome the many difficulties in the way.

Another thing we have learned from experience is the importance of developing agriculture. As long as the people are well fed, everything else is easy, no matter what may happen in the world.

Industrial undertakings should not be on too large a scale. It is better to build medium- and small-sized projects. Conditions in your country are different from ours. With its vast territory and huge population, our country can't get along without some large key industries. But our experience shows that one shouldn't try to move ahead too fast or too rashly. We used to be in too much of a hurry, and we made some mistakes—"Left" mistakes, as we call them. That is to say, we made some decisions that, contrary to our expectations, resulted in a slowing down of economic growth. In our current economic development, we intend to continue to rely mainly on our own efforts and to act according to our true capability. We are working out our Sixth Five-Year Plan [1981-85] and have some tentative ideas regarding the Seventh [1986-90]. China's economic growth will not be very rapid in the next decade because we have to tackle many problems left over from the past, including the imbalances between the different branches of the economy. For the next five or ten years, our rate of growth can probably average only 4

per cent annually; 5 per cent would be wonderful. We hope to have a higher rate of economic growth in the following 10 years, the last decade of this century.

This is just a brief summary of China's experience in economic construction during the last three decades.

SPEECH AT A FORUM OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPC

July 4, 1982

This forum has held useful discussions on problems in the army. I agree with the way these problems have been handled, though the results haven't been fully satisfactory in all cases. At the moment, we can't expect too much.

Comrade Yang Shangkun¹⁶² has already talked about structural reform, so I'm not going to say much about that. I just want to make one point: the importance of that reform. Recently, I have spoken twice about the four guarantees of our adherence to the socialist system and of our success in the modernization drive. The first guarantee is to undertake structural reform, including the organizational streamlining we are now carrying out. The second is to build a socialist civilization with a high cultural and ideological level, so as to inculcate ideals, morality, knowledge and discipline in all our people. Of course, there are also "the five things to stress and the four things to beautify",¹⁶³ and in the army the "four haves, three stresses and two defy's".¹⁵⁴ All these calls are in the same spirit, and they are all correct. The army, of course, has its own characteristics. I have talked to some of our theorists about why we need to emphasize discipline. They agreed that it is essential. We simply must have discipline. Without it, we would find it impossible to work together with one heart and one mind for the realization of our goals. The Chinese revolution has always depended on discipline, especially voluntary observance of it. This has been the best tradition of the Chinese Communist Party since its founding. The third guarantee is a firm crackdown on economic crime. The fourth is Party building, the consolidation of the Party's organization and the rectification of its work style. These are what we mean by the four guarantees. Until the four modernizations are completed we will need these four guarantees at every step. For instance, why must we crack down on economic crime? Well, to carry out socialist modernization, we must adopt the policy of opening to the outside world

and stimulating the economy. As we open to the outside world, corrupt capitalist things from abroad will find their way into China. And it is quite a problem to decide how far we should go in stimulating the economy. We are determined to open up and to stimulate the economy. But in order to ensure that this policy really benefits our modernization and does not take us off the socialist path, we must at the same time fight economic crime. Otherwise things will get out of hand. Already quite a few problems have arisen. Economic crimes are very serious and many cases are difficult to handle. Serious crimes and major criminals are to be found not only in the economic but in the political and cultural fields as well. In sum, we cannot attain the four guarantees all at once; We must keep working for them for a long time. We won't launch any mass movements, but we must continue our efforts in this regard throughout the course of the four modernizations. We must not forget the four guarantees for a single day. We must make their realization part of our daily work and struggle. Not all the problems related to the four guarantees are in the nature of class struggle, but there is class struggle in some cases.

As for organizational streamlining, we have taken the first step. The Party and the government got started a little earlier than the army. On the whole we are going ahead smoothly. In the course of this forum you have come to a unified view. Now that you are all in agreement, it will be easier to get things done in the army. It now appears possible that the army, which is known for quick action, will complete the first stage in a somewhat shorter time than our other institutions. At present, all the streamlining that is being done in the Party, the government and the army is only a first step. Structural reform requires the elaboration of complete rules, regulations, work methods and methods of leadership. It is impossible to accomplish all these things at once. There are many rules and regulations to be instituted. For instance, in establishing the responsibility system, we must define various duties and assign them to departments and persons. Everything must be clear. Now that so many ministries and commissions under the State Council have been amalgamated, our old methods will no longer work. The number of Vice-Premiers has been reduced to two. This means that, as the streamlining proceeds, we must strengthen the ministries and commissions, increase their responsibilities and enhance their ability to handle problems. They in their turn should do likewise with regard to their subordinate departments and bureaus. By the same token, heavier responsibility should devolve on factories, mines and some corporations. We just can't afford not to streamline.

The army faces this problem too. The Military Commission and the various general departments should be streamlined. It's not yet completely

clear how that should be done. But the present structure, method of leadership and organization of work in the army are not very satisfactory; they are too complicated. We have the Military Commission, its Standing Committee, its regular working conferences and then the several general departments. The fact is, we should increase the responsibilities of the General Staff Headquarters, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department, and have only a small co-ordinating organization above them. With too many leaders, not only do the comrades at lower levels find it hard to get things done, but we ourselves have trouble circulating papers for approval. When we fought in the past, a field army had only a few leaders, as did an army group, an army-level unit or a division. In some divisions the commander was also the political commissar. He was assisted by one or two deputy political commissars, and they all co-operated very well. Peng Dehuai was both commander and political commissar of the First Field Army,¹⁶⁴ as was Chen Yi of the Third.¹⁶⁵ Each of the other field armies had two leaders. That arrangement was very efficient. Today, however, there are too many leaders in each high-level group. We are taking only the first step in organizational streamlining. We must keep at it. We'll do things one at a time as conditions become ripe. When conditions are not ripe, it is better to go a little slower. In the current streamlining, the army is moving rather slowly, but that's necessary. The more thorough the preparations and the more unanimous the thinking of the people concerned, the more easily problems will be solved.

Comrade Yang Shangkun has discussed four points relating to structural reform in the army. Today I'll concentrate on two. First, we must raise efficiency. This means increasing combat effectiveness and efficiency in general. Second, structural reform will make it possible for us to select more capable people for promotion—this is one of its important features. With the bloated organization we've had, it has been virtually impossible to train and promote able people. For years we've been talking about the need for younger cadres in the army and about promoting outstanding young cadres faster. But we have to admit that our work in this respect has been far from ideal. If the problem isn't solved, we will have failed in our duty. Is there anyone sitting here who's under 60? I doubt it. Each year that we put this off, the heavier our responsibility becomes. If this goes on for another five years, what then? Promoting younger cadres must be a key aim of our structural reform, whether in the army, in civilian organizations, in the Party or the government. We should choose a number of politically sound and relatively young cadres and promote them step by step. It's not easy to identify able persons. Our old comrades generally can't see beyond their own

age group. Whenever we talk about promoting cadres, they select them from within their own circle. When it comes to the army, it's even difficult for comrades of the "1938 vintage"¹⁷⁴ to get promoted. The old tradition of seniority is also a problem in the army. A large group of old Red Army men, including me, are sitting at the top. This problem must be resolved. Comrade Nie Rongzhen²⁹ has said that we must go forward on a solid footing. I agree. He has made a good suggestion: that we combine the efforts of the old with those of the young, because it wouldn't work for the old just to drop everything suddenly. They should combine their efforts with those of the young and middle-aged. In the army as a whole, cadres at and under the regimental level are relatively young, while those at and above the divisional level are rather old. The working conference of the Military Commission has prepared for your comments a draft document, "Regulations Concerning the Military Service of Army Officers". Please discuss it carefully. We must have such a document. It's absolutely essential.

There are capable people around, but it's hard for us to identify them, not only because of our conventional ways of thinking, but because we have too little contact with comrades at the lower levels. The year before last, when I visited the No. 2 Motor Works with Comrade Chen Pixian,¹⁶⁶ one of the deputy directors showed us around. I was very impressed with him. He was one of the principal technicians in this big factory and was really on top of his job. He was then 38 years old, now he's 40. More important, during the "cultural revolution" he was attacked for his opposition to beating, smashing and looting. And his conduct has always been good since, including his attitude towards the movement to "counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts".³⁵ Such people are really valuable. There are plenty of them and it's easy to see their worth. In choosing persons for promotion, political qualifications should come first. This is a problem in the army. Comrade Yang Shangkun has said that the thinking and political viewpoints of some regimental, battalion and company cadres are not good. We should be aware of this. We should also be able to identify the better cadres. I have suggested that leading comrades in the Military Commission and the general departments—and here I include you "big mandarins" from the various regions—each draw up a list of a dozen persons. There are more than 60 comrades sitting here, so you should be able to come up with nearly a thousand names. As for political qualifications, we must exclude people of the following three types: those who rose to prominence by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their like in "rebellion"; those who are seriously factionalist in their thinking; and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting. It should be said that the great majority of those who were the

so-called bystanders¹⁸² during the “cultural revolution” are good people; they should be trained and promoted step by step—but more quickly.

To sum up, besides combating bureaucratism and overcoming organizational bloatedness, overstaffing and inefficiency in the course of structural reform, it is important to select competent persons and promote good younger cadres to leading posts sooner so that they will be able to take over. This matter should be constantly on our agenda. We have talked about it for years, and everybody considers it a major task. It’s difficult to accomplish. But if this matter of promoting capable people isn’t settled, we won’t be able to hand over the reins, and history will count that against us. We have been slow in doing many things. We can’t afford further delays. These are my views on structural reform.

ADVISORY COMMISSIONS WILL BE A TRANSITIONAL MEASURE FOR THE ABOLITION OF LIFE TENURE IN LEADING POSTS

July 30, 1982

I did not intend to speak at this meeting. We are preparing two documents¹⁶⁷ for submission to the Seventh Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. Much effort has gone into the drafting and, in my opinion, both documents are fairly well thought out. Of course, some parts need further deliberation. As Comrade Hu Qiaomu¹³¹ has just said, it is impossible to meet the requirement in Article 18 of the draft revised Party Constitution that the main documents of a Party congress be distributed for discussion by the whole Party one month in advance. Some other requirements are difficult to meet too, such as the stipulation that delegates to a Party congress should be notified of its convening three months in advance. In short, we shouldn't commit ourselves on paper to do what cannot be done. A Party Constitution doesn't have to go into so much detail anyway. Generally speaking, the two documents are fairly well prepared.

There are some problems that have not been fully solved in the present draft of the revised Constitution. For instance, it mentions the problem of life tenure in leading posts without providing a definitive solution. The same is true with setting up a retirement system. Establishing advisory commissions may serve as a transitional measure. In view of the present situation in the Party—which is that the average age of our cadres is too high but that old comrades are still the mainstay—we must not deal with this issue too hastily; hasty measures won't work. Another thing is that over the years we haven't promoted enough young and middle-aged cadres to leading posts. We simply haven't paid enough attention to this matter. But we should also admit that there really are obstacles, a number of which, though not all, are created wittingly. Thus we need advisory commissions to facilitate the

Excerpt from a speech at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

transition from the system of life tenure in leading posts to a retirement system. We adopt this measure to make the transition comparatively smooth. The commissions will probably be abolished three Party congresses from now. If they were to be abolished after two Party congresses—that is, in 10 years' time—how many of us here today would still be around? Those who are now 60 will be 70 then, those now 70 will be 80, and those now 80 will be 90. That is why we say the advisory commissions are a transitional measure—and a necessary one. We have chosen this unprecedented form as a result of our Party's actual situation. But even during this transitional stage we must endeavour to reduce the average age of cadres and to create conditions for abolishing life tenure and setting up a retirement system. There are many young and middle-aged cadres. The trouble is that for a long time our veteran comrades have paid no attention to them when selecting successors. They have always drawn from within the circle of their own acquaintances. Thus the problem was never solved. It is especially serious in the army, and it's harder to solve there than in civilian units, where the situation is now somewhat better. This has a bearing on army building. The State Council and the organs directly under the Central Committee have done quite well in the current organizational readjustment, but the army has lagged behind. If we really want to choose the right cadres, they can be found. Of course, the problem of transition is present to some degree under all circumstances, and we will have to work out whatever measures are necessary. But if this generation of ours can't solve the issue, it will count against us. A group has recently been set up to study the question of recruiting more young and middle-aged cadres into the next Central Committee. After some discussion this group has proposed an average age roughly the same as that at the inception of the Eleventh Central Committee. We were young when we first became members of the Central Committee. Comrade Chen Yun⁸² and I were both 52 at the time of the Eighth National Congress,¹⁰² which elected a Central Committee with a fairly low average age. As it is now, the average age of the Central Committee members is higher than that of those elected at the Ninth, the Tenth,¹⁰⁵ and the Eleventh⁵¹ National Congresses. Of course, those who rose to prominence through “rebellion” and became Central Committee members during the “cultural revolution” were young. But that was abnormal. The transitional form we have now chosen is appropriate. However, during the transition period—which may last, say, 10 years (the combined tenure of two Central Committees)—we must make a real effort to lower the average age of members of the Central Committee.

CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

August 21, 1982

China is aware of its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations. Everyone can trust China in two respects. First, China adheres to principles. Second, China means what it says. We do not play political games, nor do we engage in the play of words. I personally love to play bridge, but China does not like to play political cards. This is not only the case today, but was also the case during the period since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 when Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai were leading the country. This is why so many friends around the world trust us. We understand the circumstances in many countries, particularly Third World countries. China's foreign policy is consistent and can be summed up in three sentences. First, we oppose hegemonism. Second, we safeguard world peace. Third, we are eager to strengthen unity and cooperation, or what might be termed "union and cooperation", with other Third World countries. The reason I lay special emphasis on the Third World is that opposition to hegemonism and safeguarding world peace are of special significance to the Third World. Who are the victims of hegemonism? Is it the United States or the Soviet Union? No, it is the United States and the Soviet Union that practise hegemonism, so they are not the victims. Neither are developed countries such as Japan, Canada, and countries in Europe and Oceania the victims. Eastern Europe suffers a little. If world peace is disrupted, who will be the first to become victims? Actually, there has been no peace since the end of World War II. Although no major wars have been fought, minor ones have continued. Where are the minor wars fought? In the Third World! It is the superpowers that practise hegemonism and sow discord. They are the ones with their hands in that arena! For many years, the superpowers have cashed in on conflicts between Third World countries in order to achieve their objectives.

Excerpt from a talk with Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Although the Third World itself faces various problems, it is the Third World countries and their peoples that become the real victims. For this reason it must be the Third World that is the genuine and primary force for safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism, because this concern immediately affects Third World countries. This follows necessarily because of the position and immediate interests of the Third World itself.

We are by no means pessimists. We simply want to point out that the danger of war exists. We have said that while the factors bringing about war have increased, the factors for preventing war are also growing. With reference to the United Nations, we can see that after World War II, a positive factor in international politics has been the rise of the Third World. The Third World member countries in the United Nations have increased. The importance of this change must be recognized. Hegemony may continue to run rampant. However, the days are gone when hegemonists wilfully decided the destiny of people all over the world. Although the Third World is poor, its international political influence has increased considerably. This cannot be overlooked. Of course, coordination between Third World countries is far from ideal. The matter is very complicated; so much work remains to be done in this regard. As for China, our strength is limited, as is our role. Many people contend that China holds a special position in the Third World. We say that China is just another member of the Third World, and as such, should discharge its own responsibilities. Many friends claim that China is the leader of the Third World. However, we say that China cannot be the leader, because acting as the leader will breed adversity. Those who practise hegemonism are discredited, so serving as the leader of the Third World would earn us a bad reputation. These are not words of modesty. I say this out of genuine political consideration.

We have always believed that disarmament talks would be of no avail, but we are in favour of attempting negotiations. Some people have alleged that China is bellicose, but in fact China hopes for peace more than anything else. China hopes that there will be no war for the rest of the century. We need to develop the country and shake off backwardness. The primary task we have set as the initial goal for the realization of modernization is to create comparative prosperity by the end of this century. If we can accomplish this goal, we will be in a much better position. More importantly, we shall achieve a new starting point. Within the ensuing 30 to 50 years, we shall approach the level of developed countries. We do not mean to catch up with, still less do we say to surpass, but only to approach the level of developed countries. Therefore, we cherish the hope for a peaceful international environment. Should war break out, our plan would be thwarted, and in that case we could

not but postpone the plan. During the period up to the end of the century and extending decades into the future, we hope that there will be peace. Our proposals for safeguarding world peace are by no means empty talk, but instead are based on our own needs. Of course, this also meets the needs of people all over the world, particularly the needs of people in the Third World. Therefore, opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace are our established policies and are the foundation of our foreign policy. Some people around the world wonder whether China's policy will change once the country's current leaders are gone. I have just answered the question. Our policy should not be altered; China must continue to pursue this policy if it hopes to develop, and no one should willfully change the policy. However, China alone cannot guarantee that it will be successful in carrying out this policy. Should some nation impose war on us, we are not afraid and our plans will simply be postponed for a number of years. But we shall resume economic construction after the war ends. At present, our domestic situation is fairly good. The Chinese people are wholeheartedly concentrating on economic development. Our foreign policy coincides with this magnificent goal. Although this objective may seem modest to some people, we hail it as a magnificent achievement.

NOTES*

¹ Lin Biao (1907-71), a native of Huanggang, Hubei Province, served as first secretary of the Central-South Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of the Central-South Military and Administrative Commission, and Vice-Premier of the State Council after the founding of the People's Republic of China. At the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, held in May 1958, he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. In 1959, he was made Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission and Minister of Defence and took charge of the work of the Central Military Commission. During the "cultural revolution" he organized a conspiratorial clique in an attempt to usurp supreme Party leadership and state power and plotted a counter-revolutionary coup. When his plot was exposed, he fled the country in the small hours of September 13, 1971, but died when his plane crashed in Ondorhan, Mongolia. In August 1973 the Central Committee of the CPC decided to expel him from the Party posthumously. PP. 13, 52, 55, 132, 197, 329, 344

² The "three dos and three don'ts" mean to "practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire". Directed against the conspiratorial activities of Lin Biao and others, they were formulated by Mao Zedong in talks with the leading comrades of various localities during his inspection tour of southern China between mid-August and September 12, 1971. PP. 25, 134

³ Immediately after the outbreak of the civil war in Korea on June 25, 1950, the United States, under the banner of the United Nations, sent troops to intervene and at the same time sent its Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Straits. On September 15, U.S. troops landed at Inchon on the west coast of Korea, then crossed the 38th Parallel, the provisional line of demarcation between North and South Korea, and pushed north en masse, bombing and strafing the bordering cities and villages of Northeast China and posing a serious threat to China's security. To resist the United States, aid Korea, and safeguard the homeland, the Chinese people organized the Chinese People's Volunteers. On October 25, the Volunteers arrived at the Korean battlefield and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army. Under the heavy blows of the Chinese and Korean people's armies, the U.S. troops suffered one defeat after another and on July 27, 1953, were forced to sign an armistice agreement. Thus the Korean War ended. PP. 27, 74, 222

⁴ The Zhenbao Island counter-attack in self-defence was made by Chinese frontier guards in March 1969 to repulse Soviet troops intruding into China's Zhenbao Island, Heilongjiang Province. The Xisha Islands counter-attack in self-defence was made by the Chinese People's Liberation Army jointly with Chinese militiamen and fishermen in January 1974 on troops of the now defunct Saigon regime of south Viet Nam, who were invading China's Xisha Islands. The counter-attack in self-defence along the Sino-Indian borders was waged on India's invading troops, an operation by Chinese frontier guards in October 1962 to safeguard China's territorial sovereignty. P. 27

⁵ See Note 153.

PP. 28, 82

* In these notes "Central Committee" means Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and "Political Bureau" means the Political Bureau of that Central Committee.—Tr.

⁶ “The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention” were rules of discipline for the Chinese Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army, drawn up by Mao Zedong and others during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37). They varied slightly in content at different times and in different army units. In October 1947, the General Headquarters of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army issued a standard version as follows:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (1) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (2) Return everything you borrow.
- (3) Pay for anything you damage.
- (4) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (5) Do not damage crops.
- (6) Do not take liberties with women.
- (7) Do not ill-treat captives.

PP. 14, 30, 94, 129

⁷ The “May 7th Directive” refers to a letter Mao Zedong wrote to Lin Biao on May 7, 1966, after he had examined the “Report on Further Developing Agricultural Production and Side-Occupations in the Armed Forces” submitted by the General Logistics Department of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army. Among other things, the letter stated that the army should be made a great school in which the troops should study politics and military affairs, raise their educational level, and also engage in agricultural production and side-occupations and run some medium-sized or small factories to make certain products for their own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. P. 30

⁸ This was an inscription written by Mao Zedong for the people living in the former revolutionary base areas. It was first reproduced in *Renmin Ribao (People’s Daily)* of August 11, 1951. P. 37

⁹ “Three-in-one combination” here refers to the close co-operation among cadres, workers and technicians in enterprise management and scientific and technical work. P. 39

¹⁰ During the “cultural revolution”, the Gang of Four slandered the intellectuals as the “stinking Number Nine”—the ninth category after landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, renegades, enemy agents and “capitalist roaders”. In his talk of May 3, 1975, with members of the Political Bureau who were then in Beijing, Mao Zedong quoted from an actor’s line in the Beijing Opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*: “We can’t do without Number Nine.” He used this quotation to criticize the Gang of Four’s slander against the intellectuals and to indicate that the cause of revolution and construction requires the services of intellectuals. PP. 40, 56, 63, 245

¹¹ The term “third line” refers to the vast strategic rear regions of China. Proceeding from the needs of preparation for the possibility of war, in the early 1960s the Central Committee and Mao Zedong proposed that the different regions of China be classified into first, second and third lines according to their respective strategic importance. PP. 40, 41

¹² “Seventy Articles on Industrial Work” refers to the “Draft Regulations on the Management of State Industrial Enterprises” formulated by the Central Committee in September 1961. Following the Great Leap Forward of 1958, many enterprises failed to implement strict systems of responsibility and neglected business accounting; their wage and reward systems suffered from equalitarianism and their Party committees took all the day-to-day administrative work into their own hands. Among the fairly common consequences of this were chaotic production, arbitrary direction, confused operation, serious

damage to equipment and poor economic results. With this situation in view, the draft regulations on industrial work defined the nature of state industrial enterprises and their fundamental tasks; reaffirmed the system of factory directors assuming overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committees; called for the establishment and improvement of the necessary responsibility systems and 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 was helpful in summing up experience in the management of state 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. PP. 41, 294

¹³ This refers to the National Meeting on Learning Agriculture from Dazhai, held by the State Council in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province, from September 15 to October 19, 1975. In his speech delivered at the opening ceremony, Deng Xiaoping emphasized the importance of agriculture. He pointed out that agricultural modernization was crucial to the realization of the four modernizations. A failing agriculture, he continued, would be a severe drain on the development of the country. P. 45

¹⁴ Chen Jingrun (1933-), a native of Fuzhou, Fujian Province, was a researcher at the Institute of Mathematics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. His study of Goldbach Conjecture in the field of analytic theory of numbers takes a leading position among international mathematicians. His research results have been termed as Chen's Theorem. P. 45

¹⁵ Pavel Feodorovich Yudin (1899-1968) served as the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to China from 1953 to 1959. P. 46

¹⁶ Luo Ronghuan (1902-63), a native of Nanwan Village, Hanshui Township (now part of Hengdong County), Hengshan, Hunan Province, was a member of the Political Bureau and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army at the time referred to. PP. 49, 52

¹⁷ The "three constantly read articles" refers to three articles by Mao Zedong—"Serve the People", "In Memory of Norman Bethune" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". They were called "constantly read articles" because Lin Biao and others advocated that they be studied exclusively and that they be repeatedly recited from memory. Later, "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and "Combat Liberalism" were added, making up what were known as the "five constantly read articles". P. 50, 55

¹⁸ The "two whatevers" refers to the statement that "we will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave". This statement was contained in a joint editorial, entitled "Study the Documents Well and Grasp the Key Link", printed on February 7, 1977 in *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*), the journal *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*) and *Jiefangjun Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*). PP. 51, 137, 197, 277, 296, 373

¹⁹ This is a criticism of Hua Guofeng, then chairman of the Central Committee, for his mistake of sticking to the "two whatevers" in his speech at the Central Working Conference of March 1977. In 1975, Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Mao Zedong, had taken charge of the work of the Central Committee and begun straightening things out in the various fields, thus bringing about a marked turn for the better in the domestic situation. But late that year, Mao Zedong, who could not accept Deng Xiaoping's systematic correction of the mistakes of the "cultural revolution", launched the so-called movement to "criticize Deng Xiaoping and counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts". In January 1976, Premier Zhou Enlai passed away. Around the time of Qingming (Pure Brightness) Festival, a traditional day of remembrance for the dead, which fell on April 4 that year, mass movements broke out in Beijing and many other cities to commemorate the late Premier Zhou, oppose the Gang of Four and express disapproval of the criticism of Deng Xiaoping. The Gang of Four did their utmost to suppress the revolutionary actions of the masses. On April 5, a large

number of people took to Tiananmen Square in Beijing in protest. At the time, the Political Bureau and Mao Zedong made an erroneous assessment of the “Tiananmen Incident”, considering it to be counter-revolutionary, and dismissed Deng Xiaoping from all his posts inside and outside the Party. After the smashing of the Gang of Four, the masses, both inside and outside the Party, strongly demanded that Deng Xiaoping be rehabilitated and that this assessment of the Tiananmen Incident be reversed. But Hua Guofeng, at the Central Working Conference of March 1977, stuck to the “two whatevers” in his speech, stating that “the movement to ‘criticize Deng Xiaoping and counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts’ was carried out according to the decision of the great leader Chairman Mao, and the criticism was indispensable”, and that “there was indeed a handful of counter-revolutionaries” who “fabricated the counter-revolutionary Tiananmen Incident”. However, he also could not avoid saying that it was necessary to “let Comrade Deng Xiaoping resume work at an opportune moment”, and that “it was reasonable for the masses to go to Tiananmen Square during the Qingming Festival to mourn for the late Premier Zhou”. Here, Deng Xiaoping pointed out the inconsistencies in Hua Guofeng’s speech and criticized the “two whatevers” as erroneous. In July 1977, the Third Plenary Session of the Party’s Tenth Central Committee adopted a resolution restoring Deng Xiaoping to all his former posts. In December 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the Party’s Eleventh Central Committee criticized the mistake of the “two whatevers”, decided to cancel the erroneous documents issued by the Central Committee on the movement to “counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts” and on the Tiananmen Incident, and formally proclaimed the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and the reversal of the assessment of the Tiananmen Incident.

P. 51

²⁰ This sentence means that neither Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin nor Mao Zedong ever said that whatever he said or did was absolutely correct and unalterable forever.

P. 51

²¹ Meiji was the reign title of Emperor Mutsuhito of Japan. The Meiji Restoration was a bourgeois-type reform movement which began in 1868, during his reign. It abolished the feudal shogunate, established a unified and centralized state and, through a number of other reforms, made it possible for Japan to embark on the road of capitalist development and gradually achieve capitalist modernization.

P. 53

²² Hua Guofeng (1921-), a native of Jiaocheng, Shanxi Province, served as First Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the State Council in April 1976. In October of the same year, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee took drastic measures to defeat the Gang of Four, during which time, he, Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian played an important role. Afterwards, he served as Chairman of the Central Committee, Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and Premier of the State Council. In September 1980, he resigned the post of Premier of the State Council. In June 1981, at its Sixth Plenary Session, the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, in view of the fact that he stuck to the wrong principle of the “two whatevers” and continued to affirm the wrong theories, policies and slogans of the “cultural revolution” after the downfall of the Gang of Four, unanimously agreed that he should also resign as Chairman of the Central Committee and of the Central Military Commission.

PP. 55, 248, 308, 319, 347, 386

²³ Ye Jianying (1897-1986), a native of Meixian County, Guangdong Province, in 1973 served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a member of its Standing Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission. In 1975 he served as Minister of Defence and in 1978 was elected Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress.

PP. 55, 132, 226, 245

²⁴ Zhang Chunqiao (1917-) was a native of Juye, Shandong Province. During the “cultural revolution”, he served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a member of its Standing Committee, and Deputy Chief of the Cultural

Revolution Group under the Central Committee. Together with Jiang Qing, he organized and directed the counter-revolutionary clique, the Gang of Four, and stepped up efforts to plot to usurp supreme Party leadership and state power. In July 1977, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC adopted a resolution, expelling him from the Party and dismissing him from all his posts, both inside and outside the Party. In January 1981, he was sentenced to death, deferred for two years, and deprived of political rights for life by the Special Court under the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China. In January 1983, his sentence was reduced to life imprisonment by the Criminal Court under the Supreme People's Court, with the former judgement of lifelong deprivation of political rights unchanged. PP. 56, 79, 98

²⁵ The Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army was held at Gutian, Shanghang County, Fujian Province, in December 1929. The "Resolution of the Gutian Meeting" adopted at this meeting was drawn up by Mao Zedong in accordance with an instruction contained in a letter of September 28, 1929, from the Central Committee to the Front Party Committee of the Red Army's Fourth Army. Comrade Mao Zedong made a summary, linked with the concrete conditions in the Fourth Army, of the rich experience gained by the Red Army in its first two years of existence. The resolution was of programmatic significance to the building of the Communist Party of China and the Red Army. Its first section was incorporated into the article entitled "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party", Volume I, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*. PP. 57, 125

²⁶ "The Situation in the Summer of 1957", July 1957.

P. 57

²⁷ "Fourteen Articles on Scientific Work" refers to the "Fourteen Suggestions on the Present Work of the Research Institutes of Natural Sciences (Draft)" jointly put forward in June 1961 by the groups of leading Party members in the State Science and Technology Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences and approved by the Central Committee in July of the same year for trial implementation. In its instruction conveying its approval of the draft document, the Central Committee pointed out: "It is of vital importance to do successful work among the intellectuals." "In recent years, quite a few comrades have adopted a one-sided approach to knowledge and the intellectuals, and the handling of related matters in an oversimplified and crude way has also become somewhat more widespread. Serious attention must be attached to this question so as to ensure that a correct attitude will be taken and the Party's related policies will be correctly implemented." This draft document formulated a series of specific policies on the correct understanding of the standards by which workers in the natural sciences are considered "red and expert"; on the correct implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend" and of the principle of integrating theory with practice; on defining the fundamental tasks of the scientific research institutes (achieving positive research results and training qualified personnel); on maintaining stability in scientific research work and ensuring adequate time for it; and on improving the Party's method of leadership in research institutes. The Central Committee held that the guidelines set forth in this document were applicable to all departments and units employing intellectuals. P. 61

²⁸ "Sixty Articles on Work in Institutions of Higher Learning" refers to the 60-article "Draft Provisional Regulations for Work in the Institutions of Higher Learning Directly Under the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China", which was approved in principle by the Central Committee in September 1961. The regulations summed up the experience—both positive and negative—in higher education in the three years following 1958. In view of major problems such as the lowered quality of teaching, neglect of the role of the intellectuals and too much physical labour, they stipulated that the institutions of higher learning must make teaching their main task and strive to raise the quality of education; actively participate in scientific research; correctly implement the Party's policy towards the intellectuals and its policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools

of thought contend”; practise the system of the school administrative committee headed by the president assuming overall responsibility under the leadership of the school’s Party committee; manage general affairs well so as to ensure the material conditions necessary for teaching and the daily life of the staff and students; and improve the method and style of Party leadership and strengthen ideological-political work. P. 61

²⁹ Nie Rongzhen (1899-1992) was a native of Jiangjin, Sichuan Province. From 1956 to 1975 he was Vice-Premier of the State Council. From 1958 to 1967 he was also Minister in Charge of the Commission on Science and Technology for National Defence and Minister in Charge of the State Commission on Science and Technology. From 1959 to 1989 he was Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee. He was in charge of research in science and technology and of the manufacture of sophisticated weapons for a long time. PP. 64, 80, 403

³⁰ Deng Xiaoping has talked about this for several times. While talking on education on July 29, 1977, he said that “Key universities are the centre of education and scientific research.” On September 14 of the same year when examining the Circular on Convening the National Conference on Science, he added the following words to it, “Primary schools and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning are important bases for training scientific and technological personnel, and the latter are important front-line forces in scientific research.” P. 66

³¹ The reference here is to a suggestion put forward in view of the inappropriately short length of primary and secondary schooling, which in 1977 was, generally speaking, five years for regular primary schools and four for secondary schools. P. 68

³² On February 5, 1978, to improve competence in editing and publishing at the People’s Education Press as soon as possible and meet the urgent needs for textbooks, the leading Party group of the Ministry of Education submitted to the Central Committee for approval a report on transferring a number of cadres doing editing and publishing from municipalities and provinces. On February 10, 1978, Deng Xiaoping made this comment on the report, “Since compiling good teaching materials is the key to improving quality of instruction, we should have adequate numbers of qualified personnel to do the job. I agree to their request.” P. 68

³³ Yao Wenyuan (1932-) was a native of Zhuji, Zhejiang Province. During the “cultural revolution”, he served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and a member of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee. Together with Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen, he formed the counter-revolutionary clique, the Gang of Four, and plotted to usurp supreme Party leadership and state power. In July 1977, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC adopted a resolution, expelling him from the Party and dismissing him from all his posts, both inside and outside the Party. In January 1981, he was sentenced to twenty-year imprisonment and deprived of political rights for five years by the Special Court under the Supreme People’s Court of the People’s Republic of China. PP. 79, 98

³⁴ “Dictatorship by the proponents of a sinister line” was a term launched by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their like to vilify literary and art work in the first 17 years of the People’s Republic. In February 1966, entrusted by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing called a forum on literature and art in the armed forces and concocted the “Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces”. The summary asserted that since the founding of our People’s Republic, the literary and art circles had been “under the dictatorship by the proponents of a sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao’s thought”. It went on, “This sinister line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s.” Later on, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers extended their “dictatorship by the proponents of a sinister line” theory to the fields of education, publishing, physical culture, public health, public security and the Party’s organizational,

propaganda and united front work, as well as to other fields of Party and government work. This absurd assessment, which confounded right and wrong and constituted one of the major arguments in favour of the “cultural revolution”, brought disastrous consequences to work in various spheres. PP. 79, 213

³⁵ See Note 19.

PP. 79, 154, 179, 244, 346, 403

³⁶ Following this talk by Deng Xiaoping, the Ministry of Education, in the name of a criticism group, published an article entitled “A Great Debate on the Educational Front”. Carried in *Hongqi*, No. 12, 1977, and *Renmin Ribao* of November 18, 1977, this article repudiated the Gang of Four’s “two appraisals”. P. 80

³⁷ The “July 21st Directive” refers to a statement Mao Zedong added to the final proof of the editor’s note to “The Road of Training Engineering and Technical Personnel as Demonstrated by the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant—an Investigation Report”, carried by *Renmin Ribao* on July 21, 1968. The directive said, “It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years’ study.” P. 81

³⁸ This refers to the Workers’ Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams which were sent, during the “cultural revolution”, to direct the affairs of universities and colleges and secondary and primary schools in the large and medium-sized cities. P. 82

³⁹ The 10 fighting tasks are:

- (1) Carry to the end the struggle to expose and criticize the Gang of Four.
- (2) Implement the strategic thinking of Chairman Mao and make adequate preparations for the possibility of war.
- (3) Consolidate the leading bodies and step up the building of the contingent of cadres.
- (4) Strengthen Party building and bring the role of political work into full play.
- (5) Attach strategic importance to army education and training, reinforce research in military science, and raise the political consciousness and military capability of our army.
- (6) Devote major efforts to research in defence science and technology and to war production, and speed up the modernization of military equipment.
- (7) Continue the reorganization of the army and the streamlining of its structure, as well as the reform of the system of military service.
- (8) Adhere to the principle of building the army through thrift and hard work, and strengthen logistic services and preparations for the possibility of war.
- (9) Persist in the system under which the armed forces are a combination of field armies, regional forces and the militia; and strengthen the militia.
- (10) Restore and carry forward the army’s fine traditions and work style. P. 85

⁴⁰ The reference here is to the nine documents—“Decision on Improving Education and Training in the Armed Forces”, “Decision on Running the Military Academies and Schools Well”, “Decision on Enhancing the Sense of Organization and Discipline of Our Army”, “Regulations of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army on Guarding State Military Secrets”, “Decision on Speeding Up the Modernization of Our Army’s Weaponry and Equipment”, “Plan for Readjusting the Army Establishment and Organizational Structure”, “Draft Decision on the System of Military Service”, “Decision on Strengthening the Management of Factories, Horse Farms, Agricultural Production and Sideline Occupations in Our Army”, and “Decision on Overhauling and Improving the Financial Work in Our Army. P. 85

⁴¹ Mao Zedong put forward his view on differentiating the three worlds in a talk with

President Kaunda of Zambia on February 22, 1974. According to this view, the first world consists of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which have the strongest military and economic power and practise hegemonism in the world; the third world consists of the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions; and the second world consists of the developed countries between the first and third worlds.

P. 90, 138, 170

⁴² Wang Hongwen (1934-92) was a native of Changchun, Jilin Province. During the “cultural revolution”, he served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a member of its Standing Committee, and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee. Together with Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, he formed the counter-revolutionary clique, the Gang of Four, and plotted to usurp supreme Party leadership and state power. In July 1977, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC adopted a resolution, expelling him from the Party and dismissing him from all his posts, both inside and outside the Party. In January 1981 he was sentenced to life imprisonment and deprived of political rights for life by the Special Court under the Supreme People’s Court of the People’s Republic of China.

PP. 98, 199, 229, 279

⁴³ Jiang Qing (1914-91) was a native of Zhucheng, Shandong Province. During the “cultural revolution”, she served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and Deputy Chief of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee. She organized and led the counter-revolutionary clique, the Gang of Four, and plotted to usurp supreme Party leadership and state power. In July 1977, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC adopted a resolution, expelling her from the Party and dismissing her from all her posts, both inside and outside the Party. In January 1981, she was sentenced to death, deferred for two years, and deprived of political rights for life by the Special Court under the Supreme People’s Court of the People’s Republic of China. In January 1983, her sentence was reduced to life imprisonment by the Criminal Court under the Supreme People’s Court, with the former judgement of lifelong deprivation of political rights unchanged.

PP. 98, 294, 349

⁴⁴ See Karl Marx, *Grundrisse (Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy) (Rough Draft)*, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1974, p. 699.

P. 99

⁴⁵ See V. I. Lenin, “Report on the Party Programme. Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). March 18-23, 1919”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 29, pp. 179, 180.

P. 101

⁴⁶ See Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part I, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 399.

P. 101

⁴⁷ Speaking on the question of the intellectuals in 1957, Mao Zedong repeatedly used the idiom, “With the skin gone, to what can the hair attach itself?” derived from the section entitled “The Fourteenth Year of Duke Xigong” in the classical work *Zuo Zhuan*. He used it metaphorically to indicate that, with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the “skin” (meaning the economic base of old China, to which the intellectuals educated in pre-Liberation years attached themselves) was gone, and that now these intellectuals (“the hair”) had no alternative but to attach themselves to the new “skin” of public ownership, i.e., to the proletariat.

P. 101

⁴⁸ See “In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen”, *Selected Readings of Mao Zedong*, Chinese ed., People’s Publishing House, Beijing, 1986, Vol. II, p. 755.

P. 102

⁴⁹ See “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, p. 209.

P. 107

⁵⁰ Commenting on a report submitted to him, Mao Zedong wrote on December 12, 1964 that the managerial personnel of factories “cannot manage factories well if they haven’t learned the related techniques and forever remain amateurs. ‘Those in the dark cannot light

the way for others.’” The last sentence is quoted from “Jin Xin”, Part II, *Mencius*. P. 110

⁵¹ The Eleventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Beijing from August 12 to 18, 1977. It played a positive role in exposing and criticizing the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique and mobilizing the whole Party to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country. But because of historical limitations and the erroneous influence of Hua Guofeng at that time, the political report delivered to the congress still confirmed the mistaken theories, policies and slogans of the “cultural revolution” and thus also played a negative role—by hindering the process of setting things right. In this speech, Deng Xiaoping could not yet analyse the role of the Eleventh Party Congress from these two angles, because conditions for this had not yet matured. PP. 111, 146, 190, 274, 306, 406

⁵² “Three honests and four stricts” were a slogan put forward by workers of the Daqing Oilfield in the early 1960s. “Three honests” refers to being an honest person, honest in word and honest in deed in relation to the revolutionary cause. “Four stricts” refers to strict standards, strict organization, a strict attitude and strict discipline in relation to work. P. 115

⁵³ “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People”, *Selected Readings of Mao Zedong*, Chinese ed., People’s Publishing House, Beijing, 1986, Vol. II, p. 780. P. 116

⁵⁴ V. I. Lenin, “Gems of Narodnik Project-Mongering”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Moscow, 1960, Vol. 2, p. 472. P.118

⁵⁵ On April 6, 1974, Deng Xiaoping headed the Chinese delegation to the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations Assembly held in the United States. He made a speech on April 10, 1974, expounding Mao Zedong’s theory of the differentiation of the three worlds and proclaimed China’s foreign policy. The speech was carried in *People’s Daily* on April 21, 1974. PP. 123, 303

⁵⁶ Wang Ming’s “Left” line is a reference to the “Left” adventurism represented by the dogmatist Wang Ming during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37). With the support of the Communist International and its representative Pavel Mif, Wang Ming and his followers gained the leading position in the CPC Central Committee at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party’s Sixth Central Committee held in January 1931. Politically, they blurred the demarcation line between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and put the struggle against the bourgeoisie on a par with the struggle against imperialism and feudalism; they ignored the marked change in China’s class relations after the September 18th Incident of 1931 (Japan’s invasion of northeast China) and regarded the intermediate forces as “the most dangerous enemy”; they continued to push the “theory of making the cities the centre of the Chinese revolution” and held that the Red Army should seize the key cities in order to achieve victory first in one or more provinces which would then add up to a nationwide victory. Militarily, they first practised adventurism and, later, lapsed into flightism and the doctrine of holding onto what territory they had. Organizationally, they practised sectarianism and followed a policy of “ruthless struggle and merciless blows” towards those who disagreed with their erroneous views. The “Left” adventurism of Wang Ming dominated the Party for four years and brought heavy losses to it and the whole revolutionary cause. In January 1935, the Political Bureau held a meeting in Zunyi, Guizhou Province, which established the correct leadership of the new Central Committee represented by Mao Zedong, thus putting an end to the domination of Wang Ming’s “Left adventurist line in the Party’s central leading organs. P. 126

⁵⁷ “On Practice”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, pp. 296, 297. P. 126

⁵⁸ “On Contradiction”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, p. 321. P. 126

⁵⁹ “Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, p. 188. P. 126

⁶⁰ “Reform Our Study”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 22, 23. P. 127

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21. P. 127

⁶² “Rectify the Party’s Style of Work”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 38, 43. P. 127

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 41. P. 127

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40. P. 127

⁶⁵ The three major features of the Party’s style of work are the integration of theory with practice, the forging of close links with the masses and the practice of self-criticism. They were so set forth by Mao Zedong in the political report, “On Coalition Government”, made to the Seventh National Congress of the Party on April 24, 1945. PP. 127, 174, 383

⁶⁶ “Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party”, August 12, 1953. P. 127

⁶⁷ “Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward Party Traditions”, August 30, 1956. P. 127

⁶⁸ Mao Zedong, “Sixty Articles on Working Methods (Draft)” (January 31, 1958). P. 128

⁶⁹ Wei Guoqing (1913-89), a native of Donglan, Guangxi Province, was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese PLA. P. 129

⁷⁰ 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 put forth 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 the relations between the two countries in the Tibet region of China. Later, the Five Principles were formally written into the preface 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, the Five Principles were contained in the joint communique issued by Premier Zhou Enlai of China and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, and have been adopted in many other international documents. As norms of relations between nations, they have become widely recognized and accepted throughout the world. P. 138

⁷¹ The Sixth All-China Labour Congress was held in Harbin from August 1 to 22, 1948. It called upon the working class all over the country to unite closely with the rest of the people and give vigorous support to the People’s Liberation Army, so as to rapidly accomplish the historical task of overthrowing the reactionary Kuomintang rule and establishing a new China. It adopted the “Resolution on the Current Task of China’s Labour Movement” and decided to re-establish the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the unified national organization of the Chinese working class. The previous five All-China Labour Congresses had been held in 1922, 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1929. On April 30, 1953, the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions resolved to change the title of the then forthcoming Seventh All-China Labour Congress to “the Seventh National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions”. P. 145

⁷² The Seventh National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions was held in Beijing from May 2 to 11, 1953. It summed up the experience gained by trade unions all over the country since the Sixth All-China Labour Congress, particularly during the period of economic recovery following the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949. And it defined the task of the trade unions in the period of planned economic construction as follows: unite with the rest of the nation to fulfil the plan of national economic construction and strive for the step-by-step realization of China’s industrialization and transition to a socialist society.

The Eighth National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions was held in Beijing from

December 2 to 12, 1957. In line with the spirit of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1956, it summed up the experience in trade union work (both positive and negative) since the Seventh National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions. And it defined the task of the Chinese working class and trade unions: unite with the rest of the people throughout the country to work hard and practise thrift, strive for the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) for the development of the national economy, and strive for the building of China into a great socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. P. 145

⁷³ At an Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on April 28, 1956, Mao Zedong said, "I think our policy should be to let a hundred flowers blossom on artistic issues and a hundred schools of thought contend on academic issues." Ever since then, this has been a basic policy for promoting progress in the arts and sciences and making the socialist culture flourish in our country. P. 155, 246, 359

⁷⁴ V. I. Lenin, "All Out for the Fight Against Denikin!", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 29, p. 437. P. 160

⁷⁵ This treaty was signed in Beijing on August 12, 1978. The treaty stipulates that the two parties shall develop lasting peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The two parties affirm that in their mutual relations, all disputes shall be settled by peaceful means without resorting to the use or threat of force. They shall endeavour to further conduct economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries and to promote exchanges between the peoples of the two countries. Neither of the two parties shall seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region, and both parties are opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. The two parties affirm that the present treaty shall not affect the position of either signatory regarding its relations with a third country. On October 23 of the same year, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping attended the ceremony held in Tokyo for exchanging the instruments of ratification of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between China and Japan, and the Treaty went into effect. P. 165, 248

⁷⁶ A reference to the mistakes made during the Great Leap Forward movement and the campaign to establish people's communes in 1958. In August of the same year, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting at Beidaihe, Hebei Province, during which it was decided that in 1958 the output of steel should reach 10.7 million tons, double the output in 1957. It was also decided that people's communes should be established in all rural areas. Immediately after this meeting, the movement to produce more iron and steel and to establish people's communes came to its apex. In addition, "Leftist" errors—setting unrealistic targets, issuing arbitrary orders, exaggerating achievements and striving for communization—spread unchecked. All this disrupted normal economic development, wasted enormous human and material resources and brought about a serious imbalance between the different sectors of the economy. PP. 166, 250, 276, 295, 313, 315, 343, 374

⁷⁷ The payment of a fixed rate of interest was a strategy used by China in order to redeem the means of production owned by the national bourgeoisie. After the conversion of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises on a trade-by-trade basis, the state paid the national bourgeoisie a fixed annual rate of interest (generally 5 per cent) on the monetary value of their shares, regardless of their enterprises' profits or losses. Payment of such interest began in 1956 and was discontinued in September 1966. PP. 167, 193

⁷⁸ Rong Yiren (1916-), a native of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province, was then Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. In October 1979 he became President of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation. P. 167

⁷⁹ The reference here is to the "Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development (Draft)” and the “Regulations on the Work in the Rural People’s Communes (Draft for Trial Use)”. These two documents were adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the Party’s Eleventh Central Committee held in December 1978, and then distributed to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for discussion and trial application. The first document was promulgated following its formal adoption by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party’s Eleventh Central Committee held in September 1979. The second one, however, was not submitted to this session for adoption and not promulgated because of anticipated changes in the rural people’s commune system. PP. 169, 247

⁸⁰ The counter-attack in self-defence on Viet Nam was undertaken by Chinese frontier guards, between February and March 1979, along Guangxi and Yunnan border areas to defend China’s borders against the Vietnamese aggressors. PP. 170, 249, 283

⁸¹ The reference is to the economic readjustment carried out between 1950 and 1952 and to the work of readjusting, consolidating and filling out the national economy and raising its standards carried out in the period 1961-65. The readjustment in the early post-Liberation years of 1950-52 was aimed at restoring the national economy, damaged by long years of war and reactionary Kuomintang rule. In the first half of 1950, through nationwide unification of fiscal revenues and expenditures, and of distribution of materials and control of the money supply, China quickly established unified nationwide management and guidance for all its financial and economic affairs and thus achieved an approximate balance between state revenue and expenditure and stabilized the prices of commodities. Readjustment of private industry and commerce began in June 1950. Relations between the state and private sectors of the economy, between labour and capital, and between production and marketing were adjusted through such state activities as guidance by the national plan, the placing of state orders with private enterprises for the processing of materials or the manufacture of goods, the granting of loans and the readjustment of taxes, wages and salaries and commodity prices. The economic readjustment in the early 1960s was carried out at a time when the national economy faced serious difficulties in the wake of the Great Leap Forward. The relations between industry and agriculture and between city and countryside were initially readjusted through such measures as drastic reduction of the scale of capital construction, cutting down on heavy industry, increasing production of industrial goods for daily use, reducing the number of workers and office staff and city population generally and cutting down grain sales in cities and towns. The Central Committee drafted separate regulations on work in the rural people’s communes, industry, commerce and other spheres. All of them represented efforts to sum up, in a fairly systematic manner, China’s experience in building socialism. This spurred the readjustment of the national economy, which basically attained the anticipated results by 1965. P. 171

⁸² Chen Yun (1905-95) was a native of Qingpu (now part of Shanghai). After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, he served as member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the Government Administration Council and concurrently the head of the Central Financial and Economic Committee, and Vice-Premier of the State Council. In 1956, at the First Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC, he was elected member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, member of its Standing Committee, and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee. In 1987, at the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC, he was elected member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, and First Secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. In 1987, he served as Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission.

PP. 172, 204, 292, 319, 350, 375, 378, 406

⁸³ Li Xiannian (1909-92) was a native of Huang’an (now Hong’an), Hubei Province. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, he served as Vice-Premier of

the State Council and Minister of Finance for a long time. In August 1977, at the First Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC, he was elected member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee. In 1979, he served as Vice-Premier of the State Council and deputy head of the Financial and Economic Committee. In 1983, he became President of the People's Republic of China. In 1988 he was elected Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. PP. 172, 229, 248, 279, 319

⁸⁴ V. I. Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, pp. 32-33. P. 178

⁸⁵ "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, p. 36. P. 186

⁸⁶ The Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in Beijing from June 18 to July 1, 1979. At this Session, participants examined and approved the Organic Law of the Local People's Congresses and the Local People's Governments at Different Levels, which stipulated that the local revolutionary committees at all levels were from then to become the local people's governments at all levels. It revised some articles concerning the establishment of the local revolutionary committees at all levels, in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress held on March 5, 1978. P. 196

⁸⁷ This refers to the article "Practice Is the Sole Criterion for Testing Truth", written by a special commentator of *Guangming Ribao* (*Guangming Daily*), and published in the paper on May 11, 1978. P. 197

⁸⁸ Fang Yi (1916-), a native of Xiamen, Fujian Province, was the Vice-Premier of the State Council. P. 203

⁸⁹ As for the multi-party cooperation led by the Communist Party, Deng Xiaoping commented on the suggestion submitted by democratic party members on January 2, 1989, "We should organize a special panel (including democratic party members) to draft an act concerning democratic party members participating in government and political affairs and exercising their supervision within the period of one year, and carry it out next year." According to his comments, the CPC Central Committee drew up Suggestions on Adhering to and Improving the System of Multi-party Cooperation and Political Consultation Under the Leadership of the CPC, and distributed it to the local authorities on December 30, 1989. P. 210

⁹⁰ V. I. Lenin, "Party Organization and Party Literature", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 10, p. 46. P. 216

⁹¹ "The Chinese People Have Stood Up!", *Selected Readings of Mao Zedong*, Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1986, Vol. II, p. 692. P. 219

⁹² This refers to a wall at Xidan in the Western District of Beijing, where people were then putting up big-character posters. Some persons with ulterior motives used it to disrupt public order and security and to carry on other unlawful activities. On December 6, 1979, the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee issued a notice banning big-character posters on "Xidan Wall". PP. 221, 232, 237, 252, 278

⁹³ The references here are to two articles written by a *Renmin Ribao* commentator, "Take Effective Measures to Solve the Problem of Petitioning" and "Adopt a Correct Attitude to the Problem of Petitioning". They were carried in the paper on September 17 and October 22, 1979, respectively. P. 232

⁹⁴ China met with serious economic difficulties after the 1958 Great Leap Forward. In the winter of 1960, the Central Committee began to correct the "Left" errors committed in rural work, and then put forth the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards for the national economy. Nevertheless, the situation in early 1962 still was a serious

one of reduced agricultural output, overextended capital construction, inflation and decline in the living standard of city-dwellers. In February of the same year, the Central Committee agreed to the analysis of the country's financial and economic situation made by Chen Yun at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of its Political Bureau, and to his opinions on how to overcome the difficulties. It decided to implement the above-mentioned policy for the national economy in an all-round way and to begin extensive economic readjustment, to take resolute measures to curtail capital construction, and to further substantially reduce the number of workers and staff members and city population generally. To apply these measures called for painstaking ideological and organizational work, which also presented great difficulty at that time. On May 21 and June 5 of the same year, the Central Committee issued separate documents conveying the main points for publicity and education among the workers and staff members and peasants and urging the chief leading cadres at various levels to do propaganda work personally among the masses so as to mobilize them to overcome difficulties and strive for a fundamental turn for the better in China's financial and economic situation. Through the efforts of the whole Party and the entire people, New China had emerged from this most difficult period in its economic history by the end of 1962. P. 232

⁹⁵ Hu Yaobang (1915-89), a native of Liuyang, Hunan Province, served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and head of its Propaganda Department after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee held in December 1978. He was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and General Secretary of the Central Committee at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in February 1980, and was elected Chairman of the Central Committee at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in June 1981.

PP. 241, 301, 377, 383

⁹⁶ A reference to the massive invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops, which began in late December 1979. P. 241

⁹⁷ This refers to the crisis in Iranian-U.S. relations. In October 1979, the U.S. Government agreed to allow the former Shah, Reza Pahlavi, to go to the United States. The following month, Iranian students took the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Iran hostage to press their demand that the United States send the ex-Shah back to Iran to face trial and return all Iranian assets in the United States. Hence the Iranian-U.S. crisis. P. 241

⁹⁸ The reference is to the Vietnamese authorities' acts of discrimination against Chinese nationals resident in Viet Nam and of hostility towards China, and to their massive military invasion of Democratic Kampuchea in the late 1970s. P. 241

⁹⁹ A reference to the complex contradiction in the Middle East caused by the policy of aggression and expansion practised by Israel and to the contention between the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in this strategic region. P. 241

¹⁰⁰ The struggle against bourgeois Rightists was launched in 1957. Earlier, in April of that year, the Central Committee had decided to launch a Party-wide rectification movement directed against bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism. Taking advantage of this, a tiny handful of bourgeois Rightists attacked the Party and the newborn socialist system in China in a vain attempt to supplant Communist Party leadership. In June, the CPC Central Committee issued a directive to repel the Rightists' attack. This action against a tiny handful of bourgeois Rightists was necessary. However, a serious mistake was made in enlarging the scope of the struggle. In 1978, the Central Committee decided to re-examine the cases of those designated as Rightists and exonerate those who were found to have been wrongly labelled as such. PP. 244, 276, 293, 374, 383

¹⁰¹ 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 the ownership of the means of production and laid down the task of the all-round building of socialism. At the congress, Mao Zedong made an opening

address, Liu Shaoqi delivered the political report of the Central Committee, Zhou Enlai gave the “Report on the Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy”, Deng Xiaoping gave the “Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China”, and other important speeches were made by Zhu De, Chen Yun and Dong Biwu. The congress adopted a resolution on the political report, the “Constitution of the Communist Party of China” and the proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62), and elected the new Central Committee. The Eighth National Congress of the Party defined a correct line which pointed out the direction for the development of the socialist cause and for Party building in the new period. P. 245

¹⁰² The “three don’ts” are “don’t pick on others for their faults, don’t put labels on people, and don’t use a big stick”. See p. 154 of this volume. PP. 246, 256, 406

¹⁰³ The sentence “combining planned regulation with market regulation” originally was “utilizing the supplementary role of market regulation under the guidance of the planned economy” in the first edition of the book. The original sentence is here restored in accordance with *The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us*, an offprint, published by the People’s Publishing House in February 1980. P. 248

¹⁰⁴ The Fourth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Shanghai from January 11 to 22, 1925. The central question discussed was how the Party should strengthen its leadership over the steadily rising revolutionary movement. The congress analysed the roles of the different classes in Chinese society in the national revolutionary movement, pointed out the importance of leadership by the proletariat and of the worker-peasant alliance, made a preliminary sum-up of the experience gained and lessons learned in the year that had elapsed since the start of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, and adopted separate resolutions on the national revolutionary movement, the workers’ movement, the peasants’ movement, the youth movement, the women’s movement, the organizational question and propaganda work. Thus it made organizational preparations for a new upsurge of the mass struggle. P. 266

¹⁰⁵ The Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Beijing from April 1 to 24, 1969. This congress legitimized the erroneous theories and practices of the “cultural revolution” and reinforced the positions of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others in the CPC Central Committee. The guidelines of this congress were wrong, ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Beijing from August 24 to 28, 1973. It perpetuated the “Left” errors of the Ninth Party Congress.

PP. 268, 303, 406

¹⁰⁶ Qu Qiubai (1899-1935), a native of Changzhou, Jiangsu Province, joined the Communist Party of China in 1922 and was one of the leaders of the Party in its early years. In 1927, at the crucial juncture after the failure of the Great Revolution (1924-27), he and Li Weihan presided over the “August 7th” emergency meeting of the Central Committee. After this he took charge of the day-to-day work of the central leading body as a Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Party’s Provisional Central Committee. Qu committed the error of “Left” putschism in the period from November 1927 to April 1928. In September 1930, he presided over the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, which put an end to Li Lisan’s “Left” adventurist mistakes. Later, at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee held in 1931, he was attacked by the dogmatists and sectarians under the influence of Wang Ming’s “Left” line, and was pushed out of the central leading body of the Party. Arrested by the Kuomintang in February 1935 on his way from Jiangxi to Fujian, Qu Qiubai died a martyr’s death in Changting, Fujian, on June 18 of that year. During the “cultural revolution” he was slandered as a “renegade”. The Central Committee restored his good name in October 1980. PP. 277, 292

¹⁰⁷ Xu Xiangqian (1901-90), a native of Wutai, Shanxi Province, was then a member of

the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of National Defence.

PP. 288, 319

¹⁰⁸ The three “Left” lines comprise the error of “Left” putschism represented by Qu Qiubai during the period from November 1927 to April 1928, the error of “Left” adventurism represented by Li Lisan from June to September 1930, and the error of “Left” adventurism represented by Wang Ming during the period between January 1931 and the Zunyi Meeting of the Political Bureau held in January 1935. P. 291

¹⁰⁹ This refers to the struggle launched in 1959 against the so-called Right opportunist line of Peng Dehuai. See Item 17 of the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China”, *Resolution on CPC History (1949-81)*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1981, pp. 27-31. PP. 292, 329

¹¹⁰ A reference to the struggle launched during the “cultural revolution” against the so-called counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. See Item 20 of the resolution mentioned in Note 84, *Resolution on CPC History (1949-81)*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1981, pp. 33-36. P. 292

¹¹¹ Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), a native of Huaining (now Anqing City), Anhui Province. From September 1915, he was chief editor of the journal *Qingnian (Youth)*, later renamed *Xin Qingnian (New Youth)*. In 1918, together with Li Dazhao, he founded *Meizhou Pinglun (Weekly Review)*, advocated a new culture and 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. Chen 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 his organization of Trotskyite activities became open. He was arrested by the Kuomintang in October 1932 and was released in August 1937. He died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, in 1942. PP. 292, 328

¹¹² Li Lisan (1899-1967), a native of Liling, Hunan Province. Joining the Communist Party of China in 1921, he became one of the main leaders of the Chinese workers’ movement. In the period June-September 1930, when he was in charge of the work of the Central Committee, he committed mistakes of “Left” adventurism. Later, he recognized and corrected his mistakes and was re-elected to the Central Committee at the Seventh and Eighth National Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party. P. 292

¹¹³ Luo Zhanglong (1896-), a native of Liuyang, Hunan Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1921 and was elected member and, later, alternate member of its Central Committee. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee in January 1931, he organized an “emergency central committee” and worked to split the Party, from which he was consequently expelled. P. 292

¹¹⁴ Zhang Guotao (1897-1979), a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province. 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 the 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 Red Army. Zhang opposed the Central Committee’s decision that the Red Army should advance northwards, worked to split the Party and the Red Army, and set up another central committee. In June 1936 he was forced to abolish this second central

committee and joined the Second and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army on their march north, arriving in northern Shaanxi in December of that same year. From September 1937, he was Vice-Chairman and then Acting Chairman of the Government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. While allegedly attending a ceremony to sweep the grave of the legendary Yellow Emperor in April 1938, he fled from the Border Region, reached Wuhan via Xi'an, joined the Kuomintang's secret police and became a traitor to the Chinese revolution. For this he was expelled from the Party. He died in Canada in 1979. PP. 292, 328

¹¹⁵ Gao Gang (1905-54), a native of Hengshan, Shaanxi Province, served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Secretary of the Northeast Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government. When he was transferred to the Central Committee to hold the post of Chairman of the State Planning Commission in 1953, he stepped up efforts to split the Party and usurp supreme Party leadership and state power. He was exposed in 1954. In March 1955 the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party passed a resolution and expelled him from the Party. P. 292

¹¹⁶ Rao Shushi (1903-75), a native of Linchuan, Jiangxi Province, served as First Secretary of the East China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Chairman of the East China Administrative Council. When he served as head of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, he plotted to split the Party and usurp supreme Party leadership and state power together with Gao Gang. In March 1955 the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party passed a resolution and expelled him from the Party. P. 292

¹¹⁷ This refers to the socialist transformation of China's agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state. It was basically accomplished in 1956. P. 293

¹¹⁸ The two Zhengzhou Meetings refer to the meeting called by Mao Zedong in Zhengzhou on November 2-10, 1958, which was attended by some of the central and local leaders, and the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau, also convened in Zhengzhou, from February 27 to March 5, 1959. The first Zhengzhou Meeting set about correcting the related mistakes that had already been discovered during the movement in which the people's communes were organized in the rural areas. 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 the whole people and from socialism to communism, and of rashly abolishing commodity production. At the second Zhengzhou Meeting, the major topics were the question of ownership in the people's communes and the tendency to effect a premature transition to communism. In line with the views of Mao Zedong, the meeting formulated principles for consolidating and building the people's communes: instituting in the people's communes the system of decentralization of powers, with management and economic accounting carried out at three levels (commune, production brigade and production team) and the production team as the basic unit (in some places this meant a production brigade corresponding to an advanced agricultural producers' co-operative); within the commune, recognizing the differences between individual production brigades, between production teams, and between commune members, and carrying out the principles of distribution according to work and exchange of equal values. The meeting worked out "Some Regulations Concerning the Management System of the People's Communes (Draft)".

PP. 294, 374

¹¹⁷ An enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau was held at Lushan Mountain, Jiangxi Province, from July 2 to August 1, 1959. It was followed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee held in the same place from August 2 to 16 of the same year. Because they were convened there in quick succession, these two gatherings have been generally referred to singly as the Lushan Meeting. P. 294

¹²⁰ The "Twelve Articles on Agricultural Work" is a reference to the 12-article "Urgent Letter of Instruction Concerning the Current Policies for Rural People's Communes", issued by the Central Committee on November 3, 1960. This document pointed out that the

tendency towards making a premature leap to communism—a tendency characterized by requisition of the property of collective economic units 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: the rural people’s communes should institute the system of a three-level ownership with the contingents as the basic units (the contingents referred to were the “production contingents” which were 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); 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 resolutely upheld; and work should be combined with adequate rest. This letter of instruction played a positive role in correcting the tendency to make a premature leap to communism and bringing about a change in the rural situation prevailing at the time. P. 294

¹²¹ “Sixty Articles on the Work of the People’s Communes” is a reference to the 60-article “Regulations on the Work in the Rural People’s Communes (Draft)” formulated by the Central Committee in March 1961. In view of the equalitarianism existing between production brigades, between production teams and between commune members, the document laid down fairly systematic stipulations for reducing the excessively large size of the 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 prepared a revised draft, for discussion and trial use, in which further stipulations were made on abolishing the free supply system in the sphere of distribution and closing the public canteens. On September 27, 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party’s Eighth Central Committee formally adopted this revised draft. The implementation of this 60-article document played an important part in restoring the rural economy. P. 294

¹²² The “7,000-person conference” was the popular term for the enlarged working conference convened by the Central Committee in Beijing from January 11 to February 7, 1962. It was attended by more than 7,000 persons—leading members of the Central Committee and its sub-bureaus; of Party committees of the various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, prefectures and counties; of major factories, mines and other large enterprises; and of the army units. Liu Shaoqi, on behalf of the Central Committee, delivered a report in which he made an initial summing-up of the work experience, both positive and negative, 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 to conduct an effective readjustment. Mao Zedong delivered an important speech, emphasizing the necessity of improving the system of democratic centralism, of giving full play to democracy both inside and outside the Party, and of deepening people’s understanding of the laws of socialist construction on the basis of summing up both positive and negative experience. He also made a self-criticism, assuming responsibility for the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the previous years. P. 294

¹²³ This refers to the working conference called in Beidaihe by the Central Committee from late July to late August, 1962. It laid the ground for the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party’s Eighth Central Committee. At the conference, Mao Zedong emphasized the question of classes, the general situation and the contradictions in China at the time, stressing again and again that classes and class struggle still existed in our country and maintaining that the bourgeoisie would exist and attempt to stage a comeback throughout the historical period of socialism. He expounded class struggle, which does exist within certain limits in socialist society, in absolute terms and made it too broad in scope. P. 294

¹²⁴ “Four clean-ups” was a term for the socialist education movement—aimed at cleaning things up in the political, economic, organizational and ideological fields—which was carried out between 1963 and May 1966 in some rural areas and a small number of urban factories, mines, other enterprises and schools. Although it played a certain role in solving problems in the cadres’ style of work and in economic management, these problems, which were of different natures, were all seen as manifestations of class struggle or as a reflection of class struggle within the Party. As a result, in the second half of 1964 many cadres at the grass-roots level were wronged. In January 1965, the CPC Central Committee formulated the 23-article document “Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas”. This document corrected certain “Left” deviations in the movement. However, it erroneously stipulated that the main target of the movement was the so-called Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. PP. 294, 315

¹²⁵ The two written instructions on literary and art work were: (1) Mao Zedong’s instruction of December 12, 1963 to Peng Zhen and Liu Ren, who were leading comrades of Beijing Municipal Party Committee, on problems existing in art work, and (2) the instruction he wrote on June 27, 1964 on the “Report on the Rectification Campaign in the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and in Its Various National Associations (Draft)” prepared by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee. Chairman Mao said that “there were many problems in various forms of art including theatre, folk arts, music, fine arts, dancing, film, poetry and literature”; that in the previous 15 years the national associations of literature and art and most of their publications, by and large, had not carried out the policies of the Party, and that “in recent years”, they had “slid right down to the brink of revisionism”. After its Third Plenary Session in December 1978, the Party’s Eleventh Central Committee formally declared that the criticism of literary and art work in these two written instructions did not tally with the actual situation, and that it was later used in the “Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces” in such a way as to have the most serious consequences. (Cf. Note 34.) P. 294

¹²⁶ On September 9, 1976, Mao Zedong passed away. The Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique premeditatedly fabricated “acting according to the principles laid down” as Chairman Mao’s deathbed injunction and wrote it down in the editorials of the *People’s Daily*, the *Red Flag* and the *Liberation Army* on September 16 to propagate it far and wide, aiming to act in accordance with the erroneous principles Mao Zedong laid down in his last years. P. 296

¹²⁷ The Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Yan’an from April 23 to June 11, 1945. Mao Zedong made a political report entitled “On Coalition Government”, Zhu De delivered a military report entitled “The Battle Front of the Liberated Areas”, Liu Shaoqi presented a “Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution” and Zhou Enlai made an important speech entitled “On the United Front”. The congress decided that the line of the Party would be “boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people’s forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China”. The congress also adopted a new Party Constitution and elected a new Central Committee. The new Party Constitution defined Mao Zedong Thought—the integration of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution—as the guide for all work of the Chinese Communist Party. The congress was one of unity and victory. It laid a foundation for a nationwide victory of the new-democratic revolution. PP. 25, 127, 299

¹²⁸ The A-B Group, established in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province towards the end of 1926, was an organization of the Kuomintang right wing as opposed to the CPC. It was destroyed by the revolutionary masses in April 1927. In the first half of 1930 the Southwestern Jiangxi Revolutionary Base Area was first to wage the struggle against the so-called A-B Group by eliminating counter-revolutionaries. After 1931, the struggle spread to the Hubei-Henan-

Anhui Revolutionary Base Area and the Western Hunan-Hubei Revolutionary Base Area. The struggle against the A-B Group obscured the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, enlarged the scope of suppression of the counter-revolutionaries, and caused serious consequences. P. 299

¹²⁹ Mao Zedong put forward this important policy on October 9, 1943, in his written instruction on a document. He had in mind the mistakes in the work of examining cadres' personal histories which was then going on. P. 299

¹³⁰ He Long (1896-1969), a native of Sangzhi, Hunan Province, was then member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of its Military Commission and Vice-Premier of the State Council. He was hounded to death by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the "cultural revolution". The Central Committee decided in September 1974 to posthumously restore his good name. His complete rehabilitation was announced in October 1982. P. 300

¹³¹ Hu Qiaomu (1912-92), a native of Yancheng, Jiangsu Province, in 1980 served as a member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, Director of the Party Literature Research Centre of the Central Committee, Director of the Party History Research Centre of the Central Committee, and President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. From 1980 to 1981, under the direction of Deng Xiaoping he was in charge of drafting *Resolution on CPC History (1949-81)*. He was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee at the First Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee in September 1982. P. 301, 405

¹³² In and around February 1967, at briefings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee (the Huarentang Meetings) and meetings of its Military Commission, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen strongly criticized the mistaken methods of the "cultural revolution". They were smeared as having churned up an adverse current—the "February adverse current"—and were subjected to suppression and attack. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques took the opportunity to stir up the so-called wave of "counter-attacking the nationwide adverse current of restoration now spreading from top to bottom" and broadened their scope of attack and persecution of leading Party and state cadres at various levels. After the defection of Lin Biao in 1971, Mao Zedong said that the "February adverse current" should not be brought up again. Following the overthrow of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique, the Central Committee formally announced the reversal of the verdict on the "adverse current". P. 301

¹³³ Huang Kecheng (1902-86), a native of Yongxing, Hunan Province, was then secretary in charge of the day-to-day work of the CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. PP. 301, 373

¹³⁴ Li Weihan (1896-1984), a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, then advisor of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee. P. 301

¹³⁵ See "Our Study and the Current Situation", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1965, Vol. III, p. 165. P. 303

¹³⁶ Henry Kissinger (1923-) was at that time Assistant for National Security Affairs to U.S. President Richard Nixon. He came to Beijing in July 1971 for talks with Premier Zhou Enlai on the normalization of relations between China and the United States. PP. 303, 369

¹³⁷ Peng Zhen was then member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, member of its Secretariat, first secretary of the Beijing municipal Party committee, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and mayor of Beijing. Luo Ruiqing was then member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Secretary-General of its Military Commission, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Vice-Premier of the State Council. Lu Dingyi was then alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, member of its Secretariat, Director

of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. Yang Shangkun was then alternate member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Director of the Central Committee's General Office. Early in the "cultural revolution", these four comrades were erroneously branded as the "Peng-Luo-Lu-Yang counter-revolutionary clique". The Central Committee issued separate documents in February 1979, May 1980, June 1979 and October 1980, respectively, for their complete rehabilitation.

P. 306

¹³⁸ Peng Dehuai was then member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council and concurrently Minister of National Defence. Huang Kecheng was then member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Zhang Wentian was then alternate member of the Political Bureau and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Zhou Xiaozhou was then alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Hunan provincial Party committee. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee held in August 1959, they were mistakenly designated as a "Right opportunist anti-Party group". The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted on June 27, 1981 by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee criticized as entirely wrong the resolution passed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee concerning the so-called anti-Party group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou. P. 306

¹³⁹ The Political Bureau held nine meetings in succession from November 10 to December 5, 1980, and unanimously adopted a "Circular on the Meetings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party". The circular informed the whole Party about the "Left" and other mistakes made by Hua Guofeng after the downfall of the Gang of Four, and decided to make proposals to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee—that the resignation of Hua Guofeng from his posts as Chairman of the Central Committee and Chairman of its Military Commission be accepted, and that Hu Yaobang be elected Chairman of the Central Committee and Deng Xiaoping Chairman of its Military Commission. P. 308

¹⁴⁰ Zhao Ziyang (1919-), a native of Huaxian, Henan Province, served as a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the State Council in 1980. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in June 1981. PP. 319, 347, 377

¹⁴¹ Wang Zhen (1908-93), a native of Liuyang, Hunan Province, was then a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission, and Vice-Premier of the State Council. P. 319

¹⁴² Wang Renzhong (1917-92), a native of Jingxian, Hebei Province, was then a member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, and Vice-Premier of the State Council. P. 319

¹⁴³ Chen Yonggui (1914-86), a native of Xiyang, Shanxi Province, was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. He once served as secretary of Party Branch of Dazhai Production Brigade, Xiyang County. P. 319

¹⁴⁴ Chen Shaoyu (1904-74), alias Wang Ming, was a native of Jinjiazhai, Lu'an (now part of Jinzhai County), Anhui Province. Joining the Communist Party of China in 1925, he served as member of the Central Committee and of its Political Bureau, and secretary of its 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 in January 1935. He also made Right capitulationist mistakes in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). For a long period, he rejected the Party's criticism and help. He

stayed in the Soviet Union after 1956 and died in 1974. (See Note 56.)

P. 328

¹⁴⁵ In accordance with the opinions of the Political Bureau, *Renmin Ribao* of June 20, 1956 carried an editorial entitled “Oppose Both Conservatism and Impetuosity”, pointing out that in the course of the vigorous development of China’s socialist construction cases of impetuous and rash advance, of attempts to exceed real possibilities, were emerging. Thus the various localities put stress on solving these problems. In his speech at the Third Plenary Session (Enlarged) of the Party’s Eighth Central Committee held in the autumn of 1957, Mao Zedong began to criticize the 1956 effort to oppose rash advance and, at the Nanning Meeting of January 1958 and the Chengdu Meeting of March of the same year, he subjected it to further severe criticism. The 1958 counter-criticism of the critique of rash advance caused “Left” ideology to grow rapidly within the Party.

P. 329

¹⁴⁶ This paragraph was not included in the first edition of the book. When the article was republished in *People’s Daily* on July 1, 1987, this paragraph was added to the article in accordance with the original transcript. Now the article is printed in accordance with the newly published edition in *People’s Daily*.

P. 339

¹⁴⁷ This refers to the complete negation and vilification of Stalin by Khrushchev when the latter was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

P. 344

¹⁴⁸ Yehonala stands for Cixi (1835-1908), a consort of Emperor Xianfeng of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). After her son Zai Chun ascended the throne as Emperor Tongzhi, she was given the honorific title of Empress Dowager Cixi. As the actual ruler of the Qing empire during the reigns of Emperors Tongzhi and Guangxu and as the general representative of the diehard forces when the Qing Dynasty was nearing its end, she ruled with cruelty in domestic affairs but compromised and capitulated 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.

P. 349

¹⁴⁹ The decision to designate part of Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou cities in Guangdong Province and of Xiamen City in Fujian Province as experimental special economic zones was contained in the July 15, 1979 “Approval by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council for Distribution of the Two Respective Reports of the Guangdong and Fujian Provincial Party Committees Concerning the Adoption of Special Policies and Flexible Measures in External Economic Activities” and the May 16, 1980 “Written Instructions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council Concerning the ‘Summary of the Meetings of the Guangdong and Fujian Provincial Authorities’”. While keeping to the principle of preservation of China’s sovereignty and the enforcement of China’s laws and decrees, a policy of opening to the outside world is implemented in economic activities in these special economic zones, with the purpose of attracting investment in the building of factories by both overseas Chinese and foreign businessmen, launching joint ventures with them, introducing advanced technology and expanding foreign trade.

P. 358

¹⁵⁰ China and the United States officially established diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979. At the same time, the U.S. government announced that it was severing diplomatic relations with the Taiwan authorities, terminating the U.S.-Taiwan Joint Defense Treaty and withdrawing American troops from Taiwan. The Taiwan Relations Act was adopted by Congress the following March and came into force on April 10, 1979, when it was signed by President Jimmy Carter.

The Act declares that “the United States’ decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means” and that the United States will “consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means ... a threat to the peace and security of the western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States.” It also states

that the United States will “provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character” and “maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan.” The terms of the Act treat Taiwan as a “country”, in contravention to the principles agreed upon by the United States and China and of the commitment made by the United States when it established diplomatic relations with China. P. 369

¹⁵¹ George Bush (1924-), an American Republican, served as Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing, the People’s Republic of China from 1974 to 1975. He was President of the United States of America from 1989 to 1993. P. 369

¹⁵² A reference to Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun. P. 373

¹⁵³ “Three supports and two military’s” refers to the practice during the “cultural revolution” of sending members of the People’s Liberation Army to support those of the masses who were considered the Left at that time, to support industry and support agriculture, to institute military control over some localities, departments and units, and to give military training to students. P. 375

¹⁵⁴ In accordance with the Central Committee’s call to build a socialist civilization which is culturally and ideologically advanced and with the particular characteristics of the army, the General Political Department of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army put forward the slogan known as the “four haves, three stresses and two defy’s” in its February 1981 “Instructions on Strengthening the Youth Work in the Army”. That is, “To have lofty ideals, moral integrity, knowledge and a strong physique; to stress appearance and bearing, manners, and sense of discipline; and to defy hardships and sacrifice”. In January 1983, in keeping with the formulations in the documents of the Party’s Twelfth National Congress on the building of a socialist civilization which is culturally and ideologically advanced, the content of the slogan was revised to read as follows: “To have lofty ideals, moral integrity, general education and sense of discipline; to stress appearance and bearing, manners, and hygiene; and to defy hardships and sacrifice.” PP. 154, 388, 400

¹⁵⁵ Liu Lanbo (1904-82), a native of Fengcheng, Liaoning Province, was then Minister of Electric Power Industry and secretary of its leading Party group. P. 378

¹⁵⁶ Deng Xiaoping raised the question of reducing the average age of army cadres in his “Report on the Current International and Domestic Situation” made on January 11, 1964, at an army-wide conference on political work. He pointed out that this question concerns the whole country and our basic principles; that the contingent of cadres should constantly take in fresh blood, and new successors; and that those communists who are relatively young and politically sound should be trained as successors for our revolutionary cause. P. 379

¹⁵⁷ The reference is to the opinions on selecting and promoting young and middle-aged cadres which Chen Yun put forward in his article “To Promote and Train Young and Middle-Aged Cadres Is a Task of Top Priority” (May 8, 1981) and “Promote Tens of Thousands of Young and Middle-Aged Cadres” (July 2, 1981). Their main content was that, thenceforth, thousands and tens of thousands of young and middle-aged cadres should be promoted and trained; they should be people around 40 or 50, and most of them should be around or under 40; they should have political integrity and professional competence, and no factionalists or persons who had indulged in beating, smashing and looting during the “cultural revolution” should be promoted to leading positions. P. 393

¹⁵⁸ The movement against the “three evils” (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) was carried out from the end of 1951 to October 1952 in government departments, army units and state-owned enterprises. P. 394

¹⁵⁹ The movement against the “five evils” (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information) was launched in 1952 in capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises. P. 394

¹⁶⁰ This event took place in Feixiang County, Hebei Province, in January 1982. Some people there who were seriously factionalist in their thinking and unbridled in their personal ambitions got together and, taking advantage of the election at a county Party congress of the leading body of the new county Party committee, drove out of office the incumbent committee secretary who adhered to the line of the Central Committee and “elected” a factionalist group to the leading posts—which they did by establishing illicit secret contacts among themselves and employing other reprehensible tactics common during the “cultural revolution”. Later, this event was sternly dealt with by the Hebei provincial Party committee in accordance with instructions from the Central Committee. P. 396

¹⁶¹ Khrushchev (1894-1971), was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after September 1953 and was concurrently Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR after March 1958. He was dismissed from his posts in October 1964. P. 398

¹⁶² Yang Shangkun (1907-), a native of Tongnan, Sichuan Province, was then Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress and a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission and its Secretary-General. P. 400

¹⁶³ On February 25, 1981, in response to the call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for strengthening the building of a socialist civilization with a high cultural and ideological level, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, the All-China Women’s Federation and six other organizations jointly issued the “Proposal for Unfolding Activities to Foster Socialist Decorum”, in which they suggested activities to promote “the five things to stress and the four things to beautify”. The five things to stress are: decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline, and morals. The four things to beautify are: the mind, language, behaviour, and the environment. P. 400

¹⁶⁴ The PLA First Field Army was one of the main forces of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army during the War of Liberation. It was reorganized from the Northwest Field Army in February 1949 with Peng Dehuai as its commander and political commissar. In April 1949, according to the decision of the CPC Central Committee, all the troops of the Army were placed under the Northwest Military Command. P. 402

¹⁶⁵ The PLA Third Field Army was one of the main forces of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army during the War of Liberation. It was reorganized from the East China Field Army in February 1949 with Chen Yi as its commander and political commissar. In April 1950, according to the decision of the CPC Central Committee, all the troops of the Army were placed under the East China Military Command. P. 402

¹⁶⁶ Chen Pixian (1916-), a native of Shanghang, Fujian Province, was then First Secretary of Hubei Provincial Party Committee. P. 403

¹⁶⁷ The reference is to the report of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Party’s Twelfth National Congress, and the “Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Revised Draft)”. P. 405

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

¹⁶⁸ The erroneous “mountain-stronghold” mentality was a form of cliquism resulting mainly from the long years of guerrilla wars in the past, when the various rural revolutionary base areas were cut off from one another by the enemy. As these areas were, for the most

part, established in mountainous regions, each functioned like an autonomous mountain stronghold. Hence, the term “mountain-stronghold” mentality. PP. 28, 88

¹⁶⁹ The “May Sixteenth Group” was an organization which was regarded as counter-revolutionary at that time. P. 22

¹⁷⁰ See p. 26 of this volume. PP. 58, 194

¹⁷¹ During the “cultural revolution”, there was an impairment of the widespread practice of learning from Lei Feng’s mottoes—utter devotion to others without any thought of self, and wholehearted service to the people. Lei Feng was a soldier of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army and an outstanding member of the Chinese Communist Party who died on duty on August 15, 1962. PP. 30, 94

¹⁷² These refer to the modernization of China’s industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology. P. 50

¹⁷³ The correct principles and policies of the Central Committee predominated in China’s educational work throughout the 17 years prior to the “cultural revolution”, as they did in other fields. The statement here is directed against the slander by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four that educational work in the first 17 years of the People’s Republic was under the “dictatorship by the proponents of a sinister line”. P. 62

¹⁷⁴ This refers to those cadres who joined the revolutionary ranks in the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), as distinct from veterans of the previous periods. P. 74

¹⁷⁵ For the “two appraisals”, see p. 79 of this volume. P. 114

¹⁷⁶ “Oppose Book Worship”, *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1967, p. 35. P. 126

¹⁷⁷ “Where Do Correct Ideas Come from?”, *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1967, pp. 405, 406. P. 128

¹⁷⁸ “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. V, p. 393. P. 189

¹⁷⁹ This is a shorthand way of referring to the provision in Article 45 of the Constitution of 1978 concerning “speaking out freely, airing one’s views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates”. Since in Chinese each of these expressions contains the character *da*, or “big”, they have come to be known as the *si da*, or “four bigs”. PP. 257, 274

¹⁸⁰ Zhongnanhai is where the Central Committee and the State Council are located. P. 329

¹⁸¹ See p. 172 of this volume. PP. 277, 321, 373, 384, 388

¹⁸² For the purpose of usurping Party leadership and state power, Lin Biao and the Gang of Four tried to create chaos among the masses and incited a part of them to struggle against each other during the “cultural revolution”, thus engendering two antagonistic factions. The great majority of the people, however, came to abhor these evil practices. More and more, they refused to actively take part in the “cultural revolution” itself and kept away from the struggle between the two factions. At the time, these people were regarded as “bystanders”. PP. 380, 404

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