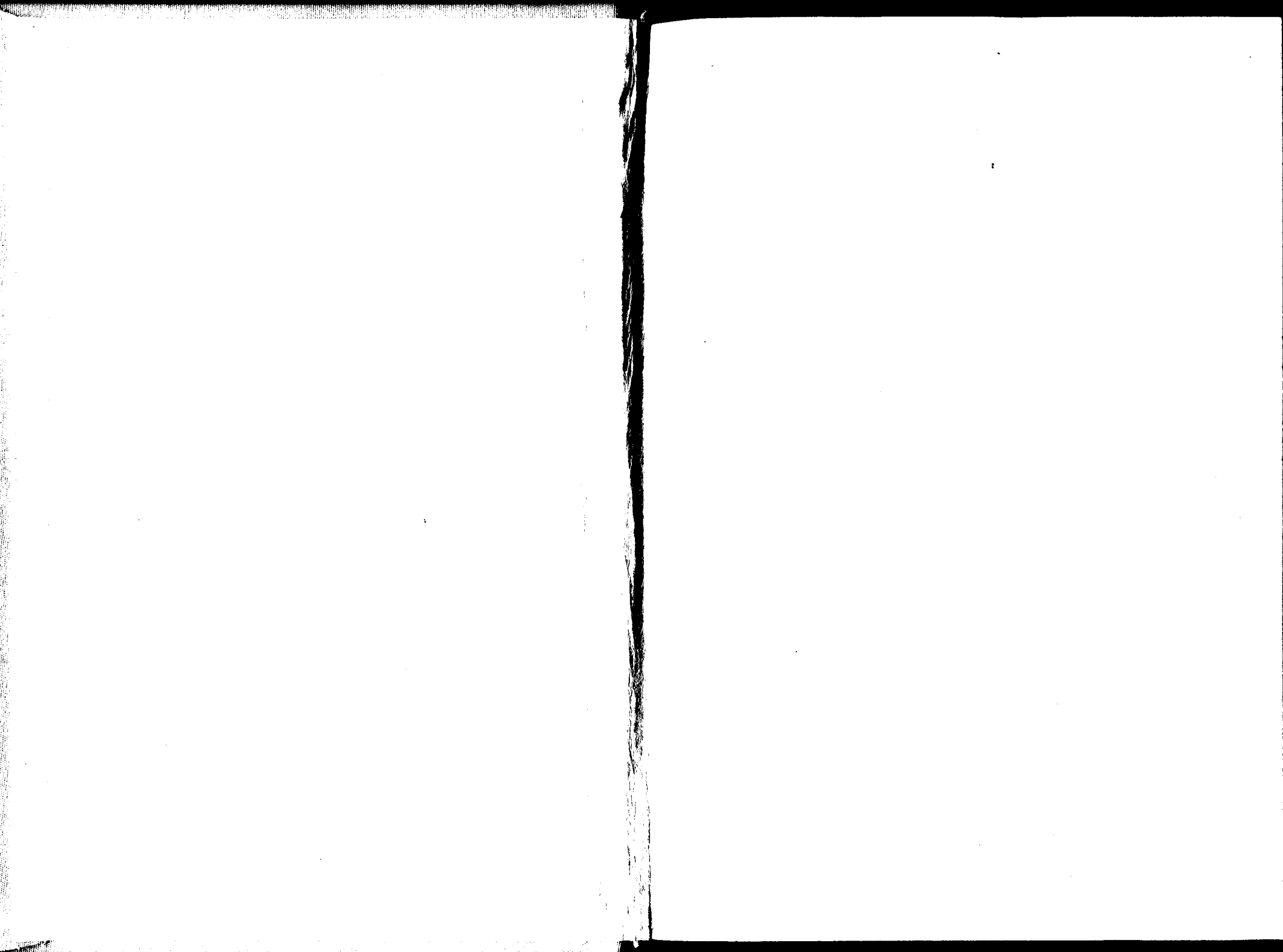




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TEN GLORIOUS YEARS

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This edition of "Ten Glorious Years" contains 19 articles written by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and other leaders of the Party and Government in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. These articles give a thorough, systematic and profound elucidation of the brilliant achievements that the Chinese people have made, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all the nationalities in China, in the socialist revolution and on all fronts of socialist construction during these ten years. These articles were selected from the book "The Tenth Anniversary of the People's Republic of China" published in Chinese by the Peking People's Publishing House, in December 1959.

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The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China

Written for the journal World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism) in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China

Liu Shao-chi

Ten years have passed since the founding of the great People's Republic of China.

The Chinese revolution is the continuation of the great October Revolution. The great October Revolution opened up a new era in human history and began to change the face of the world. The success of the Soviet Union in building socialism, the victory of the anti-fascist world war in which the Soviet Union was the main force, and the founding of many socialist states in Europe and Asia, all demonstrate the irresistible historical law of the rise of socialism and the decline of capitalism. The victory of the Chinese revolution further changed the face of the world. The Chinese revolution made a very big breach on the imperialist front in the East and dealt a fatal blow to the imperialist colonial system. New China joined the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries form the big socialist family of unity and friendship which embraces one-third of the world's population and extends over a vast, compact land-mass in Europe and Asia. The Chinese revolution has a great attraction for peoples in all the backward countries that have suffered, or are suffering, from imperialist oppression. They feel that they should also be able to do what the Chinese have done. All this

clearly shows that there has been a new change in the relative strengths of capitalism and socialism in the world.

The victory of the Chinese revolution has brought about the thorough liberation of China's social productive forces and has enabled China's socialist construction to advance at top speed, thus effecting rapid changes in the poverty and backwardness of China.

In the first three years following the liberation of the whole country, from 1950 to 1952, China successfully completed the task of rehabilitating the national economy and raised its industrial and agricultural production generally up to and beyond the highest levels ever achieved in old China. From 1953 to 1957 the Chinese people carried out the First Five-Year Plan, which increased the total value of industrial output by 141 per cent, of agricultural output by 25 per cent, and raised the proportion of modern industry in the national economy from 26.7 per cent in 1952 to 40 per cent in 1957. The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan laid the preliminary foundation of China's industrialization. In 1958 we began to implement the Second Five-Year Plan. The big leap in the national economy took place in this year. The total value of industrial output rose by 66 per cent and the total value of agricultural output increased by 25 per cent over 1957. On the basis of last year's big leap forward, this year is witnessing a continued leap forward. Compared with 1958, it is planned that this year the total value of industrial and agricultural production will increase by 20 per cent, the increase in the total value of industrial output being 25.6 per cent and that of agricultural output 10 per cent. The planned output of major industrial and agricultural products such as steel, coal, metallurgical equipment, electric power generating equipment, metal-cutting machine tools, cotton yarn, timber, grain and cotton will all fulfil, overfulfil or nearly fulfil their respective 1962 targets originally set in the Second Five-Year Plan. China's lightning speed in developing its social produc-

tive forces cannot be matched by any capitalist country and it certainly could never be dreamed of in old China.

Marx's saying that "revolutions are the locomotives of history"¹ is absolutely correct. In China, without the democratic revolution that overthrew imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, without the socialist revolution that abolished the capitalist system, there could be no rapid progress of modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture; no situation as the one that prevails today when the people of the whole country are working for the cause of socialism and communism vigorously and resolutely. Revolution has brought the Chinese people boundless hope and an extremely brilliant future.

The victory of the Chinese people in the past ten years is the victory of Marxism-Leninism, the victory of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the victory of the general lines of the Chinese Communist Party for democratic revolution, for socialist revolution and for socialist construction.

During the period of China's democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly expounded the idea that "the whole Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party is a complete revolutionary movement embracing the two revolutionary stages, democratic and socialist. . . . We can give correct leadership to the Chinese revolution only on the basis of a clear understanding of both the differences between the democratic and socialist revolutions and their interconnections."² On the one hand, the right opportunists in the Chinese revolution, like the Russian Mensheviks, set up a "Great Wall" between the democratic and socialist revolutions, failed to see the interconnections of the

¹K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol. 1, p. 198.

²*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1954, Vol. III, p. 101.

two revolutions and the possible prospect, during the democratic revolution, of transforming it into a socialist revolution. On the other hand, the "left" opportunists, like the Russian Trotskyites, confused the distinction between the democratic and socialist revolutions and would eliminate the bourgeoisie and carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution in the stage of the democratic revolution. Both of these two erroneous tendencies cost the Chinese revolution dearly. Contrary to "left" and right opportunism, the correct policy represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in guiding the Chinese revolution was: on the one hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolutionary development by stages, a clear distinction was made between the revolutionary tasks of the two stages, the democratic and socialist revolutions; on the other hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution, the two revolutions were closely linked together and every means was sought during the stage of democratic revolution to create the conditions for the future realization of socialist revolution, so that the struggles of the socialist revolution could be waged without interruption immediately after the nation-wide victory of the democratic revolution.

The firm grasping of the hegemony in the democratic revolution by the proletariat through the Communist Party is the key to ensuring the thorough victory of the democratic revolution and the successful switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. None of the Chinese bourgeois political parties could put forward a thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme, could carry the Chinese democratic revolution to the end. Our Party's general line in leading the democratic revolution was to unite all the forces that could be united and thoroughly carry out the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism under the leadership of the proletariat and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. This general line is summed up and defined by Comrade Mao Tse-tung as

"the revolution of the masses of people, led by the proletariat, to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism."¹

China was a big, backward country. Over 80 per cent of her people lived in the rural areas; 70 per cent of this rural population were poor peasants and farm labourers. The peasant question was the central question in our democratic revolution. The rule of reaction in old China was extremely barbarous. The masses of the people had no rights whatsoever. Progressive revolutionaries were subject to mass arrests and execution. In the democratic revolutionary period, the Chinese Communist Party, therefore, went deep into the villages and for 22 years led the armed revolutionary struggle which used the villages to encircle the cities. What the Party adopted was the mass line policy of resolutely relying on the peasants' political consciousness and organized strength, mobilizing the peasants to save themselves, to overthrow the landlords, to acquire land and safeguard the land (this policy of the Party was carried out continuously up to the land reform after the founding of the People's Republic of China); not the contrary bourgeois policy of "bestowing" land on the peasants as a favour. This enabled the Party to build powerful and reliable revolutionary bastions in the rural areas, to build up the revolutionary army and revolutionary bases, gradually raise the revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary discipline of the broad masses of impoverished peasants close to the level of the revolutionary proletariat, and receive from them the continuous supply of manpower and material reserves needed by the Party and the people's army led by the Party. By depending on rural revolutionary bases the Chinese Communist Party waged the revolutionary war, and carried out land reform and economic and cultural construction in rural revolutionary bases. Essentially these were great, protracted and recurrent rehearsals in preparation for the nation-wide victory. These rehearsals educated the masses, tempered the

¹From *Talk at the Conference of Cadres from Shansi and Suiyuan.*

army, stored up revolutionary strength, trained the cadres and enabled the Party's leadership to acquire rich experience in all fields.

With the establishment of the closest alliance between the proletariat and the peasant masses in the democratic revolution, we were able to solve the question of forming a revolutionary united front with the national bourgeoisie in a correct way. Taking China's specific conditions into consideration, we properly distinguished between the two sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie: One was the bourgeoisie of bureaucrats and compradors who were the tools of imperialism, defenders of feudalism and its allies and the vicious enemy of the national democratic revolution against whom resolute struggles must be waged. The other was the national bourgeoisie, who, oppressed and pushed around by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, desired an independent development of the nation's economy and therefore it was possible for them to join the revolution or stay neutral in the revolution. But they were also weak-kneed, had the dual character of being revolutionary as well as reactionary, and often took a wavering middle-of-the-road position. This made it necessary for us, on the one hand, to unite with them under certain conditions to carry on the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and on the other hand, also to struggle against their proneness to compromises. By putting such a united front policy into practice, we realized our aim of expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolating the reactionary forces; solidly preserved the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and rallied the broadest possible masses of the people.

During the period of democratic revolution in China, neither the right opportunists, who severed the connections between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, nor the "left" opportunists, who mixed the two up, understood how great the significance of the peasant question was for our

revolutionary cause; therefore, they were not able to handle the question of the bourgeoisie correctly. The right opportunists pursued a policy of capitulation towards the bourgeoisie and regarded the democratic revolution mainly as the concern of the bourgeoisie. They did not rely on the worker-peasant alliance, but mainly on the united front with the bourgeoisie, and only united with them without waging the necessary struggles. In doing so they gave up the hegemony of the proletariat, thus causing the defeat of the revolution and serious setbacks to the cause of the proletariat and the broad masses when the bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution. Even when the conditions for the victory of the revolution were ripe and it was necessary to seize the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle, the right opportunists did not have the courage to strive for victory and even tried to prevent victory. The "left" opportunists did not feel like uniting with all sorts of petty-bourgeois masses and the national bourgeoisie; they wrongly regarded the middle-of-the-road forces as the main target of their blows and denied the necessity and possibility of uniting with, or neutralizing, the various middle-of-the-road forces in the democratic revolution. They only waged struggles against the national bourgeoisie, did not properly unite with them and still less were they willing to concentrate the fire against the main enemy by exploiting the concrete contradictions among the enemies. This, too, resulted in abandoning the hegemony of the proletariat, leaving the proletariat to carry on the struggle single-handed and rendering it impossible for the revolution to gain victory. The "left" opportunists and the right opportunists had one thing in common: both of them ignored the revolutionary urge and perseverance of the peasants and, during the reign of reaction, denied that we could hold on in the countryside, establish revolutionary bases there and finally succeed in seizing the cities by encircling them from the countryside. Under certain conditions, therefore, the "left" opportunists and right opportunists could change positions. For instance, Comrade Wang

Ming was the main exponent of the third "leftist" line during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War in our country, but by the time of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, he became the main exponent of right opportunism.

In their struggles against "left" and right opportunism, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have united the whole Party and have thus made the Chinese revolution progress along a correct path and achieve one revolutionary victory after another.

The victory of the people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party thoroughly smashed the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang in old China and the bureaucratic and war-lord institutions it employed to oppress the people. This led to the founding of the great People's Republic in 1949 which is essentially a dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus successfully brought about the switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. As far as the main question of the revolution is concerned, i.e., the question of state power, the founding of the People's Republic of China marked the end of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China. While leading the democratic revolution to victory, the Chinese proletariat firmly established its political control of the state; therefore, there was no longer any need to conduct another struggle for the seizure of state power to ensure the victory of socialism. The reason for this is that during the democratic revolution our Party never forgot for a moment that our final goal is to carry out the socialist revolution and throughout the protracted struggles of the democratic revolution it already paid close attention to the establishment and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat.

In March 1949, on the eve of the nation-wide victory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that after the nation-wide victory of the Chinese revolution, the main external contradiction would still

be the contradiction between the Chinese people and imperialism, while at home, the main contradiction between the Chinese people, on the one hand, and the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalists, on the other, would give way to the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, that is, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. He also set forth a series of fundamental policies for the resolution of this contradiction. In the early years following the nation-wide victory, although it was still necessary for the Chinese people to continue to carry out the tasks left over from the period of the democratic revolution, mainly the task of implementing land reform over a large part of the country to eliminate the feudal landlord class, the transition to socialism had actually begun in 1949. With the support of the broad masses of the people and the power of the state, the Chinese proletariat confiscated bureaucrat-capital, kept a firm hold on the essential economic mainsprings of the state, energetically established a powerful socialist state economy and secured its leading position in the entire national economy.

Towards the end of 1952, when the tasks of restoring the national economy and clearing away the survivals of feudalism had been in the main fulfilled, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line for the period of transition, that is, the general line of simultaneous development of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and set forth the task of realizing the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce step by step, throughout the country, and the task of realizing the socialist industrialization of the country step by step. This general line was put forward at the time when the Chinese people were in the thick of the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. We resolutely fought the U.S. imperialists who tried to strangle New China, rallied the entire nation and won great victories in the struggle. At the same time,

on the home front, we carried on socialist transformation and construction without interruption.

This general line of the Chinese Communist Party was a line to lead Chinese society in its transition from the complicated economic structure of that time, which embraced not only socialist economy but also capitalist and individual economies, to a homogeneous socialist economic structure. At that time some people denied the necessity of the transition to socialism. They either attempted to develop capitalism in China and follow the old capitalist road, or tried to halt the revolution and preserve for a long time to come the status quo — with the socialist economy and capitalist economy existing side by side. The Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party affirmed the necessity of the transition from capitalism to socialism and thus rejected the various erroneous rightist viewpoints. At the same time, this Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party also affirmed that the transition to socialism must be gradual and that the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce must also be gradual and thus rejected the erroneous "leftist" viewpoint which hoped to make a clean sweep of capitalism overnight.

In effecting the socialist transformation of agriculture, of capitalist industry and commerce, we took a series of steps characteristic of our national peculiarities, in the light of the specific conditions in our country.

Three successive steps were taken in the socialist transformation of our agriculture. Step one: the land reform was immediately followed by the extensive development of mutual-aid organizations for collective labour on the basis of the individual economy. These mutual-aid organizations which were in the nature of embryonic socialism had already emerged in the revolutionary bases at an earlier period. Step two: this was again immediately followed by the development, on the basis of the mutual-aid movement, of agricultural producers' co-operatives with their special features of pooling the land as shares and unified management. These co-operatives were

semi-socialist in nature, since the land and the principal means of production were still privately owned. We called them agricultural producers' co-operatives of the elementary type. Step three: the collectivization of the land and the principal means of production and the establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives entirely socialist in nature, which were known as agricultural producers' co-operatives of the advanced type.

There were at one time controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the question of agricultural co-operation.

One viewpoint was that the level of our industrialization was still very low and that we were not yet in a position to effect the mechanization of agriculture, so it was impossible and improper to introduce agricultural co-operation too soon. The facts, however, have exploded this viewpoint. We carried out the task of agricultural co-operation in the virtual absence of mechanization.

Another viewpoint was that the rapid realization of co-operation would inevitably lower agricultural production. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. In the course of agricultural co-operation and afterwards, China's agricultural production continued to rise, and at considerable speed at that, rather than decline.

Still another viewpoint was that the realization of agricultural co-operation at such high speed would impair the unity of the peasants, or, in other words, that in addition to the rich peasants, the well-to-do middle peasants would also feel dissatisfied with us or even oppose us while only those peasants who were relatively worse off would support us. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. Thanks to our policy of uniting with the well-to-do middle peasants and the policy of paying compensation in annual instalments to the well-to-do middle peasants who joined the co-operatives with their large farm implements and draught animals, and thanks to

the rise in the production of the co-operatives year by year, the overwhelming majority of the well-to-do middle peasants were satisfied in the main with agricultural co-operation.

In short, the facts have shown that our method of "striking the iron while it is hot," setting up without delay typical examples for the rest to follow and popularizing them step by step to carry out agricultural co-operation immediately after the land reform, is a good Marxist-Leninist policy. If we had kept the revolution at a standstill after the land reform, let the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside grow, and allowed the polarization of the peasantry into two extremes, we would have faced fairly strong resistance and met with much greater difficulties in carrying out agricultural co-operation at a later date.

How did we realize the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce? We did this mainly by carrying out the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce, and through various forms of state capitalism, achieving the aim of socialist nationalization. Generally speaking, the initial form of state capitalism was to supply private capitalist industries with raw materials, to place orders with them for processing and manufacturing goods and let the state enterprises exclusively purchase and market their goods. As to private capitalist commercial enterprises, they were allowed to serve as retail distributors or commission agents for the state. The higher form of state capitalism was to place private capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management—beginning with the conversion of individual concerns into joint state-private enterprises and going on to the placing of capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management by whole trades, paying the capitalists a fixed rate of interest for a definite number of years.

There were also some controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

One view held that capitalist industry and commerce should only be utilized but should not be restricted and transformed, or that we had placed too many restrictions and had carried out the transformation too hastily. This was in effect an attempt to preserve the capitalist system for a long period of time. It is impossible for the capitalist system of exploitation and the socialist system of public ownership to live side by side for long in one and the same society—one must defeat the other.

Another view contended that we had "compromised too much" since we not only had carried out the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in a step-by-step process, but had also practised redemption, given the bourgeoisie the right to vote and given a definite political status to the representatives of the bourgeoisie. They held that it was impermissible in principle to continue to maintain a united front with the national bourgeoisie after the victory of the Chinese revolution. They asked that we apply the same policy towards the national bourgeoisie as we did towards the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, i.e., to confiscate the property of the national bourgeoisie or to adopt simple policies which would quickly squeeze capitalist industry and commerce out of the national economy, and to deprive the capitalists of the right to vote. These people forgot that it is advantageous to the proletariat to adopt the policy of redemption in certain concrete historical conditions. Marx and Lenin had expressed this view many times. Regarding the question that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not necessarily have to deprive the bourgeoisie of the right to vote, Lenin, too, referred to it in *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. He said: "The question of restricting the franchise is a nationally specific and not a general question of the dictatorship."¹

¹V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 64.

Have we adopted a policy of "class collaboration" in handling the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie? Certainly not. Such doubts represent a misunderstanding or distortion resulting from complete ignorance of Marxism-Leninism. As a matter of fact, the policy of uniting with the national bourgeoisie and struggling with it, which we adopted to resolve this contradiction, is a very firm proletarian class policy which has nothing in common with the policy of "class collaboration." The success of our socialist transformation proves this fully.

In short, our policy of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has enabled us to reduce the opposition to the transformation, and in the course of the gradual transformation, to use capitalism conditionally to serve socialism, so as to facilitate the progress of socialist construction. As a result, we have been able to eliminate capitalism completely in the ownership of the means of production, and we shall transform the bourgeois elements gradually into working people earning their own living. Of course, this too is good Marxist-Leninist policy which fully suits Chinese conditions.

The method of gradual transition which we adopted in the socialist transformation of agriculture and of capitalist industry and commerce did not prolong the time of transformation, as some people alleged. On the contrary, the transformation was carried out very rapidly. By the second half of 1955 we had already set up agricultural co-operatives of the advanced type throughout the countryside, and immediately afterwards, in 1956, we converted capitalist industrial and commercial concerns into joint state-private enterprises by whole trades, and at the same time organized the handicraftsmen into co-operatives. This means that in less than seven years after the founding of the People's Republic of China we accomplished in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and basically solved the question of "who will win" in the owner-

ship of the means of production. In the course of fulfilling this task, practically no destruction was involved and industrial and agricultural production rose steadily.

Has the socialist revolution in China come to an end with the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production? Some people think it has, and that there is no need to carry on any revolution whatsoever. We think this viewpoint is wrong. The socialist revolution has not yet ended, it must go on and it must be carried on to the end. Today the capitalists in our country are still receiving a fixed rate of interest. Economically the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as two classes has not been entirely eliminated. Even if the bourgeoisie as a class has disappeared economically, the bourgeois world outlook, the political influences of the bourgeoisie and the force of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois habits will continue to exist for a long time in conflict with the socialist system. The bourgeois rightists, particularly, will take advantage of all this and launch attacks against socialism whenever they have the opportunity and plot for the restoration of capitalism. At times their attacks can still be extremely frantic. That is why we cannot limit the socialist revolution to the economic front; it must be carried out on the political and ideological fronts as well. In his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed this out clearly. He said:

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between various political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will still be long and devious and at times may even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question whether socialism or capitalism will win is still not really settled. Marxists are still a minority of the entire

population as well as of the intellectuals. Marxism therefore must still develop through struggle.¹

The political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is unavoidable throughout the period of transition. But such struggles are like waves, with ups and downs. Sometimes they become acute and at other times they are mild. Such struggles will disappear only when the bourgeois political and ideological influences are finally wiped out.

To carry on the socialist revolution to the end, Comrade Mao Tse-tung suggested that we should distinguish between two types of contradictions of different natures—contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people—and that we should employ different methods in approaching and dealing with these two types of contradictions. He also put forward the policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.” In 1957 our Party launched the rectification campaign in the whole Party and among the whole people to readjust the relations among the people and waged a struggle against the frantic attack of the bourgeois rightists. The result was that the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses of the people to build socialism was greatly sparked and the reactionary influences of the exploiting classes in the political and ideological fields were dealt a heavy blow and greatly weakened. On this basis our Party put forward the policy of “politics in command,” strengthened the leadership of the Party in economic and other work, and adjusted the relations between the central and the local governments, between the leaders and the led, as well as relations in other fields. At the same time the Party presented to the whole nation the slogan of “toppling superstitions, emancipating the mind, promoting the communist style of thinking, speaking and acting boldly,” encouraged experiments of a revolutionary character and mass

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, pp. 50-51.

innovations and creation of a mass character, and guided the people to revise and abolish those rules and regulations that are no longer suitable. In order to carry out the revolution in education, the Party put forward the policy of education in the service of proletarian politics and the integration of education with productive labour. As a result of all these revolutionary measures, “a vigorous and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind,” as Comrade Mao Tse-tung described it, has been developing ever more extensively in our country. In the spring of 1958 our Party put forward the timely general line of “going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism.”

Inspired by the Party's general line for socialist construction, the people throughout the country were high in spirit and strong in morale so that a big leap forward was effected in the national economy and people's communes were established throughout the countryside in 1958. Unprecedented achievements were also made in the development of science, technology, culture and education. This is the result of carrying the socialist revolution to the end and correctly handling contradictions among the people and thereby releasing the social productive forces thoroughly.

There have been controversies between different views within our Party on the questions of distinguishing between the two types of contradictions, the big leap forward and the people's communes. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has resolutely upheld the correct line, repudiated various erroneous views within the Party and has therefore been able to unite the entire Party and people throughout the country and continuously win new victories in the cause of socialism.

Some people say that while it is understandable that contradictions exist between ourselves and the enemy in the period of transition, it is hard to understand that contradictions among

the people should exist under socialism. They hold that there is no need to draw a line between the two types of contradictions — the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people. This view is wrong. Drawing a clear-cut line between the two types of contradictions is of great theoretical and practical significance for the correct carrying out of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the correct handling of the various contradictions among the labouring people that do not fall into the category of the class struggle.

In present-day China, there exist not only contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, but also a large number of contradictions among the labouring people. For example, the contradictions arising from the differences between the working class and the peasantry and between mental and manual labour, from the remnant habits and ideological influences of the exploiting classes among the labouring people, etc. As to the contradictions between the social productive forces and the relations of production, the contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure, and the contradictions that arise from the differences between the correct and erroneous views of the people and between the advanced and the backward, they have always existed. They exist now and they will exist for ever. It is only that in socialist society, the character of these contradictions and the method of resolving them differ fundamentally from those in class society. The view that under the socialist system, or when mankind enters classless communist society, there will no longer be any contradictions among the people runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and is entirely wrong.

All types of contradictions that exist in society will inevitably find expression in the political and economic life of our country and in our inner Party life. Therefore, we must learn to recognize and handle these contradictions correctly. Only thus can we thoroughly eliminate the hostile anti-socialist forces, complete the transformation of members of the bour-

geoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, adjust the relations among the people, and carry our cause forward successfully. In socialist society and communist society, the unity and struggle of contradictions and the resolution of contradictions are still the driving force of social progress.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, neglecting to make a clear distinction between these two types of contradictions of different natures will give rise to the following wrong tendencies: Failing to see contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, or taking these to be contradictions among the people, not knowing that in handling such contradictions the method of dictatorship, i.e., the method of isolating, splitting up, punishing and suppression, should be used, and, instead of this, using the method of handling contradictions among the people to handle contradictions between ourselves and the enemy — this will inevitably make people commit mistakes. On the other hand, failing to see contradictions among the people, exaggerating contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and taking contradictions among the people to be contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, not knowing that in handling contradictions among the people the democratic method, i.e., the method of “starting from a desire for unity and resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle, so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis,” should be used and, instead of this, using the method of handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, i.e., the high-handed method, and not the method of persuasion, to handle contradictions among the people — this will also inevitably make people commit mistakes. Besides, each of the two types of contradictions can turn into the other under certain conditions. If they do become so transformed, but our methods of handling them do not change correspondingly, we will also unavoidably commit mistakes. There are quite a few instances of our comrades committing mistakes on this question, and therefore it

is vitally necessary to acquire a serious understanding of this question.

Some people say that our adoption of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is tantamount to the adoption of the policy of bourgeois "liberalism," or the policy of so-called "liberalization." There are also some people who worry lest our implementation of such a policy should help the anti-socialist poisonous weeds grow and result in bourgeois ideas running riot. All these people are thinking in a wrong way.

We have pursued this policy because we have full confidence in the Party's leadership, in the great majority of the mass of the people, in the superiority of the socialist system and in the truth of Marxism. To adopt this policy is by no means to implement the bourgeois policy of "liberalization," but to pursue an extremely firm class policy of the proletariat. Our purpose in adopting this policy is to promote the development and flourishing of science, art and culture and the development of Marxism and socialist ideology guided by Marxism. The purpose of carrying out this policy at a time when bourgeois ideological influences still exist in society is to help the proletariat defeat the bourgeoisie politically and ideologically, to eliminate its influence, and not to permit bourgeois ideology to run riot. This policy also applies to the correct handling of contradictions among the people in the political sphere. In a socialist society, Marxist ideology still has to develop in the struggle with all kinds of non-Marxist ideologies; socialist ideology still has to extend its own hold in the struggle with all kinds of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. As to the various views held among the people, we must allow them to be fully expressed and they must be fully debated by using the methods of criticism and reasoning. Only in this way can correct views be advanced, erroneous views overcome and the issues truly settled.

It is true that the bourgeoisie will make use of this policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools

of thought contend" to engage in anti-socialist activities. However, under present conditions in China, the proletariat has the upper hand in every aspect. We have nothing to fear from the bourgeoisie using this slogan to wage their struggle against the proletariat. We have never recognized anti-socialist utterances and acts of the bourgeoisie as being legal under the proletarian dictatorship. We have always openly declared that in our garden, the hundred flowers of socialism should be in full bloom and that the anti-socialist poisonous weeds should be weeded out. The question is: what means should we use to weed out the anti-socialist poisonous weeds effectively? In a socialist society, so long as the political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie has not been wiped out, anti-socialist bourgeois poisonous weeds will exist objectively and will often appear in the guise of fragrant flowers of socialism. When people lack experience in struggling against poisonous weeds, they are often not so good at distinguishing them from fragrant flowers. It is even possible that they greet a disguised anti-socialist poisonous weed as a fragrant flower of socialism. In certain branches of our cultural work, some comrades at one time only allowed what they considered to be fragrant flowers to grow for fear that poisonous weeds might appear. As a result, many fragrant flowers beneficial to socialism were mistaken for poisonous weeds and their growth was thwarted. On the other hand, many harmful poisonous weeds were able to grow surreptitiously in disguise. The ideas of these comrades were wrong and childish. As a matter of fact, it is those anti-socialist poisonous weeds which are hidden or appear in disguise that are the more harmful to the proletarian dictatorship. It is not a bad thing to let poisonous weeds come out in their true colours. On the contrary, it is a very good thing. For only by so doing can the mass of people be trained to discern a poisonous weed and develop their ability to fight against poisonous weeds and thus the aim of letting a hundred flowers of socialism blossom and weeding out the anti-socialist poi-

sonous weeds can be achieved. This was the method that we used to fight the bourgeois rightists in 1957 and, by relying on the mass of the people, repulse the ferocious attacks of the rightists.

The facts have shown that the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" has indeed strengthened the leadership of Marxism in the realm of ideology and has not in the least weakened that position of leadership. It has enhanced the ability of the mass of people to struggle against reactionary ideologies and not weakened that ability in the slightest. Under existing conditions in China, this policy benefits the proletariat and operates to the disadvantage of the bourgeoisie, which is opposed to socialism.

In 1958, the Chinese people created a situation in which the national economy made a big leap forward. The facts of this big leap forward are undeniable. However, certain people assert that our country's big leap forward in 1958 is an abnormal phenomenon, that organizing mass movements in economic construction can only cause dislocation in production and that even though a temporary leap forward may be effected it will inevitably result in such disproportions in the national economy that it will be impossible to keep the leap forward going. This point of view is entirely wrong.

In carrying on economic construction, is it a good thing or not to organize mass movements? Our socialist construction is based on the conscious effort of millions of people. It would be impossible to have vigorous socialist construction without bringing into full play the creative energy of the masses. Our country's 650 million people who are liberated, united and organized are a truly great creative force. In the mass campaign to make iron and steel last year, tens of millions of people neglected their sleep and meals and paid no attention to material remuneration. They were in the highest of spirits and showed boundless enthusiasm and communist

daring in building a new life. The net result of all this is that a rational distribution of the iron and steel industry throughout the country has been brought about gradually and its development accelerated. In the same way, it was through large-scale mass movements and by bringing mass initiative into full play that we built the myriads of small and medium-sized water conservancy projects and the hundreds of thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises which now dot the entire country. By mobilizing the masses and pressing ahead with socialist emulation campaigns — under the slogan of "emulating the advanced, overtaking the advanced, and learning from the advanced!" — many large enterprises have been able to bring about a rapid rise in production capacity and labour productivity and many construction projects were able to greatly economize on investments and were completed ahead of schedule. The facts prove that by mobilizing the masses to work on the front of socialist construction, we can make our national economy grow by leaps and bounds.

It is by no means fortuitous that these mass movements have come about. To bring about a speedy change in China's poverty and backwardness is the strong urge of the 650 million people of our country. Since they have become liberated under the socialist system, this urge is transformed inevitably into action and becomes a powerful and irresistible material force. With correct leadership, such mass movements can certainly become the most dynamic and constant factor facilitating the economic leap forward of our country. Our mass movements are launched under the centralized guidance of the Party. Party guidance means integrating political work with economic work, integrating the political education of the masses with material incentives and placing politics in command, making it the driving force. Hence it becomes possible under the Party's guidance to organize the mass movements for socialist construction and keep them going, bringing the initiative of the people into fullest play in the work

of construction. Our national economy will continue to leap forward without pause as long as we lead the masses always to go all out and aim high and rely on the workers, peasants and technicians to carry out the technical and cultural revolutions so as to continuously introduce more modern implements and expand the application of modern techniques in production. There can be no doubt about this.

When a mass movement is in full swing, some production regimes will be upset. But the mass movement upsets only those outdated regimes which hinder the expansion of production; at the same time it establishes new regimes which stimulate production. In 1958 we introduced through mass movements many readjustments in human relations in our enterprises. We introduced the system of workers participating in management and cadres participating in productive labour, and also the system of closely integrating under the leadership of the Party committees the work of the leading cadres, the workers and the technical and management personnel. Under proper guidance rules and regulations which had outlived their usefulness were changed. All this helped greatly to raise the level of management and production in our enterprises. The socialist system is not something petrified and fixed for all time. By changing the old order of things and introducing new ones under guidance, the advantages of the socialist system are developed and brought into full play. But to do this, we must rely on the masses; we must struggle against the force of habits which hinders the growth of the productive forces; and we must make continuous readjustments in the relations of production and the superstructure so that they can fit in with the needs of the growing social productive forces. So long as we do this, we shall be able to spur the swift advance of technical reforms and the technical revolution, stimulate the speedy growth of the social productive forces of our country and maintain a continued leap forward in the national economy.

Lenin once said:

It is important to realize how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, petrified, fixed once for all, whereas in reality only under socialism will a rapid, genuine, really mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, commence in all spheres of public and personal life.¹

In the big leap forward which started in 1958, we are actually witnessing the emergence of such a mass forward movement in our country. Those who are critical of the mass movement stand aloof from it. They find fault with it, dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and spread feelings of despondency, dissatisfaction and pessimism. Their attitude towards the mass movement has nothing in common with the highly enthusiastic attitude which one expects of a Communist. Theirs is the lordly attitude of the bourgeoisie.

Some people assert that the adoption of a leap forward rate of advance goes against objective economic laws and will give rise to disproportions in the various branches of the national economy. But the facts controvert these assertions. Our leap forward is a new thing appearing in our country that fits in exactly with socialist economic laws. Objective economic laws cannot be violated; they must be observed. If those laws are violated it is impossible for the national economy to develop by leaps and bounds. The general line laid down by our Party comprises the whole set of policies known as "simultaneous development." They are: the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and the simultaneous development of heavy and light industries, while giving priority to heavy industry; the simultaneous development of national and local industries and of large, medium-sized and small enterprises and the simultaneous employment of modern

¹V. I. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 303.

and indigenous methods of production under centralized leadership, with over-all planning, proper division of labour and co-ordination. This set of policies later on received the popular name of "walking on two legs." The adoption of such policies will avoid various types of one-sidedness in the leap forward of the national economy, such as emphasizing the importance of industry to the neglect of agriculture, emphasizing the importance of heavy industry to the neglect of light industry, emphasizing the importance of large enterprises to the neglect of medium-sized and small ones, emphasizing the importance of unified management of industries by the central authorities to the neglect of the initiative of local authorities in the development of industry, and emphasizing the importance of modern methods of production to the neglect of indigenous methods of production, and so on. That is to say, while developing the national economy at high speed, the general line of our Party calls for a unity of objective possibility and subjective activity, due attention to the various kinds of proportions and observance of objective economic laws. Since the big leap forward last year, harmonious and suitable proportions, in general, exist between the various branches of the national economy, between industry and agriculture, between heavy and light industries, and between consumption and accumulation. Although certain isolated, partial and temporary disproportions occurred, they were quickly discovered and overcome. Such isolated, partial and temporary disproportions will crop up from time to time, and if they do, they are easy to overcome. Correct implementation of the general line of the Party and the policies of, "simultaneous development" is a guarantee against the occurrence of long-term, over-all disproportions.

It goes without saying that we must do a good job of economic planning to enable, as far as possible, the various branches of the national economy to spurt ahead in harmony. We want both high speed and over-all balance. This is not easy to achieve; in high-speed development it is more likely

that certain imbalances will occur. We should not, however, give way to "fear of the wolf in front and the tiger behind," vainly hoping for a haven of peace by adopting the method of reducing speed unjustifiably to achieve a balance. So long as we pay attention to summing up our experience and seriously study objective economic laws, balance can and should be achieved while developing our economy at high speed.

The speed of development of the national economy cannot possibly be the same every year. It may be higher in one year and lower in another. This is a normal state of affairs. But it can be stated positively that our economy will continue to grow year by year and that we can maintain the speed of the leap forward in its development.

Those who find fault with our big leap forward and the mass movement also find fault with our rural people's communes. They maintain that the people's communes were set up "much too soon," are "in a mess" and "outstep the level of social development and the level of the people's political consciousness." There is no valid ground at all for such charges.

It is wrong to regard the growth of the people's communes as lacking objective necessity. Those who do so fail to see that the people's communes are a new form of social organization which has grown up on the basis of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. This form of social organization was created by the hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants to meet the needs of growing productive forces. It is the product of the big growth of agricultural production, which took place during the big leap forward of 1958 along with the great extension of water conservancy work, the peasants' enthusiasm in running industries and the great upsurge of socialist consciousness among the peasants. The mass of Chinese peasants have seen that the building of water conservancy works and industries, the comprehensive development of a diversified rural economy and the practice of co-

ordination in the work of building various kinds of fairly large productive projects must necessarily exceed the scope of the original agricultural producers' co-operatives and require that certain kinds of new relations of production and new forms of organization should be established on the basis of developing the original agricultural producers' co-operatives. This is the people's commune. A people's commune has at its disposal the manpower of several thousand and even around ten thousand households and several tens of thousands or even over a hundred thousand *mou*¹ of land, is able to deploy manpower and utilize natural resources more rationally for the development of the rural economy and facilitate the gradual mechanization and electrification of agriculture. The educational and cultural services and collective welfare establishments urgently needed by the peasant masses can also be extensively developed in the people's communes. A great economy in labour has been achieved as a result of the setting up of such collective welfare establishments as community dining-rooms and kindergartens. In particular a very great number of women are freed from household chores. Only one year has passed since the rural people's communes were established, but they have fully demonstrated in practice their immense vitality. That is why the people's commune movement is a great mass movement that meets the need of the Chinese peasants to develop the rural economy rapidly and transform the poverty-stricken and backward face of the Chinese countryside, a mass movement which conforms to the laws of historical development under the conditions obtaining in China. Such a mass movement is not something that can emerge because somebody shouts for it, nor will it collapse because somebody opposes it.

Some people hold that because the people's communes as they now stand still have socialist collective ownership, there is not much difference between them and the agricultural

¹One *mou* is equivalent to 1/15 hectare or 1/6 acre—Tr.

producers' co-operatives and therefore there is no need to establish them. Such people fail to see that a new content is added on the basis of the original advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives and so a vast difference exists between the two. Within the people's commune, industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs are integrated (agriculture comprises farming, forestry, livestock raising, rural side lines and fishery); it organizes production as well as the livelihood of its members, and the basic unit of state power in the countryside is merged with the people's commune administration — all these things were absent in the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative. Of particular importance is the fact that although ownership in the people's commune is still socialist collective ownership and although the collective ownership of the production brigade which corresponds to the original advanced agricultural producers' co-operative is the basic form of ownership while only part of the ownership is vested in the commune as a whole, this part of the ownership now vested in the people's commune did not exist in the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative and this already contains certain elements of ownership by the whole people. As the commune is able every year to draw suitable sums for its accumulation fund from the income of the production brigades, to be put to the use of commune-run enterprises, and as the commune-run enterprises are developed and the state extends help to the commune, that part of the ownership vested in the commune will be gradually enlarged, until it becomes the basic form of ownership, while the production brigades only retain a part of the ownership. Although at present only part of the ownership is vested in the people's commune as a whole, it is this part of the ownership which holds its greatest hopes and prospects. When that part of the ownership now vested in the people's commune as a whole becomes the basic form of ownership, a reliable foundation will have been laid for the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people in the

countryside. As to the distribution system in the people's communes, at the present time they implement, in the main, a wage system based on the principle "to each according to his work" and at the same time they adopt a supply system which to some extent embodies the rudiments of the principle of "to each according to his needs." This also did not exist in the original agricultural producers' co-operatives. Many people's communes have put into effect a supply system which provides members with a suitable amount of free supplies. (Generally speaking, these free allocations constitute 20 to 30 per cent of the total incomes of the members.) At present its main purpose is to ensure that provision is made for the livelihood of those who are not able-bodied and of the children. This is a very good method of implementing social insurance in our rural areas and of helping families which have more children or have other heavy burdens. It meets the present actual needs of life of the peasant masses. Of course, this does not yet signify implementation of the communist principle "to each according to his needs."

Some people are of the opinion that people's communes can only be communist in nature and must fully adopt the principle "to each according to his needs," otherwise, they cannot be called people's communes. They therefore regard the setting up of people's communes under present conditions as merely a utopian measure divorced from reality. They give a completely mechanical interpretation to the nature of the people's communes. They do not understand that our present people's communes in the rural areas are a form of basic social organization, possessing all the above-mentioned special features; that this form of social organization, therefore, has very great flexibility and is capable of accommodating productive forces at different levels in both socialist and communist society and their corresponding levels of relations of production. As far as our country is concerned, this form of social organization suits not only the socialist collective ownership of the present but future socialist ownership by the whole

people as well, not only the present socialist system of giving to each according to his work but the future communist system of giving to each according to his needs. There is every reason to believe that this form of social organization, the people's commune, will also be a suitable form of social organization at the primary level after our country has entered communism. The commune system, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out, embodies a process of development. In our countryside, this social organization, the people's commune, can rapidly advance rural economic development while social economic growth will, in its turn, promote the development of the people's commune system both in content and form. With the birth of this social organization, the people's commune, we have in practice discovered the road that, under the prevailing conditions in our country, will lead to the gradual transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, and to the future gradual transition from socialism to communism in the countryside. It is wrong to think that all expectations for the commune can be realized once the people's commune is established. It will be a complete mistake to think that because the people's communes need a process of gradual development, they were set up too early, that it would have been better not to set them up and that those already set up should be dissolved.

To find fault with our big leap and people's communes means to find fault with our Party's general line for building socialism. Who are these people finding fault with the Party's general line? In our own ranks, they are the right opportunists. They represent bourgeois ideology within our Party. When hostile forces at home and abroad were viciously attacking us, they even denied the great achievements in our work and described our great cause as being in an awful mess, using as their pretext certain shortcomings in our work, which had long ago been discovered and corrected by the Party's Central Committee. They tried to prevent our cause from

advancing, to prevent the continued leap forward this year and prevent the thorough implementation of the Party's general line. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee pointed out that right opportunism is the principal danger in our country today. To wage a struggle against right opportunism, overcome right opportunism and wipe out its influences is a major task of our Party at the present time.

The general line of our Party is correct and our achievements are great. Now we are successfully waging the struggle against right opportunism. In response to the call of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, the broad masses of the people are working for a big new upsurge to increase production and practise economy; this is a powerful rejoinder to the attacks launched by hostile forces at home and abroad, at the same time it is also a reply to the attacks by right opportunists.

Our great cause is advancing successfully. Our Party shares the destiny and life-breath of the Chinese people; our cause, we have always believed, is a component part of the socialist cause of all the world. In our country's revolution and construction, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have given us very great help while the working people of the whole world and the progressive forces of all lands have also given us a very great measure of sympathy and support. With the Soviet Union and other socialist countries our country has established a friendship and unity which is indestructible and is growing daily. Our slogans are: "Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!" "Long live the great unity of the peoples of all lands!" Supported by these two great unities, our cause is invincible.

All our victories are fresh confirmations of, and fresh victories for, Marxism-Leninism. There was once some talk about Marxism only being applicable to well-developed capitalist countries but not to economically backward countries; only to the West, not to the East. After the victory of the

Russian October Revolution and the Chinese revolution, there has been another kind of talk about Marxism only being applicable to the Eastern and not to the Western countries. All such ideas are myths spread by the bourgeois reactionaries and their henchmen. In actual fact, since the emergence of Marxism, whether in economically advanced countries or in economically backward countries, whether in the West or the East, every historical event and every revolutionary experience has proved repeatedly the correctness of Marxism. The struggles and revolutions of the masses in the various countries take place and progress in different historical environments and under different historical conditions, but, no matter how complex and tortuous are the revolutions in the various countries, it is no more possible for the development of any country to depart from the common historical course pointed out by Marxism than it is for the earth to leave its orbit revolving round the sun.

The Chinese Communist Party, which has led the Chinese revolution to victory, is armed with Marxism-Leninism; this is epitomized in the famous words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "The integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party has made consistent efforts to enable itself to solve the various problems of the Chinese revolution and construction by flexibly applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the concrete conditions in China. The fact that Marxism-Leninism has been widely disseminated in such a large Eastern country as ours with a population of 650 million and that it has resulted in victory in the actual practice of the revolution and construction must, by all accounts, be considered a big event in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism. Of course, revolution and construction in China have features peculiar to this country. But it is also possible that some of these important special features may reappear in some other countries. In this

sense, Chinese experience is to a certain extent of international significance.

Let us raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and march forward!

Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world!

September 14, 1959

A Great Decade

Chou En-lai

As the Chinese People's Republic celebrates the tenth anniversary of its birth, people throughout the world, irrespective of their political opinions, cannot but acknowledge that truly earth-shaking changes have taken place in China. The Chinese people have changed from slaves living in a hell on earth into fearless masters of their fate. The entire nation looks back upon the great victories already won with rejoicing and looks to the future with full confidence.

Let us see what changes China has undergone in the past decade; why they have taken place and what main lessons can be drawn from them.

It is well known that ten years ago China was extremely backward economically. At that time, China stood twenty-sixth in the world's output of steel, and twenty-fifth in output of electric power. Its output of coal was relatively larger: it took ninth place. Its output of cotton yarn, product of its relatively better developed cotton textile industry, still gave it no better than fifth place. There were only 3 million industrial workers in the country, less than 0.6 per cent of the population. Though vast old China always claimed to be an agricultural country, it was obliged to import wheat, rice and cotton every year for several decades preceding liberation. Customs returns show that 6,000 million catties¹ of grain were imported in 1933 while 6,900,000 *tan*² of cotton were imported

¹A catty is equivalent to 0.5 kilogramme or 1.1023 pounds—*Tr.*

²A *tan* is equivalent to 50 kilogrammes or 110.23 pounds—*Tr.*

in 1946. For a long time there was an unfavourable foreign trade balance. Year after year there was a deficit in the state budget. In the twelve years from the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war in July 1937 to May 1949, the volume of currency issued by the reactionary Kuomintang government increased over 140,000 million times while commodity prices rose over 8,500,000 million times.

So deplorable was the state of affairs in China at the time that the U.S. Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, in the statement which he read to the Congressional Committees on Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations in executive session in February 1948, had to acknowledge that even the incessant outpouring of U.S. aid could not rescue China from its economic crisis. He asserted that "China does not itself possess the raw material and industrial resources" which would enable it to become a first-class power within the foreseeable future. In August 1949, Dean Acheson, who succeeded Marshall as Secretary of State, in his letter to U.S. President Truman, ridiculed the "promises" of the Chinese Communist Party to solve the problem of "feeding the population." He predicted that no government in China would succeed in tackling this problem.

But even in June 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung solemnly declared at the opening ceremony of the Preparatory Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking: "The Chinese people will see that, once its destiny is in the hands of the people, China will, like the rising sun in the east, flood the earth with its brilliant rays, swiftly wash away the dirt left behind by the reactionary government, heal the war wounds and build up a new, strong and prosperous people's democratic republic of China which will be true to its name."

Whose prediction has come true?

According to the adjusted planned figures for 1959 (it can now already be foreseen that most of the planned targets will be overfulfilled), the total output value of industry and agri-

culture will be 5.3 times that of 1949; of this total the value of industrial production will be 11.7 times larger. Steel output will reach 12 million tons, 76 times the 1949 figure of 158,000 tons; coal, 335 million tons, more than 10 times the 1949 figure of 32,430,000 tons; electric power, 39,000 million kilowatt-hours, more than 9 times the 1949 figure of 4,310 million kilowatt-hours; and cotton yarn, 8.2 million bales, 4.5 times the 1949 figure of 1.8 million bales. In 1958, China jumped to seventh place in the world in steel, third place in coal, eleventh place in electric power and second place in cotton yarn production. Even though modern industry had been introduced for nearly a century, fixed industrial assets totalled less than 13,000 million yuan by 1949 in old China; in the ten years of New China the value of newly added fixed industrial assets amounts to around 45,000 million yuan. In old China, after nearly seventy years of power development, power generating capacity amounted to less than 1.9 million kilowatts by 1949; in ten years in New China the new power generating capacity added is more than three times that figure. By 1949 after nearly sixty years of development of its iron and steel industry annual steel making capacity was less than one million tons in old China; the new annual steel making capacity added in ten years of New China is more than ten times that figure.

The imperialists ridiculed our adjusted 1959 plan as a "big leap backward." As everybody knows, 1958 was a year of an exceptionally big leap forward in China's industrial and agricultural production, with the verified output value of industry 66 per cent bigger than in 1957. The adjusted 1959 target for output value of industry is still 25.6 per cent higher than in 1958, the year of the exceptionally big leap forward. This is obviously a continued great leap forward on the basis of an exceptionally big leap forward. Such a rate of leaping advance is beyond anything the imperialist countries dare dream of. Let us compare our speed of development with that of the two leading imperialist countries. In the nine years

between 1950 and 1958, China's total output value of industrial production rose at an average annual rate of 28 per cent whereas the comparable rate in the U.S. was 3.7 per cent and in Britain 2.9 per cent. In 1958, the year of the exceptionally big leap forward in China's industry, industrial production fell by 6.5 per cent in the U.S. and by 0.9 per cent in Britain compared with the previous year. If our speed is described as a "big leap backward," how should their speed be called?

To belittle the great significance of our big leap forward, bourgeois commentators have advanced another paradoxical argument: China's rate of development is great only because its original level was very low. But what are the facts? Our rate of growth manifests itself not only in the average annual percentage increase, but also in absolute volume. China's steel output was 158,000 tons in 1949 and will reach 12 million tons in 1959, that is, an increase of 11,842,000 tons in ten years, roughly equivalent to the net increase in the 29 years between 1872 and 1901 in the U.S., or in the 67 years between 1869 and 1936 in Britain. Why could the U.S. and Britain not progress at that time at the same leaping rate as China is doing today? What argument can your bourgeois sophists produce to explain away the crawling rate of progress in the capitalist countries?

As a result of this rapid rate of industrial growth, especially in heavy industry, marked changes have taken place in the composition of China's national economy. In 1949, the total value of industrial output accounted for 30 per cent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output while the output value of means of production accounted for 26.6 per cent of the total value of industrial output. By 1958, the proportions reached 63.6 per cent and 57.3 per cent respectively. Now we have ourselves begun to produce about 500 types of steel and 6,000 types of rolled steel, many new types of heavy-duty machine tools, 2,500-ton hydraulic forging presses, complete sets of coal mining and coking equipment, equipment for big blast furnaces more than 1,500 cubic metres in volume,

jet planes, various types of motor vehicles, tractors, sea-going vessels with a deadweight of 5,000 tons, 72,500-kilowatt hydroelectric power generating equipment and 50,000-kilowatt thermo-power generating equipment, complete sets of textile, paper-making and sugar-refining equipment and other products. There has also been a marked change in the geographical distribution of industry. Formerly over 90 per cent of the iron and steel industry was concentrated in Northeast China. With the exception of Tibet, iron and steel bases of varying sizes and numbers have been established in every province, municipality and autonomous region in the country. Power plants were concentrated previously in a few large cities and industrial bases. Now all large, medium-sized and small cities and even some rural areas have power stations of varying sizes. Previously the textile industry was mainly concentrated in Shanghai, Tsingtao, Tientsin, and Wusih. Now many new modern textile mills have been built in most of China's provinces. Big industrial bases have been built in many areas that were formerly desolate and inaccessible like Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu and cities with very few people. All these facts show that the foundation has been laid for the industrialization of China. No force in the world can prevent our country from developing into a prosperous and powerful, big industrial country in the not too distant future.

While developing industry, we have not forgotten to develop agriculture. In these ten years, the total value of China's agricultural output will have increased two and a half fold. In 1959, the total grain output will reach 550,000 million catties, 2.5 times the 1949 figure of 216,200 million catties. This year, the total cotton output will reach 46.2 million *tan*, 5.2 times the 1949 figure of 8.89 million *tan*. Our total grain output has ranked first in the world since 1952. Last year, our total cotton output ranked second in the world. Of course in terms of per capita output the agricultural level of our country, like the industrial level, is still quite low. But the

crux of the problem is rate of development. Although our country has very limited agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizer, and the United States has many times as much as our country, grain output went up 130 per cent in our country between 1949 and 1958 while in the United States it only rose 25 per cent. During the same period, our cotton output shot up 372 per cent while in the United States it dropped 28 per cent.

Capital construction has made rapid progress in the rural areas. In the initial stage after liberation there were only 240 million *mou* of irrigated land in the country. With the construction of large numbers of rural water conservancy projects and reservoirs in the past ten years, the total irrigated area has been expanded to more than 1,000 million *mou*. Vast numbers of small factories have been set up in the rural areas, mainly for the purpose of serving agriculture. Forestry, livestock breeding, side-occupations and fishery, closely related to agriculture, have also shown marked growth. From 1949 to 1958, a total of 500 million *mou* of land were afforested, the number of big draught animals increased from 60 to 85 million head and of pigs from 57 to 160 million head.

Great progress has been made, too, in communications and transport in keeping with the expansion of industry and agriculture. In 1949, there were less than 22,000 kilometres of railway open to traffic in China. This figure increased to over 31,000 kilometres in 1958. Now the railway network has been extended to all provinces and autonomous regions in the country except Tibet. During the same period, the total highway mileage was extended from 80,000 to 400,000 kilometres. In 1950, China's civil aviation lines totalled only 11,000 kilometres while in 1958, it increased to 33,000 kilometres. In the nine years from 1949 to 1958, the total volume of railway freight transport in terms of ton-kilometres increased more than 10 times, lorry transport more than 27 times and steamship and tug-boat transport more than 10 times. The volume of freight carried by wooden junks, animal-

drawn carts and other non-mechanized vehicles also markedly increased. Many gigantic projects were built during these nine years, such as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, the Paoki-Chengtu Railway, the Yingtan-Amoy Railway, the Tienshui-Lanchow Railway, the Paotow-Lanchow Railway, the Yangtse River Bridge at Wuhan, the Chinghai-Tibet Highway, the Sikang-Tibet Highway and the Sinkiang-Tibet Highway. Projects now under construction include the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, the Szechuan-Kweichow Railway, the Neikiang-Kunming Railway, the Hunan-Kweichow Railway and several big bridges to span the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers. By 1958, as a result of building simple roads on a large scale, 97 per cent of China's county towns were accessible by lorry. Rapid development has also been made in postal and telecommunication and broadcasting work. The total number of post and telecommunication offices in the country grew from over 20,000 in 1949 to more than 60,000 in 1958. Telephone lines reach 98 per cent of the rural people's communes in the country.

The volume of retail sales in China in 1958 was 3.2 times that of 1950. Compared with 1950, the increase in sales in the main consumer goods was: grain, 62 per cent; edible vegetable oils, 97 per cent; salt, 94 per cent; sugar, 300 per cent; aquatic products, 240 per cent; cotton cloth, 120 per cent; and machine-made paper, 270 per cent. Commodity prices have been consistently steady in China since 1950 thanks to the steady increase in supplies of consumer goods, the thorough elimination of speculation, the balancing of state revenue and expenditure and the balancing of bank credits. Certain planned adjustments were made only in the relative prices between industrial and agricultural products.

China's foreign trade has also seen tremendous changes in the past ten years. The right to administer the customs was taken back out of the hands of the imperialists after the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. A change has also begun to take place in the long-existing excess of imports over ex-

ports. In 1958, the total volume of imports and exports was 3.1 times the 1950 figure. Imports increased by 190 per cent and exports by 230 per cent. In the main, imports and exports have been balanced. Contrary to pre-liberation conditions when imports mainly consisted of consumer goods, now over 90 per cent are means of production such as machinery, raw materials and other materials. This has played a tremendous role in China's economic construction. China's exports are still mainly agricultural products, but the proportion of industrial products in the total volume of exports has gradually grown from 9.3 per cent in 1950 to 27.5 per cent in 1958.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung anticipated, "With the upsurge in economic construction, there will inevitably appear an upsurge of cultural construction." From 1949 to 1958, the number of students in higher educational institutions increased from 117,000 to 660,000, a 5.7-fold increase, and in secondary specialized schools from 229,000 to 1.47 million, a 6.4-fold increase, the number of middle school students increased from 1.04 million to 8.52 million, an 8.2-fold increase, while the number of primary school pupils rose from 24.4 million to 86 million, a 3.5-fold increase. Primary education was in the main made universal in many counties and cities in 1958 and 85 per cent of all school-age children throughout China were enrolled in school. The literacy campaign and spare-time literacy classes have also developed greatly among the factory and office workers, the peasants and urban population. The Communist Party's policy of "education serving the political interests of the proletariat and education combined with productive labour" was carried out in all grades of schools, thus deepening the socialist revolution on the educational front.

Scientific research has shown great development in the past ten years. By the end of 1958, there were more than 840 special research institutes in the natural sciences and technology and more than 32,000 research workers, approxi-

mately 20 times and 50 times more respectively than at the time of liberation.

The same period witnessed a tremendous growth in the fields of publishing, the cinema, the theatre and other arts.

The public health service has also developed rapidly in the past ten years. In 1958, there were over 5,600 hospitals and sanatoria in the country with 440,000 beds, a more than fivefold increase compared with 1949. In addition, over 900,000 simple beds were set up in small cities and the rural areas. Technical personnel in the public health service numbered 2,160,000 in 1958, 2.8 times the 780,000 in 1950.

The standards of the people's material and cultural life were greatly raised with the development of construction in all fields. This is fully demonstrated by the growing volume of retail commodity sales and the development in culture, education and public health mentioned above. In 1949, there were altogether 8 million workers and employees in enterprises, public undertakings and state organs. This number had risen to more than 45 million by the end of 1958, an increase of 5.7-fold, in which the number of industrial workers grew from 3 to 25.6 million, an 8.5-fold increase. Not only was the phenomenon of unemployment left over from old China completely wiped out, but the scope of employment was also markedly expanded. On an average two out of every five of the urban population are employed. The average wages of Chinese office and factory workers more than doubled between 1949 and 1958. The personal income of the peasants nearly doubled. The number of workers and employees enjoying labour insurance grew from 600,000 in 1949 to 13,780,000 in 1958. Since the peasants throughout the country joined the people's communes, the overwhelming majority of those who lack labour power are being provided with grain or meals free of charge. The old hard life in which they had to worry about where their food would come from will soon become a memory of the past.

The state has given great attention to construction in the areas inhabited by the national minorities. State investments in the national minority areas amounted to more than 7,000 million yuan between 1950 and 1958. Now new industrial bases have been established and railways and highways built in many national minority areas. The total industrial output value of the national minority areas in 1958 was ten times what it was in 1949, and grain output and the number of livestock more than doubled. The volume of sales in national minority areas by state-owned commercial enterprises and supply and marketing co-operatives increased 5.7-fold in 1958 compared with 1952, and the volume of purchases 6.2-fold. The number of national minority students rose to over nine times the pre-liberation total. There were 775 hospitals and sanatoria with over 34,000 beds; in addition there were over 14,000 clinics and health centres. The trend towards a constant decrease of population among the minority peoples which continued for hundreds of years has been completely reversed and a new phenomenon of the growing improvement of their economic and cultural life has appeared. In the Tibet region, things were somewhat different, because democratic reforms there had long been held up in the past. But since the rebellion was put down, the people there have also energetically embarked on their advance towards a new life. It will not take very long to build a happy and progressive Tibet.

Everybody knows too that ten years ago the political situation in China was abysmally dark and reactionary. The lackeys of the imperialists—the comprador capitalists, feudal landlords, warlords, bureaucrats, local despots and evil-minded gentry—rode roughshod over the people and bled them white. The broad mass of the people were in a state of slavery and utterly without rights. People of many national minorities suffered national oppression under the Han rulers in addition to oppression by the imperialists, and the aristocrats, landlords and slave-owners of their own nationalities. The country remained split for a long time; imperialist wars of aggression,

the free-for-all fighting among different groups of warlords and the counter-revolutionary civil wars launched by the reactionary rulers continued for several decades and played havoc with the people. During the Kuomintang regime, bandits, gangsters, superstitious sects and secret societies ran riot everywhere; appalling lawlessness and utter disorder prevailed.

What tremendous changes have taken place in all this in the past ten years! The corrupt, iniquitous government which trampled upon the people is gone and has been replaced by an honest, industrious and hard-working government which really serves the people, a government of the kind the people dreamed of for generation after generation. The situation in which the people had no rights has ended once and for all; the broadest mass of the people enjoy democracy in law and in fact and to the widest extent in the administration of the public affairs of the country. National oppression has been eliminated; our motherland has become a big family in which all nationalities are completely equal and give fraternal aid to one another. The country has achieved a unity of unprecedented firmness. Bandits, gangsters, superstitious sects and secret societies as well as prostitutes, beggars, gambling houses and narcotic drugs have all been swept away; there is law and order everywhere. The broad mass of the people, united as one and full of vigour, are building their own happy life eagerly, courageously and with boundless energy.

What a pitiful position China occupied ten years ago in international affairs is well known. For many years, China had been a colonial and semi-colonial country. The imperialist powers regarded our country as rich booty from which everyone snatched what he could. The European imperialists tried to carve China up; the Japanese aggressors wanted to devour it alone and did swallow nearly half of it between 1937 and 1945. The United States, after the Second World War, was bent on taking over the place of the Japanese aggressors. China, the most populous country in the world, was not only

deprived of the rights which were its due in international political life, but was almost deprived of the right to manage its own affairs.

The colonial and semi-colonial old China has now gone for ever; the people's new China has emerged, independent and free. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared at the founding of the People's Republic of China: "Our nation will henceforth join the big family of peace-loving and freedom-loving nations in the world. It will work bravely and industriously to create its own civilization and happiness and will, at the same time, further world peace and freedom." The weakness of China is being transformed into its opposite — strength. At the same time, internationally, the situation in which China had no rights is changing to its opposite. Over all the territory which has been liberated, it fully exercises its sovereignty; it must also exercise its right to have its say on all major international questions which concern its interests and the interests of world peace. U.S. imperialism, while launching its aggressive war in Korea, seized our territory Taiwan and tried to spread the flames of aggression from Korea to the Chinese mainland in a futile attempt to strangle new-born China by force of arms. The Chinese people waged a mighty struggle to resist U.S. aggression, aid Korea, protect their homes and defend their motherland, and they crushed this aggressive scheme. Taiwan is still occupied by U.S. imperialism, but the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and no force whatsoever can prevent them from doing so. Up to now U.S. imperialism is still trying hard to isolate and exclude New China from international affairs. This attempt, however, is becoming more and more a failure with every passing day. Now we have established full or partial diplomatic relations with 33 countries, economic relations with 93 countries and regions, and cultural contacts and exchanges of friendly visits with 104 countries and regions. We are closely united with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In accordance with the "five

principles" and the Bandung Declaration, we have established and developed relations of friendship and co-operation with many nationally independent countries in Asia and Africa, forming a vast area of peace. As one of the big powers of the world and as a member of the great socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, we have been contributing, as is our duty, to the defence of world peace and the development of human progress.

How is all this swift, flying progress to be explained? How has it taken place?

The swift, flying progress of People's China is, in the final analysis, due to the fact that Chinese society has undergone a most thoroughgoing democratic revolution and socialist revolution and that China has established a socialist society based on public ownership of the means of production.

If the Chinese people had not overthrown imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which weighed upon them like three great mountains, they would, as a matter of course, only find themselves for ever plunged in poverty and backwardness. And if, after toppling these mountains, they had not taken the road of socialism at once, had not carried out thoroughly the socialist revolution, or had not embarked on planned socialist construction, but, after achieving national independence, had taken the road of capitalism like some other countries, they could not possibly have made such rapid progress in the past ten years, not to mention the big leap forward that has taken place since last year.

The reactionary view that an economically and culturally backward country cannot realize socialism has long been torn to pieces by Lenin and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. As to why the development of China's socialist revolution and construction has been so rapid and so successful, it should be pointed out that there are both objective and subjective conditions to be considered. Objectively, China is a country with a vast territory and a large population; it is rich in natural resources; the mass of its people are enthusiastic for the revolution and

have revolutionary traditions. The Chinese revolution took place after the Great October Socialist Revolution, so China has been able to avail itself of the experience and assistance of the Soviet Union and of the assistance of the whole socialist camp. Subjectively, there is the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the leader of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This leadership is well versed in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; in integrating the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in construction with China's own experience; in integrating, in the light of conditions in China, the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of the revolution by stages; in applying, in the light of conditions in China, the working method of the mass line, integrating leadership by the Party with the mass movement of millions of people, with the initiative and creative energy of millions of people. Here I would like to say a few more words about the method of leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, especially on the method of uninterrupted revolution and the method of the mass line.

China's development in the past ten years has been a process of uninterrupted revolution.

As early as at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in March 1949, the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the founding of the People's Republic of China would mark the victory of the democratic revolution on a nation-wide scale and at the same time the beginning of the socialist revolution. The state power of people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance established in 1949 as a result of the victory of the revolution, though including some representatives of the national bourgeoisie, was in essence already a state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At that

time, the central question of the nation-wide democratic revolution, that of overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, had been solved and the basic contradiction within the country was already one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The revolution should not stop at the stage of democratic revolution, it must continue to develop towards the victory of the socialist revolution.

In the first few years after 1949 the Chinese people still had to exert very great efforts to accomplish the tasks left over from the stage of democratic revolution — principally the carrying through of the anti-feudal land reform on a national scale. Following the nation-wide victory of the great people's revolution in 1949, however, because of the confiscation of bureaucrat-capital and the change from bureaucrat-capitalist ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, this great people's revolution, economically speaking, went beyond the scope of democratic revolution. It had become a task of prime importance for the proletariat and the other working people to build a mighty socialist state economy and to firmly establish their leading position in the whole national economy. To counter the activities of bourgeois law-breakers in disrupting the socialist economy, the Party in 1952 led the mass struggle "against the three evils" (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) among government functionaries, and "against the five evils" (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing the state's economic information) among bourgeois industrialists and businessmen. This dealt a crushing blow to the offensive launched by the bourgeoisie and, on the basis of this victory, pushed capitalist industry and commerce a great step forward towards state capitalism which submitted itself to the leadership of the socialist economy and accepted supervision by the working class. After the land reform, the Central Committee of the Party issued timely directives on developing the movement of mutual aid and co-operation,

vigorously encouraged and stimulated the peasants who used to work on their own to advance in the direction of co-operation and carried on a sharp, persistent struggle against thinking tending in the rightist direction on this question. The Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung firmly refuted such bourgeois points of view of certain people both inside and outside the Party as those calling for the "consolidation of the new democratic order," "long-term co-existence between socialism and capitalism" and the "guaranteeing of the four great freedoms in the rural areas — freedom of sale and purchase, letting and renting of land, freedom of employing farmhands, freedom of borrowing and lending money and freedom of trading" and in good time set forth the Party's general line for the transition period of simultaneously carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction. This general line immediately won the support of the people of the whole country and was written into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Thanks to the adoption by the Party of a series of measures for socialist transformation without loss of time, the revolutionary movement advanced steadily without interruption and culminated in the emergence of a nation-wide upsurge in agricultural co-operation in the autumn and winter of 1955. This upsurge in turn set off the upsurge in the nation-wide switch-over of capitalist industry and commerce to joint state-private operation by whole trades and stimulated the upsurge in the organization of handicraft co-operatives by individual handicraftsmen. In this way, the socialist revolution in the field of the ownership of means of production was completed in the main.

But the task of socialist revolution did not end here. Not long after, the Party set a new task: it is necessary to continue the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts and carry it through. It is necessary to make the various aspects of the superstructure further fit in with the socialist economic base and, at the same time, the relations between

men and men in production should be further adjusted on the basis of the already established socialist ownership of the means of production so that the socialist relations of production would be further perfected and expanded. This was the task of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign in 1957-1958. As a result of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign, the bourgeois rightists, who opposed socialism, were completely isolated from the people and the socialist consciousness of the mass of the people was greatly raised. The contradictions among the people were further dealt with correctly, and the relations between functionaries in state organs and enterprises and the mass of workers and peasants, the mutual relations among the mass of workers and peasants, and the mutual relations among the various nationalities, were all further improved. Thanks to the victory of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people throughout the country for building socialism soared to unparalleled heights.

The revolutionary movements that had developed uninterrupted since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic yielded an unparalleled great result in 1958 and 1959, the first two years of the Second Five-Year Plan period, and this was the big leap forward in the national economy.

The rate of growth of China's industrial production was already very high in the First Five-Year Plan period. Nevertheless, the rate in 1958 and 1959 has far surpassed the level of the preceding five years. There was an average annual increase of 18 per cent in the total value of industrial output during the First Five-Year Plan period. But in 1958 and 1959 (here and elsewhere, the 1959 figure is the planned target), the average annual increase is 45 per cent. The average annual increase in steel was 31.7 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 50 per cent in these two years, the average annual increase in coal was 14.4 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 60 per cent in these two years. The

total value of agricultural output rose at an annual average rate of 4.5 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 17 per cent in 1958 and 1959. The average annual increase of food crops was 3.7 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 22 per cent in these two years, and that of cotton was 4.7 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 19 per cent in these two years. Nearly 10,000 industrial projects were completed in the First Five-Year Plan period, but more than 41,000 were completed in 1958 alone. Of these, 537 above-norm industrial projects were completed or partially completed and put into operation in the First Five-Year Plan period; but in 1958 alone, the number was 700.

Why has China's economy been able to grow at an even higher rate in 1958 and 1959 than in the First Five-Year Plan period? It is not only because a preliminary foundation was laid for industrialization during the First Five-Year Plan period and thus favourable material conditions were created for rapid economic growth in the Second Five-Year Plan period; even more important, it is because in most of the First Five-Year Plan period the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce had not yet been completed, the relations of truly comradely co-operation between men and men in production had not yet been fully established and bourgeois influences still existed to a serious extent on the political and ideological fronts — all of which hampered the initiative of the working people in production. In the latter half of the First Five-Year Plan period, that is, from the second half of 1955 to 1957, the socialist revolution gained one great victory close following the other on the economic, political and ideological fronts, the productive forces of society and the initiative of the working people in production were emancipated to an unprecedented extent and our Party, in the light of this favourable situation, put forward and carried out in good time the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism." It

is precisely because of all this that the Chinese people were able to open up a new stage at the very beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, the stage of the big leap forward, and to get the national economy to advance at a much higher rate than during the First Five-Year Plan period.

After the socialist relations of production and the superstructure which conforms to them, that is, to the economic base, have been established, they are still in the process of being continuously developed and perfected, therefore they cannot be immutable. The various aspects of the relations of production require adjustment from time to time to meet the requirements of the continued development of the productive forces, and along with this, the various aspects of the superstructure built on this economic base also need to be reformed from time to time. Between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure, contradictions constantly arise, are resolved, and arise again. This is a dialectical process which is like an ever-flowing stream which is constantly being renewed. It is possible to ensure a constant growth of the productive forces, precisely because the socialist relations of production and their superstructure can be constantly adjusted and reformed as the need arises. The development of the people's commune movement throughout the rural areas which began during the big leap forward of China's agricultural production in 1958 is fresh proof of this truth. In face of the requirements posed by the immense development of agricultural production and of the entire rural economy, it was felt that the original advanced agricultural co-operatives could not cope with the situation. Between the summer and autumn of 1958 the more than 740,000 agricultural co-operatives throughout the country, each averaging about 160 households, were merged and reorganized into more than 26,000 communes, averaging about 4,600 households each; later, after the check-up, they were further reorganized into more than 24,000 communes averaging more than 5,000 households each,

in other words, more than 30 times as large as the original agricultural co-operatives. Big in scale and strong, the people's communes are not only able to develop production and construction rapidly in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery, but also to achieve unified leadership over the work of industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs in the rural areas, realizing the integration of economic organizations and basic organs of state power. Rural people's communes are still economic organizations with collective ownership of the means of production. While the principal means of production still belong to the production brigades, which correspond roughly to the former agricultural producers' co-operatives, the commune level already owns part of the means of production and may draw every year certain sums from the various production brigades for its accumulation fund. A certain amount of free supplies is included as part of the system of distribution in the income of commune members. In 1958, the year when the people's communes were successfully established, the total output value of China's agriculture increased 25 per cent as compared with 1957. Of this, the output value of forestry increased 193.2 per cent, fishery 128 per cent and animal husbandry 5.2 per cent. The increase in rural water conservancy works and the area of afforestation far surpassed the total increase in the entire First Five-Year Plan period. Industry and transportation operated by the people's communes have also made very great progress. According to recent statistics compiled after the check-up, the people's communes throughout the country operate about 700,000 industrial units, with a total output value three times as much as during the corresponding period of the previous year. In 1958, the funds accumulated by the rural people's communes amounted to 10,000 million yuan, more than twice as much as during 1957. In 1958, the income and the standard of living of the peasants throughout the country were about 10 per cent higher on the average than in 1957. All these facts show that the

great advantages of the people's communes are indisputable and all the "arguments" of those people who are opposed to this movement are untenable.

What a tremendous change is this transformation of the more than 110 million individual peasant households into over 24,000 communes! What a glorious victory for the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution!

The process of socialist revolution in China has been one of uninterrupted revolution; at the same time, it is a step-by-step advance which accords with each particular stage of development. The Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out: "We are advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution; we hold that no 'Great Wall' exists or can be allowed to exist between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and between socialism and communism. We are at the same time advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of revolution by stages; we hold that different stages of development reflect qualitative changes and that these stages of different quality should not be confused." In practice, we not only make a careful distinction between the tasks of the democratic revolution and of the socialist revolution, between the principles of socialism and of communism, and oppose attempts to skip over necessary stages of social, historical development, but at each given stage of social, historical development, we also make a careful distinction, according to the specific conditions, between the various sub-stages that more or less have the nature of quantitative changes (the change from one sub-stage to another is also, of course, one of a lesser qualitative nature); and we adopt appropriate steps in conformity with the needs of the step-by-step transformation of the relations of production and the step-by-step maturing of the consciousness of the masses. The broad mass of peasants have been able to advance, consciously and voluntarily, from an individual economy to people's communes because in the course of their advance they

have gone through successive stages: the stage of mutual-aid teams, of regular year-round mutual-aid teams, of elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives and of advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. Capitalist industrialists and businessmen were able, without much reluctance, to accept joint state-private operation by whole trades because they, too, had gone through a series of stages including the fulfilment of government contracts for the manufacture and processing of goods by capitalist firms, the state purchase of the output of capitalist enterprises, and the state distribution of all their finished products in the field of industry; the state designation of merchants acting on a commission basis as distributors on its behalf and merchants purchasing commodities from state stocks and retailing them at fixed prices in the field of commerce; and the joint state-private operation of individual enterprises. Similarly, the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts has also gone through a series of mass movements which, in keeping with the concrete conditions of class struggle, advanced like waves, high at one time and low at another, and went deeper step by step. This correct leadership by the Party has enabled the masses both to maintain their revolutionary enthusiasm at a constant, full flow, without it cooling down because of pauses in the development of the revolution, and to raise the level of their consciousness constantly, step by step, so that they should not be unprepared for the further development of the revolution. It is because of this that every call of the Party throughout the entire course of the socialist revolution has been warmly supported by the mass of the people. It is also because of this that although the socialist revolution has developed very rapidly, industrial and agricultural production has been on the rise constantly and there has been practically no destruction.

The success won by the Party in the application of the theories of uninterrupted revolution and the development of the revolution by stages is inseparably connected with the

fact that the Party has persisted in the Marxist-Leninist working method of the mass line throughout the course of the socialist revolution. The Party has always paid attention to combining its leadership with broad mass movements, guiding the masses to raise the level of their revolutionary consciousness constantly and to organize their own strength to emancipate themselves step by step, instead of imposing revolution on the masses or bestowing victory on the masses as a favour. We have talked about this on more than one occasion because it was by firmly adhering to this working method that the Party won the victory of the democratic revolution. What is new in this matter is that after the all-round victory of the socialist revolution, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have continued to apply this working method systematically in building socialism, thus formulating the Party's general line for building socialism and bringing about the big leap forward in the national economy. It can be said for sure that if the working method of the mass line which combines the Party's leadership with the mass movement had been departed from, there would have been no general line of the Party for building socialism and consequently no such big leap forward in the national economy as has taken place since last year.

At the heart of the Party's general line for building socialism is the great importance attached to the political consciousness, initiative and creativeness of the masses in building socialism. The general line calls for going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism. This is a call to the 650 million people to raise the level of their political consciousness, initiative and creativeness, to give full play to their enthusiasm, wisdom and strength in building socialism. It is necessary to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Is it possible to accomplish this complicated and difficult task? The imperialists and bourgeois elements said that it was impossible. They asserted that "greater and

faster" could not go together with "better and more economical," as this would amount to "keeping a horse running while giving it no feed." The right opportunists within our ranks, echoing them, also said that it was impossible. But we firmly replied that it was possible, because we place our reliance first and foremost on the creators of history — the mass of the people. This is a force which the imperialists and bourgeois elements as well as the right opportunists cannot understand at all or can only understand imperfectly. Our country has vast manpower; and man as labourer, inventor and user of the tools of production is the decisive factor in the social productive forces and the most precious "asset." Of course, without the socialist revolution, as it has been mentioned above, it would have been impossible to bring into play the initiative of our 650 million people, an extremely great creative force. But even after the socialist revolution was realized, if no attention were paid to using appropriate methods to mobilize this initiative, it would still be impossible to bring this initiative into full play and consequently still impossible to achieve the objective of getting greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism. In accordance with the objective laws of economic and political life, the Party's general line has correctly handled the relations between industry and agriculture, between heavy and light industry, between industry run by the central and local authorities, and between large, medium-sized and small enterprises. It has provided for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and simultaneous development of heavy and light industry while giving priority to heavy industry; simultaneous development of industry run by the central and local authorities, of large industrial enterprises and medium-sized and small industrial enterprises, of modern and indigenous methods of production under centralized leadership, over-all planning, division of work and co-ordination. The aim of carrying out this policy of "walking on two legs" is not only to maintain the necessary balance between the

different economic branches but first of all to fully mobilize all positive forces, to give the greatest scope for the broadest construction forces of the masses to deploy themselves and use their strength to the fullest extent in building socialism, thereby ensuring greater, faster, better and more economical results. Although the labour productivity of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises using indigenous or combining indigenous and modern methods of production is not as high as in large enterprises run on modern lines, yet it is clearly very much higher than the simple manual labour of the past. Under present conditions in China, it will not be a waste of manpower but precisely a rational use of manpower to pay attention to the development of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises run with indigenous or a combination of indigenous and modern methods of production alongside large industrial enterprises run on modern lines; far from reducing the speed of industrialization it will greatly accelerate it. At the same time, the working method of combining centralized leadership with full-scale mass movements is practised in all economic branches and enterprises. Thus, the central task of socialist construction, that of industrialization, becomes a task which is directly and actively undertaken by the broadest mass of the people; in a certain sense it can be regarded as a matter of the whole nation running industry.

One of the fundamental reasons why some people in our Party have fallen into the bog of right opportunism is that they do not recognize the active role of the mass of the people in construction. They oppose the Party's general line, and in particular, the policy of "walking on two legs" which calls for the simultaneous development of central and local industry, big, medium-sized and small enterprises and modern and indigenous methods; they oppose the building of socialism by way of mass movements which, they say, is no more than "petty-bourgeois fanaticism," which would "only bring greater, faster, but not better and more economical results," and would cause "more loss than gain." The right opportunists

seized on individual, temporary defects in the work and, without making any analysis, exaggerated them freely in order to achieve their goal of negating the big leap forward and opposing the general line. The facts have best refuted all their assertions which imply mistrust in the masses, fear of the masses and slander of the masses.

Is it true that adoption of the method of mass movements in building socialism is "petty-bourgeois fanaticism," that it would "only bring greater and faster but not better and more economical results," or that it would cause "more loss than gain"? It is well known that during the big leap forward, many important engineering projects were completed and put into operation ahead of schedule as a result of the all-out efforts of the working people. For instance, it took only fourteen months, instead of the originally scheduled two years, for the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company to put into operation a giant modern blast furnace with a daily capacity of more than 2,000 tons of iron. In something over four months the Anshan Iron and Steel Company put into operation a giant modern open-hearth furnace with a daily capacity of more than one thousand tons of steel; this was originally scheduled to take more than ten months to build. The Kwanting Reservoir, which involved 1.45 million cubic metres of earthwork and masonry and has a storage capacity of 2,270 million cubic metres, was some time ago completed in two and a half years. In building the new Miyun Reservoir, which will involve 20.56 million cubic metres of earthwork and masonry and have a storage capacity of 4,100 million cubic metres, it took only one year to finish 14.67 million cubic metres of earthwork and masonry and so enable the reservoir to begin to detain the flood waters. It took only a little more than ten months to build such a huge building as the Great Hall of the People in Peking. It is not only by far the most magnificent and finest building of its kind in China but ranks among the best in the world. The cost of all such construction is much lower than that of similar construction in the First Five-Year Plan period. Take

construction in the iron and steel and coal industries for example. The cost of building large blast furnaces formerly averaged 25,000 yuan per cubic metre of furnace volume. Now it averages only 14,000 to 18,000 yuan, a drop of 28 to 44 per cent. The cost of constructing big coal mines formerly averaged 33 yuan per ton of production capacity. Now it averages only 22 yuan, a drop of 33 per cent. Can anybody in face of these facts say that such construction is only "greater and faster" but not "better and more economical"? Production, too, has been both "greater and faster" and "better and more economical." Not only did the output of industrial products greatly increase in 1958, but large numbers of new products, almost equivalent to the sum total in the whole of the First Five-Year Plan period, were successfully trial-produced thanks to the full mobilization of the masses to overcome difficulties in every possible way. And quite a number of them were high-grade, precision, large, complicated or pioneering products that reached or approached international standards. Similarly, by bringing into full play the collective wisdom of the masses, the utilization coefficient of various kinds of production equipment in China has continued to rise in the past two years; the utilization coefficients of blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and locomotives, among other equipment, have reached the world's record levels. During the entire First Five-Year Plan period, the industrial ministries reduced costs by 29 per cent, but in 1958 alone, they cut them by another 12.5 per cent. We would like to ask the right opportunists who think that greater and faster results will not mean better and more economical results and that the launching of mass movements in industry will lead to a mess or cause more loss than gain: what is your explanation for all this?

The right opportunists tried to attack the Party's general line by taking advantage of the fact that at first the products of small enterprises using indigenous methods of production, especially that of small blast furnaces, were of relatively low quality and produced at a relatively high cost. But here

again they still cannot see the wood for the trees. They failed to see what a tremendous role small-scale production using indigenous methods plays in the big leap forward in building socialism. In 1959, China will turn out 20 million tons of pig iron, about half of which will be produced by small blast furnaces. The big and medium-sized blast furnaces, which took us many years to build, total about 24,000 cubic metres in volume; but the small blast furnaces which have been built in the past two years and are in normal operation total more than 43,000 cubic metres in volume. The production techniques of the small blast furnaces, just like those of the big blast furnaces, need time to develop. There is no reason at all to make a fuss about this. Following the efforts made in the first half of this year, the utilization coefficient and the quality of the products of the small blast furnaces have been greatly improved and production costs have been substantially reduced. The best small blast furnaces have already approached the standards of the big ones in these respects. The small blast furnaces still have very great potentialities which remain to be tapped. It is estimated that during the Second Five-Year Plan period, the small blast furnaces can produce a total of approximately 55 to 60 million tons of iron. The output of small and medium-sized coal pits will account for some 40 per cent of the total coal output this year. Therefore, it can be said that neither the big leap forward nor the general line would have been possible, if, in the work of industrialization, we had not adopted the policy of "walking on two legs" and this method of the mass line.

The recent Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party criticized rightist conservative thinking and called on the people throughout the country to fight against rightist tendencies, and to go all out and launch a vigorous campaign to increase production and practise economy. This timely decision brought about a new upsurge in production among the working people throughout the country. According to data compiled by the State Statis-

tical Bureau the total value of the country's industrial output in August was 14 per cent higher than in July, and in September it showed another sharp increase of about 27 per cent over August. Steel output in August was 13.5 per cent higher than it was in July and the September output showed another increase of 20 per cent over August. Coal output in August was 11.5 per cent higher than it was in July while the September output showed another increase of 18 per cent over that of August. In the first nine months of the year, the aggregate value of industrial output showed an increase of 45.5 per cent over the corresponding period of last year, with steel output up 67 per cent; coal, 72 per cent; the volume of freight transport, 69 per cent; the volume of state purchases of commodities, 42 per cent and retail sales, 16 per cent. State stocks of commodities by the end of September were 22 per cent larger than at the same time last year and the market supply situation was good. Although our country's agricultural production was affected by severe natural calamities this year, by relying on our great achievements in water conservancy construction and especially on the newly established people's communes which led tens of millions of peasants in waging intensive struggles against the natural calamities, these were overcome in many areas. It is expected that on the basis of last year's exceptionally good harvest, a harvest still richer than that of last year will be reaped this year.

All these facts show in full measure that: firstly, the demand for greater, faster, better and more economical results is entirely realistic and is beginning to be fulfilled and, as more experience is acquired in the future, it will be fulfilled more fully and effectively. Secondly, to fulfil this demand, it is necessary to carry through the whole set of policies of "walking on two legs," and so enable the broad mass of our heroic people to put forth all their strength. Thirdly, to fulfil this demand it is necessary to develop a well-guided, large-scale mass movement in every enterprise, in order that the political consciousness, initiative and creativeness of the broad

masses may be brought into play, that they may be led to make an all-out effort and set high aims for themselves in their work. In fact, the application of the policy of "walking on two legs" on a nation-wide scale and the launching of a mass campaign within each enterprise are two aspects of the mass line method of work as applied to the building of socialism.

From this it can be seen that adoption of the mass line of work both in the socialist revolution and in the socialist construction has enabled China's socialist cause to advance very swiftly and smoothly; it has ensured our country's growth by leaps and bounds in the past ten years, and especially in the last year and this.

Thanks to the big leap forward in these two years, the major targets originally set for 1962 in the Second Five-Year Plan will be overfulfilled this year. We shall thus be able in the next three years to make bigger progress in industry and agriculture and devote more efforts to strengthening certain weak links. It can be anticipated that the Second Five-Year Plan period will be five years of a big leap forward. Since such tremendous changes have taken place in China's national economy in the past decade, the changes in the next decade will certainly be even more spectacular. By that time, China will have exceeded Britain in the output of most of the major industrial products.

Of course, our leap forward is just beginning. So far as the needs of the country and the people are concerned, what we have accomplished is far from enough and our experience is far from adequate. We must continue to work and study hard, to earnestly sum up and accumulate experience in the course of our work and learn from the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. But at any rate, we have laid the foundation for a rapid advance and found the road to a continued leap forward. No matter how the imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries slander us or the internal bourgeois rightists and certain right opportunists within our Party oppose us, they can never

undermine the foundation laid by the people of our country or turn them from the road they have chosen. The people's communes are described by the people as "something no thunderbolt can shatter." This is the verdict of the masses not only about our people's commune movement but also about our general line, the big leap forward, the entire cause of socialism and the unity of our Party and the 650 million people of our country.

The international situation is just as favourable to our leap forward as are internal conditions. Firstly, thanks to the might and unity of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union and the growth of the struggle against aggression and war by the peoples throughout the world, the forces of peace and progress are ever more clearly gaining the upper hand over the forces of war and reaction. This fact found clear, new expression in the success of Comrade Khrushchov's visit to the United States. Secondly, the socialist cause of the Chinese people has won the sympathy and support of the people all over the world, and first and foremost of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for independence and democracy.

In celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people would like in particular to thank the Soviet Union which helped our country build 166 construction projects in the First Five-Year Plan period, signed with China last year and this year new agreements to help us build another 125 projects and has sent more than 10,800 experts in the economic, cultural and educational fields to work in China in the past ten years. At the same time, our thanks go to the other socialist countries which helped China build 68 construction projects during the First Five-Year Plan period, later signed new agreements with China to help build another 40-odd projects and have sent more than 1,500 experts to work in China. Our achievements are inseparably linked with the enormous aid given by the peoples of the fra-

ternal countries. The Chinese people will never forget their love and friendship. We must for ever adhere to the Marxist-Leninist principle of combining patriotism with internationalism and continuously consolidate and develop our brotherly co-operation with them.

In order to outstrip Britain in the output of major industrial products in the second decade, we must make efforts to strengthen certain weak links in our present industrial system and continue to work energetically to improve agriculture so as to provide ample sources of raw materials for light industry, while ensuring a continued increase in the output of food crops. It is quite obvious that after this target is achieved, it will still not be possible to regard our economic level as high. We shall still have to continue to strive for higher targets at a speed which the Western bourgeoisie dare not even dream of. The Chinese people are firmly resolved to build their country within not too long a period into a great socialist state with highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture and finally realize the lofty ideal of communism. There will undoubtedly be difficulties, and not a few of them, but we shall never be daunted by them. Looking back over the achievements and summing up the experience of the past ten years, we are firmly convinced that provided we persistently carry out the Party's general line and firmly rely on the two great forces of the great unity of the people of the whole country and the great unity of the peoples throughout the world, we will certainly be able to overcome still more successfully all obstacles in our way ahead and achieve still more brilliant victories in the coming ten years.

Let all the people of our country continue to do their utmost and go ahead courageously with the building of our great motherland under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great leader of the people Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism!

March Ahead Under the Red Flag of the Party's General Line and Mao Tse-tung's Military Thinking

Lin Piao

I

Ten years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our great country. All the officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army join with the people throughout the land in joyful celebration of this great, historic festival of the entire nation.

Ten years is only a brief moment in the span of history. Yet in these ten years our country has achieved the great victory of the socialist revolution immediately following the victory of the new-democratic revolution. In the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, socialism has basically defeated capitalism in all fields. The history of class exploitation, which lasted thousands of years, has in the main been ended. The 650 million Chinese people, one-fourth of the world's population, have entered socialist society. Following three years of economic rehabilitation, our country fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy (1953-57) and thus laid the preliminary foundation for socialist industrialization. In 1958, on the recommendation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party formulated the general line for building socialism — go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Under the guiding light of this general line, industry and agriculture, culture and education began

their great leap forward, making it possible for our country to fulfil the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule. Last autumn, in less than two months, people's communes were swiftly set up throughout our countryside. In less than a year they have consolidated themselves and embarked on the road of sound development and they are ever more clearly displaying their superiority. China's unparalleled speed in building socialism and her brilliant achievements testify eloquently to the inexhaustible power and wisdom of the industrious and courageous Chinese people in creating history under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great people's leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Imperialism, however, has not stopped its sabotage against us for a moment and still dreams of overthrowing us. Not long after the founding of our Republic, U.S. imperialism launched the war of aggression in Korea and, at the same time, seized our Taiwan in a vain attempt to occupy Korea and then to strangle the new-born People's Republic of China. This attempt ended in ignominious defeat. Now China's great leap forward and the people's communes have thrown the imperialists into terror and confusion and they have unleashed the most vicious slanders and attacks against China. But again they have failed miserably. Despite all the obstruction and sabotage of imperialism and reaction, China's wheel of history is rolling forward at a speed of "twenty years concentrated in a day." The Chinese people have now grown strong!

Great successes have been achieved on the national defence front, as on other fronts of socialist construction, in the past ten years. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army rapidly mopped up the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionary forces and liberated the entire Chinese mainland. Together with the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers defeated the armed forces of the No. 1 imperialism of the world. U.S. imperialism was exposed before the peoples of

the world as a paper tiger. In liberating the off-shore islands, guarding the country's frontiers and its territorial waters and air, punishing Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Quemoy, preparing for the liberation of Taiwan and putting down the rebellion of Tibetan reaction, our army has been successfully discharging the duties entrusted to it by the people of the country. Along the national defence frontiers and at strategic points in depth, modern, large-scale national defence projects have been undertaken, so that our country has begun to have quite a complete network of modern defence installations. Guided by the correct line laid down by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung for building our army into a fine, modernized, revolutionary army, and with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, the army itself has undergone a new major change in the history of its development. The technical equipment of the army has been improved and a series of reforms concerning the command, organization, training and other systems of the army has been effected. Now our army has developed from a single arm into a composite force of different arms. The major technical branches of the land forces have been markedly strengthened. A powerful air force has been built up and the navy has grown correspondingly. In the course of this modernization, the Party's absolute leadership in the army has been consolidated, the glorious tradition of the unity between the army and the civilian population, between officers and men, has been developed and the mass line has been carried out in various fields of work. Following the great rectification campaign, inspired by the Party's general line for building socialism and the nation-wide big leap forward, the army has also made an all-out, comprehensive big leap forward in its work. As part of our national defence forces, in addition to a politically firm and technically modern standing army, we have built up a militia force of hundreds of millions of people. With this militia force, the entire population can be turned into a military force if ever imperial-

ism dares to attack our country. In co-ordination with the standing army, this militia force can overwhelm the enemy in the flames of an all-out people's war. In addition to increasing its own strength, our army has at all times taken a great part in national construction and social reforms. In the political report to the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party, delivered on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out that "the People's Liberation Army is the defender as well as the builder of the cause of socialism."¹ Our army has in the past ten years faithfully carried out this honourable task.

In the past ten years our country has been undergoing a great change—the transition from the thorough victory of the democratic revolution to the carrying out of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Militarily, our army has advanced from a single arm to a modern composite force of different arms; this is also a big leap forward. In these circumstances, we are confronted with a series of vital problems concerning the building up of the army. The main problem is: Is it still important in the stage of the modernization of the army for politics to be in command? Concretely speaking, what place has political and ideological work? What attitude should the members of the armed forces adopt towards the country's economic construction and mass movements? What is the correct way to handle intra-army relations and to strengthen still further the Party's leadership in the army? All these questions must be settled in the new stage of the building up of the army. In the past ten years, we have achieved the successes and victories mentioned above because we have dealt with these vital problems on the whole quite correctly. Today, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of our Republic, we would like to dwell mainly on some of our experiences relating to this.

¹*Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, p. 54.

II

The realization of socialism and communism is the lofty ideal for which the officers and men of our army have struggled heroically for many years. Even in the stage of the democratic revolution, the Party never relaxed in educating its armed forces in the ideal of socialism and communism. The great majority of the comrades of our army displayed resolution and courage in the period of the democratic revolution and, in the period of the socialist revolution, exerted their efforts heroically for socialism and showed themselves undaunted fighters in the cause. However, quite a number of comrades lack a high degree of socialist consciousness, though they have certain aspirations for socialism and wish to see its fruition. Consequently, the thinking of some of them often remained at the stage of the democratic revolution while the socialist revolution had already begun. It is in the very course of the socialist revolution that quite a few of them gradually prepare themselves mentally for the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is much broader and deeper than the democratic revolution. Its aim is to liquidate all systems of exploitation and the private ownership of the means of production. Each step in this revolution has a powerful impact on the life and thinking of the several hundred million people of our country, and the various ideological trends in society are inevitably reflected, directly or indirectly, in the army. If adequate mental preparation for the socialist revolution and serious self-remoulding are lacking, the revolutionary army man cannot possibly maintain a firm stand in the socialist revolution and, consequently, cannot possibly carry through the Party's general line for building socialism in a conscious, resolute manner. When socialism actually comes and private ownership of the means of production by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is actually coming to an end, he will therefore be taken by surprise and even lose his bearings. Thus the germ of bourgeois ideology would spread

in that section of our Party and army where resistance is weak and exercise a corrosive and splitting influence on our Party and army. Consequently, we would encounter internal resistance in the struggle for the realization of socialism.

As two opposing classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class do not exist within our army, but the struggle between bourgeois and working-class ideology does exist. This ideological struggle is a reflection of the struggle between the two roads, socialist and capitalist, in the transition period. As the situation now stands, the transformation of the old economic system of society has been completed in the main, but not fully; the economic system of society has been changed, but remnant bourgeois ideological and political activities still remain and the social basis for this, though shrinking, is still there to a certain extent. The force of habit of the bourgeoisie and small producers is a kind of social basis for bourgeois ideology which still finds a place among a section of the people and would become active and cause trouble when the opportunity arises. Either socialist or capitalist ideology must dominate the minds of the people. Therefore, in the transition period, the struggle to enhance proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology remains vital at all times in building up the army. None of the work of our army, including its modernization, can be divorced from this ideological struggle. This political and ideological struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie rises and ebbs, rises again and ebbs again, like the tides; it is far from over to this day and will not end until classes are finally and completely liquidated. Consequently, our work of socialist ideological education cannot be completed all at once. With the rise and ebb of the class struggle, it will necessarily be carried on sometimes steadily and evenly, in the form of long-term theoretical and policy education, and at other times in the form of large-scale rectification and ideological remoulding campaigns. Socialist ideology assumes its position and expands step by step through education and struggle. Every

revolutionary must go through uninterrupted revolution ideologically. The *san fan* movement (against corruption, waste and bureaucracy), the movement to resist U.S aggression and aid Korea, the movement to study the Party's general line for the transition period, the movement to clean out the counter-revolutionaries, the rectification campaign, the anti-rightist struggle, the great debate on socialism around the central question of agricultural co-operation, and the study of the Party's general line for building socialism with the people's communes and the great leap forward as its main content — all these things which we carried out during the past ten years represent highly successful political and ideological work. Of course we do not rest content with these successes and do not believe that the future tasks on the political and ideological fronts will be any lighter because of these successes.

In waging the struggle on the political and ideological fronts, we always maintain that as far as the overwhelming majority of comrades are concerned this is mainly a question of education and raising their level. The officers and men of our army ardently love socialism, fight for it resolutely and can withstand tests of great stress. Those who insist on taking the road of capitalism and are deliberately against socialism are merely a handful of individuals from alien classes who have sneaked into the army. However, since the overwhelming majority of the officers and men of our army come from the peasantry, unavoidably some comrades sometimes consider questions from the temporary, partial interests of small producers and do not clearly understand certain questions of socialist change; unavoidably, too, a small number of comrades are affected, in the great storm and stress of the socialist revolution, by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, and especially well-to-do middle peasant, ideological influences and reveal an insufficiently resolute standpoint. This is the situation and, if it were allowed to develop, bourgeois ideology would spread in our army. Therefore, we must not slacken ideological work for a moment. These ideological questions be-

long to the category of contradictions among the people and must not be solved by methods used for handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, by coercive, high-handed methods; they should be solved only by democratic methods, methods of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education.

During the new historical period, political and ideological work in the army is very important and must never be slackened. "Political work is the life-blood of our army" — this is a truth which has been proved by decades of revolutionary practice of our army. Comrade Mao Tse-tung in one of his editorial notes in the book *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside* pointed out: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the economic system of a society is undergoing a fundamental change."¹ This statement, of course, applies equally well to the army. In building up our army into a modernized army, we should of course pay very great attention to improving equipment and mastering technique. But we must at the same time pay attention to the other side, which is indeed the predominant side, that is, we must not forget political interests, we must emphasize the political side. Our army is an army to serve political interests, the political interests of socialism, and we must see to it that political interests guide our military and day-to-day work. This is most fundamental; if political and ideological work is not done well, everything else is out of the question. The great achievements in the varied work of our army in the past ten years represent, first and foremost, the blossoming and fruition of socialist ideology. Henceforth it will still be a fundamental task in the building of our army to strengthen theoretical education in Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen education in socialism and the general line of the Party and to link this closely with the practice of

¹*Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, p. 302.

the contemporary revolutionary struggle and the change in the thinking of the members of the army — so as continuously to eliminate from people's minds the vestiges of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and enhance their socialist consciousness.

III

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which was born and grew up in the midst of the people's revolutionary struggles, has always regarded the revolutionary mass movement as its own affair. When the masses rise up and wage hard, bitter struggles against the old system and for the transformation of society and of nature, the People's Liberation Army always stands as one with the people and gives them whole-hearted, powerful support; it participates directly in the seething, stirring mass movements in which, at the same time, it receives the greatest and best schooling. And when hostile forces attempt to obstruct and undermine the revolutionary mass movements, the People's Liberation Army always stands behind the masses. At the same time, the vast, surging mass movements, in turn, always inspire and educate the army greatly, serving as a revolutionary crucible in which the political consciousness of the army is tempered and raised. The People's Liberation Army, under extremely difficult conditions, has been able to defeat an enemy far superior both in equipment and numbers precisely because it is an armed force that has flesh and blood ties with the masses who, when fully mobilized, "create a vast sea and drown the enemy in it, remedy our shortage in arms and other things, and secure the prerequisites to overcome every difficulty in the war."¹ Such relationship between the People's Liberation Army and

¹*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1954, Vol. II, p. 204.

the masses of the people is determined by the very nature of the People's Liberation Army and the very purpose for which it was founded. This was so in the period of democratic revolution and remains so in the period of socialist revolution. In March 1949, when the democratic revolution was attaining decisive victory and a new stage of socialist revolution was about to begin, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, again issued a timely, great call to us — that the People's Liberation Army shall for ever be a fighting force and at the same time a working force.

After the liberation of the mainland, the major task of our army shifted from fighting to training; instead of living scattered in villages as before, it moved into regular barracks and thus had less opportunity for direct contact with the masses. At that time some comrades held that since there was a division of labour between economic construction and the building up of national defence and that since army training was very heavy work, it appeared as if there were no need for the army to take part in the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people or in national economic construction, no need to take part in "civilian" business. We criticized this wrong view and firmly corrected it in time. We have continued to develop our army's long-standing, glorious tradition of simultaneously carrying out the three great tasks — fighting, mass work and production, and we have launched various activities in support of the mass movements in line with the requirements of different stages of socialist transformation and socialist construction. During the past ten years, the People's Liberation Army has vigorously supported and enthusiastically joined in every major social reform and mass movement. The spokesmen of the imperialists who are violently hostile to our socialist cause describe our army's active participation in the people's revolutionary movements as "armed suppression." Nothing, indeed, is more absurd. In fact, the imperialist bosses themselves are accustomed to

employing their reactionary armed forces in brutal suppression of the people of their own countries and of the national-democratic movements of the colonial peoples. Their slanders and calumnies against our army only reveal their mortal fear of the close unity between our powerful People's Liberation Army and the more than 600 million people, and their vain attempts to cover up their own nefarious deeds with lies and fabrications.

The big leap forward in our national economy that began in 1958 along with the great upsurge to form the people's communes has shown the boundless vitality of our Party's general line for socialist construction. This line, which was readily grasped by the masses, has become a tremendous material force and brought about a vast mass movement unprecedented in history. What should be our attitude to this mighty mass movement? Should we plunge into it and support the masses with all our hearts? Or should we stand outside the movement and pick fault with the masses here and there, or even stand in opposition to the movement and against the masses? In sharp contrast to the right opportunists, the People's Liberation Army, long brought up on the teachings of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and standing as one with the people, resolutely supports this great mass movement. The officers and men of the People's Liberation Army fully understand from their personal experience that the big leap forward and the people's communes have their objective material base and are the inevitable products of China's historical development. The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung concentrated the will and creative energy of the masses and pushed this mighty movement forward. The mighty upsurge of revolutionary fervour and socialist consciousness manifested by the broad masses of the labouring people during the big leap forward and the people's commune movement is due precisely to their determination to change our backward economic situation as quickly as possible, to put an end to our state of being "poor and blank" and to build our

country into a great socialist state with highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. The officers and men of the People's Liberation Army fully understand this lofty aspiration and burning enthusiasm of the people; they see eye to eye with the people and are deeply moved by their great determination. The officers and men of the People's Liberation Army know only too well that the imperialists and their henchmen are eyeing our socialist construction with hostility and will never miss a single chance to sabotage. This makes it all the more necessary for us to maintain constant vigilance and firmly carry through and defend our Party's general line for building socialism so as to develop our national economy at high speed. Only with our national economy developing at a rapid tempo can the modernization of our national defence be attained, and the happiness and peace of our people be safeguarded. The officers and men of the People's Liberation Army fully realize that fear of the mass movement is in the ingrained nature of right opportunists and bourgeois revolutionaries. Confronted by the mass movement, they are only interested in picking faults and exaggerating them so as to spread slackness, despondency, dissatisfaction and pessimism, to negate our achievements and the Party's general line. We, on the other hand, are firmly for the full mobilization of the masses to carry the socialist revolution to its completion and to build socialism with great vigour and vitality. To reject the mass movement and oppose it by seizing upon some isolated, local and temporary shortcomings which have been quickly overcome, is to turn one's back upon progress, upon the revolutionary cause. Participating directly in the mass movement, the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army see, above all, the tremendous endeavours and magnificent successes of hundreds of millions of people. This is the main current, the essence of the mass movement. In the people's communes, for example, we see not only the powerful vitality and unparalleled superiority of this new-born social organization and the important role

it plays in developing the national economy and culture and in raising the living standards of the people; we have also come to realize that in the event of a war of aggression launched by imperialism against our country, the people's communes, in which township administration and commune management are merged and industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs are integrated, will be the mighty prop for the task of turning the whole population into fighting men, of supporting the front, of defending the country and overwhelming the aggressors. Seeing this revolutionary creation of the masses of people which can accelerate the advance of the socialist cause and at the same time promote the building of national defence, what else can anyone who genuinely desires a prosperous and powerful motherland do but support it wholeheartedly and praise it with deep emotion? Of course, it was inevitable that in the course of such a vast, rapidly growing, mass revolutionary movement as the establishment of the people's communes, lack of experience would result in some shortcomings. But what merits extraordinary attention is not at all that some shortcoming or another occurred but the fact that the shortcomings were so few compared with the achievements, that the shortcomings were overcome so rapidly and that the skill with which our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the mass movement is so superb and so worthy of admiration and study.

As we have said, the People's Liberation Army is an instrument of political struggle and instead of standing aloof from politics, a revolutionary soldier must attach importance to political interests and work hard at political study. And the practice of the mass movement and of social struggle is itself a rich political experience. We should at all times keep in touch with the masses and raise our own level by absorbing nourishment from the revolutionary mass movements. By vigorously and actively taking part in national construction and the mass movements, officers and men of the army can widen their breadth of vision, enrich their minds and fortify

their own mass point of view and their love of labour, raise their theoretical level and deepen their understanding of policy through integration with rich practice. Furthermore, they can learn from the civilian cadres the methods of class analysis and the lively working methods of the mass line. Time and again, experience has shown that as far as the masses of officers and the rank and file are concerned, participation in mass movements is a most vivid, fruitful and profound political schooling. Faster political and ideological progress is invariably achieved by the officers and men of any unit that pays attention to this, while the officers and men of any unit that neglects this become politically uninformed and narrow-sighted and their thinking lags behind events. A few years ago there were comrades who regarded it as an extra burden for the army to participate in mass movements and assist the people in production. They held that only drilling and lectures constituted training while participation in practical socialist struggles was not training but an obstruction to training which would bring "more loss than gain." Such a viewpoint is utterly wrong.

IV

At the present stage of building a modernized army, when the technical equipment of our army is being constantly improved and the mastery of technique and the raising of the technical level of our army have become more important than ever before, is the human factor still of decisive significance? Some comrades take the view that modern warfare differs from warfare in the past, that since the weapons and equipment available to our army in the past were inferior we had to emphasize dependence on man, on his bravery and wisdom, in order to win victories. They say that modern warfare is a war of technique, of steel and machinery, and that in the face of these things, man's role has to be relegated to a secondary place. They attach importance only to machinery and

want to turn revolutionary soldiers into robots devoid of revolutionary initiative. Contrary to these people, we believe that while equipment and technique are important, the human factor is even more so. Technique also has to be mastered by man. Men and material must form a unity with men as the leading factor. What we have to consider constantly is how to mobilize all positive factors still better and bring the initiative of the mass of officers and men into full play. That is why in building up the army during the past ten years, we have paid special attention to creating close relations between the officers and men and between the men at the higher and lower echelons, and to applying the mass line thoroughly in all work.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army of an entirely new type. It began its work of building itself up by destroying the warlord system of the feudal, mercenary army and establishing the system of democratic unity. Our army has the most authoritative system of command but is also characterized by the close relations of a great revolutionary family, with unity between the officers and men and between the higher and lower echelons. While our army is a fighting organization of the greatest centralism and the strongest discipline, it is also an army with the richest democratic life. While our whole army works under a unified command from top to bottom, it is also accustomed to applying the mass line in all spheres of work. Officers and men, centralism and democracy, unified command and the mass line—these seem to be diametrically contradictory, yet they have been very well integrated in our army. This is a Marxist-Leninist tradition which the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have long established in the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In the past ten years, regardless of the changes in our army's weapons and equipment and in its organizational systems, we have held fast to this glorious tradition and developed it incessantly.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has long since pointed out that whether the relations between the officers and men are good or bad is not a question of technique or method but of attitude, it is a question of attitude of basic importance as to whether or not the personality of the ordinary soldier is respected. We have always held that the only difference between the officers and men is one of division of labour within the revolutionary ranks and, politically speaking and as far as personality is concerned, there is no distinction of high and low. Officers are not special figures above the rank and file. Only when the officers have affection and solicitude for the rank and file, when the rank and file respect the officers and when they respect each other, can relations of equality and brotherhood be established and the aim of unity between the officers and men be attained. Such unity brings forth unlimited fighting strength. In 1958, our army in response to the call of Comrade Mao Tse-tung began to put into practice the system of officers going down to the companies and serving as rank-and-file soldiers for a period of one month each year. Our comrade generals who are commanding officers and political commissars of the various military areas, services and arms, took the lead in putting this into effect. The officers who join the companies as ordinary soldiers drill, do manual labour, live and spend their recreation time together with the rank and file. They take orders from the squad leaders; what they do not know they learn from the squad leaders and the rank and file like pupils in school. In no time they mix well with the soldiers and become their bosom friends. The reports from the various units show that in companies which officers have joined as ordinary soldiers, political enthusiasm and morale is especially high. With the officers themselves setting examples, the rank and file show every possible concern for the officers, pay great attention to their health and help them as much as they can so as to lighten their strain of physical labour. Serving as ordinary soldiers is also of great help to the officers themselves. In working and living with

the rank and file, they are able to establish the communist style of treating others on an equal footing, guard against bureaucratic airs and raise the level of their mass outlook; they can examine the directives and decisions of the leading organizations and the style of work of the leadership from the angle of an ordinary soldier. Although only a year has passed since the introduction of the officers-serving-as-soldiers system, one can already see that it will enable the officers and the rank and file of our army to merge more closely into an integral body whose pulse and heart beat in unison, and to become an invincible force.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always attached great importance to the development of democratic life. He has instructed us many times on this. He has said that the army should practise a certain degree of democracy. This is the way to achieve unity between the officers and the men and hence increase the fighting strength of the army. He has said that every unit of the army should carry out a campaign known as "support the officers and love the soldiers," calling on the officers to have affection for the rank and file and at the same time calling on the rank and file to support the officers. They should frankly point out their shortcomings and mistakes to each other and correct them quickly. This is the way the goal of internal unity can be properly achieved. He has also said that what is called the question of the correct handling of contradictions among the people is precisely one of the mass line, which our Party has often talked about. This democratic working method, the working method of the mass line which Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us, was first carried out in the army and has provided us with rich experiences. In the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the rank and file are the ones to be governed and led, yet at the same time they are entitled to take part in the conduct of affairs, contribute their ideas and recommend ways and means in the course of the work. The officers are the ones who govern and lead, yet at the same time they are subject to the supervision of the masses, rely on the

masses and mobilize them in work. Where contradictions arise, the democratic method of persuasion and education is used to adjust them according to the unity-criticism-unity formula. In this way unity is strengthened, morale is raised, discipline is consolidated and the initiative and creative energy of the mass of officers and rank and file are developed. During the past ten years we have made great progress in all this. The Chinese People's Volunteers, too, scored outstanding achievements in applying democracy to the highly modern war of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea. The "underground Great Wall," that is, the tunnel fortifications which played a very important role in this war, was the product of the collective wisdom of the masses gained through the joint efforts of the officers and the rank and file. We have also applied democracy to modern military training. The results prove that units which carry out the mass line well invariably score excellent achievements in training. In 1958, the mass campaign to master military technique under the slogan of "mastering many skills while specializing in one, every soldier capable of many uses" came into prominence. A technical innovation campaign that centred on improving technical equipment also developed on a large scale, resulting in many rationalization proposals and many valuable innovations and inventions. In addition, the democratic method of airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in *tatsepao*¹—the method adopted throughout the country since the rectification campaign—has also been introduced in the army. This method is most suitable for mobilizing the masses for self-education, solving internal contradictions, bringing into full play mass initiative and increasing their sense of responsibility.

The democracy which we practise is democracy under centralized guidance and it is carried out under leadership.

¹Opinions written in bold characters and posted on walls for everybody to see—*Tr.*

We are at all times opposed to anarchism and equalitarianism. While carrying forward democratic life in the army, we also consider and take into account the special features of an army at all times and places. We take democracy as a means whereas our end is to increase the army's unity, strengthen its discipline and raise its fighting strength. The officers and the rank and file of our army have the common political purpose and the common ideological basis of unity among themselves to defeat the enemy. Therefore, democratic life in our army has all along gone forward on a sound footing. We should firmly trust the majority of the masses. Should any people with ulterior motives try to use democracy to undermine our army, the leadership at all levels would never tolerate them, nor would the mass of officers and men ever let them get away with it.

V

The Party's absolute leadership in the armed forces and the staunch Party character of the host of officers of our army are the best guarantee for success in the field of national defence in our country's socialist construction. We know full well that in the past ten years, as in the years of war before that, whenever we were confronted with crucial problems in the building of national defence and in military struggles, we always received our correct orientation from the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the problems were solved successfully. For example, the laying down of the policy for building a modernized revolutionary army, the correct handling of the relations between the building up of national defence and national economic construction, the wise policy decision on resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and the correct strategic guidance, the decisions on the policies regarding the struggle for the liberation of Taiwan and the operations on the Fukien front, the introduction of the policy of combining the powerful regular forces, the special technical units and the

armed militia in preparation for turning the whole population into fighting men, and so on—all these, without exception, are the result of leadership by the Party and by Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally.

In his article "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the political power of a state. Whoever wants to seize the political power of the state and to maintain it must have a strong army."¹ He added in the same article:

Communists do not contend for personal military power (they should never do that, and let no one follow the example of Chang Kuo-tao), but they must contend for military power for the Party and for the people. . . . Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun will never be allowed to command the Party.²

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, in the ten years since the founding of the Republic, as in the time of war, has always resolutely supported the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, serving as a most faithful and dependable instrument in carrying through the lines and policies laid down by the Party, as the staunchest defender of the people's democratic dictatorship under the Party's leadership and of the socialist cause. As a result, the masses of the people have always lavished great honours and love on the People's Liberation Army, whereas imperialism and all the reactionaries have invariably regarded the unmeasured loyalty of the People's Liberation Army to the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung as something that works to their greatest disadvantage. We officers and Communists working in the army must be on the alert at all times against the intrigues of the enemy—both against invasion

¹Mao Tse-tung, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

²*Ibid.*

by the enemy with arms and against "sugar-coated shells" of all kinds and sabotage from within. The officers and Communists in the army have an especially important duty in defending meticulously the interests of the people, the socialist cause and the leadership of the Party from assault and sabotage by any enemy whatsoever. This is a duty which, first and foremost, calls for conscientious study by the officers and Communists in the army, for their self-remoulding so as to acquire a high degree of political consciousness and a staunch Party character.

Party character is not an abstract thing. The staunch Party character of a Communist and an officer in the army should find expression, at all times and in all circumstances, in upholding the unity of the Party unswervingly and in wholehearted struggle for the programme and lines of the Party. It is therefore constantly necessary for a Communist and an officer to take interest in, and pay attention to, the political situation and the policies, lines and other issues concerning the direction to pursue, to maintain a firm stand, distinguish right from wrong and avoid wavering and loss of bearings when confronted with important problems of right and wrong. The position of the individual in relation to the Party must be placed correctly. The Party should be obeyed absolutely; no personal ambitions are permissible. Discipline should be strictly observed; in all circumstances importance should be attached to the unity of the Party and nothing should be done behind the back of the Party; one should be just, selfless and honest, and not try to build up one's personal prestige by hypocritical means; modest and not conceited; courageous in accepting criticism and advice and active in combating all wrong tendencies, not rejecting criticism and persisting in mistakes. In short, individualism is the source of all evils. As soon as it sprouts, it must be criticized to the full and overcome by every effort, not a single bit of it must be allowed to get by. The Party character of the great majority of the officers in our army has grown steadily stronger under

the constant instruction of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is precisely because we have large numbers of officers who are imbued with a staunch Party spirit that the Party's leadership in the army has been carried through and such great achievements have been made.

It has been pointed out time and again by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung that in strengthening Party character, the basic question lies in using the proletarian world outlook of dialectical materialism to replace the bourgeois world outlook of idealism that exists in people's minds. This calls for stern effort over a long period of time. A Communist is bound to commit mistakes if he does not thoroughly change his world outlook but observes things and handles problems with a bourgeois world outlook. For the Party character cannot be successfully tempered and strengthened without a change in world outlook. To study Marxist-Leninist theory and the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung conscientiously and to establish a proletarian world outlook firmly are the incumbent duty of every officer and Communist in our army.

While we are celebrating our decade of brilliant achievements in the building of the country and the army, our socialist construction is continuing its leap forward at high speed and the international situation is developing in a direction all the more favourable to peace, democracy and socialism. The great Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are flourishing in prosperity; the anti-colonialist liberation struggles are growing tempestuously all over the world; while the imperialist camp is ridden with internal contradictions and shrouded in grim shadows. The wise conclusions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that "the East wind is prevailing over the West wind" and "the enemy rots with each passing day, while for us things are getting better day by day" are borne out by a growing volume of facts. The possibilities for the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of world peace are increasing with each passing day. We should fight for peace resolutely. Though a handful of bellicose elements in

the United States are still trying hard to continue to intensify the cold war, are repeatedly creating incidents to provoke the socialist camp and the national independence movements, and certain imperialist elements are unceasingly engaging in vicious instigations against the People's Republic of China—and we have to maintain full vigilance against all this—yet we are firm in our belief that the forces of the new are bound to defeat the forces of decay. The cause of world peace, democracy and socialism will continue to leap forward in mighty strides. All the circumstances are bright, both internally and internationally. Inspired by the brilliant achievements of our country during the past ten years and by the militant call of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and led by the great Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all the nationalities of China, the 650 million Chinese people will certainly achieve new and still more brilliant successes in building socialism! In the years of the triumphant march to socialism, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, manning its battle stations, will resolutely carry out every mission entrusted to it by the Party and will fully live up to the expectations of the people throughout the country. Let us continue to hold high the red banner of the Party's general line and the military thinking of Mao Tse-tung, go all out, aim high and march forward courageously to consolidate our national defence, liberate Taiwan, uphold peace and build our motherland!

The Great Unity of the Chinese People and the Great Unity of the Peoples of the World

Written for Pravda of the Soviet Union in celebration of the tenth
anniversary of the People's Republic of China

Teng Hsiao-ping

The Chinese people achieved the great victory of their revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism ten years ago. Since then they have also won great victories in the struggle against enemies at home and abroad, in the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts, and in socialist economic and cultural construction. The Chinese people have succeeded in all this because they relied on the great unity of the entire people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and also the great unity between the Chinese people and other peoples of the world.

On the eve of the birth of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in his *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* that internally, we must unite with all forces that can be united with and establish the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and, externally, we must ally ourselves with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the proletariat and the broad masses of people in all other countries. He said:

To sum up our experiences and bring them into focus: we must have the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based

upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite with all international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme.¹

We have consistently implemented this programme during the past ten years.

The revolution has united the hundreds of millions of people in China. The unity of the Chinese people has become more and more consolidated through the democratic revolution, through the socialist revolution, and with the uninterrupted development of the revolution. In the protracted struggle, the broad masses of Chinese peasants have come to look on the working class and the Communist Party as the only force which they can rely upon for ever. An indissoluble worker-peasant alliance has been forged under the leadership of the working class, and with this as the basis, we have united all forces that can be united with. The people of all nationalities in China stand united around the Chinese Communist Party, like a giant. In the past, the imperialists mocked the Chinese people by calling them "a heap of sand." Now they can only tremble in the face of the united Chinese people.

The Chinese Communist Party firmly upholds and believes in this Marxist-Leninist truth: the people are the creators of history. Only the masses themselves, with their own hands, can break the shackles of bondage; and only the masses themselves, with their own hands, can create their happiness. Proceeding from this truth, our basic method of work is as follows: To integrate the leadership with the masses, to pursue the mass line in all fields of work, to mobilize the masses boldly, to develop energetic mass movements under the guidance of the leadership, to sum up the views and pool the wisdom of the masses and rely on the strength of the masses to carry out the policies of the Party.

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 18.

Before 1949, the Chinese Communist Party had already traversed a difficult and tortuous path for close to thirty years. What we did can be summed up in a nutshell: we united and organized the broad masses of the people in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism under the leadership of the working class and thus created a broad mass movement for the democratic revolution. The people's revolutionary war was the concentrated expression of this mass movement. It was a people's revolutionary war in which hundreds of millions of impoverished peasants were mobilized and gave their all-out support. Thanks to this, we finally defeated the enemy and won complete victory. What we have done inside China in the ten years since 1949 can also be summed up as follows: in addition to completing thoroughly the tasks left over from the stage of the democratic revolution, we united and organized the broad masses of the people for the socialist revolution and construction and thus created a broad mass movement for socialist revolution and construction. We have already built up the dictatorship of the proletariat as our state power. This is a powerful weapon in all fields of our work. The strength of the proletarian dictatorship lies in the fact that it makes the broad mass of labouring people the real masters of the country and is built on the initiative of hundreds of millions of people. Hence it is obviously an erroneous view to ignore the initiative of the masses, to maintain that it is no longer necessary to organize mass movements since everything can be done from above by relying on the state apparatus.

In our country, the mass movements play their role in all phases of the socialist revolution and construction. The broad mass movement guarantees that the socialist revolution can be carried out thoroughly and speedily. It also ensures that greater, faster, better and more economical results can be achieved in carrying out the socialist construction.

The socialist revolution in our country is the concentrated expression of the strong desire of the broad masses of people

to eradicate bourgeois ownership, end ownership by small producers, and completely emancipate the social productive forces. Every important step in the revolution was made under the impetus of extensive mass movements. It was through broad mass movements that we speedily and successfully carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce. Immediately following this, it was again through large-scale mass movements that we won decisive victories of the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. All old relations of production and the superstructure which shackled the development of the productive forces collapsed rapidly under the impact of such great mass movements, while new relations of production and the superstructure befitting the development of the productive forces have grown up rapidly.

The socialist construction of our country has also been forging ahead under the impact of widespread mass movements. The 650 million Chinese people, completely liberated through socialist revolution, are confidently testing their strength on the truly gigantic tasks. They urgently desire to develop China's economy at high speed, to rid their country quickly of poverty and backwardness, and to catch up gradually with the imperialist countries which have always prided themselves on being "advanced." The Communist Party of China believes that it is its duty to support this entirely reasonable desire of the masses of the people enthusiastically and to lead them actively in organized actions. As early as 1949, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the socialist construction of China, in accordance with our conditions, ought to be very fast, and not very slow. In the spring of 1958, after the overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy in 1957, the Party, at the suggestion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, mapped out the general line: "Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results to build

socialism." This general line has crystallized the great determination of the 650 million Chinese people to build a powerful nation, and has, in turn, played the role of setting the people in motion, mobilizing all the forces that could possibly be mobilized, thus creating a tremendous mass movement for socialist construction and the conditions for the uninterrupted leap forward of our national economy. Moreover, it has given rise to the historically significant movement to set up people's communes in the countryside.

The role of the mass movements in our socialist construction is being felt more and more clearly. The fact that hundreds of millions of working people have gone all out, aimed high, stepped up their enthusiasm for labour to the maximum, and developed the mass movements for technical innovation and technical revolution on a large scale, has guaranteed the continuous leap forward of our economy. We can say for sure that our technical revolution will be many times faster than the industrial revolution of the capitalist countries. On the basis of giving priority to heavy industry, we simultaneously develop industry and agriculture, heavy and light industry; while strengthening the centralized leadership of the Central People's Government in economic construction, we also see to it that the initiative of the local authorities at various levels is encouraged; we also see to it that the development of large enterprises goes hand in hand with medium and small-sized enterprises; while developing the modern method of production, we see to it that indigenous methods are not ignored. The operation of the policy of "simultaneous development" serves to mobilize the masses on the broadest scale, and to bring into motion various positive factors so as to push forward our socialist construction most effectively and speedily. In steel making, in 1958, we launched a mass movement in the large enterprises and those using modern methods of production as well as in the medium and small-sized enterprises and those using indigenous methods. Tens of millions of people jubilantly joined the move-

ment and displayed boundless enthusiasm for socialist construction. All this led to the enormous leap forward in steel making and laid the basis for a rational distribution of the steel industry in our country, thus creating the important conditions for a speedy development of the steel industry in the future. At the same time, it was through large-scale mass movements that we made timely adjustments of human relations in labour, to adjust certain links in our economic and political set-ups that were incompatible with the growth of the productive forces. As a result, our socialist relations of production have been improved steadily and the enthusiasm of the people for socialism was further enhanced. Clearly, it is only by relying on large-scale mass movements in our socialist construction that it will be possible to overcome our economic backwardness in a comparatively short period of time.

In our own ranks some people cannot see the socialist initiative of the masses and therefore entertain doubts about the mass movements. They always think that the masses are not conscious enough and that the mass movements are unreliable. The fact is, however, that the broad masses in China have very great initiative for socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is not the masses who lag behind, but those who entertain doubts of the masses that are lagging behind the masses. Of course, in keeping with the progress of socialism, it is necessary for the masses to educate themselves in order to raise their own consciousness continuously. The broad mass movements led by the Party have played a significant role in promoting the cause of socialism because through these movements the socialist initiative of the masses is fully developed and they serve as the best schools for the self-education of the masses. It is through a series of mass movements in the socialist revolution and construction that the Chinese people have received a profound socialist education which has rapidly raised their socialist consciousness.

In our own ranks some people consider mass movements necessary in the revolution but maintain that it is a different matter in construction. This view is also wrong. Certainly the forms of mass movements should be different in times of revolution and construction, in political struggles and economic work. But obviously our economic construction cannot be divorced from political work, and politics should be the soul and should be in command. To do economic work well, we must observe objective economic laws. The aim of large-scale mass movements is precisely the full application of the objective economic laws by bringing into full play man's subjective activity. Those who deny the role of mass movements in construction view political work and economic work as absolute opposites and therefore fail to see the very important part played by the socialist initiative of the broad masses in construction. They also view as absolute opposites two things in economic construction — reliance on the masses and reliance on technical personnel; they do not understand the vital significance of the practical experience of the masses in production for the development of science and technology. At present, there are not enough technical personnel as yet in our socialist construction, and a group of top-level, outstanding scientists, inventors and other technical experts are urgently needed. To develop their ability and the role they play, however, the experts have to work in close harmony with the masses and continuously absorb new experiences from the practical work of the masses. The view that in construction it is enough to have the management of the enterprises and a few experts issue orders, that the masses are negative or passive factors and that mass movements are not wanted, is obviously wrong.

The enthusiasm of the masses to create a new life and their spirit of initiative are inexhaustible resources for the development of the socialist cause. There can be no real socialist accomplishment which is divorced from the initiative and creative genius of the people. Lenin said: "Socialism is vital,

creative; it is the creation of the popular masses themselves."¹ Marxism-Leninism always opposes the solution of new problems in life by resorting to ready-made formulas from books. In carrying out socialist construction in a country like ours, with a very large population and backward economy, we cannot possibly avoid a host of extraordinary difficulties and complicated problems. We must depend upon the living experience of mass struggles to overcome these difficulties and solve these problems. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung consistently maintain that the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism must be integrated with the practice of the Chinese revolution. This means applying and developing Marxism-Leninism through the practical struggles of the Chinese people. When hundreds of millions of people start to move under the Party's leadership, they not only rapidly accomplish those things which were once considered very difficult, but also break down the outmoded rules and regulations, go by the logic of life itself and discover various kinds of appropriate new forms for our cause. It is no accident that the broad masses of Chinese peasants have created a form of social organization, i.e. the people's commune. The former agricultural producers' co-operatives, smaller in scale, could no longer meet the requirements of the leap forward in the productive forces of society. Consequently the large people's commune, which combines industry, agriculture, trade, education, and military affairs and combines the township administration with that of the commune, was born, and an upsurge of forming people's communes was soon apparent in the countryside throughout the country. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave timely, correct leadership to this mass movement. The people's commune has developed so widely and rapidly because it is a creation of hundreds of millions of the Chinese people. It plays a great part in developing the rural economy and

¹V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russian ed., 1949, Vol. XXVI, p. 255.

culture and in raising the living standards of the peasants. Such a large-scale mass movement which conforms with historical laws cannot possibly rise all of a sudden by order of a few people, nor will it vanish in the face of opposition by a few. The people's commune has extraordinary vitality. The peasants say: "It can't be destroyed even by thunder!" Under the conditions in our country, the people's commune is a powerful weapon to accelerate socialist construction in the countryside; it will also be the best form of social organization for the future transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, and from socialism to communism in the countryside.

It is inevitable, under any circumstances, that certain isolated, local and temporary shortcomings will crop up in great, new undertakings in which several hundreds of millions of people take part. But we cannot, as the saying goes, "refuse to take food because we fear choking," and we must not negate the mass movement because we fear these shortcomings. Our mass movement is conducted under the centralized leadership of the Party, with the leaders moving ahead along with the masses and learning together with them from practical experience; therefore, when defects crop up, they are easily detected and overcome. The handful of right opportunists within our Party do not see the great achievements made in the big leap forward movement and in the movement for people's communes since 1958; they spare no efforts to exaggerate certain shortcomings in the mass movements which have already been overcome so as to oppose the Party's general line for building socialism. The positive effect of the mass movement for more iron and steel on the rapid development of our national economy is becoming more and more evident in real life; but the right opportunists think that this movement can only play a destructive role. The people's communes, after summing up the experiences gained in the initial stage, are becoming more mature and sounder; but the right opportunists think that the people's communes are "moving

backwards" and that the only way out is to dissolve them. The masses of the people look upon the leap forward in our national economy as something extremely good, but the right opportunists think it is all "in an awful mess." This right opportunist viewpoint is obviously nothing but a reflection within our Party of the reactionary viewpoint of the bourgeoisie which fears the masses and is antagonistic to the mass movement.

Unlike the political parties of the bourgeoisie, the Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat dares to bring into full play the creative power of the masses; it is for ever in the van of the mass movement; it continuously shows the masses the correct path to take, puts forward in time new tasks for which they should struggle, and leads them from victory to victory. That is what our Party has been doing. Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist party, a mass party. The principles and policies for all our work are "from the masses, and back to the masses." Through the extensive mass movements, our Party has established intimate flesh and blood ties with the people. As a result of the victory of the Party's general line for the building of socialism, and as a result of the great leap forward in the national economy and the victory in the people's commune movement, these close ties have been further strengthened, and the prestige of our Party among the people has been further enhanced.

The Chinese Communist Party has become the core of the great unity of the Chinese people in long years of struggle. This great unity is the fundamental factor that accounts for victories we have already won and victories we shall continue to win in the cause of socialism in our country.

The unity between the Chinese people and the peoples of the whole world is the essential international factor which enables us to score victories in our revolution and in our construction.

The revolutionary cause of the proletariat has always been international in character. The struggle of the proletariat

of any country is a component part of the common struggle of the proletariat of the whole world. In this era of ours, the people throughout the world have united in a world-wide common struggle against imperialism for the lofty cause of peace, people's democracy and socialism. Every country in the world, whether big or small, and every nationality, whether advanced or backward, has its place in this common struggle. The people of any country or nationality, so long as they mobilize and organize themselves and are united as one, turning their might to full account, can carry on their struggles successfully, and thereby contribute to the common struggle of the people throughout the world; at the same time, they can obtain help and support in this common struggle.

The Chinese revolution is a component part of the socialist revolution of the world proletariat. It is a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The victory of the Chinese revolution extended the tremendous influence of the October Revolution and is of great significance to world peace and human progress. The revolutionary victory in a country as big as China with a population of 650 million broke through the eastern front of imperialism. It is an extremely heavy blow to the imperialist system. Victorious New China joined the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union and greatly added to the ascendancy of the world socialist system. The unity and growing strength of the big socialist family formed by the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries have fundamentally changed the relative strengths of the world's class forces. Under the leadership of the proletariat, the Chinese people have carried the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution to the end and, through the socialist revolution and construction, are rapidly getting rid of poverty and backwardness, providing an example of going over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country and of the transformation of a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial country. This cannot but tremendously

inspire all the oppressed nations in their struggle for national liberation, people's democracy and a socialist future. The victory of China's revolution and construction is the result of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of China by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is the victory of Marxism-Leninism. The wide dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in a large country in the East and the continuous great successes it scores further prove the unlimited vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and hence all people of the world who want progress are more and more attracted by Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese people have received broad sympathy and support from the great unity of the peoples of the world. We have never stood alone in our struggles. Under all conditions, the Chinese people have always relied on their own effort to carry on a resolute struggle; at the same time, the assistance and support from the world revolutionary forces are of great significance to the victory of our struggles. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the Eighth National Congress of our Party: "Internationally, our victories are due to the support of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union and the profound sympathy of peace-loving people throughout the world."¹ Our revolution and construction have received great, fraternal help from the Soviet Union, help from the other socialist countries, as well as help from the labouring people and all progressive forces of the various countries in the world. The Chinese people are sincerely grateful for this great international help.

Proletarian internationalism is an important condition for the victory of the revolution in all countries. It is an important weapon in the hands of the proletariat in liberating the whole of mankind. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always

¹*Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, Vol. I, p. 8.

educated the entire Party and the whole people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and opposed all kinds of bourgeois reactionary ideologies of big-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. Bourgeois nationalism is an expression of the bourgeois world outlook. Starting from the selfish interests of the exploiting class, the bourgeoisie either places its own nation above the others under the banner of big-nation chauvinism in order to achieve the aim of oppressing and exploiting other nations; or pits its own nation against the course of world human progress by spreading the ideology of narrow nationalism. Should the proletariat become contaminated with these reactionary bourgeois ideas, the cause of the revolution would be seriously impaired. The imperialists and the reactionaries of the various countries have always exploited national sentiments to spread the virus of bourgeois nationalism as an important means of undermining the cause of the proletarian revolution and disrupting the unity of the various nations of the world. The modern revisionists, as represented by the Yugoslav ruling clique, use bourgeois nationalism to oppose proletarian internationalism, use the nation as a cover to oppose international solidarity and have fully become an echo of imperialism. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have told the entire Party and people time and again that we must always unite with the proletariat and the peoples of the world and make proletarian internationalism our rules of conduct.

The great Soviet Union is the most faithful friend of the Chinese people. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the two great socialist countries — the Soviet Union and China — formed a solid and close alliance. The unity of the Soviet Union and China plays an extremely important part in the unity of the peoples of the world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the unity of the Soviet Union and China "will inevitably contribute not only to the prosperity of the two great countries — China and the Soviet Union — but also

to the future of all mankind and the victory of peace and justice throughout the world."¹ The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always regarded the strengthening of the friendly co-operation between China and the Soviet Union as our important internationalist duty.

The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the reliable guarantee of world peace and human progress. The People's Republic of China has joined this camp, and shares the same destiny and life-breath of this camp. In the big family of socialism, the national economies of all the socialist countries are surging forward together; the friendship and unity among us are being strengthened and consolidated day by day. The relations between the countries of the socialist camp are based on proletarian internationalism. They are equal and fraternal relations of mutual respect, mutual encouragement and mutual assistance. These are the sincerest and most friendly international relations of a new type. The constant consolidation and promotion of the unity of the socialist camp conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and of the peoples of the whole world.

The unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the unity of the international communist movement with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its centre, form the core of ever more extensive international unity. With the holding of the historic Moscow meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties from various countries of the world in 1957, this core has become even stronger and more consolidated. With such a strong core, the working class of the world, the labouring people of the world, the oppressed nations of the world, the world forces upholding peace and desiring progress, have united even closer, bringing boundless light and hope to mankind.

¹Chairman Mao Tse-tung's farewell speech at Moscow railway station before his return to China. See *Hsinhua Monthly*, March 1950.

The great unity of the Soviet Union, China and all the socialist countries and the great unity of the peoples of the whole world are something imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries cannot disrupt. The more viciously imperialism and the reactionaries attack and try to disrupt our great unity, the harder we will work to consolidate and promote it. In the face of our great unity, any struggles on the part of imperialism and the reactionaries will not save them from inevitable destruction. The forces of peace will certainly triumph over the imperialist forces of war; the oppressed nations will certainly overthrow the reactionary rule of colonialism; the socialist system will certainly replace the capitalist system; these are irresistible historical law. Our times are great times of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. Our cause will surely advance from victories to bigger victories. No force on earth can prevent our victory.

China's Liberation—Sino-Soviet Friendship—Man's Great Leap into the Future

Soong Ching Ling

People throughout the world have turned their eyes toward China, now celebrating its tenth year of liberation. They share with us the great joy that surges throughout our land. They eagerly evaluate the tremendous gains our people have made; they note the good tidings these bring to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With us they look into the future, to see what China's progress promises for all mankind.

* * *

Ten years ago, Chairman Mao Tse-tung proclaimed that People's China had come into existence. This was the end result of a revolutionary process which had started one hundred years earlier. It began with the resistance of the Chinese people in the Opium War (1840-42), the first imperialist invasion of our land. The thread was picked up by the Taiping peasant revolution (1850-64) against feudalism and imperialism. Out of the failure of that struggle was born the revolutionary activity of Sun Yat-sen. And in the end it was left to the Chinese Communist Party, the vanguard of the Chinese working class, to complete the revolutionary tasks. The Communist Party led the last thirty years of the heroic struggle in which the Chinese people won a decisive victory over their three main enemies — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

Thus our people were steeled and tempered. In this struggle, we preserved our traditions of determination and courage in the face of adversity, created through thousands of years

of battle with oppressors. When this fighting spirit was finally infused with the great truths of Marxism-Leninism, we had the main prerequisite for saving and reviving our nation.

Our people's rise to power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the rise of the People's Republic of China in the place of the old semi-feudal, semi-colonial China, was an earth-shaking achievement. It was the greatest world event after its forerunner and example, the Great October Socialist Revolution. One-fourth of mankind in an immense and rich land had cast off its chains.

After our new democratic revolution had been fulfilled, we began our socialist revolution, which was brought about peacefully with the proletariat obtaining political power. These were notable and historic accomplishments to the credit of the Chinese people. They were also extremely important validations of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese people, through their victories, demonstrated once again the universality of this world outlook.

In these ten years, the Chinese Communist Party has continued to give correct leadership, enabling our people to go from victory to victory, from strength to strength. At each crucial point, internally or in international affairs, the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, brilliantly utilizing Marxist-Leninist principles, have been able to grasp the main contradictions, provide correct solutions and take the appropriate action. The Party has faithfully carried out a mass line in all fields, stimulating the people to the broadest democratic participation in our political life, in production and in social and ideological reform.

Our people's government is a splendid example of the dictatorship of the proletariat applied in the concrete conditions of China, taking into account our history and social customs. Likewise, the Party has with resolution led us in victorious struggle against the few remnants of the old order in our midst and against our external enemies, the imperialists, who are vainly attempting to turn back the clock of history.

The Chinese people have the deepest love and respect for their Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They see in the Party all that is the best in the Chinese national tradition and the staunch defender of our nation's interests. Therefore, when the Party calls upon us to act, to build, to defend with arms in hand our fatherland and world peace, our people rise as one to answer that call.

Never before in China's long history has our nation been as united as today, with proletarian brotherhood welding its more than fifty nationalities into one close-knit family. Never has it reached such heights of productivity in field and factory as in the past ten years. Never have we had such magnificent prospects for further advance. Never have our culture and education bloomed, vibrating with life, as they do today. Never has China enjoyed such international esteem, such sympathy and felicitation of other nations and peoples, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In one single decade our people and country have come far. We still have a considerable distance to go, much hard work to do to fulfil our plans, for we started with production and culture at a low and undeveloped level. But we have tested our muscles, and we know that if there are mountains to be moved, we will move them. We have a firm belief in our cause and in ourselves. We have the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. All the conditions are present so that in the next ten years we can outdistance by far our achievements in this first ten, to make China strong and to give our people happiness and prosperity.

Since 1917, first in the course of our protracted liberation struggle and then after our victory was won, the Chinese people have been fortunate in the revolutionary comradeship of the Soviet people, of their great Communist Party and government. On innumerable occasions they have rendered us important and decisive assistance in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism. We will never forget that, in fair weather and foul, we have always been able to count upon the sup-

port of the Soviet people, and this at times when imperialism was plotting our very death as a nation. Without this, the Chinese people's struggle would have been much longer and even more bitter. So it is not strange that we feel a genuine kinship with the Soviet people. We have an objective basis for saying that the friendship between the Soviet Union and China is eternal and indestructible.

The rapid and all-round development of the friendly ties between China and the Soviet Union has been one of the outstanding fruits of the Chinese revolution. The political importance of Sino-Soviet fraternal co-operation lies in two facts:

- 1) China's victory united the socialist camp over a broad and continuous land mass with a population of over 900 millions;
- 2) It linked Europe and Asia in a new type of relationship between peoples and nations, based on Marxist-Leninist precepts.

Sino-Soviet friendship became a symbol of the pioneering nature of the world socialist system, which emerged as a result of the founding of a series of People's Democracies after World War II. This phenomenon was a direct follow-up to the qualitative change that took place in man's development with the victory of the Soviet people in erecting the first socialist state.

The twentieth century is the age when man is not only expected to know the world but to *change* it. It is the age of a succession of rapid break-throughs in key scientific fields, and the intense application of science to production processes. This has given man the power and ability to bend nature to his will, and to increase production of the necessities of life to the point where the best in livelihood can be provided for *all* the peoples, without exception. The problem this age places before man, therefore, is: Through the appropriate changes in economic system (relations of production) to release all the creative energies of the people and bring about a tremendous productive effort for the benefit of humanity in general, to be shared equally and absolutely without exploitation or discrimination of any kind.

Such is the demand of the working people in every part of the globe. For ours is also the age of broadening democracy, of participation by the masses in political affairs, national and international. This derives from the social nature of production in the modern era. Man has concentrated and organized on a large scale to take part in producing wealth. This has taught him the potentialities of collective genius and labour. It has taught him that only these can create material value from the things with which nature endowed us. It follows as a matter of course that man now demands that these potentialities be put into full play to eliminate the deep poverty and ignorance that still plague large sections of the world, that exploitation of man by man must end, that it is the inalienable right of the working people to own the tools and fruit of their labour.

Historical development posed the problem; man had to answer it, to continue his progress. He turned to reforming capitalism for a solution, but found that this system is beyond reform, that as it proceeded on its inevitable course of ever greater concentration of wealth and power it only intensified the contradictions in society by heightening the exploitation of the working class, that increases in productive capacity were very often associated with fearful wars, war preparations and the plundering of peoples, which brought fabulous profits to a few and misery to hundreds of millions. Capitalism was progressive once, when it solved the question of how to rid mankind of feudalism. But in this age it has *proved to be a barrier to further advance for the great majority of the human race.*

The solution to the central problem of our age was discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin, who developed a scientific theory that exposed the ills of outdated capitalism and gave man a new, accurate philosophical outlook and a practical political programme which would enable him to carry out the basic task of this epoch—the transition from capitalism to socialism. The October Socialist Revolution, leading to the

Chinese revolution and those of other socialist lands, demonstrated the universal mainstream of change. It is: The political party of the working class leads the way to the liberation of the people, the people take power, with the ownership of the means of production, into their own hands, then comes the planned, systematic, efficient construction of a new society based on abundance for all. Only in this way could the painful backwardness, the parasitism and exploitation which humanity has had to bear for these so many centuries be eliminated in a historically short time.

Marxism-Leninism, carried out in practice, has proved its validity beyond question. It has brought magnificent benefits to peoples in a third of the globe by giving them a better life in socialism, and boundless hopes for the communist future. It is the guiding light for all progressive mankind. Applied creatively to the conditions in each respective country, Marxism-Leninism enables the Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world correctly and comprehensively to reflect life, and to take the lead in struggling for the rights of the working folk, for national liberation and against reaction and war.

We look upon this great body of thought and summary of experience as the most precious of riches. One of the central tenets of Sino-Soviet friendship is an unequivocal stand in maintaining the purity of Marxism-Leninism, unflinchingly combating all attempts to twist it into revisionism or deaden it by dogmatic interpretation. We struggle to keep Marxism-Leninism as the bright weapon of the most revolutionary class for the transformation of the old society into the new, for leading the peoples everywhere into a life of brotherhood, well-being, purpose and high culture.

United by the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrines and applying them to all phases of life, China and the Soviet Union are dedicated to the struggle against every form of oppression. We live by the creed that all who labour are brothers and all nations, big and small alike, are equals. This enables us to

play a vital role in helping to settle one of the most urgent questions facing the world today—the ending for all time of the vicious colonialism which subjugates peoples and nations politically, economically and culturally.

Thanks to the existence of the world socialist system, the working people in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and in those which have recently won their independence are becoming more confident of their strength. The oppressed peoples everywhere have more courage to take up this struggle because they know the socialist camp will support all who uphold national independence. With this support, through the political, economic and technical assistance rendered by the socialist nations, the colonial and semi-colonial countries can win and consolidate their initial victories over imperialism.

The intense desire of every people to be free and decide its own destiny, coupled with the certainty of sympathy and support from the socialist camp, are precisely the motivating forces behind the radical and swift political changes in Asia, Africa and Latin America in recent years. The colonial system is rapidly approaching its end. Hundreds of millions of people in these key areas have ceased to be the reserve of capitalism and imperialism. The political balance in the world has swung in an opposite direction from what it was for hundreds of years, shifting toward the goals of national independence, peace and democracy.

Such a change could not, of course, please the imperialists. They have tried every conceivable means to regain their domination, and primary among these is the attempt to deflect to the Right certain national independence forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Blinding them with anti-Communist propaganda, luring them with promises of economic assistance, lavishing upon them torrents of praise for this and that action, the imperialists have from time to time momentarily succeeded in bringing the leading figures of some countries into the chorus of unfair abuse against the ideas of socialism and against the Soviet Union and China.

It is obvious that this can lead to no good. It diffuses the strength of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who with the peoples of the socialist world have a common enemy — imperialism. And more, it is simply impossible to be anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and anti-Chinese in today's world without selling a part or all of oneself to the imperialists. The entire peoples of these countries cannot be deceived into going against the main supporters of their national independence. They cannot fail to see that whenever the façade of national chauvinism, based on anti-communism, is put up — their independence begins to be pawned to their worst enemies.

Facts are facts; they come from life itself; they cannot be changed and distorted at will for some temporary political advantage. And those who attempt this only proceed at their own risk. History is full of examples of such men whose ambition and short-sightedness made them take this wrong road. In the end, all were brought to account by the people. Today one thing is clear beyond everything else: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America know that their true friends in every stress and difficulty are exactly the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the socialist camp. Nothing can change that relationship of supreme confidence and trust between us.

The affinity between the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and those of the socialist camp is of immense significance to the development of world affairs. Especially, it helps the forces of peace to win over those for war. The Soviet Union and China, acting as one, have always placed their immense strength on the side of relaxing international tensions, settling questions by negotiation and maintaining peace and justice in the world. We have striven to rally all those who could be mobilized for this signal cause. In the past ten years this movement has grown to mammoth proportions, as the strength of the socialist camp has grown, as the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and elsewhere have awakened to the necessity of acting to save mankind from the horrors of an atomic war. The socialist camp and the peace-loving

countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have become an extensive zone of peace. The peace movement now has the power to stay the hand of the Western monopoly capitalists, the sole possible perpetrators of war. So great is this power that today we can say war is no longer inevitable, *as long as the peoples remain vigilant and active against it.*

The main characteristic of our times is that there exist two opposing and competing world systems: the old capitalist system dating back some 300 years, and the new socialist system which has just some forty years of history. People are awakening more and more to the necessity of avoiding war, and the fact that peaceful co-existence is not only necessary but possible. Peaceful competition needs to be carried on between the two systems. The contest is proceeding. In it we can already see the shape of things to come, and the features peculiar to each of the systems.

In recent months, the persistent striving by the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist nations to bring about an international atmosphere based on peaceful co-existence has resulted in a decision of great significance to exchange visits by Chairman N. S. Khrushchov, who will go to the United States, and President Eisenhower, who will go to the USSR. World opinion has overwhelmingly applauded that move to create better political relations between these two great states. It is generally recognized that this will certainly be beneficial in further reducing international tensions and promoting the cause of world peace. The Chinese people have hailed this exchange of visits as a triumph over the advocates of the "cold war," and over the reluctance of certain circles in the United States to relax the world situation. We see it as a victory for the main principle that underlies the foreign policies of all socialist nations jointly and separately: that countries of differing social and political systems can and must co-exist on peaceful terms, and that the friendlier these relations are, the more benefits the peoples everywhere will derive.

The capitalist countries continue along their old lines, plagued with symptoms of a general crisis, such as a permanently large force of unemployed, gigantic national and personal debts, chronic agricultural imbalance, and a low rate of economic expansion. In contrast, the Soviet Union has already entered upon the extensive building of communism, while China and other socialist countries are experiencing what some Westerners describe as "fantastic productive development."

The fact that communism is being built in the Soviet Union is of paramount importance. It comes as a definite shock to the enemies of Marxism-Leninism. In the past they never expected to see socialism successfully established. But they look at the production statistics and the rising standard of living in the people's lands, and there is no doubt about the materialization of socialist society. Now they are told that communism is in the process of construction, and while they may not take to the idea kindly, they hesitate to discount the possibilities of its achievement.

Since that historic day October 4, 1957 when Sputnik I began to circle the earth, they have had to make repeated re-evaluations. Sputnik I was followed by Sputniks II and III, then by the man-made planet orbiting about the sun bearing the Soviet insignia and recently by the Soviet geophysical rockets bearing several animals in the exploration of the upper layers of the atmosphere and bringing them back safely. These remarkable accomplishments, which are far ahead of anything the most powerful capitalist country the United States has been able to do in such fields, have given a great shock to the minds of capitalism's most ardent supporters. These great scientific feats, being symbols of the tremendous creative power generated in a collective society, have burst like bubbles the dreams that America and the Western countries reign supreme in industry, science and engineering—the tools of man's material progress.

However, the matter does not rest there. When the Communist Party of the Soviet Union announced its intention to

proceed to the extensive building of communist society, the outline of the forward march for all socialist countries, and for all mankind, became considerably clearer. Particularly was it clear that the advance of the socialist world toward these goals, accelerated by mutual help, will grow constantly faster.

In the capitalist world, where nothing is done unless it profits Big Business, it is inevitable that the stronger, more productive nations obtain that position at the expense of the weaker, less productive ones. It is also characteristic that this disparity remains and widens, as if fate had ordained that certain nations should for ever stay in a position of productive subservience. Those nations can see no way out as long as they remain in the capitalist orbit, for their very dependence on the stronger country lays them open to exploitation, as dictated by the laws of capitalist development as applied to international economics. They cannot expect any sudden benevolence on the part of those whose sole aim in life is the highest dollar return.

In the socialist sector of the world, things work differently. The relations between nations are based on our common Marxist-Leninist outlook, on the fact that all have socialist relations of production which operate on behalf of the entire people. The purpose of our society, which holds with all of us, is to speed up the construction of socialism and to hasten the day when we can build communism, to give our people the most out of life that nature can be made to yield. Through the high degree of fraternal co-operation and mutual aid which prevail between the socialist nations, the stronger help the weaker, the larger assist the smaller, the best interests of each nation and its people are served in the process of realizing our united aim.

It is true that there is still some disparity in the level of economic development between various socialist nations. It arises from history, and this very disparity is an object of our joint and concerted attack. Facts show that this gap is being

gradually reduced in a planned and balanced way, and that it will eventually disappear.

The fulfilment of this noble and exciting task is of the greatest historical consequence. Utilizing the socialist rate of economic development, which is much faster than that of the most advanced capitalist countries even at those rare times when their economies operate at peak capacity, the socialist nations as a group will consolidate and complete the construction of socialism, and then enter into the extended construction of communism, as has already happened in the Soviet Union.

Not only will this speed the development of the socialist countries; it will have a profound effect all over the world. It will considerably heighten the capacity of the socialist camp to stimulate international trade. Very important are the direct and indirect benefits such trade will bring to those newly independent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Through it, the socialist states will be able to give even more fundamental aid to those countries in their struggles for an independent economy and against imperialist penetration and control. At the same time by giving them another way out other than reliance upon economic contact with the imperialists, they will force the latter to make concessions in order to stay in the market. Developing trade on the principle of mutual benefit will further fortify the whole foundation for world peace, at the same time lifting the level of living in countries long retarded by colonialism.

There is no question but that a tremendous factor in building socialism today and communism later in each of the People's Democracies, in the amelioration of the conditions of those people who still suffer from colonial exploitation, and in the broadening of friendship through world trade, is the existence of the world socialist system, and especially of the Soviet Union with its powerful economy. And the unending stream of mutual support and aid which takes place within the socialist system is in turn vital to its continued develop-

ment. As N. S. Khrushchov pointed out at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "The growth and development of each socialist country tends to reinforce the entire socialist system. In this lies our strength, the guarantee of our imminent victories in socialism's peaceful competition with capitalism."

In building socialism, the Chinese people are receiving all-sided and disinterested fraternal aid from the Soviet Union. We are also receiving valuable assistance from the other socialist countries, and we have the sympathy of working people and other friends throughout the world. On the occasion of this tenth anniversary of our People's Republic of China we express our deepest gratification for this support, which was so vital to our successes in the past and will have the same significance for our future advances.

To learn from the illustrious example of the Soviet Union, to take the best experience from all over the world and synthesize it with the concrete conditions of China, is the unvarying policy of the Chinese Communist Party. It ensures that we will speedily reach the goal of socialism in our country, preparatory to building communism with its unlimited vistas for our people.

Today the Chinese people have before them the work of swiftly and effectively carrying out the tremendous tasks of internal construction of socialism, and then embarking on much bigger water and power developments and technological advances on the broadest front, including atomic energy, electricity and electronics, automation and mechanization, biochemical technology and so forth. These are vast jobs to be done. They can only be done by the socialist countries working together. In the future, on a world scale, they will be done all the more effectively as all mankind takes the highroad to socialism and communism.

In the days of the great Marx and Engels, socialism and communism were still a dream. But in the contemporary world, socialism is a living reality and communism soon will be. To-

day there is iron-clad evidence, showing beyond question the superiority of socialism over capitalism. What is the measuring rod? That socialism gives the peoples a sense of security in life and of brilliant prospects that capitalism cannot hope to match, and has never matched even at the height of its powers.

An idea is abstract, thus it is easy to argue with. But reality is objective and solid, and there can be no denying it. Now the peoples can see Marxism-Leninism and socialism in action. They can see them producing remarkable results in the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist lands. These are facts which the peoples can grasp, and they are having widespread repercussions everywhere. They are at the core of the mounting working-class movement. They are the source from which the peoples derive ever more food for thought, which will with certainty lead them to the world-wide triumph of Marxism-Leninism, each deciding for itself when and how it will make its great leap into the future. Such is the road humanity is bound to travel as it makes its way into the era of unending progress and happiness, the era of permanent peace among men.

As China enters its second decade of liberation and national development, we are filled with confidence. We are inspired by the general world situation, in which the "East wind prevails over the West wind."

Peace is winning over war. National independence is winning over imperialist bondage. Socialism is winning over capitalism. We are proud to be in the front ranks of man's advance into the future. We renew our pledge first taken ten years ago: to carry out the struggle in the name of the great communist ideal until there is no more exploitation of man by man, no more poverty, no more national oppression, no more war.

August 6, 1959

Ten Years of Struggle for World Peace and Human Progress

Written for Izvestia of the Soviet Union

Chen Yi

Ten years have elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. During the past ten years, under the inspiring leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have won brilliant victories on various home fronts. Tremendous achievements, too, have been gained in international affairs. These ten years are a decade of resolute and unswerving struggle of the Chinese people for world peace and human progress.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China is an event of great significance in human history following the Great October Socialist Revolution. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of the Soviet Union, a victorious situation has definitely been established for the people of the world. And now, with the founding of the People's Republic of China and of the other People's Democracies, this situation has been developed and consolidated."¹ The victory of the Chinese revolution is a heavy blow to imperialism. It has greatly strengthened the world socialist system, powerfully inspired the liberation struggles

¹Chairman Mao Tse-tung's opening speech at the Third Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

of all oppressed nations and further changed the face of the world.

During the past ten years further changes favourable to world peace and human progress have again taken place in the relation of forces in the international struggle. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is prospering and growing on an unprecedented scale. The national and democratic movements in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which have the support of the socialist forces are surging forward like roaring waves. The imperialist forces, on the other hand, have suffered successive defeats in the face of the opposition of the peoples of the world, including the people in their own countries; like the setting sun, their decline is becoming more and more obvious.

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state and this has determined the essential nature of China's foreign policy. The foreign policy worked out for our country by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the light of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete conditions in China is as follows: to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, to support the national-democratic movements in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to establish and develop friendly relations with all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, to oppose the imperialist policy of war and aggression and to uphold China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We have strong faith in the superiority of the socialist system and the justness of our cause. We firmly believe that socialism will inevitably replace capitalism. Like all other socialist countries, China stands for peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between nations of different social systems. At the same time, we are ready at any moment to hit back firmly at imperialist aggression and intervention.

The Chinese people always regard their revolution as part of the world socialist revolution. In the course of the pro-

tracted revolution, the Chinese people received support from the Soviet Union and the revolutionary forces throughout the world. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, it immediately established an entirely new type of diplomatic relations of unity and friendship, of mutual help and co-operation, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. "To strengthen our solidarity with the Soviet Union," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "and to strengthen our solidarity with all socialist countries — this is our fundamental policy, herein lies our basic interest."¹ Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was concluded. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, "The unity of the peoples of the two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, sealed by the treaty, will be lasting and indestructible and no one can split it. This unity will inevitably contribute not only to the prosperity of the two great countries — China and the Soviet Union — but also to the future of all mankind and the victory of peace and justice throughout the world."² China has also successively concluded a series of treaties and agreements with other socialist countries aimed at strengthening friendship and unity and developing economic and cultural ties and co-operation. During the past ten years, our friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made rapid progress.

Common ideals and common interests have closely united the countries of the socialist camp. In the struggle against imperialist aggression and in defence of peace, in the cause of socialist and communist construction, we are united as one, share one another's difficulties, inspire one another, support one another, closely co-operate with one another, forge ahead

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 70.

²Chairman Mao Tse-tung's farewell speech at Moscow railway station before his return to China. See *Hsinhua Monthly*, March 1950.

together and have won a series of great victories and achievements. The imperialists have always hoped to split the unity of the socialist camp and defeat the socialist countries one by one. But through its repeated struggles against imperialism the entire socialist camp has become more consolidated and more united than ever.

The Moscow Conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957 ushered in a new stage in the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and of the international communist movement with the Soviet Communist Party as the core. Even our enemies are now compelled to admit, though gradually, that the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has become even more consolidated and is stronger than before, that aggression against any socialist country will encounter a resolute rebuff from the entire socialist camp.

But imperialism is still trying to undermine this unity from within. Yugoslav modern revisionism is a product of this policy of U.S. imperialism. Its emergence fits in with this need. Hence, in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, it is necessary to expose Yugoslav revisionism thoroughly and to wage a determined struggle against it. We have already won great victories in this struggle and our unity has been further strengthened.

The friendly relations between our country and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries also express themselves in mutual assistance and co-operation in socialist and communist construction. In the interests of a common economic and cultural upsurge, these countries give tremendous help to one another in the spirit of internationalism: they are co-operating economically and culturally on an ever widening scale and are learning from one another and exchanging experience in various fields more intensively. With the further upsurge of the economy and culture in our countries,

these relations of mutual assistance and co-operation will undoubtedly develop even faster and on a still larger scale.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have provided help and support to the Chinese people both in revolution and construction. They have given us powerful support in the struggle against U.S. imperialist occupation of our Taiwan and the plot to create "two Chinas," and in many other international struggles. They have also given vast and many-sided assistance to our country's socialist construction. The Soviet Union has been helping our country build as many as 291 major projects in accordance with the agreements successively signed by the Chinese and Soviet Governments. The Chinese people express their heartfelt thanks for such fraternal help.

We shall continue to study seriously the advanced experiences of the socialist countries, particularly those of the Soviet Union. The Chinese people will always look upon the strengthening of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union as their sacred international duty. The plot of the imperialists and their henchmen to undermine this great unity of ours will never succeed.

The founding of the Chinese People's Republic was warmly acclaimed by oppressed nations and peoples the world over. The complete liberation of the 650 million Chinese people and their great achievements in socialist construction are a tremendous encouragement to all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world fighting for their liberation. In the Chinese people they see their own tomorrow. They feel that everything the Chinese people accomplished they too should be able to accomplish. They draw unlimited confidence and courage from the victory of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people see their yesterday in all the oppressed nations. They have great sympathy for the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism and colonialism, against aggression and intervention. During the past ten years, the Chinese people, together

with the peoples of the other countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, have given all the help and support they could to each and every struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and preserve their national independence, democracy and freedom. At the same time, the peoples of these countries have also extended powerful support to the struggles of our people to oppose U.S. aggression and uphold our sovereignty and territorial integrity. This mutual support has further developed and consolidated the friendship and unity between the Chinese people and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

During the past ten years, we have established and developed diplomatic relations with a number of nationalist countries that have emerged from the national independence movements in Asia and Africa. The great majority of these countries oppose war and refuse to be dragged into aggressive military blocs; they pursue the policy of peace and neutrality. Despite the fact that their social system differs from that of our socialist countries, they are on common ground with us in upholding independence and peace and in opposing the imperialist policy of aggression and war. On this common basis it is entirely possible for us to develop extensive relations of friendly co-operation with the Asian and African nationalist countries. The five principles for peaceful co-existence initiated jointly by China, India and Burma in 1954 and the ten principles adopted at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955 reflected this common aspiration and set forth sound principles for friendly co-operation between countries. These principles have exercised great influence in Asia and Africa as well as in other parts of the world. China treasures her friendship with the nationalist countries in Asia and Africa highly, and resolutely supports the policy of peace and neutrality which they pursue. On the basis of the five principles, China has established and developed friendly relations with these countries. Our mutual understanding deepens steadily as a result of the friendly contacts between govern-

ments and people, particularly the exchange of visits and direct contacts between the government leaders. We have also forged increasingly closer ties of mutual assistance and co-operation through trade, cultural exchanges and the economic and technical aid provided by our country to a number of Asian and African countries. These relations have developed extensively and will develop still further in the future.

The imperialists have always made use of the right-wing forces in the nationalist countries to sow discord between these countries and China, to undermine the friendship cherished by the peoples of these countries for the Chinese people. Sometimes they did bring about a counter-current in the friendly relations between these countries and China. But China has consistently followed the five principles in establishing and developing relations with the nationalist countries. Such friendly relations are in the interests of China as well as of the nationalist countries concerned. Moreover, the five principles have already won the firm backing of the broad masses of people in the nationalist countries. Therefore, in the long run the imperialists and their agents in the nationalist countries will never achieve the goal of their disruptive activities.

The People's Republic of China has grown up in persistent struggles against U.S. imperialism. During the past ten years, the U.S. imperialists have carried out a series of aggressive acts and war threats against New China which fully demonstrate that they are the enemy of the Chinese people. The Chinese people ardently love peace, but they will never tolerate aggression, nor are they afraid of war threats. Together with the Korean people, the Chinese people beat back the U.S. onslaught on the Korean battlefield. In the Taiwan Straits, the Chinese people have been carrying on resolute struggles against U.S. imperialism, and have dealt severe blows to its aggressive plans and provocative activities. We demand resolutely that the U.S. troops withdraw from the Taiwan area. Taiwan is Chinese territory. The Chinese people are deter-

mined to liberate Taiwan. No force in the world can prevent the Chinese people from achieving the complete unification of their great homeland.

The U.S. imperialists encounter more and more difficulties as a result of their hostile policy towards New China. To find a way out of this dilemma and at the same time to perpetuate their occupation of Taiwan, the U.S. imperialists have been plotting actively for the creation of "two Chinas." The Chinese people exposed this intrigue in good time and made public to the people throughout the world their solemn stand. The Chinese people firmly oppose "two Chinas" and will never allow the appearance of "two Chinas" on the international scene. This solemn stand of the Chinese people has won the support of an ever-increasing number of countries throughout the world. Britain and Japan, tailing behind the United States, have joined in the scheme to create "two Chinas." This will only bring about consequences disadvantageous to them.

New China cannot be isolated. The tremendous influence of China's revolutionary victory and her great achievements in construction are attracting ever more powerfully the peoples of various countries. They demand contacts with the Chinese people. They want to understand New China, to study and examine the various experiences of New China. During the past ten years, the friendly contacts between the peoples of the various countries and the Chinese people have developed greatly. People of varied political views have come to visit China from many different countries. Our people have also paid friendly visits to many countries. We have made contacts and entered into exchanges with the peoples of many countries in the economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields. We have friends all over the world. The U.S. imperialists try to isolate us, but eventually they are the ones who become isolated.

The present international situation is favourable to us. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, the characteristic of the

present situation is that the enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better and better. Now the Soviet Union has entered the historical period of the all-out building of communism. The Chinese people are continuing their leap forward on the basis of the big leap in 1958. They are continuing to consolidate and develop the people's communes and are striving for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan this year. All the other socialist countries are in the midst of an upsurge of economic construction. The successful landing of the Soviet cosmic rocket on the moon once more demonstrates the incomparable superiority of the socialist system. The socialist camp is growing unprecedentedly strong. The national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are continuously growing in strength. The people the world over are coming into the movement to defend peace with increasing resolution. On the other hand, crises and upsets overhang the capitalist economy. The people's revolutionary struggles in the Western capitalist countries are making advances with every passing day, and the imperialist system of colonialism is hopelessly heading for collapse. The open and hidden clashes among the imperialist countries are increasingly aggravated. The U.S. imperialist plot to launch a new world war is beset with difficulties.

The series of steps taken by the Soviet Union to ease international tension, particularly Comrade Khrushchov's visit to the United States and the proposal put forward recently by the Soviet Government for general and complete disarmament, have received enthusiastic approval and support from all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving countries and peoples. The joint communique issued after the talks between Comrade Khrushchov and President Eisenhower of the United States mentioned, among other things, that both sides agreed that international disputes should be settled not by the use of force but by peaceful means of negotiation. The United States has persisted in the display of military force, and has

carried out its so-called "positions of strength" policy. Now it, too, has to agree that international disputes should not be settled by force. This undoubtedly deserves to be welcomed. But to date the United States has not yet abandoned its policy of war and aggression. It still conducts the cold war, rejects disarmament and continues to set up military bases the world over. It persists in reviving West German militarism, actively arms Japan and continues its occupation of Taiwan. Recently the United States in a frantic effort to create tension instigated Laos to violate the Geneva and Vientiane agreements and to start civil war in that country. All this shows that the peoples throughout the world must conduct long-term and repeated struggles against U.S. imperialism in order to realize the easing of international tension.

During the past ten years we have achieved great successes in the sphere of foreign relations. This is the victory of our peaceful foreign policy. This victory has ensured the smooth progress of our socialist construction and has made important contributions to the lofty cause of world peace and human progress. As in the past, the Chinese people will make resolute and unremitting efforts to defeat thoroughly the imperialist policy of aggression and war and to realize the cause of lasting peace and progress of mankind together with the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, with the peoples of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are striving for national independence, democracy and freedom and with all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. We have already scored great victories. We shall score still greater victories in the days to come.

On the Big Leap Forward in China's Socialist Construction

Li Fu-chun

I

The question of how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's actual practice is one that our Party has to solve both in revolution and in construction. The complete victory of the democratic revolution and the all-round victory of the socialist revolution prove that our Party has creatively solved this question in revolution. Can it be said, then, that we have solved this question in construction?

The most important question in socialist construction is that of speed. Having achieved during the First Five-Year Plan a rate of growth unprecedented in China's history and seldom witnessed in the history of the capitalist countries, the question of whether China's socialist construction could advance further at still higher speed became the central and most important question demanding solution in order to uphold resolutely the basic principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of China's construction.

In the winter of 1955, when the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production was about to be completed in our country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, foreseeing with scientific accuracy the possibility of the national economy developing at still higher speed, put forward in time the slogan of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist construction. Afterwards, he

made a series of programmatic proposals for the realization of this objective possibility, including the draft twelve-year (1956-1967) National Programme for Agricultural Development and the report on the "ten sets of relationships." On the basis of the practical experience in socialist construction in 1956 and 1957 and the development of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Second Session of our Party's Eighth National Congress formally laid down the general line — go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism, and the set of policies of "simultaneous development." Thus, we have found a road of developing socialist construction at a greater speed, a road suited to China's specific conditions.

Those who have right opportunist ideas, including the empiricists and dogmatists, do not see the strong desire and firm will of the people throughout the country to get rid of poverty and backwardness rapidly, nor the vast strength and wisdom of the hundreds of millions of labouring people who have liberated themselves from the old system and have established the new system of socialism, nor the contribution of the material and technical conditions created during the First Five-Year Plan. Bound by old ideas and old experiences, they think that the speed achieved in the First Five-Year Plan was already very high, that the larger the base, the slower the rate of growth must be and that the tempo of the Second Five-Year Plan can only be slower, and not faster, than that of the First Five-Year Plan. Even when the general line, which embodies the will of more than 600 million people, has already been grasped by the broad masses and is displaying tremendous power, when socialist construction has already achieved vigorous growth, the right opportunists are still sceptical of the general line, and try to find an opportunity to settle accounts with us and launch attacks against the general line.

Practice is the only criterion for judging truth. Is truth, after all, on our side, or on theirs? Can the rate of growth in the Second Five-Year Plan exceed that of the First Five-

Year Plan, or must it necessarily be slower? The big leap forward and the people's communes that have appeared since last year under the guidance of the general line have already definitely and unequivocally answered these questions. The facts show that we have essentially solved the question of developing socialist construction at a still higher speed not only in theory but also in practice.

II

The big leap forward in 1958 enabled the rate of growth of our industrial and agricultural production and capital construction to exceed greatly the average annual rate of growth during the First Five-Year Plan and surpass the fastest annual rate of growth in that period.

During the First Five-Year Plan, the total value of industrial and agricultural production registered an average annual rate of growth of 10.9 per cent. The rate of growth of the total value of industrial production (including the output value of the handicrafts, as elsewhere) was 18 per cent, and that of the total value of agricultural production was 4.5 per cent. Whereas in 1958, the total value of industrial and agricultural production rose by 48 per cent compared with 1957, the rate of growth of the total value of industrial production was 66 per cent and that of the total value of agricultural production was 25 per cent. In terms of absolute figures, the increase in the total value of industrial and agricultural production during the First Five-Year Plan was 56,000 million yuan, whereas the increase in the single year of 1958 was 60,000 million yuan.¹

¹The absolute figure for the increase during the First Five-Year Plan is calculated in 1952 constant prices and that for 1958, in 1957 constant prices. Since the prices of heavy industrial products were gradually reduced during the First Five-Year Plan, the 1957 constant prices are generally lower than the 1952 constant prices. If we calculate in the same prices, the absolute increase in 1958 would be even more than 60,000 million yuan.

During the First Five-Year Plan, total investments in capital construction amounted to 55,000 million yuan, 537 above-norm industrial projects¹ were completed or partially completed and commissioned and more than 218 million *mou* of land were brought under irrigation. In 1958, total investments in capital construction amounted to 26,700 million yuan, 700 above-norm industrial projects were completed or partially completed and went into production, and irrigation was brought to an additional 480 million *mou* of land.

Together with the big leap forward in industrial and agricultural production and in capital construction, other branches of the national economy also developed rapidly. Compared with 1957, total freight carried by modern means of transport increased by 220 million tons in 1958, 91 per cent of the total increase of 240 million tons during the previous five years; the total value of retail sales increased by 7,400 million yuan, 37 per cent of the total increase of 19,700 million yuan during the previous five years. In the field of culture and education, the colleges and universities in 1958 admitted 320,000 new students, 56 per cent of the total of 560,000 in the previous five years. The big leap forward in 1958 was not just a big leap in individual branches or individual fields. It was an all-round big leap forward of the national economy as a whole, an all-round big leap forward in socialist economic and cultural construction.

What were the special features of the all-round big leap forward in our national economy in 1958 compared with previous years?

First, during the First Five-Year Plan, industrial production registered an average annual increase of 18 per cent while agricultural production averaged an annual increase of 4.5 per cent. The rate of increase of industry was four times that

¹The norm of investment in capital construction for heavy industry ranges from 5 million to 10 million yuan and that for light industry from 3 million to 5 million yuan—Tr.

of agriculture. In 1958, industrial production increased by 66 per cent and agricultural production by 25 per cent. The rate of increase of industry was 2.6 times that of agriculture. From this it is clear that a marked change has begun to take place in the conditions that prevailed during the previous five years when the rate of agricultural development lagged behind the rate of industrial development. While industry forges ahead rapidly, our agriculture, with its productive forces greatly emancipated, is racing to catch up.

Secondly, during the First Five-Year Plan, production in heavy industry registered an average annual increase of 25.4 per cent and light industry 12.8 per cent. In 1958, production in heavy industry increased by 103 per cent and in light industry by 34 per cent. The rates of increase in heavy and light industries in 1958 were four times and 2.7 times respectively compared with the average annual rates of increase during the First Five-Year Plan. Production in heavy industry grew particularly rapidly in 1958, thus providing more means of production for the various branches of heavy industry and also for light industry and agriculture. This not only ensured the rapid development of light industry and agriculture in 1958, but will also guarantee their quick growth in the years to come. With the rapid development of heavy industry and agriculture and with the steady increase in the supply of machinery and raw materials needed by light industry, it will be possible for light industry to continue to develop rapidly and at a rate corresponding more to the growth of heavy industry and agriculture. This trend has now become clearer.

Thirdly, the various branches of heavy industry developed greatly during the First Five-Year Plan. Among those branches with a higher speed of advance, steel, for example, had an average annual rate of increase of 31.7 per cent and the machine-building industry, 34.6 per cent. Among those with a lower speed of advance, coal had an average annual rate of increase of 14.4 per cent, electricity, 21.6 per cent and crude

oil, 27.3 per cent. In 1958, the various branches of heavy industry developed at a still higher speed with the steel industry as the key lever. While steel produced by modern methods increased by 49.5 per cent and the output value of the machine-building industry increased by 204 per cent, the output of coal, electricity and crude oil, all of which increased relatively slowly in the past, rose 108 per cent, 42 per cent and 55 per cent respectively. Some originally weaker branches have radically changed for the better while others are changing gradually.

Fourthly, thanks to the great development of heavy industry in 1958, especially the iron and steel and machine-building industries, the rate of self-sufficiency in steel products rose from an average of around 75 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan to over 80 per cent, and in machinery and equipment, from around 55 per cent to about 80 per cent. During the First Five-Year Plan, most of our important, large enterprises, either newly established, or expanded on an old basis, were designed with the help of the Soviet Union which also supplied them with complete sets of equipment. They were built with the assistance of the experts of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. Thanks to the conscientious study of their advanced experience by broad sections of workers and employees, we can now design many important enterprises ourselves and our achievements in this respect were most notable in 1958.

Fifthly, under the First Five-Year Plan, we built a series of large, modern enterprises which serve as the backbone of our socialist industrialization; we also began to build new industrial bases in North China, Central China, the southwest and northwest areas. In 1958, besides continuing the construction of close to 500 above-norm factories and mines started earlier, construction was started on more than 1,000 new, above-norm factories and mines; at the same time, we set up large numbers of small industrial units in medium-sized and small cities, in towns and in the countryside, totalling hun-

dreds of thousands. In 1957, many provinces and autonomous regions did not produce a single ton of steel, including Inner Mongolia, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Kansu, Ningsia, and Tibet. With the big leap forward in 1958, however, all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in the country, excepting Tibet, began to produce steel. In that year, we not only expanded the existing 18 key iron and steel enterprises, but also established more than 20 new medium-sized iron and steel works and more than 300 small iron-smelting centres. In the machine-building industry, 220 large factories were either newly built or expanded and, in addition, tens of thousands of small and medium-sized ones were set up. In 1958, those special administrative regions and counties and some of the districts and townships, which had no machine-building industry before, set up varying numbers of machine-building and repair shops of varying sizes. The great majority of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions can now produce some sort of metallurgical equipment, electrical motors, machine tools, engines, and agricultural machinery. All this shows that a nation-wide, comprehensive industrial system, with iron and steel and machine-building as the key links, integrating large, medium-sized and small enterprises, more rationally distributed geographically, is being rapidly set up. In this way, the conditions are being created at the same time for the various economic areas,¹ many provinces and autonomous regions to build up their own industrial systems of different standards in the future, each with its own special features.

Sixthly, tempered in practice in the First Five-Year Plan and trained by the universities and specialized schools, the ranks of our technical personnel have greatly expanded. In

¹An economic area consists of several neighbouring provinces. It is not an administrative unit. Its function is to co-ordinate and accelerate the economic development of the provinces in the given area. There are seven such areas in China—Tr.

1958, thanks to the slogan put forward by the Party of "breaking down superstitions, emancipating the mind, promoting the communist style of thinking, speaking and acting boldly," the spectacular scene of "a hundred flowers blooming" has become manifest in the technical innovations and in some fields of the technical revolution. New products trial-produced in 1958 equalled the total number manufactured during the First Five-Year Plan. In the agricultural field, typical examples of high yields were found in various farm crops. On the basis of summing up and developing the rich experiences accumulated by the broad masses of peasants over a long period of time, the "Eight-Point Charter" of Agriculture, which has proved its effectiveness, was created.

Seventhly, inspired by the Party's general line and as a result of the tremendous development in rural production and construction, people's communes were set up in the countryside on the basis of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. The people's commune, which merges township administration with commune management, combines industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs, and integrates farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries, has displayed still greater superiority over the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative in the following respects: in bringing into fuller play the initiative of the masses for production, in more effective utilization of labour power and raising labour productivity, in expanding agricultural and water conservancy construction, in developing industries in the countryside, in carrying out technical reforms in agriculture and the rural cultural revolution, and in developing public welfare services, etc.

Eighthly, as a result of the big development in the various branches of our national economy, unemployment in the cities, a legacy inherited from old China, has been completely eliminated. The newly added labour power in the cities can no longer meet the needs of industrial production and the development of construction; in the countryside, a shortage of la-

bour power is still felt although large numbers of women have been freed from household chores and have taken part in the production and construction in the rural areas since the establishment of the people's communes. That a shortage of labour power has begun to be felt in such a big country as ours with a population of more than 600 million is of course not a small event but a big one, not a bad thing but a good one. It shows that our socialist construction is expanding daily and flourishing in all fields. At the same time it also poses before us the task of speeding up technical innovation and technical revolution so as to steadily increase our labour productivity.

Ninthly, on the basis of the big leap forward in industry and agriculture and the increase in social labour productivity, the national income for 1958 exceeded that of 1957 by 32,300 million yuan, an increase of 34 per cent. During the First Five-Year Plan, total national income only increased by 32,200 million yuan; the average annual increase was 6,440 million yuan, a rate of increase of 8.9 per cent. Reactionaries at home and abroad and their mouthpieces — the right opportunists — say that our mass campaigns last year to produce iron and steel, to build water conservancy projects, to cultivate high-yield fields and to undertake industrial capital construction resulted in "more loss than gain." But the increase in the national income for the single year of 1958 alone was even greater than the total increase in the First Five-Year Plan. Isn't this single fact enough to tear all their slanders to pieces?

Tenthly, as a result of the increase in the national income, the accumulation in 1958 exceeded that of 1957 by 97 per cent, and was more than six times the average annual increase of 15 per cent for the First Five-Year Plan. The rapid increase in the accumulation makes possible a rapid expansion in the scale of capital construction, thereby creating extremely favourable conditions for socialist expanded reproduction in the future. The investment in capital construction in 1958 increased by 93 per cent as compared with 1957; this speed was

unheard of in our country before. Owing to the fact that in 1958 the output of heavy industry increased by 103 per cent, capital construction is assured not only of funds but also of materials.

While the accumulation greatly increased, the proportion of consumption in the 1958 national income also increased at a rate faster than any year in the past. Though the amount of consumer goods that the peasants supplied themselves was much greater than in the past, the total retail sales of commodities in 1958 still registered an increase of 16 per cent as compared with 1957; and of this amount the increase for the countryside exceeded 20 per cent. The scale of city construction, including the building of housing for the workers and employees and public utilities in the cities, also exceeded any year in the past. With regard to cultural life in 1958, about 30 million school-age children were at school, and about 7 million pupils enrolled in the middle schools. At the same time, undertakings for public health and hygiene also developed accordingly. The imperialists slander us by saying that our big leap forward was obtained at the "expense" of the people's welfare. But the facts have completely exposed their lies. The big leap forward in our industrial and agricultural production has not lowered the standard of living of our people, but has rapidly raised the level of our people's material well-being and cultural life. The great increase in our accumulation was not obtained by reducing our consumption; it was realized on the basis of the tremendous increase in the national income, and under the circumstance of rapidly raising the standards of the people's consumption. Since 1958, in spite of the rapid increase in the production of consumer goods, the even more rapid increase in social purchasing power caused a temporary shortage in the supply of certain non-staple foods and a very few kinds of articles of daily use. There is nothing strange about this. This phenomenon does not show any lowering of the standard of living of our people, but, on the contrary, shows the rapid rise in their living standards.

All the above-mentioned features show that a new situation has come about in the development of our national economy, a new situation of both high-speed and balanced development. After the big leap forward in 1958 and under the conditions of greater harmony in the basic proportions between the various branches of the national economy, the proportion of industry in the total output value of industry and agriculture increased from 56.5 per cent in 1957 to 63.6 per cent in 1958, while the proportion of agriculture decreased from 43.5 per cent to 36.4 per cent; in the total output value of industry, the proportion of heavy industry rose from 48.4 per cent in 1957 to 57.3 per cent in 1958, while the proportion of light industry decreased from 51.6 per cent to 42.7 per cent. This shows that socialist industrialization took a great stride forward in 1958.

III

It is, of course, not fortuitous that a big leap forward took place on all fronts in 1958. It came inevitably as a result of the growth of our economy. It was the natural outcome of combining the subjective activity of the more than 600 million people of our country with the objective possibility of high-speed economic development under the guidance of our Party.

Our socialist construction was able to advance in 1958 at a still higher speed than during the First Five-Year Plan period because we had still more favourable conditions and factors.

Firstly, as soon as we had carried through the democratic revolution, we pressed the socialist revolution to completion; after we had completed the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, we also won a decisive victory in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Moreover, during the big leap forward last year, people's communes were set up throughout the country on the basis of the agricultural co-operatives. These and other such factors have toppled all outdated systems without exception;

they dealt telling blows to the timeworn ideas and conceptions which reflected these systems. This revitalized the social productive forces which had lain dormant for thousands of years.

Secondly, ours is a big country with a big population. Man is society's most precious asset. With the elimination of the system of exploitation and the roots of this system, it becomes possible to bring into full play the strength of more than 600 million people.

Thirdly, with the liberation of more than 600 million people from the old system and the consequent rapid growth of its industry and agriculture, our country has come to possess a bigger domestic market than any other country in the world. This domestic market offers enormous possibilities for an economic leap forward.

Fourthly, ours is a country with a vast territory and a good climate, a country with rich natural resources left untapped for centuries. Having become the masters of society, our people are gradually becoming the masters of nature. This has turned these rich natural resources into an important factor for a still more rapid development of our socialist construction.

Fifthly, the overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan and the setting up of a preliminary basis for socialist industrialization have prepared even better modern material and technical conditions for the further development of the national economy.

Sixthly, the international help given by the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union was an important factor contributing to the success of our socialist construction. Now that the Soviet Union has embarked on its great seven-year construction plan, the other fraternal countries are all in the midst of an economic upsurge and all the socialist countries are gaining richer experience in socialist construction, it is possible for us to receive continued international help and to learn even better from the experience accumulated by the fraternal countries in their construction.

Those who have right opportunist ideas look on China's big population with its vast numbers of peasants as a heavy burden and use this as their argument to assert that socialist construction cannot proceed at a high tempo in our country. But, with the victory of the socialist revolution on all fronts, they, too, perceived some favourable factors, though in a vague and superficial way. In contrast to the pessimistic views of these people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us with the greatest militant fervour and revolutionary optimism:

The decisive factor, apart from leadership by the Party, is our six hundred million people. The more people, the more views and suggestions, the more intense the fervour and the greater the energy. . . . Apart from their other characteristics, China's six hundred million people are, first of all, poor, and secondly, "blank." That may seem like a bad thing, but it is really a good thing. Poor people want a change, want to do things, want revolution. A clean sheet of paper has no blotches and so the newest and most beautiful words can be written on it, the newest and most beautiful pictures can be painted on it.

He pointed out to us that the more than five hundred million peasants constitute a most powerful force both in revolution and in construction. The crux of the matter is that the working class and its vanguard — the Chinese Communist Party — should adopt a correct policy and suitable ways of bringing into fullest play the initiative and creative ability of our more than six hundred million people, of whom more than five hundred million are peasants.

It is with a firm understanding of these characteristics and by creatively applying the universal truth of Marxist-Leninist theories on socialist construction that Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism. To go all out and aim high is to place political leadership in command and give full play to

human initiative on the basis of the objective laws of socialist economic development. To achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results means increasing the speed of production and construction as much as possible, reaping economic benefits from them to the full and continuously strengthening the material and technical basis. In other words, it means integrating politics with economics.

Here are some explanations of certain basic points of the Party's general line.

Simultaneous development of industry and agriculture on the basis of giving priority to heavy industry is one of the important fundamentals of the general line. This includes the simultaneous development of heavy and light industries. Since heavy industry chiefly produces capital goods while agriculture and light industry chiefly produce consumer goods, this policy conforms to the objective law governing relations between the two major departments of production on the basis of priority for the development of the production of capital goods. It embodies the integration of the Marxist-Leninist principle of expanded reproduction with concrete practice in China. This policy makes it possible for us to avoid a one-sided emphasis on industry to the neglect of agriculture, and on heavy industry to the neglect of light industry. Thus we can bring into play at the same time the initiative of our tens of millions of workers and employees and of our more than five hundred million peasants, and at the same time the initiative of workers and employees in heavy industry and in light industry. Guided by this policy, we have broken away from the old idea that the cities should develop only industries and the rural areas should develop only agriculture. On the one hand, while the cities are devoting their efforts mainly to developing industries, they also develop agricultural production in their vicinities to meet their own needs. On the other hand, while the rural areas are devoting their efforts mainly to agriculture, within the limit of their capacity they also develop industries which serve the

needs of agriculture. What should be stressed here is that we have found in the people's commune a form of social organization which is best suited to developing industry and agriculture in the countryside simultaneously. Thus, it is by no means fortuitous that there should be a simultaneous leap forward of industry and agriculture, and of heavy and light industries both in the cities and in the countryside.

Simultaneous development of large, small and medium-sized enterprises, simultaneous employment of modern and indigenous methods of production with large modern enterprises as the key lever—this is another important fundamental of the general line. The need to modernize industry and equip agriculture and other branches of the national economy with modern techniques is a universal law in socialist construction. The historical course of the development of capitalism shows that one of the important methods for less advanced countries to catch up with the more advanced is to hurry forward with the introduction of advanced techniques. The advantages of the socialist system make it all the more necessary and possible for a socialist country to use this method if it is to catch up with and surpass the well-developed capitalist countries. In order to change our condition of technical backwardness, we must build up a number of giant, modern, key enterprises and strive to make use of all the advanced techniques; this is a firm principle which we should stick to at all times. But the building of such big, modern enterprises needs large funds and takes time; it involves techniques not easily acquired all at once, and equipment whose supply is subjected to certain limitations; if we confined ourselves to developing only such enterprises, we would not be able to meet the needs of society fully, we could not make full use of the various resources at our disposal and would reduce the tempo of socialist construction. Thanks to the policy of simultaneous development of large, small and medium-sized enterprises, and of simultaneous employment of modern and indigenous methods of production, we have avoided one-sidedness in paying attention only to

large enterprises to the neglect of small and medium-sized ones, and in paying attention only to modern methods of production to the neglect of indigenous methods. We have thus been able to mobilize not only the initiative of workers and employees with a relatively high technical level but also that of workers and employees with a relatively low technical level. We have thus not only inspired those who know how to run industry to run it still better, but also those who formerly did not know how to run industry to have the courage to run it. What is noteworthy here is that hundreds of thousands of small industrial units have already been established in the country's 24,000-odd people's communes. Though they are small in scale and are of a relatively low technical level, these industrial units actually form an important starting point for changing the poverty-stricken and backward face of China's vast countryside.

These commune-run industries have many outstanding advantages:

1. Built in the countryside, they directly serve the needs in production and in livelihood of the peasants who can see the advantages of such industries themselves; relatively small funds are needed to set them up; these factors help stir the initiative of the peasants in accumulating funds for the running of industry.

2. They can easily make use of China's fairly widely scattered local mineral and agricultural resources and get production to cater more satisfactorily to the concrete needs of the local peasants.

3. They help carry out technical transformation in the countryside and raise labour productivity in agriculture.

4. They can make full use of the old equipment of large and medium-sized enterprises that have been replaced by new equipment and thus prolong the service life of such equipment and save funds for society.

5. They can help provide reserves of technical forces for socialist industrialization and the modernization of agriculture.

Some people looked down upon these enterprises because in their initial stages the quality of their products was fairly low, production costs were rather high and their rate of increase in labour productivity was relatively slow. They compared these industries built up in the early days of the communes only with modern large enterprises and not with the backward farming techniques in the nation's vast countryside. Their mistake lies in the fact that they know nothing about mobilizing the initiative of the more than 500 million peasants, that they are ignorant of the fact that the building of industry by the communes is the most suitable way of mobilizing this great force to take part in the socialist industrialization of the country; nor do they understand that the process of growth of things is always from small to large, from the elementary to the advanced stage. They slight new-born things. But new-born things have the greatest vitality and the most promising future. In 1958, it was exactly because we implemented the policy of integrating large enterprises with small and medium-sized ones, and of getting the whole population to run industry that we got that magnificent scene of small factories and mines using indigenous methods or modern methods spreading all over the country like stars in the sky. Isn't that a most powerful proof of the truth of this conception?

Another important fundamental of the general line is the simultaneous development of national and local industries under the principle of centralized leadership, over-all planning, division of work and co-ordination. The principle of management at different levels under central and local authorities must be applied not only in industry but also in other economic undertakings, as well as in cultural and educational fields. Without centralized leadership under the central authorities and without over-all planning, it is of course impossible to carry out planned socialist construction in such a large country as ours and to turn it in a relatively short time into a socialist

state with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. Similarly, it also wouldn't do if there were only centralized leadership under the central authorities without proper decentralized leadership under the local authorities. The central authorities must pay attention to bringing into play the initiative of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions; the authorities of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must also pay attention to bringing into play the initiative of the special administrative regions and counties; the authorities of the special administrative regions and counties must pay attention to bringing into play the initiative of the communes and enterprises; communes must also pay attention to bringing into play the initiative of production brigades and teams; enterprises must also pay attention to bringing into play the initiative of the workshops, shifts and teams. The practice of such a principle brings more people to share responsibilities in the work of the leadership, providing more ideas and ways and means of doing things. This enables the central authorities to concentrate their strength on administering matters of the greatest importance and what concerns the whole country; it also enables local authorities at all levels to do things that can and must be done while taking into consideration the specific conditions of each locality, thereby raising efficiency and avoiding bureaucracy and different kinds of one-sidedness. Only in this way can we achieve an all-round and rapid development of our cause and get a general economic and cultural upsurge going in every part of the country.

All these basic points and the principles of effecting an all-round leap forward with steel as the key lever, of combining centralized leadership with the vigorous development of mass movements, of placing political leadership in command and combining political work with economic work and combining the political education for the masses with material encouragements, of leading production while making arrangements for the masses to live well, etc., have enabled us to mobilize the

broad masses of people at the various fronts and posts of socialist construction, to mobilize all positive factors and useful forces and to get the people to keep up their labour enthusiasm and boundless energy.

IV

Some people admitted that the occurrence of the all-round big leap forward in 1958 was inevitable but they believed that such a big leap forward could only be temporary, it could not last long. We take an opposite view: we believe that it is not temporary, it will last. The big leap forward in 1958 marked the beginning of the leap-forward stage of our socialist construction. This is because the Party's general line for socialist construction which reflects objective economic laws and the aspirations of over 600 million people will play its role for a long period and will show its strength in a more and more marked way; all the above-mentioned favourable conditions and factors which provide the possibility for our socialist construction to develop at a still higher speed will also make themselves increasingly felt. The all-round big leap forward in 1958 has not created difficulties for a future leap forward as the right opportunists allege but, on the contrary, prepared better material conditions for a continued leap forward in the days to come and given us a great deal of fresh experience.

Such are the facts. On the basis of the all-round big leap forward in 1958, new victories have been won in the continued big leap forward of the national economy in 1959. Between January and August this year, compared with the corresponding period of last year, the total value of industrial output increased by 48.5 per cent. Steel output increased by 66.6 per cent, coal 78.5 per cent, electric power 51 per cent, machine tools 49 per cent, cotton yarn 31.7 per cent. There was also a considerable growth in the production of other heavy and light industrial goods. In agriculture, despite

serious natural calamities, the summer crops brought in this year were 2,500 million catties more than the extraordinarily rich harvest of last year. Railway freight increased by 46.8 per cent. The total volume of retail sales increased by 18 per cent. Following the directive of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee to oppose right deviations and make an all-out effort, a new upsurge, a more vigorous development of the campaign to increase production and practise economy has appeared on various fronts of the national economy. Take the average daily steel output as an example. In the first ten days of August, it was 33,000 tons; in the second ten days, it was 37,000 tons; in the last ten days, it was 38,000 tons. In the first ten days of September, it was 41,000 tons, in the second ten days, it was 45,000 tons. That is, the daily output in the second ten days of September was 36 per cent greater than that in the first ten days of August. From this fact and facts in other fields, people can see and feel confident that we shall be able to fulfil and over-fulfil the goals set in this year's national economic plan and, thus, within this year, fulfil ahead of time the main targets of the Second Five-Year Plan. Accordingly, we shall be able to win three years and so carry on construction under the Second Five-Year Plan on a still larger scale and at still higher speed.

The big leap forward in the two successive years of 1958 and 1959 is proof positive that there is every possibility of developing the national economy at a still higher rate on the basis of the enormous progress made during the First Five-Year Plan. It also proves that it is wrong to imagine that the rate of national economic growth during the Second Five-Year Plan can only equal or even be less than that during the First Five-Year Plan. Of course, when the base figure grows, the continued increase of the rate of development will be somewhat affected. But, so far as the present situation of our country is concerned, there is still incalculable and powerful latent strength in raising labour productivity, tapping natural

resources, carrying out the technical revolution, etc. Moreover, the more industrial and agricultural production grows, the bigger the material and technical basis gets and the more powerful is this latent strength. As long as we firmly and thoroughly implement the Party's general line and its several policies of simultaneous development, there is no doubt that our industrial and agricultural production will be able to maintain the rate of the leap forward over a long period.

When we say that our national economy will continue its leap forward, this does not imply an equal rate of development every year. Agricultural production which accounts for a considerable proportion of our national economy is still to a very large extent subject to the influence of natural conditions; sometimes harvests may be good while at other times they may be bad. The amount of new additional productive capacity cannot always be the same every year; it may be a little more in some years and a little less in others. There is also the possibility of some other factors emerging in national economic development which it is difficult to know fully about in advance. For these and other reasons, the national economy will inevitably advance in a wave-like manner; its rate of growth may be a bit higher at one time and a bit slower at another. This should be considered normal. But, taken as a whole, our economy has been growing steadily every year and construction has been going ahead at high speed. There is every possibility that we will be able to catch up with and surpass Britain in the output of major industrial products in about ten years.

The big leap forward is something new for us, and, of course, we have not yet acquired sufficient experience. To ensure continuous and uninterrupted leap forward in the national economy, we must on the one hand overcome all sorts of rightist sentiments and ideas in good time and wage a resolute struggle against right opportunism, and, on the other hand, constantly gather and sum up experience, pay constant attention to the maintenance of the proper proportions be-

tween various branches of the national economy, and integrate subjective activity and objective possibilities to the best advantage, so that our economic planning can really embody the demands put forward by the Party's general line.

The Resolution on Developing the Campaign for Increasing Production and Practising Economy adopted by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee pointed out: "The general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes — these embody the great determination and wisdom of the 650 million industrious and brave people of our country; they are the products of the creative integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practical situation in China achieved by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, great leader of our Party and of the people of all nationalities in our country." In the periods of democratic revolution and socialist revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, by taking into consideration the actual situation in China and using Marxist-Leninist principles in a flexible way, solved a series of problems arising out of the revolutionary process and further developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism in China. In the period of socialist construction, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a timely summing up of the experience gained in construction, made great theoretical contributions, ideologically armed the whole Party and the people of the whole country and enabled us to gain continuous victories in our socialist construction. Numerous facts prove that the teachings of Mao Tse-tung are our invincible ideological weapon. Therefore, we must seriously study the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and do our work and solve problems seriously and always according to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's principles for the correct handling of contradictions among the people. As long as we conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, we will be able to maintain a continuous and uninterrupted big leap forward in our national economy, guided by the beacon light of the general line.

For a Continued Leap Forward in Military Work Under the Beacon Light of the General Line

Ho Lung

On October 1, 1949 Comrade Mao Tse-tung solemnly proclaimed to the world the birth of the People's Republic of China. Ten years have elapsed since that day — ten glorious years, ten great years. In this short historical period, the people all over China, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have quickly healed the wounds of protracted war and victoriously carried on the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Our country has accomplished the all-round socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, fulfilling in the main the tasks of the socialist revolution as regards ownership of the means of production. Our people have waged the nation-wide rectification and anti-rightist campaigns, scoring great victories in the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts. Thus socialism has in the main triumphed over capitalism in various fields. Meanwhile, the developments in China's socialist construction have also been tremendous. The fulfilment and overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan laid the preliminary foundation for its socialist industrialization. In 1958 the people of the whole country, guided by the beacon light of the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and getting greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism, ardently and enthusiastically launched a vigorous all-round great leap forward, and gave rise to great developments, unprecedented in history, in industry, agriculture, science and culture. The

Chinese people are working with full confidence to fulfil the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan in two years. All comrades in the People's Liberation Army hail our great country's brilliant victories in revolution and construction, with the same joy and exultation as all the people.

A decade ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, great leader of the Chinese people, creator and leader of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, clearly stated the new historical task of our armed forces in his opening speech at the First Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He said, "Our national defence will be strengthened, and no imperialists will ever be allowed to invade our territory again. With the heroic and tested People's Liberation Army as the basis, our people's armed forces shall be maintained and developed. We shall have not only a powerful army, but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy." The progress of history in the last ten years has proved that, alongside the tremendous progress in socialist revolution and construction, glorious successes have also been achieved in building our national defence and the People's Liberation Army. The great call made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung ten years ago is already being realized. In these ten years the Chinese People's Liberation Army, led by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, victoriously carried through military struggles against reactionaries both domestic and foreign, shattering their schemes to invade our country and perpetrate wrecking activities against it, defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of our country, safeguarding our socialist construction, and upholding peace in the Far East and throughout the world. At the same time, in these arduous but glorious struggles, it tempered itself and grew in strength.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the People's Liberation Army speedily accomplished the mopping up of the remnants of the beaten enemy forces, the unification of the mainland, and the liberation of Hainan Island and the Choushan Archipelago. It also launched extensive campaigns

against bandits and put an end to the scourge of banditry, something never before done in Chinese history. During the last ten years, it has guarded the long frontiers and the territorial air and waters of the homeland with constant vigilance, dealing heavy blows to enemy intrusions by air, water and land. In close co-operation with the masses of the people of the fraternal nationalities, it has put down rebellions by reactionary elements of their old ruling groups, and effectively assisted social reform in their areas. To liberate Taiwan, the Penghu Islands, Quemoy and Matsu, the People's Liberation Army has carried on long and complex struggles, and made extensive preparations. In August 1958 the shelling of the Chiang Kai-shek troops on Quemoy by our army units on the Fukien front not only punished them for their crimes against the country and people but also dealt a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism and its plots of creating tension in the Far East.

In June 1950, U.S. imperialism had unleashed a war of aggression against Korea, and at the same time outrageously occupied our territory of Taiwan. The purpose of the U.S. imperialist aggressors was to attack the mainland of China after first occupying all Korea, in a vain hope to crush the new-born People's Republic of China. Because of this, flagrantly disregarding the warnings of the Chinese people and the Chinese Government, the U.S. imperialists brought the flames of war to our front door and bombed our territory. To resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, to protect home and country, our people organized the Chinese People's Volunteers who entered Korea and fought bravely and resolutely, side by side with the Korean People's Army, against the aggressors headed by the United States. After three years, the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers, though inferior in equipment, finally defeated the highly modernized enemy forces and won great victory which resulted in the Korean Armistice. This victory assured the security of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and our own homeland. It further exposed U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger

before the world's peoples and greatly encouraged them in their determination to oppose war and fight for peace. Thus it was immensely and profoundly significant for the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

While carrying out these tasks, the People's Liberation Army simultaneously made a successful transition to a new stage in its own development. Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly laid down the principle for building the People's Liberation Army at this new stage — that it should learn the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and be built, on its own original basis, into an excellent modern revolutionary armed force. Following this principle, the People's Liberation Army has gradually accomplished the transition to its present, new stage. This is a great change in the history of its upbuilding. It began with the improvement of technical equipment, which brought about a series of reforms in the command, organization, training, and regulations. Thanks to the correct leadership of the Party, the powerful support of the whole people, and the unstinting help of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and through the efforts made by all army comrades, this extensive change was effected on the whole quite smoothly. Now the People's Liberation Army has developed from a single arm into a composite force of several arms. We not only have a powerful land force with a variety of modern combatant branches but also a powerful air force, while our navy has developed correspondingly. Equipment of our armed forces has been greatly improved, being raised to a higher level. Through field and technical training in the past years, our armed forces have made remarkable progress in mastering the strategy and techniques of modern warfare. The searchings of the past years have made it possible to establish systems, rules and regulations better suited to the actual conditions in our army, as well as a uniform and regular order. What is most significant, however, is that several major movements for ideological education, and the rectification campaign, have greatly raised the

socialist and communist consciousness of the army men, further strengthened the leadership of the Party in the People's Liberation Army, consolidated the close unity within its ranks and between army and people and carried on and developed its magnificent traditions. In short, the People's Liberation Army, led by the Party, has made great achievements in building itself up and laid a good foundation for an excellent, modern revolutionary armed force.

In reviewing the glorious path traversed by the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the past ten years, one should mention in particular that since 1958, guided by the beacon light of the Party's general line, inspired and impelled by the nation-wide big leap forward and in conjunction with the big leap in industrial and agricultural production, a big leap forward occurred in army work as well. This has given our army work a new look in all its fields, and has resulted in unprecedented achievements in building the army.

The big leap in army work, like that in other spheres, has had for its basis the victory in the rectification and the anti-rightist campaigns. Anti-rightist struggles, in the army no less than elsewhere, assumed the nature of extremely sharp, intense class struggles. As a result, the frantic attacks by a handful of rightists against socialism were completely pulverized, bourgeois ideology was severely criticized, and socialist ideology won a decisive victory in the whole army. Some comrades seriously infected with individualism learned profound lessons during these struggles. In this way the level of communist consciousness among officers and men of the whole army has been raised considerably. More than ever before, they consider it vitally important to themselves to build socialism and a people's army to defend socialism. More than ever before, they undertake their work with the full awareness that they are masters of their country and with a high communist sense of responsibility. Revolutionary energy and initiative are greatly in the ascendant. The victory of the rectification campaign in the army has further evoked, among

army men as a whole, the communist working style of daring to think, to speak and to act, thus bringing into full play the highest spirit of initiative and creativeness. As to ways of work, many mass-line methods which proved very effective in the past history of our army have been further developed. The army has also adopted many working methods developed from experience in local administrative work. It was on this basis that the movement for a big leap emerged in army work, mass in scale and exuberant with enthusiasm and sky-storming energy.

In our army, the movement for a big leap first began and was developed in connection with its central peace-time job, i.e. training. At its high tide, the masses of army men led by the Party rectified the irrational points in certain rules and regulations, and officers and soldiers were organized on a broad mass scale to take part in formulating orders and decrees, and in preparing materials for teaching and study. The masses of army men themselves set advanced targets in training and laid down concrete, practical measures to reach them. In actual training the fine traditions of the mass line yielded still better results, and an indomitable spirit of diligent study and hard training was brought into play. Consequently in 1958 many new courses, tactical and technical, were added to expand our training curriculum as compared with 1957's, while the time required to complete the training was generally shortened by one or two months. In the methods and content of training, greater attention was paid to linking theory with practice, and adapting them to the specific characteristics of our country and army. All military areas and army units adopted various forms of training, such as field training, etc.; the air force practised emergency change of bases; and the navy underwent a course in the change of sea sectors. In this way learning and application were integrated better, the quality of training improved, and the combat power of the armed forces raised.

In military techniques, the big leap in training has achieved results yet more remarkable. This is apparent chiefly in the universal mass movement for "one specialty and many skills," which developed from the army-wide 1956 campaign to select excellent marksmen and technicians. It embodies the desire of the broad mass of our officers and men to master modern military techniques more quickly and more extensively and has therefore gained the warm support of the whole army. This mass movement to learn techniques has risen quickly to high tide, considerably speeding progress in technical training and improving its quality. Take marksmanship for instance, one of the major courses. Outstanding results were achieved in 1958 when the percentage of divisions, regiments, battalions and companies with excellent over-all records of marksmanship rose sharply. Many officers and men have also attained the initial standards set for many-skilled riflemen, artillerymen and tankmen. In this movement many of them have not only thoroughly mastered the techniques of their own lines, but also have acquired the rudiments of other skills related to their own work. The "one specialty and many skills" campaign has a number of advantages. With everyone learning several skills, it becomes possible to realize the idea of "one man, many uses," ensuring close co-ordination in fighting and work. This also makes it possible to supply the militia with a large number of instructors in military techniques, and to build up, in large numbers, the backbone of military technical personnel for the armed forces. Further, it makes it possible to provide our country with technical personnel for the development of industry and agriculture. This campaign showed its powerful effect in the fighting on the Fukien front last year.

Another expression of the big leap forward in the whole army, especially in its technical branches, is the broad mass movement for a technological innovation. This has also achieved very remarkable results, giving a powerful impetus to our army's training and combat preparedness. Because the

broad mass of officers and men have brought into play the spirit of working hard and resourcefully, many inventions and creations of practical value have cropped up in the armed forces in a very short space of time. Not a few of these have reached the most advanced world standards. They have effectively increased the combat potential of some equipment, enhanced the mobility and speed of the forces, improved the effect of army training, and brought substantial savings in material. In this movement many technical branches and army units have started an enthusiastic campaign to "use their own hands" to repair ships, aeroplanes, tanks, cannons, vehicles, instruments and other technical equipment. In time of peace, this practice can lengthen the life of equipment and save on maintenance and repair. In time of war, breakdown or damage can be repaired immediately, reducing the possibility of adverse effects on military operations, thus increasing the relative combat potential of the equipment. But above all, it should be emphasized, this movement for a technological revolution has played an important role in the building of national defence projects. Carried out universally and thoroughly in building these projects, it has greatly increased efficiency in construction, lessened the strenuousness of labour, thus ensuring that construction tasks can be overfulfilled ahead of schedule. This has great significance for the strengthening of our great motherland's national defence. A fundamental change has now come about, putting an end to the complete lack of national defence equipment characteristic of our past history. It can be predicted with certainty that this new "Great Wall," built by the Chinese People's Liberation Army with the support of our entire people, will stand impregnable on the sacred frontiers of the motherland. Any enemy venturing to invade us will break his head against it.

In building the army during the past ten years we have adhered to the basic principles of ensuring the Party's absolute leadership in the armed forces, the leading role of political and ideological work in all spheres of their work, unity be-

tween the army and people, unity between officers and men and unity between higher and lower ranks. Through a series of measures, we have waged serious struggles against all erroneous tendencies which depart from these principles. Thus we have ensured that the army is and will be an obedient instrument of the Party and people, constantly strengthened the close unity within its ranks, and consolidated its close links with the masses of the people. Over the past few years, with the victory of the socialist revolution and the gradual rise in the socialist ideological level of army men, democratic life under centralized guidance has made fresh headway in the People's Liberation Army. Like all the people in the country, the armed forces, in their rectification campaign, used the method of full and frank airing of views, of the fullest contention and debate, and of putting up *tatsepao* — the principle being out of a desire for unity, to achieve through criticism or struggle new unity on a new basis. In this way an extensive, thoroughgoing democratic campaign was launched. Its main purpose was to conduct criticism and self-criticism on a voluntary basis among the mass of officers and men. It resulted, on the one hand, in the discovery and correction of shortcomings and mistakes, improving the work of the armed forces and, on the other, in raising the political and ideological level of all comrades, thus strengthening unity between officers and men and promoting a general leap forward in all spheres of army work. The system of officers serving as rank-and-file soldiers for a short spell, introduced in the People's Liberation Army last year, is an outstanding measure of the great leap period to ensure close relations among all comrades in the armed forces. It is a measure of far-reaching significance. All officers eat, live, drill, do manual labour and spend their recreation time together with ordinary soldiers for one month of each year. For both officers and soldiers, this is a vivid lesson in Marxism, through which the mass of officers and men can acquire a deeper understanding of the spirit of equality, thereby strengthening their close ties. Leading

officers can gain, through this lesson, an intimate knowledge of the rank and file, and thus guard against subjectivism and bureaucracy in their leadership. This system has proved its outstanding advantages throughout the whole army. Combined with the long-established democratic system and the mass line of the People's Liberation Army, it will help to maintain constant harmony in its ranks. A vigorous and lively political atmosphere in which there are both centralism and democracy, discipline and liberty, and unity of will and personal ease of mind is in the forming in our armed forces. This is the basic guarantee that they will always be invincible to all enemies.

Since the great leap forward, the People's Liberation Army has scored outstanding successes in supporting and participating in national construction. Indeed, it has all along fulfilled its double role of a fighting and working body. In the ten years since the founding of the People's Republic, all army men have taken an enthusiastic part in social reforms and mass work of every type. In the first few years, the People's Liberation Army sent many work-teams to take a direct part in the land reform movement. Later, in the upsurge of agricultural co-operation, it promptly launched a vigorous campaign to support this movement. In the summer and autumn of 1958, when the people's commune movement emerged to meet the needs of the great leap forward in industry and agriculture, the mass of officers and men, in sharp contrast to the right opportunists, enthusiastically supported and hailed this movement. Between last winter and this spring, most of our officers and men went to the people's communes for visits, study or participation in manual labour, thus acquiring a deeper understanding of their incomparable superiority and their infinitely bright prospects of future development. In the campaign of the whole people to make iron and steel, the armed forces sent large numbers of vehicles to help with transport, and also launched their own campaign to make iron and steel. In addition, they collected more than 100,000 tons

of scrap iron for the state. To lighten the burden of the state and people and at the same time to improve their own food, the armed forces also launched a production campaign with the emphasis on agriculture and its side-lines, and gained some preliminary results. Ever since the founding of our People's Republic, many army units have also participated in capital construction in industry, agriculture, communications and transport, and have worked as shock brigades on many famous projects. By participating in national construction, the People's Liberation Army has not only greatly assisted the building of socialism and promoted the advance of industry and agriculture; it has also helped to strengthen the unity between the army and the government, between the army and the people. Through taking part in construction and assisting the masses in productive work, both officers and men have further deepened their love of labour and their understanding of the mass line. Certain comrades, who used to have bureaucratic, arrogant and finicky airs, have greatly improved. They have become more thrifty, unassuming and easier of access, and have shown more clearly the character of "ordinary labourers." While participating in manual work, both officers and soldiers see with their own eyes the daily advance and bright prospects of our national construction. They come to realize the giant strength of the labouring people and their simple and lovable character. This has further strengthened their noble virtues—love for the motherland, for the people, for labour and socialism and further fortified their determination and conviction in building and defending the motherland. It is this conviction that has inspired them to undertake valiantly the glorious task of defending and building socialism.

In the autumn of 1958, on the basis of the successful development of the people's commune movement, our people threw themselves enthusiastically into the nation-wide task of building up militia divisions to guard against any possible imperialist aggression. In a short space of time, thousands of militia

divisions were formed, and hundreds of millions of people were enlisted in them. In this way we laid the ground for "turning the whole people into fighters" in the event of imperialist aggression. This is an event of great strategic significance. In past years, in the protracted revolutionary wars, the militia played a very important role. During the past ten years, the militia, in co-ordination with regular units, played an equally important role in wiping out bandits, putting down rebellions, safeguarding the frontiers, maintaining public security and fighting secret agents who sneaked into our country, thus proving itself to be an indispensable force in national defence. Since the integration of the system of army reserves with the militia system, the latter has become a very good organizational form for the building and training of reserves. The nation-wide setting up of militia divisions was one of the important products of our country's big leap forward in 1958. Together with the great leap in the building of the People's Liberation Army itself, it constituted a big step forward in our national defence work. We are deeply convinced that this unique and powerful militia, added to a powerful modernized revolutionary army, is a reliable force in safeguarding our country's security. Should the enemy dare to launch a war of aggression against our country, he will find his grave in the vast sea of a nation whose "entire population has turned into fighters."

The great leap forward of 1958 in the work of the People's Liberation Army was an all-round one of the entire army, embracing all its departments and units. The desire of officers and men to speed up the building of the army, their high sense of responsibility for safeguarding the nation's socialist construction, and the supreme prestige which the Party enjoys in the armed forces have ensured the resolute implementation in all spheres of army work of the Party's general line for building socialism. The facts have proved that the beacon light of the general line has illumined the path of the great leap forward not only in industry, agriculture, science and

culture, but also in the work of the army. Its great leap forward in 1958, and its continued leap in 1959, have given the lie to the right opportunist slander that "the general line is not applicable to army work."

During the past ten years, and especially since the great leap forward in 1958, the work of the army, led by the Party, has achieved tremendous successes. On no account, however, should we rest on our laurels; there are still many hard tasks to perform. We must be clear that, now as before, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are bent on criminal activities against our people. Taiwan, the Penghu Islands, Quemoy and Matsu are still to be liberated. We have never committed aggression against others, and never will. But we must always be on the alert against, and resolutely repulse, any foreign aggression. We must make all necessary preparations and carry on a steadfast struggle for the liberation of our sacred territories. As long as Taiwan, the Penghu Islands, Quemoy and Matsu remain in enemy hands, we will carry on our struggle. This is our sacred duty. All comrades in the Chinese People's Liberation Army must therefore continue to go all out and aim high in performing the glorious task of building a modernized revolutionary army in the fullest, quickest, best and most economical way.

In building the armed forces, the Party's general line for socialist construction and socialist revolution not only represents a clear-cut political direction, but is a great driving force. This has been shown by the experience of the past ten years, and especially of 1958. The fact that we were able to make spectacular leaps in all branches of army work must be ascribed, first of all, to the carrying out of this line. Past experience has also shown that to put the Party's general line into effect is at the same time to struggle resolutely and relentlessly against all kinds of rightist conservative ideas. At present, right opportunist ideas constitute the main obstacle to further leaps. The right opportunists doubted the correctness of the Party's general line, the superiority of the people's

communes and the achievements of the great leap forward. Shutting their eyes to reality, they openly slandered the great leap and the people's commune movement, calling them "petty-bourgeois fanaticism." Obviously this is completely wrong. Their erroneous views have been severely criticized by the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation. It is the glorious duty of the army resolutely to defend and thoroughly to put into effect the general line of the Party. All army comrades should conscientiously study the documents of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, resolutely overcome right opportunist ideas and rid themselves of all influences of such ideas. This is the prerequisite to further leaps forward in the work of the army.

Both the experience accumulated in building our army during the past ten years and the entire thirty-year history of our armed forces show that conscientious study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military theory, and taking it as the guiding principle of our military work, is the decisive factor in all our victories. The military theory of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is military thinking based on Marxism-Leninism; it is a splendid example of the application of Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions of China's revolutionary wars. Not only is it a crystallization of thirty years' experience of building an army and of fighting; it forms an important part of Marxist-Leninist military thought. As was pointed out by the Central Committee of our Party on the 30th anniversary of the founding of our army, "the principles of fighting a people's war and of building up a people's army as laid down by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only led China's revolutionary wars from victory to victory under the most difficult conditions, but represent the guiding thought which we must always adhere to in building up a modernized army and in the struggle to smash imperialist aggression." What has happened in building up our army during the past ten years proves beyond all doubt the complete correctness of

this view of the Central Committee. Large sections of our army cadres are now studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military works with great enthusiasm. We are deeply convinced that, through this period of study, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military theory will be grasped by our army cadres on a wide scale, and will play an immense guiding role in building up our army and in national defence.

Celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, all comrades in the army should rally resolutely round the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Guided by the beacon light of the general line and the military theory of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we should exert our utmost efforts and strive for further leaps forward in military work, and for the victorious accomplishment of the great task of building up our army and defending our country.

The Great Financial Achievements of the People's Republic of China During the Past Ten Years

Li Hsien-nien

The People's Republic of China has existed for a decade. Ten years is but a short time in the history of mankind. But for the Chinese people, these have been no ordinary years: These have been years when we have leaped ahead. Before liberation, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in March 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung predicted: "We will soon achieve a nation-wide victory which will break through the imperialist front in the East and will be of great international significance." He also said:

We should be good not only at destroying the old world, but at building a new one. The Chinese people not only are able to live without begging from the imperialists, but will live better than the people in the imperialist countries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's prediction has turned out perfectly correct. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the liberated Chinese people over the past decade have carried on a great socialist revolution and socialist construction and achieved tremendous successes in transforming the old and building the new China at a speed unprecedented in Chinese history. The great leap forward and the emergence of the people's communes in the countryside in 1958 carried socialist construction in our country to a new stage. On the basis of the rapid development

of the national economy our financial work has also scored remarkable successes over the past decade.

Our financial work serves socialist construction. Economy is the basis of finance. If our financial work is well done, it is bound, in turn, to stimulate the growth of economy. China's financial work is advancing along the road pointed out by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

We started our gigantic construction work on the basis of an extremely backward economy and culture. The imperialists and domestic reactionaries bequeathed to us an economic mess: ruined production, abysmal poverty, inflation, skyrocketing prices. It was on this basis that we had to begin the gigantic and difficult work of construction. In step with the national economic development as a whole over the past ten years, our financial work has traversed the following path: In the three years after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, that is, during the period of rehabilitation of the national economy between 1950 and 1952, we were able, as early as in March 1950, to achieve a unified control of economy and finance, balance revenue and expenditure, and stop inflation and runaway prices. Shortly afterwards, the Chinese people were compelled to wage war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Even under the conditions of waging the war on the one hand and carrying on the work of stabilization and construction on the other, commodity prices were further stabilized and the rehabilitation and development of the national economy proceeded. Following the completion of land reform, the rational readjustment of commerce and industry and the success of the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements,¹ a fundamental turn for the better was brought

¹The *san fan* movement refers to the campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy; and the *wu fan* movement to the campaign against capitalist bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information from government sources—Tr.

about in the financial and economic situation in less than three years, that is, by the end of 1952. During the First Five-Year Plan period, 1953-1957, in accordance with the general line and the general task of the transitional period laid down by the Party, that is, the gradual realization of socialist industrialization and gradual accomplishment of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, our financial work made huge funds available for economic construction and for the development of education and culture; it surpassed the target for investment in construction set by the Five-Year Plan. The preliminary foundation for the industrialization of the country was laid in the first five years. During this period our financial work supported and speeded up the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by granting loans, improving the tax system and other methods. In the light of the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism," and based on the great leap forward of industrial and agricultural production, a big leap in financial work has been effected since 1958 during the Second Five-Year Plan period. State investments in capital construction in 1958 and 1959 exceed the total invested during the whole First Five-Year Plan period. So far as capital accumulation and distribution is concerned, this provides an important assurance that the major targets for industrial and agricultural production in the Second Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled in 1959, three years ahead of schedule. Such is the rough outline of the development of our financial work in the past ten years.

Like that of all other branches of the national economy the face of state finances has greatly changed during this decade.

State revenue in the past ten years totals 265,900 million yuan and expenditure 261,100 million yuan, giving a surplus of 4,800 million yuan (the figures quoted here and hereafter

are round figures in hundreds of millions of yuan which are derived by dropping 40 million or less and counting 50 million or more as one hundred million. The figures for 1959 are estimates). Compared with 1950, the 1959 budgetary revenue increases about eight times, an annual increase of some 26 per cent. In 1950 state revenue amounted to no more than 6,500 million yuan, but in 1952, the last year of the rehabilitation period, it jumped to 17,600 million yuan, an increase of 169 per cent; in 1957, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan period, it reached 31,000 million yuan, an increase of 76.6 per cent over the 1952 figure. In 1959, it will be 52,000 million yuan, an increase of 67.7 per cent over the 1957 figure. On the basis of balanced revenue and expenditure, state finance has developed very rapidly over the past ten years. During this period, China's industrial output has increased 11.7-fold, agricultural output 2.5-fold, and retail sales of commodities 3.6-fold. The rapid increase in revenue reflects the rapid development of the national economy and the great leap forward of industrial and agricultural production in the last two years.

On the side of expenditure, 114,300 million yuan has been invested in the past ten years in capital construction for the building of factories, mines, railways, highways, water conservancy and other projects. The expansion of capital construction is the basic method of enlarging the scale of production and transforming the national economy with the most up-to-date technique. The 1959 investment in capital construction amounts to 24,800 million yuan, an increase of 23.8 times over the 1950 figure, 6.7 times over the 1952 figure or nearly double the 1957 figure. In the six years between 1953, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan period, and 1958, the number of above-norm construction units, both newly built and expanded, totalled over 2,000, the number of below-norm units ran into tens of thousands, with an average of one giant modern factory put under construction every day or more and one starting production every two

days or more. As a result of the completion of such projects the fixed assets newly added between 1950 and 1958 amounted to 71,900 million yuan. No government in the history of old China could have dreamed of spending so much money in construction on so gigantic a scale within a period of ten years. The total fixed assets of the modern enterprises set up during the 70 years from the time of Chang Chih-tung in the last years of the Ching dynasty to the time of the Northern warlords and Chiang Kai-shek, including the enterprises established by the national bourgeoisie and those set up in Northeast China under Japanese rule, amounted to only 20,000 million yuan or so. The total fixed assets we created in a single decade, however, are several times that figure.

During these ten years a fundamental change has taken place in the make-up of state revenue and expenditure as a result of changes in the national economy as a whole. After the establishment of the People's Republic we confiscated the enterprises owned by the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie and created a socialist state-owned economy which from the very beginning assumed the leading position in the national economy. At that time, however, the non-socialist economic sectors still accounted for a relatively big proportion of the total. In 1950, 34.1 per cent of the state revenue came from state-owned enterprises and co-operatives, 32.9 per cent from privately-owned industry and commerce, and 29.6 per cent from individual peasants. By 1959, a tremendous growth of the state-owned sector has been achieved. The change-over by whole trades of the overwhelming part of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises has been carried through and the system of fixed interest payments to capitalists introduced. These enterprises are essentially the same as state-owned ones except that the capitalists in them receive interest on their shares according to a prescribed rate. Save for a few areas the peasants throughout the country have become members of people's communes, working in a collective way. In 1959, 87.9 per cent of the state revenue comes from

state-owned economy, 11.3 per cent from the rural people's communes (the figure will be 7.4 per cent if the revenue from the enterprises which the state has transferred to the people's communes is deducted), and only 0.8 per cent from the remaining capitalist industry and commerce, individual peasants and other sources. It is a matter of tremendous significance that our country's finances have been established firmly on the basis of a socialist economy. In regard to the make-up of expenditure, state expenditure on construction (including that in both the economic and cultural fields) increased from 36.6 per cent in 1950 to over 70 per cent of total expenditure in 1959, while state expenditure on national defence and government administration dropped from 60.8 per cent in 1950 (when expenditure on national defence was 41.5 per cent) to 16.4 per cent in 1959 (when expenditure on national defence is 11.2 per cent). The fact that nearly 90 per cent of state revenue comes from the state economy is eloquent evidence that our finances are on a sound footing and gaining strength; that over 70 per cent of state expenditure is used for constructive purposes shows that our finances are devoted to the active development of production and peaceful construction.

While actively promoting the industrialization of the country, our financial work over the past ten years has given great support to the agricultural and handicraft co-operative movements and to the switch-over of the co-operatives to people's communes. A total of 13,800 million yuan has been spent in this period on the building of agricultural and water conservancy projects. Every year has seen an increase in bank loans for agriculture and handicrafts. During the high tide of the co-operative movement in 1956, the state issued an additional agricultural loan of 2,030 million yuan and an additional handicraft loan of 240 million yuan. The agricultural loan of 1956 included 700 million yuan to be used as long-term co-operation foundation funds for the poor peasants; these helped them tide over their difficulties in providing shares when they joined the farm co-operatives. In 1959

the state invested 1,000 million yuan in the people's communes as a subsidy to help poorer communes and production brigades develop production. The amount of agricultural loans granted by the banks has also increased considerably this year. Over the past ten years the state has taken measures relating to agricultural and other taxes and in price policy to facilitate the development of the co-operatives and people's communes. In accordance with the policy laid down by the Party to use, restrict and transform capitalist enterprises and on the basis of developing production and economy, state finances have, in the course of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, waged a well-measured but sharp struggle against the bourgeoisie on the question of taxation and fixed interests, and achieved tremendous victories. In *On Co-operation* Lenin said that every social system arises with the financial assistance of a definite class. Finance and taxation have played an important role in the socialist transformation of our country.

Our financial work in the past ten years has been conducted on the basis of the growth of production and on the principle of paying reasonable attention to the needs of both national construction and the people's livelihood, to state, collective and individual interests. Over the past decade we have uprooted the age-old phenomenon of unemployment left over from old China, and along with the growth of production, the life of the people has been steadily improved. During these ten years, the number of workers and employees increased more than fivefold. The average wage of workers and employees rose 70 per cent in the period of rehabilitation, and another 42.8 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan period. In 1958, the wages of these workers and employees rose another three per cent and the scope of employment was rapidly extended. As a result of the growth of agricultural production and the basic stabilization of tax burdens, the incomes of the peasants in 1958 increased 43 per cent compared with 1952. Great headway has also been made

in social welfare services, in culture, education and public health services. Commodity prices in the past ten years have been stable. The days when the people were beset by soaring prices have already passed into the limbo of history. Taking the wholesale price index in March 1950 as 100, it was 92.7 per cent by the end of 1958. According to statistics for the eight major cities: Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang, Sian, Wuhan, Chungking and Canton, taking the retail sales index in March 1950 as 100, it was 101.4 per cent by the end of 1958. This was the result of the rapid development of production and the achieving of a balance of revenue and expenditure with small surpluses.

In the past ten years, in addition to allocating funds for construction mainly out of national revenue the state has also provided a large amount of funds for construction in the form of bank credits. We confiscated the big banks owned by the bureaucrat-capitalists and gradually transformed the medium-sized and small private banks into joint state-private banks to form an integrated and powerful socialist banking network. Through their credit operations, the banks have brought together from enterprises, people's communes, government offices, people's organizations and individual citizens temporarily idle cash, and used it in a planned way to meet the needs of industrial and agricultural production, the turnover of commodities and the circulation of funds. The amounts of bank deposits and loans and the banks' own capital have rapidly increased in the past ten years. Compared with 1950, bank deposits in 1958 increased 9.4-fold, bank loans increased 26.4-fold and the banks' own capital (state appropriations and bank accumulation) increased 20.7-fold. The value of the *Jen Min Pi* (people's currency) has held stable from the very beginning. It enjoys a high reputation among the people.

In the past ten years, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries gave us brotherly assistance, support and co-operation by providing equipment, technical knowledge and loans, for which the Chinese people are deeply grateful. Except

for some low-interest loans given to China by the Soviet Union in the early years of the People's Republic, this financial assistance has mainly taken the form of exchange of goods through equal and mutually beneficial business transactions. The figures over the past ten years show that foreign loans made up only 2 per cent of our total national revenue and they were all raised in the early years of the People's Republic. Funds for our construction come in the main from internal accumulation, that is, on self-support. As our finances become more solidly based day by day, more and more favourable conditions are created for us to carry on construction relying entirely on internal accumulation.

The facts mentioned above show that China's financial system is a socialist financial system based on the growth of production and economic prosperity, bringing happiness to the people and developing ever more vigorously. Our Government is a government of the utmost integrity and efficiency. Has any government in China's history ever used its financial resources to do so much good for the people? Has any previous Chinese government had so stable a financial basis and made such rapid advances? Under the rule of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries, a handful of reactionaries used the financial system in old China to fleece and oppress the people. The reactionaries' financial revenue came mainly from exploitation of the labouring people; their expenditure was mainly to keep up their vast armies and bureaucratic organizations; very little was spent on economic and cultural construction. The Kuomintang regime was always unable to balance its revenue and expenditure. It had no other way out but to raise huge loans from the imperialists and issue an endless stream of paper currency in an attempt to drag out its existence. The result was mounting debts, currency inflation, economic bankruptcy and destitution for the people. On the one hand, the reactionaries sold out China's sovereign rights and brought disgrace to the country; on the other hand, they amassed vast fortunes for them-

selves. This was the state of financial affairs in which old China found itself.

All these facts demonstrate that the Chinese people not only can live without begging from the imperialists, but can live much better than in the past. Working strenuously and devotedly for national construction, they continue to stride forward at a speed unattainable by any capitalist country. Although the "blankness" and poverty of China has not yet been completely changed, it can be said with certainty that the time needed to catch up with and surpass the developed capitalist countries will be greatly shortened. The Chinese people have the ambition to reach that goal and they are confident they can do it. Our own tremendous achievements in construction in the past ten years, following on the Great October Socialist Revolution and the splendid successes in construction achieved by the Soviet Union, furnish fresh proof that, led by the political party of the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism and with the superior socialist system, even a country that is extremely backward economically and culturally can make big and rapid advances and is sure to win in peaceful competition with the capitalist countries. This fact cannot but be a mighty source of inspiration to all oppressed nations and all exploited people.

The reactionary classes and reactionary political forces can never see the objective world as it really is. They invariably refused to believe or acknowledge the strength of the people, the revolutionary movement and the growth of new social order. When the Chinese people won their war of liberation and first seized political power on a nation-wide scale, the imperialists and the reactionaries asserted that although the war of liberation had been won in China, there was no way to overcome its financial and economic difficulties. At that time, there were also some people among the bourgeoisie inside the country who said that the Communists should be given 100 marks in military affairs, 80 in political affairs and zero in economic affairs. Not long afterwards, our financial

and economic situation took a fundamental turn for the better and planned construction started. The imperialists and reactionaries again came forward with the gibe that the Five-Year Plan was ambitious enough but the question of funds for construction defied solution. Subsequently we tackled the difficulties as regards funds, fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan and started the Second Five-Year Plan with a gigantic stride forward. Finding it impossible to deny the facts, they cooked up all sorts of malicious lies to slander us. But lies cannot cover up facts. Their slanders and innuendoes can do no harm to the socialist cause of our 650 million people but they do enable us to get a better understanding of how correctly and well we have done our job, why our enemies have denounced us unceasingly and what they are afraid of.

Some good-hearted friends have also asked how it is that such large funds for construction can be accumulated within such a short space of time in an extremely poor and backward country like China. Was it not because the burdens of the people were added to? To answer this question, let us first of all go back to the origin of China's past poverty and how her backwardness came about. As everybody knows, China has a vast territory, a large population and rich natural resources and the Chinese people are noted for their industry and grit. The reason China was poor and backward was entirely because imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism engaged in ruthless exploitation and plunder and because their rule seriously shackled and damaged the country's productive forces. The imperialists squeezed out an unaccounted amount of wealth from the Chinese people through military plunder, dumping of commodities and investments in China. They robbed China of 500 million taels of silver through the so-called "Yi Ho Tuan" (Boxer) indemnity alone. In their capacities as officials *cum* merchants, by taking advantage of their official positions to enrich themselves and turning public property into their personal wealth, the four big families of Chiang Kai-shek, Sung Tse-wen (T. V. Soong), Kung

Hsiang-hsi (H. H. Kung), and the Chen brothers raked altogether wealth valued at about 500 million *liang*¹ of gold comprising their monopoly holdings in banking, trade, industry and real estate as well as their bank deposits and properties abroad; all this was the property of the people. In old China the big and small landlords exacted land rent from the peasants amounting to 70,000 million catties of grain each year. All this came from the blood and toil of the Chinese workers and peasants. This shows that in pre-liberation China there was no lack of funds for construction, but they were mostly diverted into the pockets of the imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists. Since the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the wealth formerly squeezed out and stolen by the imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists has been used by the people themselves to improve their livelihood and build their country. After going over to joint state-private operation, except for the fixed interest paid them, that portion of the wealth appropriated by national bourgeoisie in the past was turned over for the use of the state in a planned way. The most important reason for China's ability to raise funds for construction at high speed lies in the fact that the establishment of socialist relations of production has led to a great release of the productive forces and brought the productive enthusiasm of our 650 million people into full play. It is natural that when the people are organized and are inspired with socialist and communist consciousness, much vaster wealth can be created than in old China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Man is the most precious of all things in the world. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, all the wonders of the world can be created so long as manpower is available."² This is the basic source of accumulation in our country and it

¹One *liang*=1.1023 ounces—Tr.

²"The Sixth Commentary on the *White Paper (United States Relations with China)*," an editorial of Hsinhua News Agency which appeared in *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)*, September 17, 1949.

is also the key to the solution of the question of raising funds for construction in our country under conditions of economic backwardness. Besides, as we implement the policy of building the country, running our homes and all enterprises in a spirit of industry and thrift, we can make more rational use of these funds accumulated, and the same amount of money can be used to do more things. As to whether we have increased the people's burdens, this calls for a good look at whether tax increases have outstepped increases in production and incomes, whether market prices have been stable and whether the people's livelihood has been steadily improved. How do things stand in our case? Agricultural and other rural taxes paid by the Chinese peasants at present make up only 7.4 per cent of state revenue. During the seven years from 1952 to 1959, agricultural production increased 71 per cent, while agricultural taxes have remained all along at about 3,000 million yuan and have not increased. The proportion of the total tax burden (including agricultural taxes, local additional taxes and other rural taxes) borne by the peasants was reduced from 11 per cent in the value of agricultural output in 1952 to 8.55 per cent in 1959; that is, the burdens on the peasants have not increased but relatively lightened. As regards our price policy, the retail price index, as mentioned above, has remained stable in the past ten years while procurement prices for agricultural produce have been raised. Thus, the peasants have derived many benefits from our price policy due to the narrowing down of the disparity in prices between industrial goods and agricultural produce. Our more than 500 million peasants are a mighty force in the revolutionary struggle and in national construction, and only by relying on this great ally can the working class win victory under all conditions.

The great victory in China's financial work in the past ten years is a victory for the great systems of people's democracy and socialism, for our Party's application of Marxism-Leninism in solving our financial problems, and for Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas in relation to finance.

The practical results achieved in financial work in the past decade are further proof that the policy of "securing supplies through economic growth" consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is completely correct. The financial question is a question of distribution. Distribution is determined by production which, in turn, may be affected by the former, and this is an important Marxist-Leninist principle. As early as the revolutionary war period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

While a good or bad financial policy may affect the economy, it is economic development that determines the financial situation. We can never overcome financial difficulties unless we have a sound economy, and we can never attain financial abundance without economic development.¹

During the revolutionary war period, we overcame all serious financial difficulties by carrying out this policy of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Under the new circumstances in the period of socialist construction, we continue to follow this policy and have, as a result, achieved tremendous successes in our financial work.

It is the desire of the Chinese people to develop their national economy at top speed and to end their economic backwardness quickly, a desire which is crystallized in the Party's general line of "going all out, aiming high and getting greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism." In our financial work, efforts should be made not only to promote the development of our economy in a normal way but to help develop it at top speed. This is the fundamental task in the financial field. In making arrangements for revenue and expenditure, therefore, it is necessary fully to tap all potentialities, accumulate funds and increase income on the basis of increased production while at the same time taking into consideration objective possibilities, the development of na-

¹*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1956, Vol. IV, pp. 105-106.

tional construction and improvement of the people's livelihood. Meanwhile, to make full use of our funds, it is also necessary to make a rational distribution of funds and, wherever possible, to increase investments in production and construction in accordance with the Party's general line and the policy of "simultaneous developments" (simultaneous development of industry and agriculture on the basis of giving priority to heavy industry, of heavy and light industries, of national and local industries, of large enterprises and medium-sized and small enterprises, and of modern and indigenous methods of production). The financial budget is closely related to all aspects of state economic activity. We should set high sights for our revenue and expenditure, increase revenue wherever possible, make a full estimate of revenue, meet every need as fully as possible, and see to it that an increase in revenue goes hand in hand with increased expenditure. Thus, by enabling different branches of the economy to encourage each other and make a substantial effort, we can promote a rapid development of the national economy and achieve "greater, quicker, better and more economical results." On the contrary, if we set low sights for revenue and expenditure so that we can attain them without much difficulty, this will inevitably slow down the tempo of development of our construction and bring about "smaller, slower, poorer and more wasteful results." Since ours is a financial system that serves production and construction, the major part of our expenditure goes to these two spheres. While less revenue may restrict expenditure, less expenditure may also affect revenue to a certain extent. In accordance with the principles and policies of the Party, we should, wherever possible and necessary, increase revenue, expenditure and the number of construction projects. More revenue, more expenditure and more construction projects — these constitute the correct way of ensuring rapid development of the national economy by the proper use of financial revenue and expenditure. When we emphasize speed, it does not mean that we can make plans unwarranted by the objective situa-

tion or ignore economic balance. But the point is how to fully realize and make use of objective possibilities, how to bring subjective energies as fully as possible into play, and how to achieve a positive instead of negative balance. Basing ourselves on the standpoint of economic development, we should do our best to increase revenue and expenditure and achieve a balanced revenue and expenditure with a moderate amount of surplus from favourable balances. We should not base ourselves on a one-sided financial standpoint to reduce revenue and expenditure by slowing down the tempo of construction to an unsuitable degree, or to acquire an excessive amount of surplus by getting more revenue and allocating less for expenditure. In our effort to achieve a positive balance an imbalance may appear between revenue and expenditure, but this problem can be resolved easily by taking energetic measures to increase production and practise economy and through the regulating effect of state plans. Provided we correctly carry out the general line and the policy of "simultaneous developments," it is possible to guarantee a lasting, over-all balance for the national economy as a whole. The facts in the past ten years prove that it is quite possible for us not only to advance at top speed but to balance revenue and expenditure. There are no grounds to believe that speed will make it impossible for us to maintain a balanced revenue and expenditure. During the over-all leap forward in our national economy in 1958, the value of industrial and agricultural production was, respectively, 66 and 25 per cent higher than the preceding year. On this basis financial revenue recorded a 35 per cent increase, while its annual rate of increase averaged 12 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan period. In the course of implementing the 1958 state budget, expenditure on production and construction was added to again and again in accordance with the constant rise in revenue. Expenditure in 1958 was 35 per cent higher than in 1957, and the increase in investments in capital construction was 70 per cent. In 1958, as production and construction developed at top speed, both

expenditure and revenue registered their greatest increases, and we not only achieved a balance between revenue and expenditure but a moderate surplus from a favourable balance. Is it not clear that in 1958 our economy was prosperous and we had rich sources of revenue? The allegation that the big leap of 1958 caused a disproportion and an over-all tension in the economy is just so much nonsense concocted by the right opportunists and only serves to show that they are blind to the facts.

This is how the situation stood: the growth of the economy opened up new financial sources and therefore brought in new revenue, while any increase in revenue, in its turn, accelerated economic development. Economy determines finance, while finance on its part affects economy. Economy and finance promote and affect each other. In this way it is possible not only to develop the national economy at top speed but to maintain a balance between revenue and expenditure. This is the basic formula for our financial work. The first basic lesson we have learned in our financial work over the past ten years is to secure supplies through economic growth.

The practice of financial work in the past decade further proves that the policy of mobilizing and relying on the masses to run financial affairs, as consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is entirely correct. The people are the creators of history and their wisdom is inexhaustible. The mass line must be taken in all revolutionary and constructive tasks; they must all be carried out through mass movements under centralized leadership; correct policies can be carried through successfully only by combining centralized leadership with mass movements.

Socialist economy requires unified economic and financial plans to ensure the rational distribution and use of manpower and material and financial resources. That's one side of the problem. The other side is that socialist economy must bring into full play the initiative, creativeness and revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses in order to achieve greater, quick-

er, better and more economical results. The mass line in our financial work is, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions on "ten sets of relationships," to handle correctly the relationships between the central and local authorities; between the state and enterprises; between the state and construction units; between the state, the collective and the individual; between the leadership and the masses; and to effect full integration of unified leadership with the principle of adaptation to local conditions, of the efforts of the central authorities with those of the local authorities and enterprises, of the efforts of the state with those of the masses. As regards the relationship between the central and local finances, it is necessary to define the scope of their power in a reasonable way and to abide by the principle of "centralized leadership and over-all arrangement," with due attention paid to the assumption of administrative responsibility at different levels and the proper division of work. In handling the relationship between the financial affairs of the state and economic enterprises, we should place the financial affairs of the enterprises under the unified management of the state and put the major portion of their income at the disposal of state financial organs, while enabling the enterprises to retain a set proportion of the profits, depending on the results of their work, for their own use. As to the relationship between the state and capital construction units, it is necessary to guarantee completion of construction projects according to state plans and also give construction units a proper amount of leeway within the scope of a fixed amount of investment. In this way, we give rein to the initiative of the local authorities, enterprises and construction units and also better guarantee for the fulfilment of the state financial plan as a whole. In handling relationships between the leadership and the masses, we should adhere to necessary and rational regulations and systems and methods of management, while at the same time calling into full play the initiative and creativeness of the masses. All regulations and systems serve the dual purpose of promot-

ing and restricting. A system has the power of restriction, so it should not be dispensed with simply because of this. But in view of the fact that its restrictive aspects aim to better promote the work, we should not allow these to be so inappropriate as to adversely affect the enthusiasm of the masses and the progress of our work. While the financial departments should rely on, place confidence in, and enthusiastically help all the departments and institutions with which they are concerned, they should also exercise the necessary financial supervision over them. All this aims to mobilize fully all positive factors and enable everyone to make a joint effort to accumulate more funds and make the most economical use of them. Some comrades have paid attention only to the establishment of unified leadership without regard to the need for the assumption of administrative responsibility at different levels; to concentrating financial resources to the neglect of a proper flexibility; and to regulations and systems while failing to mobilize the masses. Thus, by diametrically opposing two sides that could be united, they have tried to operate by simple administrative order instead of pursuing a lively and vigorous mass line. This attitude is entirely wrong.

The prime importance of the mass line to financial work can be proved best by the facts of the big leap of 1958. In that year we reformed the administrative framework of finance and of taxation, and to a suitable extent handed certain powers over to the local authorities. We improved the financial administrative system in enterprises and implemented the measure of setting aside a certain proportion of the profits of enterprises for their own use. We improved the financial administrative system relating to capital construction and enforced the "system of sole responsibility for the management of investments" in capital construction. We abolished a number of irrational systems and regulations. Above all, guided by the beacon light of the Party's general line for socialist construction, we greatly raised the level of political consciousness of the masses. In these ways we really brought into full play

the initiative of all regions, departments and units, and set the masses in motion, thereby bringing about an upsurge in the mass campaign, and a situation in which a spectacular and sweeping advance took place on a massive scale and many impressive accomplishments were chalked up. Among many instances I should like to mention that of the Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Works which, in the course of building new projects for expansion, called on all the workers to economize on funds. As originally planned, an investment of 240 million yuan was required to reconstruct the works within five years into an iron and steel complex with an annual output of 1,400,000 tons of iron and 600,000 tons of steel. With the adoption of the "system of sole responsibility for the management of investments," the money was handed over to the works to be used for its reconstruction, the only conditions being that the planned productive capacity was not to be reduced, the completion of project was not to be postponed, the total investment was not to be increased, the quality of the engineering work was not to be lowered, and the proportion of the non-productive part of the project was not to be raised. Under the unified leadership of the Party Committee of the works, a big effort was made to mobilize the mass of the workers to give free play to their wisdom and potentialities in seeking ways of reducing costs and economizing on the use of funds. As a result, the workers and staff put up a proposal for reconstructing the works, with the same investment, into an iron and steel complex with an annual output of 1,700,000 tons of iron and 1,200,000 tons of steel, a productive capacity 30 and 100 per cent higher respectively than that originally planned. This proposal for an enlarged project was approved by the leading planning departments concerned and the whole body of workers and staff of the works are now marching ahead towards this inspiring goal. We are of the opinion that if, with the same amount of money, our projects can be enlarged by 30, 20, or even only 10 per cent, it is something well worth recommending on a wide scale. Here is another example which

justifies the method of carrying out water conservancy projects on a big scale by relying on the masses. In a period of eight years between 1950 and 1957, the state invested a total of 1,450 million yuan in the plan for permanent control of the Huai River. As a result, 1,600 million cubic metres of earthwork and stonework were completed; but in the period between the winter of 1957 and the spring of 1958 when the masses were extensively mobilized to do water conservancy work, the two provinces of Anhwei and Honan alone, relying mainly on the peasants for labour, funds and materials, in six months, completed as much as 12,000 million cubic metres of earthwork and stonework. The work done by these two provinces played an extremely important role in the fight against flood and drought this year. These results could not possibly have been achieved had they relied only on state investments. This is something that is utterly incomprehensible to those who see things in the old way, but once the initiative of the departments concerned and the broad mass of the people is set in motion, this sort of thing will continue to happen every day and even every hour. Divorce yourselves from the masses and you will hardly move a step; arouse the masses and you will go a thousand miles a day. Isn't this clear enough? To do financial work by mobilizing the masses, by relying on the masses, instead of by relying on a few people — this is the second basic lesson we have learned in our financial work over the past ten years.

Our financial work over the past decade further proves the complete correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's principle of regarding, at all times, political work as the soul or commanding force in all fields of endeavour. Finance serves politics. It has always been one of the important instruments with which state power performs its political tasks, and an important instrument in the class struggle. Our financial work serves the political task of implementing the Party's general line. Every cent accumulated or spent in accordance with financial requirements is closely related to socialist construction and the immediate interests of the broad masses of the people.

Questions of revenue and expenditure involve the relationship between accumulation and consumption, between the state, the collective and the individual, between nationalities, between classes and strata, between economic departments, between regions, etc., etc. All these questions should be correctly solved under the leadership of the Party and in the light of the requirements of the general line. These questions are not merely economic questions but, in the first place, political questions. In tackling them financial workers must proceed first of all from a political standpoint. We are financial workers, but first of all, functionaries who carry out the general line, builders of socialism, and fighters for the working class. Of course, while emphasizing the leadership of the Party and the role of politics as commander, we in no wise mean to imply that practical work or the study of questions of practical work can be ignored. Economic work must be done with increasing thoroughness. Once divorced from practical work, the political tasks will get nowhere. But practical work must be subject to politics. He who sees only practical work but not politics will become a blind man, a philistine victimized by routinism, and slip into the pit of mistakes. The clamours of the right opportunists that the big leap is a "pretty mess," that the people's commune movement has "gone too fast," that "it is more loss than gain" to make iron and steel on an extensive scale, and so on, reflect their out-and-out bourgeois ideology. If we don't put politics in command, we will be in danger of being corrupted and enslaved by wrong ideas. While emphasizing the leadership of the Party and the role of politics as commander, we do not at all mean to imply that business accounting and material incentives can be ignored. Business accounting is an important method of administering the socialist economy. If we ignore it, we shall not be able to administer our economy in the most rational and effective way, and achieve the maximum possible economic results at minimum cost. One of the important tasks that still confronts us now is to devote strenuous efforts to improving

business accounting. Correctly working out a system of material incentives which integrates collective and individual interests with those of the state as a whole will be a great help in mobilizing the initiative of all circles. But business accounting and material incentives can yield good results only when political and ideological education in communist spirit has been strengthened. To take further steps to strengthen the Party's leadership over financial work, emphasize the role of politics as commander, integrate politics with practical work and integrate ideological education with material incentives — these are the fundamental guarantees for doing financial work successfully. The Party's leadership and politics in command constitute the third basic lesson we have learned in our financial work over the past ten years.

The victory won in our financial work over the past ten years is a great one. It is a victory that stands to the credit of the wise leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, to the credit of the concerted efforts of the Party committees and people's governments at various levels and our 650 million people. It is also a victory that is inseparable from the help given us by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. Inspired by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, the people throughout the land are waging a struggle against right deviations, forging full steam ahead and launching a new upsurge in the movement to increase production and practise economy, so as to strive to reach by the end of this year the major production targets set in the Second Five-Year Plan. The past ten years have been crowned with victories and glory. We are confident of scoring even greater and more splendid victories in the years to come. The victories won in this past decade are more than any reactionary force in the world can deny. No reactionary force in the world will be able to prevent our winning victories in the future.

Mass Movements on the Industrial Front

Ko Ching-shih

It has been the standing policy of the Party to organize extensive mass movements on the industrial front. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always taught us that we should follow the mass line in all our work. He has often said that it is the masses which are truly great, that the creative energies of the masses are inexhaustible and that the masses are the sole creators of history. He wants us to remember at all times that the one significant thing marking the difference between the Communist Party and any other political party is that we are in the closest touch with the broadest mass of the people. Whether in the class struggle or the struggle for production, we must wholeheartedly and unreservedly serve the people, firmly believe in them and rely on them, mobilize the masses without hesitation and become completely at one with the masses. As long as we do things in this way, we shall be able to conquer every difficulty; no enemy can ever overcome us, and, instead, we shall overcome him. Precisely in line with these consistent ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party believes that in both revolution and construction all work must follow the mass line, and all tasks of the revolution and construction must be implemented through mass movements. This is the fundamental line of our Party in guiding the revolution and construction in China.

The basic aim of the political party of the working class in leading the masses to carry out revolution and construction is to fully release and rapidly develop the productive forces of society. The labourers are the decisive factor in the social

productive forces. As Marx said: "Of all the instruments of production, the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself."¹ The development of the social productive forces is an objective need for the continuous progress of history and continuous rejuvenation of society. To liberate the productive forces the first thing to do is to liberate the great masses of the labourers, smash the chains which fetter their wisdom and strength and sweep away the obstacles restraining the development of that wisdom and strength. Only by their own hands can the chains on the masses be broken; only by their own hands can their happy life be created. That is why we must rely on the masses' own strength and carry through mass movements to release or develop the social productive forces. This is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. It is also the basis on which our Party has formulated the general line of the revolution and the general line of construction and taken the organization of large-scale mass movements as the fundamental method of implementing the general line.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in China. The revolutionary demands put forward by the liberated Chinese people under conditions where the proletariat has taken state power are: to completely eliminate class exploitation and private ownership of the means of production, to make socialist ownership the sole economic base of this country and to build China into a great socialist country. The Party's general line in the period of transition, that is, the general line of simultaneously carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction, embodies these demands of the Chinese people. Guided by this general line and through large-scale mass movements, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce

¹Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, International Publishers, New York, p. 146.

was gradually realized, bringing about the release of social productive forces from the bondage of bourgeois and small-producer ownership. The Party well understands that the Chinese people, who have suffered for ages from economic and cultural backwardness, have a strong desire to change such a state of affairs completely. During their struggles in the period of revolution, they manifested astonishing courage; and in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan, they again displayed a soaring enthusiasm. An old worker once said: "I have the same pair of hands today as I had yesterday. But see with what energy and joy I am working now!" Once the working people take their destiny into their own hands and work for themselves and their own society instead of for the exploiting classes, they inevitably shatter all ordinary standards and build their new socialist life with revolutionary speed. The general line formulated by the Party in the spring of 1958 — to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism — is a concentrated reflection of this strong desire of China's 650 million people.

Some comrades in our Party do not comprehend, or do not fully comprehend, this strong revolutionary urge of the people. They think that the launching or otherwise of large-scale mass movements is a matter of small importance, as if we can decide at our own will whether the tempo of construction should be quick or slow. They forget the truth that the course of the forward march of history is invariably decided by the aspirations and will of the people. Since our 650 million people have become masters of society under the leadership of the working class, no one can stop them from doing anything once their minds are made up, nor can anyone succeed in doing things not to the liking of our 650 million people. This is an objective law independent of the will of men. In the conditions prevailing in China, the general line to build socialism — to go all out, aim high and get greater, quicker, better and more economical results — is precisely a proper re-

flection of objective requirements in the development of the social productive forces of our country. Only by thoroughly carrying out this general line and organizing large-scale mass movements can we develop our social productive forces at top speed.

There has been quite a bit of argument within our Party over the question of launching large-scale mass movements in socialist construction and, above all, on the industrial front. Some people say that "mass movements are all right for revolutionary struggles but not for construction." Others say that it is a rather complex thing to run modern industry and in this respect, instead of organizing mass movements, we should establish a "regular regime." Still others say that mass movements may be all very well in carrying out political reforms in factories and enterprises, but that in carrying out technical reforms we should rely on systematic, "scientific methods" instead of mass movements, and so on and so forth. Their basic standpoint is that the Party's mass line in socialist construction should be replaced by a set of "regular" methods, and lively and vigorous mass movements by bare administrative orders. They even call their methods "normal," "scientific," truly Marxist-Leninist methods and call mass movements "abnormal," "unscientific" methods which, according to them, run counter to Marxism-Leninism. Though some of these preposterous arguments stem from lack of clear understanding and some from serious right opportunist ideas, all would in essence lead industrial production astray, away from Party leadership, from politics and from the masses. As a matter of fact, these people do not know what real Marxism-Leninism is; they are diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism. Lenin was right when he said at the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on November 4, 1917: "Socialism is not brought into being by an order from above. Routine bureaucratic automatism is foreign to its spirit; socialism is vital, creative; it is the creation of the popular masses themselves." That is to say, it is the revolu-

tionary mass movements that constitute the most normal revolutionary order and the most scientific method of leadership. The error of those with right opportunist ideas lies in the fact that they refuse to acknowledge the enthusiasm and initiative of the people in the work of construction. In opposing large-scale mass movements in building socialism they are, at bottom, opposing the Party's general line, since the basic starting point of that general line is to rely on the inexhaustible energies of our 650 million people and on their endeavour to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building China into a great socialist country. If the broad mass of the people are not mobilized, who will "go all out and aim high"? And, again, who will "achieve greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism"? We should understand that to rely on the masses or to become isolated from them, to organize large-scale mass movements or to refrain from doing so constitutes the basic difference between the proletarian revolutionary and the bourgeois revolutionary, and between the line of the revolutionary proletariat and all non-proletarian lines in building socialism. We must adhere to the line of the revolutionary proletariat. Since the birth of New China, three production upsurges have appeared on the industrial front, namely: the movements to increase production and practise economy in 1952 and 1956 and the big leap forward since 1958. These three upsurges were the great outcome of large-scale mass political movements; each rose higher than the last, and especially that in 1958 which surpassed the previous two. This was because the socialist revolution had released the social productive forces more and more thoroughly and given an increasingly great impetus to the productive enthusiasm of the broad mass of the people; at the same time, our Party continuously exposed and criticized right-deviationist views of all shades, summed up the experience accumulated in leading production and construction in China over the past many years and worked out the general line for socialist construc-

tion and the complete set of the policies of "walking on two legs" — all this ensured a continued leap forward in the country's socialist construction.

Practice has proved that the Party's general line for building socialism is not only perfectly suited to objective demands for the development of the social productive forces. Since the first basic point of the general line is "to turn all active factors to account and handle contradictions among the people correctly," it also enables us to adjust consciously and in good time contradictions between relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base and thereby to give greater impetus to the development of the social productive forces. In his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

... Socialist relations of production have been established; they are suited to the development of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and their imperfect aspects stand in contradiction to the development of the productive forces. There is conformity as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the development of the productive forces. . . . Similarly, there is conformity as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base.¹

Since the relations of production are suited to the growth of the productive forces as a result of the establishment of socialist relations of production, the productive forces can forge ahead at such a speed as the old society neither saw nor was capable of. But, as bourgeois ideas still exert a considerable influence, a bureaucratic style of work is still to be found to varying extents among a small section of our cadres, and as some flaws still exist in certain links of the management of

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 25.

enterprises, the socialist relations of production still leave something to be desired. Hence, there is often to be found conformity as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Such a lack of conformity will, over a certain period of time, put a check on the objective possibilities for the rapid growth of the social productive forces and become obstacles on the road of progress. If such obstacles are not removed, the enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses cannot be turned to full account. But, of course, just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, such contradictions are different from the contradictions in capitalist society which cannot be resolved by the capitalist system itself and can only lead to the destruction of capitalism. Contradictions in socialist society, however, can be gradually resolved by the socialist system itself and thus lead social development to a new stage of prosperity. When the old contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base are resolved, new contradictions will arise — this is an unending and ever new dialectical process. To answer the demand for the continual development of the productive forces, there must be a continual readjustment of various aspects of the relations of production and, as a result, a constant process of renovation of the various aspects of the superstructure. This is a guarantee for the continued growth of the productive forces. The Marxist-Leninist principles concerning contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society which Comrade Mao Tse-tung has expounded and developed, have armed the broad mass of the cadres and people ideologically and enabled them to see clearly how to handle contradictions in our socialist society. They are fully convinced that these principles provide a powerful ideological weapon to ensure the continued leap forward of the social productive forces and a firm theoretical basis on

which to launch mass movements on a large scale. This is a matter of supreme significance and has the most far-reaching influence.

In accordance with the principles concerning the correct handling of contradictions among the people and a series of correct directives put forward by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party organizations in Shanghai since 1958 have, by means of mass movements, readjusted in good time the mutual relations between people in production and labour and, in the first place, the relations between the leadership and the masses. They have also made timely readjustments of certain links in the management system of industrial enterprises which are not suited to the growth of the productive forces. The call for the emancipation of the mind has enabled the working people to cast off their spiritual chains and develop the bold and ever triumphant communist spirit of daring to think, speak and act. This has steadily perfected the relations of production and raised the socialist enthusiasm of the mass of the people to an unprecedented height. A vigorous labour emulation campaign has been launched to vie with each other and to learn from and catch up with the advanced. Production leaps forward like the roaring torrents of the Yangtse River, or like the charge of a powerful army which no force can stop.

Under the impact of the great leap forward of 1958 and the continued leap forward in 1959, those who used to have misgivings about large-scale mass movements have been inspired by the boundless enthusiasm of the masses. They have been taught by these movements, and as they have come to understand that the large-scale mass movement is a prerequisite for developing production at a high speed, they, too, plunged themselves into these stirring movements heart and soul. The broad mass of cadres have steeled themselves and increased their knowledge during these movements. The emergence of these vigorous mass movements has given a thorough education on the Party's mass line to all the cadres and people.

They share this feeling: "Of all things to be considered, the first is the Party's leadership; of all ways and means, the first is the mass line." They have increased their understanding further, particularly after the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, when Party organizations at all levels in Shanghai discussed the question of how Marxists should look upon revolutionary mass movements. Everyone has a better understanding of the fact that the actual speed of our socialist construction depends first and foremost on the Party's leadership, and on whether the Party is able to correctly organize large-scale mass movements, whether we can tap to the full the potentialities of the masses, and whether we can turn to full account the subjective activity of the people.

In accordance with successive directives issued by the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and after more than a year of practice, we have discovered and gathered together a fairly complete body of experience in carrying out mass production campaigns in factories and enterprises. If we tabulate this experience and classify it, we must, in the main, make every effort to tackle the following questions:

Firstly, the question of the integration of leading personnel with the broad masses which has always been basic in the Party's method of leadership. The proper solution of this question has a decisive bearing on the launching of mass movements for increasing production and practising economy in factories and enterprises. In the light of experience gained in Shanghai, the basic method of solving this question is: adherence to the spirit of rectification, correct handling of contradictions among the people in factories and enterprises, constant readjustment of mutual relations among the people and constant improvement in ways of giving leadership and in working methods. In a socialist society, the working class is the producer and master of the country and its enterprises. The basic interests of the leading personnel and the masses of workers and staff in enterprises are wholly the same. Their

relationship is one of comradely mutual help and co-operation, and they are on a completely equal footing. But since they hold different posts, do different jobs, and observe and handle questions from different angles, it is sometimes not possible for them to be closely or completely in accord. And since some cadres have been affected by the bureaucratic airs left over by the exploiting classes and are not adept in using methods of persuasion and education in solving problems, the masses thus do not feel free to place full confidence in these leading personnel, and some workers are hampered from looking upon socialist labour as their own business. A great change has been brought about in such mutual relations since the rectification campaign in 1957. These leading cadres have discarded their bureaucratic airs and haughty attitude. They have set an example in taking part in labour. They cultivate "experimental plots," go among the masses and right into the forefront of production to solve crucial problems. Their merging with the masses as common labourers has become the new prevailing practice. A new change in methods of leadership has also occurred on the basis of such improvements in mutual relations. The overwhelming majority of the leading cadres take an all-round interest in the outlook, work, life and study of the masses. They not only take an interest in those who prove to be advanced, but are concerned with those who lag behind or stand midway between the two. They have learned to place full confidence in the masses, resolutely rely on them, earnestly hold to the principle of "from the masses and back to the masses." They use the method of "going direct to the vitally concerned" to put before the masses clear-cut goals and they are able to tell the masses clearly what the situation is and what is the task that confronts them; they give reasons and set forth the methods to them, and thoroughly mobilize them ideologically through a full airing of views, the writing of *tatsepao* and the holding of great debates so as to increase their understanding and grasp of the whole situation; and enable them to bring into full play the

initiative of one who looks on the public cause as one's own, turn the production plan of the enterprises into their own programme of action, and strive hard for the fulfilment of their production tasks. It should be pointed out that, since the great leap forward in 1958, there has been a further development and consolidation of such socialist mutual relations and the method of leadership that adheres to the mass line.

A single rectification campaign, however, cannot put things to rights once and for all. Some comrades in our Party up till now still fail to understand the many correct measures adopted by the Party in the past year and more, and even put forward some erroneous views of their own to counter them. Some people say that participation by leading cadres in productive labour "takes them away from their proper work" and that we "pay too high a price for it." According to them, the natural "work" of leading personnel is to issue orders from above, and there is no need whatever for them to concern themselves with how the masses think and live and to be at one with them. This is the most typical erroneous view which sets economic work apart from political work. Other people say that while it is right for cadres who are intellectuals to participate in manual labour it is quite unnecessary for cadres of workers' origin to do so. This, of course, is wrong too. Experience since the rectification campaign has shown that the leading cadres in all productive enterprises, no matter what their background is, cannot do their work well in leading production and managing enterprises unless they regularly go among the masses to take part in productive labour. In fact, to go among the masses, though "wasting" a little of their office hours, nevertheless means truly doing their proper work and abandoning their "official" occupation. There is no question here of "paying too high a price for it"; to do this is the bounden duty of the leading cadres, and it has already yielded a good harvest in the big leap forward. If cadres of workers' origin do not take part in production for a prolonged period, it will also be easy for

them to divorce themselves from the masses; participation in productive labour is therefore equally important for them. So that our vast numbers of cadres should at all times maintain the vigorous fighting spirit of the proletariat, the most important thing is that they should never for a moment lose contact with the masses. "The rectification campaign came to an end, but its spirit should not be thrown away," so wrote a textile worker on a *tatsepao* sheet early this year. These words, so filled with warmth, are entirely correct. We must continue to use the method of the rectification campaign to further develop relations of comradely mutual help between the leading cadres and the workers. In fact, many departments continue to adhere to the spirit of the rectification campaign, and continue to develop such methods as the full airing of views, the writing of *tatsepao* and the holding of debates which were used during the rectification campaign. Rectification campaigns and *wuhsu* meetings¹ are conducted regularly so that the cadres can keep their eyes open always and forge close ties with the masses. Many secretaries of Party committees and factory directors often turn up at the weaker sectors of production or where the most difficult problems have cropped up, laying their heads together with the workers and employees there to solve production problems. During the hottest days of last summer, leading cadres in factories and enterprises went to high temperature workshops to take a hand in productive work. This greatly stimulated the enthusiasm of the masses in overcoming difficulties. Under the inspiration of the call to oppose right deviations and summon up revolutionary enthusiasm, cadres who had lost touch with the spirit of the rectification campaign and had become sluggish, have gone to work again "on the spot" or gone to take a hand in the work in the most difficult departments. This

¹Meetings at which matters are approached from the angle of high principles—Tr.

has been warmly welcomed by the masses, who say "the big leap forward is here again!"

The methods of the rectification campaign have effectively improved not only relations between people in leading positions and the rank and file, but relations between workers and staff, between workshops, factories and enterprises. Working for the common goal of continuing the leap forward, they show a vigorous communist spirit of co-operation which manifests itself in mutual help, mutual encouragement, swapping experience and exchange of things which one or the other needs. To ensure the completion of key construction projects and the production of complete sets of equipment, all act in the spirit of first helping others and then looking after oneself, or of helping others at the expense of oneself. The work teams and groups, workshops and administrative offices concerned help each other and co-ordinate their work of their own accord. Those who are doing the first part of a process do their best to serve those who are on the next part and a first work shift creates favourable conditions for the next. As a result of the combination of the spirit of mutual help and co-operation and enthusiasm in emulation, mass production campaigns have been developing in a still sounder and more vigorous way.

Secondly, in order to carry out mass movements in factories and enterprises, the forces of the technical personnel and workers must be brought together. This is one of the most important lessons gained in the practical experience of last year's mass movements. This question takes on all the greater prominence because technical revolution and technical renovation form the core of the movement for increasing production and practising economy and are key factors in bringing about a great leap forward in production. In carrying out the technical revolution and technical renovation, certain reforms in tools, equipment and operational methods can be made independently by the broad mass of workers. But important, key technical problems, research on new techniques

and important innovations and inventions very often cannot be tackled single-handed, or by several persons, by the technical personnel or the workers alone; instead, we must employ the method of pooling the efforts of leading personnel, technicians and workers and mobilizing the positive elements in all quarters concerned. An increasing number of people have come to understand this, and many effective ways of pooling efforts have been worked out. The Shanghai Electrical Machinery Works used this method to bring about reforms in all parts of the entire process in producing 25,000-kilowatt steam turbine generators and to shorten again and again the period set for the manufacture of such generators from eighty-one to twenty days. They also scored great successes in organizing ten big task teams to tackle ten key technical problems and strengthen many of the weaker links in production.

Before the great leap forward in 1958, some comrades looked on science and technique as something mysterious. They reposed a blind faith in a few technical experts and in books, disdained experience gained by the workers in labour and in practice, and failed to mobilize them for vigorous action in the technical revolution and technical renovation. On the other hand, some workers and technical personnel had an inferiority complex and were tied down mentally. In fact, all sciences and techniques originate in practice and production, and the workers who take a direct part in producing material wealth have an inexhaustible fund of creativeness in promoting the development of science and technique. As Engels said: "If society has a technical need, that helps science forward more than ten universities."¹ Since the great leap forward, the broad mass of the people have banished this awe of science and technique, brought into play the fearless spirit

¹See "Engels to H. Starckenburg," *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 457.

of being bold in thought, speech and deed and demonstrated untiring persistence in painstaking research. The way the broad mass of the workers feel is: "We'll keep on thinking about it in all our waking hours until we hit on an idea of reforming our technique." Things that were considered difficult of achievement have now been accomplished; important technical innovations hitherto considered impossible of realization have ultimately been brought about after several experiments, scores and hundreds of them have been carried out by the masses. Facts prove that practice makes for perfection, and that the pooling to the fullest extent of the rich experiences gained by the masses in labour and practice not only plays a big role in effecting reforms in tools, but also has great significance in improving the designs of manufactured goods. The revolutionary pioneering spirit of the masses has also been of educative value to the technicians who put forward the slogan: "We'll steel ourselves in practice, throw in our lot with production, and identify ourselves with the workers." They discuss problems together with the workers on the spot, jointly engage in experimenting, designing and making innovations. As a result of this integration of technicians and workers, they are able to play their roles more fully in production and rational and perceptual knowledge, theory and practice, are better integrated. This method of bringing together technicians and workers is a process of learning from one another; it not only helps in solving crucial production problems, but also helps to raise the technical level of both workers and technicians, and is an important means of training technicians of the working class.

Thirdly, during these large-scale mass movements, the broad mass of workers and staff have become more and more emancipated in mind, and they are constantly bringing into play the communist style of work of being bold in thought, speech and deed; this inevitably shatters all existing restrictions in irrational regulations and systems. To make a good job of the management of our socialist factories and enterprises, we must

have necessary administrative orders, regulations and systems. Without the necessary regulations and systems which everyone must strictly observe, we would not be able to carry on production in a normal way, or maintain order in our lives. This is common knowledge. To imagine that we can do without regulations and systems is precisely a reflection of the anarchist outlook of the petty bourgeoisie. In our socialist factories and enterprises, however, scientific regulations and systems reflect the economic base of socialism, and serve to consolidate and develop it. They should serve as effective tools in leading and organizing production campaigns, in organizing and turning to full account the pioneering spirit of the masses, and in developing the productive forces; they should not serve as tools which hold back the initiative of the masses and obstruct the development of production. As our socialist economy is growing constantly, and this requires that the superstructure be changed in conformity with it, it is impossible for us to have regulations and systems which are petrified, congealed, and immutable. The essence of the issue, therefore, is: Do we give enthusiastic support to the revolutionary pioneering spirit of the masses, or do we cling desperately to existing regulations and systems which have already become irrational? During the great leap forward and the continued leap forward, the broad masses, in accordance with the needs of developing production, have looked into the various regulations and systems, discarded those which do not benefit the growth of production, and established new ones which do. The abolition of outdated regulations and systems and the introduction of new ones is a normal phenomenon in developing production; moreover, it also helps to make the superstructure which serves the interests of the economic base increasingly sound and perfect along with the growth of production.

Some comrades cling to outdated and irrational regulations and systems, thinking that only in this way they can strengthen the management of their enterprises. But the results are com-

pletely contrary to their wishes, because management must be gradually improved along with the development of production and the management of enterprises cannot be strengthened without changing outdated, irrational regulations and systems. Others would love to have a set of regulations and systems which can meet every changing circumstance so that after one hard spell of work they can spend the rest of their lives in peace and tranquillity, free from all worries. Such people always blame the masses, saying: "The regulations and systems have just been worked out, now you've upset them!" And they ask: "When will we see the last mass movement?" Since circumstances are always changing, how can we map out regulations and systems which will prove applicable for all times? Revolutionaries should welcome changes because they will bring us nothing but the greater development of socialist construction. Therefore, those in positions of leadership must be firm in supporting innovators in breaking down old and irrational regulations and systems and through the efforts of the masses set up new and rational ones. In this way changes can be constantly made in our factories and enterprises and the mass movement can forge ahead in big uninterrupted strides. For some time past some units have correctly abolished certain irrational regulations and systems, but they failed to work out new and rational ones in time. In these circumstances those who had right conservative ideas took this shortcoming as a pretext to demand the immediate revival of the abolished systems. This was obviously wrong. On such a question, as on all others, we must have an analytical approach. Whether it is in abolishing old, irrational regulations and systems, or in working out new and rational ones, we must follow the mass line. Some attempt to bypass the masses in setting up new regulations and systems, but they are bound to fail. Because all our regulations and systems must serve production and because the initiative of the masses is the strongest motive force in increasing production, we must and can make the regulations and systems a means

of promoting and not obstructing the pioneering spirit of the masses, and integrate our regulations and systems with this spirit.

Fourthly, during the big leap and the continued leap forward, hundreds of thousands of people, even tens of millions of people—not several or hundreds or tens of thousands of people—have dedicated themselves to the struggle for a happy new life; they neglect their sleep and meals and pay little attention to remuneration. This proves that the Party's policy of combining political and ideological education with material incentives among workers and staff is entirely correct. In the past, some comrades in our Party over-exaggerated the role of material incentives to the neglect or even negation of the important role of political and ideological education. They forgot that a man has brains and his ideological state exerts an influence on his labour and production which must by no means be underestimated. Only by relying on people with a socialist consciousness can our great cause of socialist construction be accomplished. We Communists are, in all circumstances, duty bound to do our best to spread Marxism-Leninism, foster proletarian ideas and eliminate bourgeois ideas so that the broad mass of the people are full of enthusiasm and cherish the great ideal of building socialism and communism. Any thought or act which can lead to a weakening of political and ideological work will inevitably weaken the ideological positions of Marxism-Leninism. This is absolutely impermissible. Nevertheless, this does not mean that we can neglect the material well-being of the masses. We hold that material incentives are necessary in the historical period of socialism and our present system of distribution must stick to the principle of "to each according to his work." In doing our job, we should not only concern ourselves with the productive effort of the masses, their work, their study, but their material well-being as well. We should see to it that, as production rises, the material life of the broad mass of the workers and staff is im-

proved year by year and that the systems of wages and awards in enterprises are continuously perfected. All this, however, must be integrated with political and ideological work. Without firm political and ideological work, material incentives alone will not last long. Moreover, this may very easily lead to the opposite: dissipating the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and fostering individualist ideas. It is the heightened political consciousness of the people that provides the most reliable, solid and enduring incentive. For this reason, during mass movements we must show an all-round concern for the livelihood of the masses and adhere to the principle of "to each according to his work." At the same time, we must at all times educate the people in Marxism-Leninism, so as to enable them to concern themselves not only about their immediate personal interests but about the long-range collective interests and to handle correctly the contradictions between the two—contradictions which belong to the category of contradictions among the people. As to the advanced elements among the people, first of all members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League, it is all the more necessary to educate them to develop the communist spirit of paying no heed to remuneration for work, to serve the people wholeheartedly and, through their own exemplary deeds, lead the broad mass of the people in striving for the realization of socialism and the transition to communism.

The Party's leadership is the keystone in integrating the leading personnel with the broad masses, technical personnel with the mass of workers, rational regulations and systems with the communist style of daring to think, speak and act and political and ideological education of the masses with material incentives, as discussed above. To achieve successful integration in all these cases, the Party's unified leadership must be strengthened. The conscious effort, initiative and creativeness of the broad mass of the people are the basic guarantees for the success of our work in socialist construction. It is the primary task of Party organizations to develop

this initiative and creativeness. It is only under the unified leadership of the Party committees that the masses can be aroused, their consciousness, initiative and creativeness given full scope and the mass movements led to persist in their goals. No other organization in a factory can take the place of the Party in implementing this task. Of course, this does not mean that the role of other organizations may be overlooked. The adoption of the system whereby the factory manager under the Party committee's leadership assumes responsibility for the administration and management of an enterprise was decided on by the Party's Central Committee long ago; it should be firmly and fully carried out. Organizations such as the trade unions and the Communist Youth League have played a very big part in educating our workers and staff and organizing production in the past. In the days ahead they should play a still bigger part in their respective roles under the Party committees' unified leadership.

The mass movements on our industrial front are surging forward day by day. They brought about the big leap forward in 1958 and are bringing about a continuous leap forward in 1959. The value of industrial output in Shanghai for the first nine months of this year (January to September inclusive) is 47.1 per cent more than it was for the corresponding period of last year, and 73 per cent of the whole year's plan set by the state has been fulfilled. Since October the wave of activity for increasing production and practising economy has been rising continuously, new records are being set both for quantity and quality and the rate of advance is increasing. According to estimates based on the present production level, it can be definitely stated that this year's state plan will be greatly overfulfilled and far ahead of schedule. It is quite possible that the total value of Shanghai's industrial output this year will be more than 40 per cent higher than that of last year. When this target is reached, the net increase in output value this year alone will more than double the total value of Shanghai's industrial output of 3,090 mil-

lion yuan in 1949, which represented the effort and development of over a century. No one who is ready to recognize objective reality can fail to admit that this is a continuous leap forward on the basis of the big leap forward in 1958 and that the Party's general line is perfectly correct and is therefore a powerful force. We are confident that so long as we resolutely and unswervingly carry out the Party's general line and continue to organize large-scale mass movements on the basis of the rich experience gained since last year, we will certainly be able to mobilize and organize still broader masses on the socialist construction front. Mass movements always take the form of tidal waves and the speed of the leaps cannot be the same every year, but our mass movements will go forward wave on wave and higher and higher. It is beyond question that our socialist construction will keep on leaping forward constantly and without end.

The People's Communes Are the Inevitable Outcome of China's Social Development

Li Ching-chuan

A year has already passed since the birth of the people's communes which are the great creation of the Chinese people and possess infinite vitality. They are the product both of the big leap in industry and agriculture and of the great upsurge of socialist consciousness among the peasant masses. As a form of social organization, they have developed on the foundation of the advanced-type agricultural co-operatives. Since the check-up, they have gone forward rapidly along the path of consolidation and healthy development and contributed illustriously to the development of agriculture and the support of industry. However, while the people of the whole country rejoiced at the enormous achievements of the communes, hostile forces at home and abroad began vicious libels and attacks against them. There also appeared in our own ranks a handful of right opportunists who in unison with the ravings of domestic and foreign enemies found fault with the communes in every way. They said that the communes were premature; that they were an awful mess; that they were the result purely of the subjective wishes of a few people and did not reflect the desires of the peasant masses; that no early shoots of communism should exist in a socialist society; that the combination of the wage and the free supply systems was harmful; that the community dining-rooms were imposed on the peasants; and so on. They denied that the people's communes were the inevitable outcome of the big leap in socialist construction and of the social development

of our country. They refused to recognize that the new systems adopted by the communes reflected the urgent desire of the broad mass of the peasantry to take our country out of poverty and backwardness swiftly. They denied the great contributions the people's communes have made and will make to the socialist construction in our country.

It is exactly because the people's communes are such a fine thing that they have drawn the libels and attacks of hostile forces at home and abroad. The position of the right opportunists who echoed these vicious attacks and everywhere found fault with the communes was entirely untenable; it was opposed by the broad masses of the cadres and the people. The right opportunists did not even find support among those who were sceptical about individual points with regard to the communes.

I

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base. These contradictions, however, are fundamentally different in character and have different features from contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old societies.¹

Where there are contradictions, solutions must be found for them. When old contradictions are resolved, new contradictions arise and call for solution. Agricultural co-operation resolved the contradiction between the individual economy and the socialist economy. Then there emerged the contradiction of the agricultural producers' co-operatives being too

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 23.

small in scale, and too narrow in their range of activities, to meet the demands of the great advance in productive forces. The birth of the people's communes resolved this contradiction.

The development from the land reform to the agricultural co-operatives, and from the co-operatives to the people's communes, shows that the revolution moves forward by stages and at the same time is uninterrupted.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed the Marxist theories of uninterrupted revolution and the development of revolution by stages. It is precisely under the guidance of the thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung which integrates the theory of the development of revolution by stages and the theory of uninterrupted revolution that we are leading the revolution from victory to victory. The people's communes are a great, remarkable victory, a proof that this integration by Comrade Mao Tse-tung will always lead to success.

Reviewing the course of development in the rural areas since liberation, we see that the birth and growth of the people's communes is by no means fortuitous.

In the early period of the People's Republic, we won nationwide victory in the land reform, completely demolishing the feudal relations of production that had seriously hampered the development of rural productive forces. That was the first step towards the wide development of productive forces. Later the agricultural co-operative movement, led by the Party, was launched in the rural areas. As a result, the peasants who had formerly been extremely poor and hence had a strong desire for revolution, abandoned the capitalist road and took the road of socialism. At first, mutual-aid teams were organized on the basis of the individual economy; they were characterized by collective labour and contained the shoots of socialism. Then, as their further development, elementary agricultural co-operatives were formed; these were characterized by the pooling of land in the form of shares and by unified management; these were semi-socialist in nature.

Afterwards, a still further step was taken, the setting up of agricultural co-operatives of the advanced type which were characterized by the collectivization of land and other principal means of production, and were fully socialist in nature. These successive changes in the relations of production all conformed with the demands of the contemporary development of the productive forces. Each such change greatly promoted the development of the productive forces. This was proved by the incessant increase in agricultural output. An example is the year-by-year increase of the grain output in Szechuan Province. In 1954, when rural mutual-aid teams had been set up in large numbers, it increased by 6.6 per cent as compared with 1953. In the winter of 1955, elementary co-operatives were organized; and crops in 1956 were 14 per cent above those of 1954 when mutual-aid teams were the prevalent form. In the winter of 1956, co-operatives of the advanced type were set up. The 1957 increase was not great, as a result of opposition to the so-called "rash advances." But in 1958, impelled by the Party's general line for socialist construction, an extraordinarily big leap in production took place. Szechuan's grain output that year was 46 per cent above that of 1956.

Agricultural co-operation was thus the second step towards the wide development of productive forces.

After agricultural co-operation had been realized, we conducted the great rectification and socialist education campaigns in the countryside. As a result of this movement, the socialist consciousness and productive enthusiasm of the broad masses of the peasantry rose universally. They were eager to raise production at high speed and to quickly shake off rural poverty and backwardness. Impelled by the Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development, a large-scale movement to build irrigation projects, and to develop soil amelioration and afforestation, was carried on in the winter of 1957 and the spring of 1958. After the Party had put forth its general line for socialist construction, production and con-

struction in the rural areas surged forward on an even grander scale. In the summer of 1958, a movement was started for the great development of local industries, with the improvement of farm tools and the manufacture of indigenous chemical fertilizers as the central tasks. On the basis of a comprehensive summing up of rich experiences in agricultural production, the "Eight-Point Charter" of Agriculture was formulated, promoting technical innovations in agriculture. The great advances in production brought before the eyes of the people a splendid future for the rural areas, involving mechanization, electrification and meticulous "garden-like" farming. In many places, gigantic, ambitious plans were drawn up to realize that splendid future. All this proves that, in the new circumstances brought about by the unprecedented great leap in agricultural production in 1958, the closer conformity of relations of production to the productive forces had become urgently necessary.

Agricultural co-operatives of the advanced type came across many problems in launching production campaigns and carrying out various projects of production and construction. First of all, they had felt the need of deploying and using manpower on a wider scale and in a more rational way. According to investigations of typical cases at that time, the adoption of advanced agricultural techniques, such as water conservancy, deep ploughing and rational close planting would require double the current labour force. Still more labour would be needed for timely sowing, to overcome natural calamities, increase the sown area, re-sow land where necessary, develop a diversified economy with afforestation, animal husbandry and rural side-lines, and build essential local industries. Secondly, the development of production required that the means of production should be distributed and used more rationally. The mass campaign to build irrigation projects, for example, would need better regulation of the water resources. To take another example, the proper allocation of the land for different crops and the specialized management

for land in different topographical, climatic and soil conditions, all called for bigger-scale arrangements of land and other means of production in accordance with conditions on the spot. Thirdly, in order to apply advanced agricultural techniques and carry out the Eight-Point Charter, it would be necessary to enlarge the scope of management, set up industries to meet the needs of agriculture and run schools efficiently to train personnel for rural construction. Fourthly, to facilitate collective cultivation and reduce the intensity of labour, it would be necessary gradually to improve the situation in which the peasants lived in scattered dwellings, build roads for better transportation and establish the necessary welfare services. All these problems could obviously not be solved by agricultural co-operatives of the advanced type, which engaged solely in farming, and each of which consisted at that time merely of a few dozen to a hundred or more households. Moreover, as production develops, the leadership of the government over it must be strengthened further. In the past, the basic unit of state power was the township. Though the township government played a leading role in industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs, it could not carry out the great tasks mentioned above on an enlarged scope without merging with the people's commune to ensure unified leadership. These problems fully reflected the contradiction that manifested itself in the incompatibility between certain aspects of the relations of production and the development of productive forces. They also reflected the contradiction between the basic production unit and the basic unit of state power.

How to resolve these contradictions was a question to which the broad masses of cadres and peasants wanted an urgent answer. As a result, even before the advent of the people's commune, the masses had in various places set up big co-operatives embracing several hundred to several thousand households, and, basing themselves on this experience, made many changes in the organization and regulations of the co-

operatives. A great number of the agricultural producers' co-operatives in Szechuan Province had already merged into bigger units, some on a township scale, expanding the scope of their operations and starting up their own small-scale industries to serve agriculture. Some co-operatives had improved their organization of labour, thus strengthening co-ordination in work and the joint production both inside and outside the co-operative. Such co-ordination and joint production sometimes exceeded not only township but also county limits. About a third of the co-operatives had set up community dining-rooms and nurseries. Many co-operatives had begun to pool their pigs, investing them, according to their money value, as shares in collective pig-breeding establishments. Most of the small plots of land formerly reserved for private use had come under the unified management of the co-operative. The masses were convinced that only bigger collectives could conduct a more vigorous fight against poverty. So the merger of small co-operatives into big ones became a foregone conclusion. Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Party's Central Committee, in accordance with the objective law that the relations of production must conform to the character of the productive forces and in response to the popular demand, gave timely leadership to this movement. The Central Committee of the Party, summarizing the creative initiative of the masses and raising it to a higher level, adopted a resolution on setting up people's communes in the countryside. That was how the people's commune, a form of organization which "has great flexibility," developed. The movement to set up people's communes brought about important changes in the relations of production and in the superstructure. That is to say, existing collective ownership was expanded and raised to a higher stage, and some elements of ownership by the whole people began to appear. Thus what was originally an organization of agricultural production alone turned into the basic unit of China's social structure, combining industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs

and operating a diversified economy including farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery. Thus the basic organization of rural state power and the basic unit of rural production were merged into one. These changes in turn stimulated a greater leap of the productive forces. The splendid successes in developing production over the past year, i.e. since the establishment of the people's communes, attest this. The people's communes in Szechuan have not only shown their great vitality in agricultural production and in the struggle against serious natural calamities, thus enabling agricultural production throughout the province to make a continued leap in 1959, on the basis of last year's big leap forward. Moreover, they diverted last winter a labour force of several million to make iron and steel, vigorously promoting the great leap in the iron and steel industry.

Obviously, the absurd allegations of the right opportunists that the setting-up of people's communes was "premature" and that they were "in an awful mess" run completely counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and to the facts.

Contrary to what the right opportunists say, the people's commune movement has opened broad prospects for the development of the productive forces on the basis of agricultural co-operation.

II

On the basis of the great leap forward in 1958 and following the great development of production that then occurred, the broad masses of the peasantry wanted an appropriate improvement in the system of distribution in the agricultural producers' co-operatives. That is how a system of distribution which combines the wage system with the free supply system (mainly the free supply of food) came into being in the people's communes. Why is it necessary for our people's communes today to adopt such a system? It is because firstly, ours is a big country with over 500 million peasants. Without a

good solution to the food problem of the peasant masses, it would be impossible for all our work to go forward with greater success. For that reason, since the founding of the People's Republic, we have adopted a series of principles and policies to promote agricultural development, and to raise the peasants' standard of living step by step. After the land reform, for instance, we completed the agricultural co-operation movement systematically and in a relatively short time. In socialist construction, we adopted the policy of simultaneously developing industry and agriculture; in dealing with the relations between the interests of the state and those of the peasants, we adopted the policy of looking after the interests of both and the policy of exchange at equal value; and so on. There can be no doubt that all these policies and principles are completely correct and that they have achieved marked results. But because China's level of agricultural production was very low in the past, the food problem is still a big one, even though there has been a very big rise in the level of agricultural output as a result of the last few years' efforts. Broad masses of the peasantry still have to spend 60 to 70 per cent of their annual net income on food. Before the setting-up of people's communes, about 30 per cent of the rural population found themselves, each year, in the category of "deficit households" which had many mouths to feed but were short of labour power and could not successfully fight against natural calamities. These households had to depend on state loans in grain and money, reduction of agricultural taxes or exemption from them, social relief, social insurance in the agricultural co-operatives, public welfare funds, allocations of grain and overdrafts from their accounts in the co-operatives. Only by relying on all these measures, and on mutual help and mutual relief among the masses, could they adequately solve their food problem. The system of the free supply of food, introduced after the setting-up of people's communes, was continuation and development of the measures of social insurance and collective mutual aid, measures which the state

and agricultural co-operatives had been using all along. It was an attempt to put these measures on a permanent basis by integrating them into a system. It ensures, beyond all doubt, that the peasants are provided with food. It thus relieves the mass of the peasants, above all the poor peasants, of their former heavy burden, "the year-round fear of hunger." Therefore they are now able to participate in agricultural labour in a happy frame of mind. This is an important problem which the socialist system has had to solve.

Secondly, is it feasible for the people's commune to give effect to this system? We say, "Yes." As stated above, since the people's commune possesses greater collective strength than the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative, the productive forces progress more quickly under it than ever before, and production for the commune's own consumption and for exchange have increased continuously. That makes it possible for us to put the system of free food supply into practice. Even in the case of a serious natural calamity, the people's commune is capable of fully mobilizing the peasants to fight successfully against it. This year Szechuan experienced relatively serious natural disaster. It was by using the strength of the people's communes to enlarge the sown area and organize second sowings, where the first had failed and by leading a frugal life, that the resulting difficulties were successfully tided over with all peasants assured of sufficient food.

The right opportunists are totally blind to the great significance, in China's present conditions, of providing free food for the peasants. They are entirely indifferent to the pressing needs of the broad masses of the peasants, primarily the poor peasants. They condemn the adoption of the free supply system by the people's communes as "a violation of the principle of 'to each according to his work,'" or as "ultra-equalitarianism," and noisily demand that it "should be abolished." Our answer to them is that it must on no account be abolished. The "Resolution on Some Problems Concerning the People's

Communes" adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party stipulates that the people's communes should adopt a system of distribution which combines the wage system with the free supply system. It declares at one and the same time that the people's communes at the present stage should, in the main, adopt the wage system of "to each according to his work," and that the free supply system which has the embryonic characteristics of "to each according to his needs" should also be confirmed. The free supply system is an excellent one with immense prospects. Under it, in the general conditions now prevailing in Szechuan, all who can work should receive from the free supplies a portion to which they are entitled in proportion to the amount of work they do. This portion, plus wages, will account for nearly 70 per cent of the total income of commune members. Entire dependence on commune free supplies for livelihood is confined to old people who can no longer work, and children too young to work. Of the total income of commune members, only about 30 per cent is in the form of free supply. Under socialism, it is the bounden duty of this system to provide a due amount of social insurance and collective mutual assistance. It also meets the actual needs of the broad masses of the peasants in their immediate livelihood. The system of distribution that combines the wage and free supply systems is essentially still one based on the socialist principle of "to each according to his work," not on the communist principle of "to each according to his needs." As to wages, we have also stipulated, on the principle laid down in the same "Resolution on Some Problems Concerning the People's Communes" that people doing different kinds of work should be paid at different levels. Following this principle, the Shunchiang People's Commune in Neichiang County, Szechuan Province, has made an estimate of its distribution for the year 1959. It is shown that households with greater labour power will get 65 per cent more income from the commune in 1959 than in 1958, while average households will get 26 per cent

more, that is, the earnings of the first category will increase by more than twice as much as those of households with a smaller labour force. In the commune as a whole, 94.6 per cent of the members will have a larger income than last year. In distribution in this commune in 1959, the ratio between wages and free supply is to be 7:3. This makes it clear that the adoption by the people's communes of a system of distribution combining wages with free supply has not violated the principle of "to each according to his work," and hence cannot be called "ultra-equalitarianism."

It cannot be denied that distribution "to each according to his work" is the socialist principle of distribution. But this does not exclude the possibility of the emergence, under the socialist system, of some communist elements of distribution "to each according to his needs." The emergence of such elements is inevitable, and they will grow and expand step by step as production develops.

It must also be said that the question of material incentives under the socialist system cannot be separated from the principle of "politics in command." The principle of "to each according to his work" should be carried out in the socialist stage. But this does not mean that the communist spirit of working selflessly regardless of rewards should be negated; on the contrary, it should be encouraged. Socialist construction is the immediate task with which the broad mass of the people are concerned. To quickly end our country's poverty and backwardness is the burning desire of our 650 millions. Impelled by the Party's political propaganda and calls, the enthusiasm of the broad mass of the people to build socialism will find irresistible expression in their actions. Formerly, when the supply system was practised in army units, government offices and schools in the revolutionary bases, the masses of cadres and people paid little attention to material reward, and always struggled perseveringly, risking their very lives. Now, since the big leap forward, the masses of the people, full of vigour and enthusiasm, have been working voluntarily

and selflessly, making it possible for the nation's economic construction to advance at lightning speed. All this is proof of the decisive importance of the Party's policy of "politics in command" in all work. That is why material incentives should be integrated with "politics in command" and why it is equally wrong to negate the principle of material incentive and to neglect political and ideological work.

With the tremendous growth of production in rural areas the problem has arisen of labour shortage on the farms. It is necessary to tap the manpower potential further, and especially to free women for work in production, to meet the needs of the great leap forward. It was therefore natural that community dining-rooms, nurseries, crèches and other welfare services came into being in large numbers during the big leap. The community dining-rooms have ensured the commune members of their full working time; they have led to a higher rate of attendance and greater efficiency at work. They have considerably diminished the difficulties arising from the labour shortage caused by the sudden and immense demands on agricultural manpower after the big leap. The community dining-rooms are a form of organization for collective life. Under present circumstances the peasant masses associate them with the grain supply system operated by the people's commune. They firmly believe that the community dining-halls are a safeguard for their livelihood, making them yet more confident that by relying on the collective, they can banish poverty and triumph over natural calamities. The community dining-rooms have therefore naturally become centres for various activities in developing rural production, arranging for the livelihood of commune members, education and propaganda. No wonder the Szechuan peasants sing their praises: "Our community dining-rooms—you can't knock them down, disband them or take them away from us." Can we run the community dining-rooms well? Of course we can. We are convinced that the people's communes can give leadership in bringing about higher yields in agriculture, ensure the

supply of food grains needed by the peasants and provide the conditions for growing the vegetables and raising pigs. With these conditions, plus the creation of the required system of administration, there is no reason why the peasants should object to the community dining-rooms. There is also the question of whether the community dining-rooms lead to waste. Our reply is that we can completely do away with waste, if we practise frugal living and carry out a food policy of "giving a certain quota to each person, supplying grain directly to each household and giving each person eating at the community dining-room the balance of grain which he does not consume." The right opportunists alleged that the community dining-rooms were no good at all and went so far as to order their dissolution. The reason why they dissolved community dining-rooms was that they wanted to destroy the people's communes. The dissolution of community dining-rooms obviously runs counter to the desires of the broad masses of the peasants and the needs of the big leap forward. It is absolutely wrong.

III

The practical experience of the past year makes it clearer that a social organization such as the people's commune is a powerful weapon for accelerating socialist construction in our countryside; also that it is the best form of organization for bringing about the transition from socialist collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, as well as the gradual transition from socialism to communism in the countryside in the future.

The advance from agricultural producers' co-operatives to people's communes widened the scope and raised the level of collective ownership; also it introduced certain elements of ownership by the whole people. Although these elements of ownership by the whole people are as yet still proportionately very small, they represent the main direction of the develop-

ment of socialist ownership in our countryside, and will therefore play an ever more positive and prominent role in the rural economy. Such elements will increase steadily as production grows and the political understanding of the masses is heightened. This is one side of the picture which we must keep in mind. On the other hand, it must be recognized that it is only step by step that we can lead the peasants to give up smaller-scale collective ownership and go over to ownership by the whole people through collective ownership on a larger scale. Furthermore, the road from partial ownership by the people's communes to complete and exclusive ownership by the people's communes is through the process of bringing the productive level of the present poorer production brigades up to that of the present richer ones; of increasing accumulated public funds; of developing commune-run industries; and of the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and the industrialization of the communes and the whole country. In other words, to accomplish the historic task of advancing from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, we must energetically and steadily create the conditions needed for this transition. The crucial question here is that the people's communes must become economically very strong.

First of all, we must strengthen leadership in the poorer production brigades within the communes. We must show adequate consideration for them in organizing production, arranging the livelihood of commune members, and in relation to the contribution of such brigades to accumulation funds at the commune level. Additional state aid may also be given. The purpose of all this is to help the poorer brigades catch up with the productive level of the richer ones fairly quickly. The disparity between the incomes of the poorer and richer production brigades in a commune with 10,000 persons, as shown by surveys of some of the typical communes in Szechuan, is generally from 20 to 30 per cent. In a bigger commune, with 10,000 households, it is, generally, from 50 to 60 per cent. It is entirely possible, over a number of years,

to maintain an average annual rate of increase of more than 10 per cent in China's agriculture. Hence, provided the communes give stronger leadership and more help to their poorer brigades, it is also entirely possible to raise the productive level of the latter, so that it will reach or surpass that of the richer ones in two to three years, or four to five years. In order to strengthen themselves economically, and increase their accumulated public funds, the people's communes, while guaranteeing the supply of grain to the state and the peasants, must diversify their economies and observe the principle of the simultaneous development of production for their own use on the one hand and for exchange on the other. They must also operate industries and other enterprises to boost agricultural production and to meet the needs of their members (on the condition that the allocation of manpower to such industries and enterprises does not prejudice agricultural production, and that these are approved by the state). If any industry or enterprise is beyond the means of one people's commune, it can be set up by the joint efforts of several communes, or within the framework of the county federation of people's communes led by the regional or county Party committee. In this way the economic power of the people's communes will increase rapidly and the proportion of ownership by the whole people within the people's communes will gradually grow. The Red Flag People's Commune on the outskirts of Chungking is a "ten-thousand-men" commune. Its accumulated public fund this year increased by 150 per cent over last year due to the gigantic growth of production. The growth of its public fund has strengthened the economic power of this commune. The value of the output of the industries and a diversity of other undertakings under direct management at the commune level will reach 580,000 yuan this year, constituting 25 per cent of the total value of all its industrial and agricultural production. It is expected that this proportion will rise to 65 per cent in 1961. In such conditions the masses of members firmly demand that ownership at the com-

mune level should become the basic form, while part of the ownership should be vested in the production brigade. True, people's communes like the "Red Flag" are still a minority. But judging from the rapid development of production in the communes, the inevitable trend of their economic growth is clear.

To enable the people's communes to gain greater economic strength, it is also necessary, apart from the important measures enumerated above, to speed up the mechanization of agriculture. In the conditions of the big leap forward in agricultural production, and in order gradually to alleviate the intensity of labour and greatly to raise the productive forces, it is necessary to speed mechanization not only in areas with vast tracts of land and sparse populations, but in densely populated areas as well. The question is whether the accumulated funds of the communes are sufficient or not. More especially, it is decided by the tempo of industrialization of the country. As to the question of funds, we hold that the main way to solve it is for the communes to accumulate public funds and carry out expanded reproduction in their economies each year, coupled with the necessary help from the state. This has already been done by a number of people's communes, among them the Hungkuang People's Commune in Pih sien County, Szechuan. If it can be done by these people's communes now, there is no reason why it should be impossible for other people's communes which have less favourable conditions, after a certain period of hard work. As to whether the tempo of our industrial growth can meet the needs of the mechanization of agriculture, we think it can. Our policy of the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, with priority for heavy industry, includes agricultural mechanization. During the big leap we have already laid the foundation for such a distribution of industry as will enable us, from now on, gradually to increase the production of farm machinery and to support agriculture. At the same time we practise semi-mechanization as a transitional step to complete

mechanization, preparing the technical conditions for the latter. In this way we can realize agricultural mechanization more quickly and enable all rural areas in which it is feasible, to carry out mechanization or semi-mechanization systematically and at relatively high speed.

We shall be able to achieve the semi-mechanization and complete mechanization of agriculture at a date earlier than at first envisaged under the following conditions: If we rely on the people's communes to raise the productive level of their poorer production brigades to that of the richer ones within a given time; if the people's communes follow the policy of simultaneous development of production for their own use and for exchange, and develop their own necessary industry as approved by the state, and at the same time increase their economic strength and help accumulate public funds; if while giving priority to the development of heavy industry we actively promote the production of farm machinery. As the mechanization of agriculture develops, the people's communes will have to improve and expand their organization and adjust their systems and methods of work accordingly. In the light of the decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its session at Pei-taiho last year, we have every reason to believe that in three or four, five or six years, or a little longer, it will be possible for the people's communes in most areas to switch from the collective ownership of the means of production to ownership by the whole people. After this is accomplished, the people's communes will assume their further historic task—the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Strengthen Incessantly the Great Solidarity of Our Country's Nationalities

Ulanfu

The people of the various nationalities of our country are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China with unbounded joy and enthusiasm.

In the past ten years, our country has undergone the greatest social change in its history, winning complete victory in the democratic revolution and all-round victory in the socialist revolution under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, great leader of our people of all nationalities. Now the socialist system is firmly established in our country. The face of society in the national minority areas is radically changed. Beginning from 1958 when a great leap in socialist construction took place and the people's communes were set up, under the beacon light of the general line—"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism"—glorious and unprecedented victories have been scored on all fronts of socialist construction. The unity of our country and the solidarity among its nationalities, built on the basis of socialism, have become firm as rock.

Ours is a unified multi-national country formed long ago as a result of the development of economic ties and cultural interflow among the people of different nationalities in a long process of historical evolution. In the past, however, our nationalities stood on an unequal footing, owing to the policy of national oppression by the reactionary ruling classes. Imperialist invasion aggravated the suffering of our people of

various nationalities. All this presented a serious obstacle to their unity and development. In the last hundred years, and particularly in the last thirty years under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the people of the various nationalities waged a joint revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Comradeship in long revolutionary struggles welded them together so closely that an inalienable kinship was formed. With the victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in our country was overthrown. National oppression was thoroughly eliminated. Equality and solidarity among the nationalities were established and the relations among them radically changed. China entered a new era of friendship, co-operation and simultaneous development of the nationalities.

In the past ten years, our Party and the People's Government have consistently pursued a policy of national equality and solidarity throughout the country, fully guaranteed equal rights and the right to autonomy to the various nationalities, and carried out regional autonomy for them. Up to now, we have set up the Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang Uighur, Kwangsi Chuang, and Ningsia Hui Autonomous Regions and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, as well as 29 autonomous *chou* and 54 autonomous counties. The task of setting up autonomous areas and organs throughout the country has on the whole been completed. As stipulated in the Constitution, the national minorities living in autonomous areas enjoy full autonomy as masters of their own localities. Equal rights are also fully guaranteed for national minorities who live in the midst of other nationalities or are scattered. All nationalities in China participate in the conduct and decision of state affairs as equal members of the great multi-national family, and are masters of the country.

The consistently implemented policy of equality for all the nationalities, and of regional autonomy, has rapidly strength-

ened the unity and co-operation among them and greatly raised the patriotic sentiments of their people. It has further strengthened the unity of our motherland, fully brought out the initiative of the people of the national minorities in participation in the common cause of national construction and taking the road of socialism, and promoted rapid economic and cultural construction in the national minority areas.

In the national minority areas, at the time of the founding of the People's Republic of China, landownership by feudal landlords existed in areas with a population of about 30 million and feudal serfdom in areas with a population of some 4 million, while slavery survived in areas with a population of about a million. In other areas with about 600,000 people there were still stubborn survivals of the primitive commune. On the whole, the national minority areas lagged behind those of the Hans in their economic and cultural level. In many areas, primitive methods of cultivation were still used, in others nomadism and hunting prevailed — the level of production was extremely low. Many minorities had no written language; some still used the ancient method of recording by notches and knots. Since liberation, the people of the national minorities, led by the Party and the People's Government, have carried out social reforms. At present, areas in which above 95 per cent of them live have completed democratic reform and socialist transformation. They have carried out the rectification campaign and anti-rightist struggles and repudiated various bourgeois nationalist tendencies, thus scoring decisive victories for the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. In 1958, together with the Han nationality, the minorities won victory in the great leap forward in socialist construction. People's communes were established in rural areas — and over 90 per cent of all the peasant households joined. The masses of the minority people have now been liberated from the shackles of feudalism, slavery and the primitive communal society. They have skipped over one or more stages of social development, heading directly

for socialism. In Tibet the democratic reform movement is going full blast. It is to be expected that after this has been done, and the necessary process of development passed, the people of Tibet will also certainly embark on the high road of socialist revolution, socialist construction and the people's communes.

The past ten years have seen the great development of economic and cultural construction in the minority areas. Remarkable improvements have been made in the people's livelihood. Actual economic inequality among the nationalities — a vestige from the past — is being gradually removed. Since the great leap of 1958, the change in the economy and culture of the minority areas has been particularly rapid. The 1958 food crops, in all these areas taken together, were 41 per cent greater than in 1957, and more than twice those of 1949, the year of liberation. Their total industrial output increased 84 per cent over 1957, and was ten times that of 1949. In pastoral areas, between 1949 and 1958, the number of livestock more than doubled. The purchasing power of the national minorities rose enormously; total retail sales in their areas in 1958 were more than five times as great as that in 1952. As for culture and education, there were 4,650,000 college, middle school and primary school students in 1958. Compared with pre-liberation times, enrolment in colleges increased 36 times, in middle schools 111 times, and in primary schools over 9 times. Some minorities previously without written languages have created them, and now publish books, newspapers and magazines in their own tongues. Socialist national cultures are being vigorously developed. In the field of public health, there were 750 hospitals, 25 sanatoriums and over 34,000 hospital beds, with medical personnel totalling more than 170,000, in the minority areas in 1958. Clinics, health protection centres, and maternity homes have been set up everywhere. Some of the diseases that seriously menaced the people in the past have largely been brought under control. As living conditions improve and the health services develop, many of the

national minorities are increasing rapidly in numbers. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, for instance, the Mongolian population grew by more than 300,000, or 36 per cent of the original population, between 1947, the year of the founding of the Autonomous Region, and 1958. The population of the national minorities in Sinkiang increased by over 580,000 (more than 13 per cent) between 1950 and 1957.

The rapid economic, political and cultural development of the national minorities is inseparable from the immense assistance rendered by the state and the active support of the Han people. During the several years after liberation, the government made large annual financial grants to the minority areas, as well as various loans and relief allotments. Education and public health were subsidized. In many autonomous areas, there were direct state investments in major projects to help their economic and cultural development. In the seven years from 1952 to 1958, those in capital construction in industry totalled 3,410 million yuan. At the same time, the state systematically mobilized young men and women from the interior provinces to go to the minority borderlands, where aid was most urgently needed in building socialism. Units of the People's Liberation Army stationed there also actively helped the local people to push forward their economy and culture, contributing greatly to the development of industrial and agricultural production and other economic and cultural work. Needless to say, the state also helped the minority areas with cadres and technicians. With the continued leap forward in socialist construction and full development of the superiority of the people's communes, the country and the Han people will undoubtedly give more and more help to the national minorities. This will be of decisive importance to their rapid development and prosperity. The people of the national minorities are full of gratitude for this help. Similarly, it is also very important that in the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction the minorities on their part have

actively aided the building-up of the country and helped the Han people.

With the ever-victorious march of socialist revolution and socialist construction, a socialist relationship among the nationalities of our country has shaped up and developed on a broad scale. The essential requisite and the political basis for the birth and development of this socialist relationship are the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the founding of the People's Republic of China, and the establishment all over the country of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. With the completion of the democratic reform, socialist transformation laid the solid economic foundation for the new relations among the nationalities. The victory of the nation-wide rectification campaign, the great leap forward in socialist construction and the setting-up of the people's communes further strengthened and developed this socialist relationship, which is chiefly characterized by the equality and mutual help, great unity, all-round co-operation, work in common and simultaneous development of the people of the various nationalities, led by the Communist Party, on the basis of socialism.

Since 1958, in the mass campaigns to build water conservancy projects, make iron and steel and speed up industrial and agricultural output in other phases of the big leap in socialist construction, the people of the various nationalities broke through national and regional barriers, demonstrated great unity and co-ordinated their efforts in an all-round way on a scale and with an enthusiasm never before known in history. One of the most outstanding examples is "the project to lead the Tao River to the mountains," which illustrated the great unity and the all-round co-operation among people of various nationalities in the big leap. It is being carried out in high mountains standing from 1,000 to over 2,000 metres above sea level. Its route, 1,400 kilometres long, traverses more than twenty counties and municipalities where the Han, Hui and other nationalities either live in compact communities or

intermingle. It is 8.5 times as long as the world-famous Suez Canal, and over 17 times the length of the Panama Canal. When completed, the canal will turn 15-20 million *mou* of dry land into paddy-fields, make possible the afforestation of over 10 million *mou*, help prevent the loss of water and soil erosion over an area of 50,000 square kilometres, and expand pastures by over 15 million *mou*. More than 100 medium-sized and small power stations can be built, making use of the drops in its water level. Craft ranging from 20 to 100 tons will be able to sail freely on the waterway, running along ridges one to two thousand metres above sea level. This colossal project began in 1958. Thanks to the concerted efforts of the Han, Hui, Tibetan and other nationalities in Kansu, the first stage of the project, covering 600 kilometres from Kucheng in Minhsien County to Tayingliang in Lunghsi County, will be finished in the main within this year. The people of all these nationalities who took part displayed unparalleled heroism. In the short space of three months, they collected more than 12 million yuan and sent their best young men and women to help in the project.

Examples of mutual support among the various nationalities are very numerous. They can be cited from all over the country. The "Unity of Nationalities" Commune in the Tumet Banner,¹ of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, for instance, having learned in 1958 that the "Red Star" Commune in the Han area was flooded and in difficulties, sent it 10,000 catties of potatoes, 10,000 catties of cabbages and 100,000 catties of fodder as a free gift. When the banners and counties like Wuyuan and Puteha in the agricultural areas were short of fuel, the Central-North Urat Banner and the Old Barga Banner in the pastoral areas collected over 100,000 catties of fuel to aid them. The multi-national autonomous county of Lunghsi in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Re-

¹A "banner," in areas of Mongolian population, is the administrative equivalent of a county—Tr.

gion, to cite another example, sent an "expeditionary force" of over 60,000 people of the Chuang, Miao and Yao nationalities to aid Poseh and Tienlin Counties, in the drive for iron and steel last year where it arrived after more than ten days' travel covering many hundred *li*. The people of the various nationalities consider it the highest honour to take an active part in socialist construction and to aid others. The scope of their mutual support and co-operation ranges from industry and agriculture to transport, from labour forces and technicians to means of production and funds for construction, from co-operation and mutual aid between townships and communes to that between counties, *chou*, and even provinces, municipalities and regions. It may involve a few dozen people, a few hundred, a few thousand, tens of thousands, or even hundreds of thousands. Big, modernized industries like the state-operated Paotow Iron and Steel Works in Inner Mongolia and Karamai oil base in Sinkiang are all being built with the wide support of the people of the different nationalities throughout China.

To achieve a big leap forward, the people of various nationalities all over the country have since 1958 launched an extensive campaign to "learn from and overtake the advanced." They have visited each other, and exchanged production techniques and experience in construction. They have also started friendly emulation. All this has given great impetus to raising the backward to the level of the advanced. The Sankiang Autonomous County for the Tung people in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, for instance, used to be rather backward and short of food supplies; but in 1958 it was in the forefront of agricultural production and became one of the most advanced in the region in the increase of crops. One of the most important reasons was that it had studied and spread the advanced experiences in increasing crop yields gained locally and elsewhere. Between the winter of 1957 and the end of 1958, it had organized more than a hundred visits to places in the county and outside. Its ex-

perience, in its turn, attracted the attention of many minority areas, and an unbroken flow of visitors to Sankiang. In the autumn of 1958, an on-the-spot conference of all workers in nationality affairs was held here and its advanced experience was given wide publicity.

The people's commune is the best form of organization for developing the economy and culture of our country's nationalities, and for strengthening their solidarity. It organizes members of various nationalities to work together, live together, learn from one another and make common progress on a more extensive scale in one and the same people's commune. It is the most suitable vehicle for the complete elimination of barriers and prejudices that have survived from past ages, and for the incessant strengthening of brotherly trust and comradesly co-operation among members of various nationalities. It is also best adapted for the mutual learning of languages and assimilation of advanced experiences and fine cultural achievements among members of various nationalities. For all these reasons, it is best adapted to the common development and progress of the various nationalities of our country.

The people's commune is a new type of social organization, formed on a big scale with a multiple economy; it combines industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs, and integrates local government with the commune. It is able to mobilize the rural manpower of various nationalities most effectively and to the full extent, and to allocate it rationally, so as to bring into full play the special production skills of the various nationalities, and carry out mutual co-operation between them. It undertakes all sorts of construction projects beyond the means and ability of the agricultural producers' co-operative. Thus it rapidly develops a multiple economy and quickly improves the livelihood of the people of various nationalities.

Compared with the agricultural producers' co-operative, the people's commune has larger and more rapidly increasing accumulated public funds, and is able to plan better and arrange

more rationally the productive activities and life of its members of various nationalities. With the people's communes it will be easier to help nationalities which are as yet relatively backward in production and not so well-off as others, enabling them to advance simultaneously with those which have forged ahead and to eliminate, steadily yet with all possible speed, the actual economic and cultural inequality left over from history and bringing a happy and full socialist life to people of all nationalities.

In the constant development of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the nationalities of our country have come into ever more frequent contact, have formed ever closer ties, and consequently have ever more opportunities to learn from and influence each other. This is seen not only in the fact that their members work together and learn from one another in the same people's communes, factories, government offices or schools, but also that contacts among the nationality areas have become closer than ever. In the past ten years we have built in such areas nearly 100,000 kilometres of highways, several thousand kilometres of railways, and opened up 17 air lines. These, linked up with communications network in the Han areas, shorten considerably the distance among the nationality areas, strengthen the connection between the capital and outlying local districts, and facilitate economic and cultural interchange, and the mutual contact of the people, among the nationality areas. Similarly, a network of state-operated commercial enterprises has been set up everywhere in the Han as well as the nationality areas. It extends to the remote villages, mountainous and pastoral regions to serve the people of all nationalities, and, through the interflow of goods, links the various nationality areas into one economic whole.

After ten years of great change, some of the former disparities among China's nationalities in social and economic structure, political system, and economic and cultural development have been basically eliminated while others are being rapidly ended. In regard to social-economic ownership, common so-

cialist system has been established both in the Han areas and in the overwhelming majority of those of the national minorities. In the level of economic and cultural development, in which the national minority areas used to lag behind those of the Han nationality, a marked change has taken place. As a result, the various nationalities of our country are acquiring an ever increasing number of common characteristics in their simultaneous development and common prosperity. With the big leap in socialist construction and the consolidation and development of the people's communes, the tendency towards such advance in the relations between our nationalities will undoubtedly find ever clearer expression. Our attitude towards this progressive trend must be one of enthusiastic welcome and active support.

The great Lenin said, "The aim of socialism is not only to eliminate the fragmentation of mankind into small states and all segregation among the nations, not only to bring nations closer together but also to bring about their merging."¹ He also said, ". . . The proletariat cannot support any attempt to consolidate nationalism; on the contrary, it supports all that helps to erase national differences and the collapse of national barriers, all that makes the ties between the nationalities closer and closer, all that tends to the merging of nations."²

Our country, of course, is still in the historical period of simultaneous development and common prosperity for the various nationalities, so we are still far from the time when they will merge. Such merging requires a very long process of historical development. Only on the basis of a high degree of development and prosperity for the different nationalities, only after communism is realized, will it be possible to arrive, step by step, at their merging. Lenin said that just as mankind would be able to achieve the elimination of classes only through the transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class-

¹V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russian ed., 1947, Vol. XXII, p. 135.

²*Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 19.

es, so it could arrive at the inevitable merging of nations only through the transition period of the complete liberation of all the oppressed nations.¹ At present the various nationalities of our country differ not only in language, customs, psychological make-up, etc.; disparities also exist in their level of economic and cultural development, and actual inequalities among the nationalities in economy and culture have not yet been fully eliminated. Consequently we must still pay serious attention, in all our work, to the characteristics of development of each nationality, and make efforts ultimately to eliminate such actual inequalities. There will still be a period during which the characteristic culture of each nationality will develop and flourish, on the basis of a high stage of socialist economic advance. Only on the basis of a high stage of economic and cultural development and prosperity, likewise, will the nationalities be able to enter communist society simultaneously.

The glorious task now confronting the people of China's various nationalities is to develop the forces of social production at high speed, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and in the light of the Party's general line for socialist construction. The goal of our efforts is to build our country into a socialist power possessed of highly developed modern industry, agriculture, and science and culture, in 15 or 20 years or somewhat longer. This is a glorious historic mission, and it involves hard work. If we can fulfil it, the economic and cultural backwardness in the national minority areas can be radically changed, the various nationalities can achieve common prosperity in economy and culture. To fulfil this great historic task we must constantly strengthen the unity of the state and promote the great solidarity of the nationalities. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Unity of the state, solidarity among the people, among various nationalities inside our

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.

country, this is the fundamental guarantee for the certain victory of our cause."¹

Among the 650 million people of our country, approximately 94 per cent belong to the Han nationality, which is ahead of the minority nationalities in economic, political and cultural development. Among the nationalities of China, the Han people play an advanced and leading role; they are the main force in the revolution and construction of our country, and have the glorious responsibility of helping the national minorities in their development. True, the national minorities account for only about 6 per cent of our total population. But they number 30-40 million and are spread widely over many areas, covering roughly 50-60 per cent of China's total territory. These areas are very rich in resources of all sorts. They therefore play an important part in the socialist construction of the motherland, and are of very great help to the development of the Han people as well. Hence, in the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the people of the various nationalities must continually consolidate and develop their great solidarity in the big united family of the motherland with the Han nationality as the centre and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, so as to bring about a continued great leap forward in socialist construction.

To further consolidate the unity of the motherland and promote socialist relations among the nationalities, and achieve a still greater leap forward in socialist construction in the nationality areas, it is necessary to continue educating the cadres and masses of the people of various nationalities in socialism, communism, internationalism and patriotism, and oppose various tendencies towards bourgeois nationalism, and especially to educate the cadres of the different nationalities in the proletarian

concept of nationalities, enabling them consciously to overcome all varieties and survivals of bourgeois nationalism.

Bourgeois nationalism — both great-Han chauvinism and local nationalism — is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the relations between nationalities; it is a variety of anti-socialist thought diametrically opposed to proletarian internationalism and patriotism. The existence of this ideology is detrimental to the unity of our great motherland and to solidarity and cooperation among its nationalities. It is also detrimental to socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country.

Led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our people of all nationalities have carried on resolute country-wide struggles against bourgeois nationalism of all sorts. As a result, proletarian internationalism and patriotism have struck deep root among the various nationalities, while bourgeois nationalism has become discredited. However, bourgeois nationalism is still far from having died out. Survivals of great-Han chauvinism or local nationalism will in future find occasions to manifest themselves in various forms, especially at critical moments of the class struggle. It will be possible to crush it completely only after a long period of repeated political and ideological struggles.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the exploiting classes are not yet finally eliminated and that socialist revolution has not yet been carried out in a small number of national minority areas, such as Tibet. Imperialism is still sowing seeds of discord among China's nationalities. Even after the complete extinction of the system of exploitation and the private ownership of the means of production, the influence of bourgeois ideology will persist in people's minds for a considerable time. This influence will take longer to die in the national problem than in any other sphere, because it will skilfully disguise itself in national masks. Precisely for this reason, we must continue to wage prolonged and unremitting struggle against bourgeois nationalism or its survivals.

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 7.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that the key to the improvement of relations between the Han nationality and the minorities lies in overcoming great-Han chauvinism; and that we should at the same time overcome local nationalism where it is found among the national minorities.¹ We must continue to put this instruction into practice now and in our future work. On the one hand, we must continue to watch and overcome tendencies towards great-Han chauvinism; on the other, we must not by any means overlook local nationalist tendencies. Whatever the nationalist tendency, we must resolutely criticize and overcome it.

The imperialists and all reactionaries, both inside and outside the country, are unwilling to admit their failure in China. They are still trying all possible means to plot against the unity of our country and solidarity among the nationalities, and to undermine them in the hope of achieving their criminal purpose of opposing socialism and once more enslaving our people of all nationalities. Naturally they can never achieve this purpose, because the people of China's many nationalities have already built very close unity and attained a high level of political consciousness. Whatever the plots or intrigues of the imperialists and the reactionary forces inside or outside the country, they will be shattered by the mighty force of the unity of our nationalities. The best proof of this is the swift putting down of the counter-revolutionary rebellion launched last March by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata of Tibet, at the instigation of imperialists and foreign reactionaries. Nevertheless we must be vigilant against the attempts that the imperialists and all reactionary forces inside and outside the country will make to disrupt and undermine the relations between our nationalities, and under no circumstances allow the enemy to succeed in such plots and intrigues.

To further consolidate the unity of the motherland and promote solidarity among the nationalities, we should handle all

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

nationality problems arising among the people correctly by paying due attention to the characteristics of each nationality. In all government offices, people's organizations, schools, factories and people's communes with members of different nationalities, the principles of equality, solidarity, mutual help, learning from one another and simultaneous advance must continue to be carried through. In multi-national people's communes we should see to it that each nationality is duly represented on the management committee and in the delegate meeting of commune members, and that cadres should be trained and promoted from the minority peoples. The characteristics of each nationality in mode of production and in way of life should be given due attention, and the special skills of its members should be brought into full play. Moreover, it is necessary that each nationality should respect the custom and habits of the others, and that they should learn each other's language and constantly interchange experience in production and construction. Only in this way will it be possible to promote mutual aid and co-operation among the people of various nationalities, facilitating their simultaneous advance.

The Communist Party of China is the core of the leading force of the people of all our nationalities; Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of our Party and of the people of all our nationalities. The leadership of the Party and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the surest guarantee of great achievements in all our work, and is the greatest happiness of the people of China's nationalities, who cherish unbounded love for the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In the past, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people of our different nationalities overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and won nation-wide victory in the people's democratic revolution; since the founding of the People's Republic of China, they have again scored brilliant successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party has called on us to close ranks and work in unison for our common objective. It has called on us to raise aloft the glorious banner of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung; to exert ourselves to fulfil this year's national economic plan, and reach the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule, i.e. within this year. Let the people of our various nationalities act on this great call, unite still more closely, and advance heroically to achieve a still greater leap forward in socialist construction!

A Communist Should Be a Marxist-Leninist, Not a Fellow-Traveller of the Party

Kang Sheng

The first ten years of the People's Republic of China was a decade of the great victory of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a decade of the great victory of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

Marxism-Leninism develops through struggle. All the victories of our socialist cause in the past ten years were won through the continuous process of Marxism-Leninism defeating bourgeois ideology. On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China which the people all over the country are celebrating jubilantly, a campaign to fight right opportunism and defend and uphold the general line was launched throughout the Party, in response to the call of the Eighth Plenary Session of its Eighth Central Committee. We have already scored a great victory in this battle. The labouring masses have brought about a new upsurge in industrial and agricultural production and in the building of socialism. This is a powerful reply to, and refutation of, the various attacks and slanders of the right opportunists against the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes. This battle is a continuation under new historical conditions of the sharp struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in China in the past ten years. Our victory in this battle is another extremely important triumph on the ideological and political fronts; it is also another highly significant

victory for Marxism-Leninism in China over bourgeois ideology.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee that the right opportunists within the Party had never been proletarian revolutionaries; they were merely bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democrats who found themselves in the proletarian revolutionary ranks; they had never been Marxist-Leninists but merely fellow-travellers of the Party. Every great revolutionary movement led by the proletariat has fellow-travellers of every description who join in. Lenin said.

During the period of bourgeois revolution, no section of a mass workers' party that is at all significant can in the very nature of things escape drawing in a certain number of "fellow-travellers" of varying shades. This phenomenon is inevitable even in the most advanced capitalist countries after the thorough completion of the bourgeois revolution, because the proletariat always comes into contact with the most varied strata of the petty bourgeoisie, and always recruits from them, again and again.¹

He said further:

In the course of the bourgeois-democratic revolution our Party was joined by a number of elements that were not attracted by its purely proletarian programme, but mainly by its glorious and energetic fight for democracy; these elements adopted the revolutionary-democratic slogans of the proletarian party, but without connecting them with the entire struggle of the socialist proletariat as a whole.²

Soon after the rectification campaign of 1942 started, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Many Party members have joined the Party only organizationally, while ideologically they

¹V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russian ed., 1947, Vol. XV, p. 421.

²*Ibid.*, p. 410.

have not yet joined it entirely, or have not joined it at all."¹ Such are the non-proletarian revolutionaries that find themselves within the Party; they are not true Marxist-Leninists. This analysis by Comrade Mao Tse-tung did a great deal to educate all cadres who were Party members and raise the level of their Marxist-Leninist consciousness. Now, in the new historical circumstances, that is, when socialist revolution in our country is going still deeper and socialist construction is surging forward vigorously, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out the true essence of the right opportunists, and this is likewise of extremely great importance to the raising of the level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the whole Party.

That ours is a glorious, great, consistently correct, Marxist-Leninist Party is proved indisputably by its history. Led by the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has consistently guided the Chinese revolution with firm proletarian revolutionary principles. Ours is a Party of mass character, enjoying very high prestige among the broad masses; it was founded and developed in a country with a vast petty bourgeoisie; and for a long time it led a revolutionary movement which was bourgeois-democratic in nature. For these reasons, a number of bourgeois democrats and a great many petty-bourgeois democrats looked to the proletariat for a way out, and even joined its vanguard. That was not a bad thing. It is the historic duty of the proletariat to remould these people and it is possible for it to remould many of them. In its "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party," the Party stated emphatically:

... The revolutionary quality of a petty bourgeois who is not yet proletarianized is essentially different from that of the proletariat, a difference that may often develop into antagonism.²

¹*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1956, Vol. IV, p. 91.

²*Ibid.*, p. 212.

Therefore, the proletarian party must resolutely fight against any attempt on the part of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats to remould it to their own likeness, and must at the same time by various means temper them in practical mass revolutionary struggles and make them accept Marxist-Leninist ideological education so that they may be gradually proletarianized ideologically. This is precisely the aim of the various rectification campaigns conducted by our Party, and great results have been achieved through them.

Many of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats who joined the proletarian revolutionary ranks were tempered in long revolutionary struggles, accepted Marxist-Leninist ideological education, gradually abandoned their bourgeois standpoint and world outlook and acquired the standpoint and world outlook of the vanguard of the proletariat. Thus, from being bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, they turned into proletarian Marxist-Leninists. But there always remains a handful of people who are deeply influenced by bourgeois ideology and yet unwilling to remould themselves, whose bourgeois world outlook has changed little or not at all in the course of long revolutionary struggles. At the stage of democratic revolution, as they had more or less enthusiasm for the democratic revolution and were willing to agree to part of the Marxist-Leninist party's minimum programme of struggle, they were able, led and helped by the Party, to do some work beneficial to the revolution. But between them and the Party there were all along differences in principle. The Party insisted on the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, and on carrying it through to the end so that, when it was fully accomplished, the struggle might turn at once, without halting, to the road of socialist revolution. They, on the other hand, maintained that leadership in the democratic revolution should be handed over to the bourgeoisie. Moreover, they lacked the determination to carry the democratic revolution to the very end, and were still less prepared mentally for socialist revolution. Some of them, like Chen

Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao, deserted the Party and even became enemies of the revolution at this or that critical juncture during the democratic revolution. Others, though they remained in the Party, were constantly at loggerheads with the Party's leadership and its correct line. At the stage of socialist revolution, when hundreds of millions of the masses led by the Party are moving in real earnest to end bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ownership of the means of production, the contradictions between the socialist revolution on the one hand and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats on the other become all the sharper, exposing the latter's anti-socialist character.

The history of a revolution is a most merciless witness. No one can escape its test, or avoid exposing his true self in its light. Stalin said: "A turn is a serious thing. A turn is dangerous for those who do not sit firmly in the Party cart."¹ It is quite logical, not at all illogical, that some of the fellow-travellers within our Party should have degenerated into right opportunists when the locomotive, that is, the revolution, takes a new turn.

Politically, the present differences between our Party and the right opportunists are mainly reflected in the attitude of either adhering to or opposing the Party's general line for socialist construction. The Party adheres firmly to its general line of "going all out, aiming high and getting greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism." The right opportunists oppose this general line. The Party is fully enthusiastic about the vigorous upsurge initiated by the broad masses in building socialism and places in it infinite hope; it takes its place resolutely amidst the masses and leads them in rapid advance towards their great objective. The right opportunists, on the contrary, are scared by the great mass

¹J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. X, p. 379.

movements, which they always think will lead to "trouble." They stand aloof, find fault with everything and throw cold water on the masses. The Party considers that at all times, whether of revolution or construction, politics must be in command, leadership by the Party must constantly be consolidated, the discipline of the Party and the revolutionary ranks must be strengthened, and the unity of the Party and the unity of the people must be enhanced. The right opportunists, on the contrary, consider that since the proletariat has already seized state power the revolution can be regarded as completed and the leading role of the Party may be weakened. In order to remould the Party and the world in accordance with the bourgeois outlook, they do not scruple to violate the discipline and undermine the unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks and to sow discord in an attempt to do serious damage to the socialist cause.

Generally speaking, the present contradiction between us and the right opportunists is still a contradiction among the people, not one between ourselves and the enemy. The right opportunists have a dual character. On the one hand, they have the bourgeois standpoint, and oppose the Party's general line, the big leap forward, the people's communes and the leadership of the Party—all this makes up their reactionary side. On the other hand, they have a sense of patriotism, still oppose imperialism, and still have a vague tendency to socialism—this is their revolutionary side. Because the right opportunists have this dual character, the Party's policy towards them is to have them "take warning from the past so as to be more careful in the future, and treat the illness to save the man," and to be based on "severe criticism and lenient settlement." Their anti-socialist ideas must be subjected to thorough criticism. But so long as they are resolved to correct their errors, the Party welcomes every improvement they make.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so

does the bourgeoisie."¹ The struggle between the bourgeois and proletarian political lines is in essence a struggle between the world outlooks of the two classes. The political differences between the Party and its fellow-travellers are, in the last analysis, founded on differences in world outlook.

The Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the proletariat is dialectical and historical materialism. Our Party has always adhered to Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism, and fought idealism and metaphysics. In defining the Party's basic tasks, principles and policies, the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung bases itself strictly on dialectical materialist world outlook. When it studies problems in the revolution and construction of our country, and decides on policies, our Party never sees them statically but always as part of a movement; it sees not only the past, but also the future; it bases itself not on the philistine viewpoint of evolution through slow changes, but on the dialectical law of development of things.

But the fellow-travellers within our Party, in the words of Lenin, "absorb only certain aspects of Marxism, only individual parts of the new world outlook or individual slogans and demands, being incapable of resolutely breaking with all traditions of the bourgeois world outlook in general, and of the bourgeois-democratic world outlook in particular."² As Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it, they are never free from subjectivism, one-sidedness and superficiality when they look at a problem. Thus they are now ridden by doubts and misgivings; they find fault with the Party's general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes. They never analyse things objectively so as to arrive at conclusions that tally with the law of social development, but judge them in accordance with their subjective wishes. They approve of everything that

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 50.

²V. I. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, p. 318.

in their view agrees with their subjective wishes, and object to everything that does not. Their subjective wishes are really those of the bourgeoisie. The origin of the ideology of the right opportunists who have fallen into the swamp of anti-socialism, is exactly this reactionary, subjective-idealist, bourgeois world outlook.

Subjective idealism, carried to the extreme, becomes solipsism. Some right opportunists, when criticized by the Party, have described their erroneous ideas as "empiricist." In reality, their "empiricism" is but a form of bourgeois subjective idealism, which, when carried to the extreme, becomes solipsism. The fact that they are inveterately opposed to the Party, and that some have even deteriorated into individualist careerists is inseparably linked with their egotistic bourgeois world outlook. Refusing to acknowledge the masses of the people as makers of history, they arrogantly consider themselves saviours of mankind. The *Internationale* says that there has never been any saviour in the world, and that neither gods nor kings can save us, only we ourselves can. The right opportunists may have sung these famous phrases, but they have clean forgotten them.

The struggle between the subjective-idealist world outlook of the right opportunists and the dialectical-materialist world outlook of our Party is a reflection of the class struggle in the present transitional period in our country.

The understanding of the class struggle during the transitional period is acquired through a gradual process, and grows deeper through one's own experience and practice. The present struggle against right opportunism clearly confirms that the class struggle on the political and ideological fronts during the transitional period is indeed protracted, tortuous and complex. It is protracted not only because the transformation of the old economic system has not yet been fully completed, but because it is impossible to eliminate in a short period of time the force of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois habits and the bourgeois influence in men's minds; it will take rather long

to overcome them completely. Some thought that after the socialist revolution had been basically accomplished on the economic front, class struggle would "go out" like a candle. This naive way of thinking broke down in the face of the frenzied attack of the bourgeois rightists in the spring of 1957 and of the attack of the right opportunists this year. The struggle is a tortuous one; it develops in a wave-like way, rising and falling. The class struggle under socialist conditions takes a similar course, rising and falling, rising and falling again. It is sometimes sharp, and sometimes slackens to some extent. But it will not stop until bourgeois ideological and political influences are eliminated completely. The struggle is a complex one, because it involves contradictions between us and the enemy, and also those among the people.

Taking insufficient account of the law of class struggle during the transitional period, some people have ceased to be vigilant. They are surprised at the present struggle against right opportunism. There are others who underestimate the Party's strength and the consciousness of the masses; consequently, they underestimate the possibilities for the Party quickly to eliminate right opportunist influences. Facts show that these ideas are completely wrong. Ours is a long-tested and tried Marxist-Leninist Party, which has the warm support of the masses. It is under the wise leadership of the Central Committee headed by our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It has a large number of leading cadres who are ideologically mature. Our entire Party is rallied closely around Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee, and we are invincible in our struggles. Our Party has all along developed and grown in its continuous struggle with right and "left" opportunism of all descriptions. When the ideological influences of right opportunism are overcome, our Party and the revolutionary ranks will become firmer and stronger and the unity of both will be further consolidated.

In this struggle against right opportunism, every member of the Communist Party should become more cognizant of the

law of class struggle in the transitional period in our country, get a clearer idea of the difference between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois or petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and of the difference between proletarian and bourgeois world outlooks; he should take a resolute part in the struggle against right opportunism, study Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung more deeply and be determined to be a thorough Marxist-Leninist, not a fellow-traveller of the Party. Let us raise high the banner of the general line, the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of Mao Tse-tung, and march courageously forward!

Strive to Carry Out the Great Task of the Technical Transformation of Agriculture More Swiftly

Po I-po

The reorganizing of agriculture on a co-operative basis was completed in 1956, in accordance with the policy of coordinating the advance of agricultural co-operation in our country with the advance of socialist industrialization put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his article on "The Question of Agricultural Co-operation." On the basis of the consolidation of the agricultural producers' co-operatives and the rapid growth of agricultural production, and guided by the beacon light of the Party's general line for building socialism, the advance to the people's communes took place throughout the countryside in 1958. The people's commune movement has further released the nation's productive forces of agriculture and brought about a big leap forward in agricultural production as in the case of industrial production. The development of agriculture has thus further served the needs of the rapid development of industry and promoted its growth. To enable industry and agriculture to advance swiftly and uninterruptedly and in a way better suited to each other's needs, our present task is to bring about the technical transformation, mechanization and electrification of agriculture in a vigorous and steady way while pressing ahead energetically with socialist industrialization. This is the new content under new circumstances of the Party's policy of the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture while giving priority to the development of heavy industry. To put it concretely, this means that a change will be made in our agricultural

production from the predominant use of hand-operated and animal-drawn implements to the predominant use of machinery, from the predominant use of manpower and animal traction to the predominant use of mechanical power and electricity, from the predominant use of fertilizers processed by manual labour to the predominant use of machine-made fertilizers (including chemical and organic fertilizers), so as to get our agriculture out of its present state of technical backwardness and on to a modern technical base at an earlier date.

The process of changing China from a backward agricultural country into an advanced socialist industrial country involves the gradual transformation of her vast agricultural population into an industrial population. In the course of socialist industrialization, and to make it possible for agricultural developments to meet the needs, and thereby promote the growth, of industry and other branches of the national economy, we must, on the one hand, turn out more and more agricultural products and steadily increase their marketable portion, and on the other hand, reduce the amount of labour power employed in agriculture and raise the agricultural labour productivity.

The accomplishment of agricultural co-operation and the establishment of people's communes have steadily transformed the relations of production in the countryside, with the result that agriculture has made an uninterrupted advance even though the farm tools used are in the main hand-operated. In 1958, our grain output was 500,000 million catties, and our cotton output, 42 million *tan*, an average of 770 catties of grain and 6.46 catties of cotton per person; this was 190 catties and 1.31 catties respectively more than in 1957. This is undoubtedly quite a big leap forward. But in order to meet the grain needs of all the people fairly fully and provide enough fodder for an increased number of livestock, we must at least double our present grain output or more. In order to meet the needs of the people in clothing fairly fully, we must at least treble

our present cotton output so far as supply of the people's needs in cotton cloth, cotton yarn and cotton wool is concerned, quite apart from any positive measures that may be taken to develop the production of synthetic fibres. There must be vastly greater increases in the output of other farm products and animal products too. This is one side of the picture.

Another side is that in 1958, as a result of the big leap in industry, agriculture and other work, the situation where there was a surplus of labour power in our country began to change into a situation where there was a relative shortage of labour power. The labour power newly enlisted in the cities failed to satisfy the needs of development of urban industry and other work; furthermore, since the switch-over of the rural areas to people's communes, a shortage of labour power still made itself felt despite the fact that a great number of women had been released from household chores and directed into rural production and construction. Take the Hungkuang People's Commune at Ningchin County, Hopei Province, for example. In the period 1957-1958 this commune, as compared with the period 1956-1957, doubled the amount of labour power allocated to soil amelioration, increased fourfold the amount of labour power allocated to the work in connection with fertilizers, and increased still more the amount of labour power engaged in water conservancy projects. In this period, with the development of the method of intensive and careful cultivation, the amount of labour power on each *mou* of wheat field increased on an average by 3.6 times, the average increase of labour power for every *mou* of cotton field was 66 per cent and there were also considerable increases of labour power in the case of other staple crops. Previous to this, the commune had 18,958 people with full or partial labour power. From September to December 1958, nearly 2,000 people were sent to the cities to help the government's industrial construction while over 2,000 were transferred to the industrial enterprises run by the commune or to other jobs, with the result that the commune had less labour power available for agricultural pro-

duction. Though the commune has started technical innovation and improved its organization of labour power since last year and since the spring a part of the labour power working in the industrial enterprises run by the commune has been drawn back to join in agricultural production, the commune still has difficulties in allocating labour power, in addition to a shortage of draught animals.

These two types of situation make us realize that in the course of the development of our national economy, a new contradiction has appeared with increasing sharpness, that is, while national construction and the people's livelihood require the doubling or more of agricultural production, the labour power available for agricultural production, judging both by the present situation and long-range tendencies, will not increase but, on the contrary, will steadily decrease. This is a new and important problem that confronts us. We must have a clear-cut policy to solve it. How shall we solve this contradiction and this problem? Of course, we should do all we can to bring forth more latent labour power by further enhancing the labour enthusiasm of the members of the communes, rationally utilizing labour power, improving the organization of labour power, popularizing advanced methods of production, improving management systems, strengthening labour discipline, and so on, and as a matter of fact, we have already achieved remarkable results in these respects. But we must also understand that under present conditions where the use of hand-operated tools prevails in production by the broad masses of the peasants, there are certain limitations to this way of mobilizing latent labour power. Therefore, the fundamental way of solving this contradiction is to speed up the technical transformation and the mechanization and electrification of agriculture.

The realization of the technical transformation of agriculture is urgently required by agriculture itself and by industry as well; it is eagerly demanded by the broad masses of the peasants themselves and by the broad masses of the workers

too. Of course, it was infeasible under the conditions of an individual economy. During the time of the agricultural co-operative movement, when our industrial foundation was still very weak and our co-operatives were relatively small in size, the technical transformation of agriculture was carried out only on a limited scale aimed at setting examples. Now, with the success of the people's commune movement and the completion of the preliminary foundation for socialist industrialization, favourable conditions have been created for the mechanization and electrification of agriculture.

Compared with the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative, the people's commune has a larger organization, with a wider range of activities and a higher degree of collectivization; it can develop diversified undertakings and economic activities. Within the people's commune ownership at the production brigade level is the basic form, but already part of the ownership is vested in the commune level. Thus each year the commune is able to draw on a certain amount of accumulated funds from the production brigades to be used for the development of commune-run undertakings and to map out a unified plan for production and construction in the commune as a whole. All this will help to speed up the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and fully develop the efficiency of farming machines.

Industry's assistance to agriculture has been greatly strengthened. We are now able to produce in fairly large quantities tractors and lorries which were not produced before and draining and irrigation machines and chemical fertilizers which before were only produced in small quantities. We can also supply the countryside with a fairly large amount of iron, steel, coal, petroleum, chemicals, electricity and other industrial products. Furthermore, medium-sized and small enterprises characterized by simple methods of production have been set up extensively over the length and breadth of the country as a result of the great leap forward of industry in 1958. More than 80,000 factories for manufacturing and repairing

farm tools have been built by the people's communes alone. Such industries, run by the county governments or people's communes, give a mighty impetus to the rapid development of the technical transformation of agriculture.

In short, the demand for the technical transformation of agriculture is becoming more and more urgent, and the conditions for the carrying out of such a transformation more and more favourable. We must, therefore, take active steps to promote the technical transformation of agriculture and make it advance side by side with socialist industrialization; we must help the over 500 million Chinese peasants who have been organized on a firm economic basis to master modern farming techniques so that they will double agricultural production or increase it several times and also increase their labour productivity by several, or even several scores of times. In this way we will be able to increase substantially the income of the peasants, rapidly enlarge the capital accumulation of the people's communes and of the state and greatly extend the domestic market for industry. Along with the industrialization of the country and of the people's communes and the mechanization and electrification of agriculture, our people's communes will be steadily consolidated and developed on an ever richer material and technical basis. After a certain period of time, when conditions are completely ripe, the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people will be realized first, to be followed by the transition from socialism to communism. By then the Chinese countryside will not only provide the people with an unlimited amount of grain, industrial raw materials, animal products and local specialties, but will release a labour force hundreds of millions strong. No other country is able to mobilize such a massive labour force. By relying on this force we can develop our industry, transport, science and culture and all other needed undertakings on a far greater scale than now, and create boundless material and spiritual wealth for China and the world as a whole.

Some people think that socialist industrialization is the prerequisite for the technical transformation of agriculture and that once industrialization is accomplished the technical transformation of agriculture will materialize by itself. Basing themselves on this viewpoint, they maintain that efforts should for the time being be concentrated on industrial development with little or no attention to the technical transformation of agriculture. This viewpoint is wrong beyond doubt. At the time when the co-operative transformation of agriculture had not yet been completed and our industrial foundation was still very weak, our task was to co-ordinate the speed of the agricultural co-operative movement with that of socialist industrialization and to promote industrialization through agricultural co-operation. At that time, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the erroneous views of thinking that mechanization must precede co-operation, of separating and isolating socialist industrialization and agricultural co-operation from each other, and of emphasizing only the former at the expense of the latter. This criticism was absolutely necessary at that time, because over-emphasis on the technical transformation of agriculture would inevitably lead to a slackening and postponing of co-operation and adversely affect industrialization. But today, we are facing a new situation and new tasks. The erroneous views which we should criticize are obviously not of the above-mentioned type. We should, instead, criticize the erroneous views of refusing to make energetic efforts to promote the technical transformation of agriculture to consolidate the people's communes and promote industrial development, of separating and isolating socialist industrialization and the technical transformation of agriculture from each other, of emphasizing only the former at the expense of the latter. For, if we emphasize only socialist industrialization while paying little or no attention to the technical transformation of agriculture, if we pay attention only to industrial development while failing to take energetic steps to speed up the technical trans-

formation of agriculture and restricting our agriculture to the level of manual production, it will not only be impossible to develop our agricultural production at a still quicker rate but even difficult to maintain its present leap-forward tempo and to bring about a continued leap forward in our industry.

Some people think that stepping up the technical transformation of agriculture now will result in decentralizing the use of construction funds and means of production and will thus hinder the rapid development of industry. This, too, is wrong, because they fail to see that, by allocating a certain amount of funds for agricultural development, the state can get more marketable grain and industrial crops to accelerate the growth of light industry, and that, when the tempo of development of agriculture and light industry is quickened, the state can accumulate more funds and thus enable heavy industry to advance at a quicker rate. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out quite sometimes ago:

But it is not so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as the gradual progress of technological improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizers, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers.¹

This statement by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was further borne out in the big leap forward of 1958. In 1958, industry supplied agriculture with a total of 3,150 million yuan's worth of major means of production, or more than half the total of 5,190 million yuan's worth of the means of production provided in the First Five-Year Plan period. In that same year, a total of about 14,000 million yuan's worth of raw materials was

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 68.

provided for industry by agriculture, which exceeded the figure for any one year of the First Five-Year Plan period. That is why in 1958 when our agricultural production grew by 25 per cent our industrial production increased by 66 per cent, an increase that surpassed any previous year. This shows that, by increasing investments in agriculture and supplying it with more means of production, the state can speed up the growth of agricultural production which, in its turn, will give a fresh impetus to the growth of industry. It also shows that, by giving powerful support to agriculture, industry can also get more powerful support from agriculture.

In the final analysis, these people are wrong because they do not understand that in socialist industrialization it is not enough merely to build a well-integrated industrial system, technical transformation must be introduced in various branches of the national economy, and particularly agriculture, through this system. Nor do these people understand that the task of socialist industrialization should equip not only the various branches of industry with advanced technique, but agriculture and other branches of the national economy must be equipped with modern, large-scale production techniques. For the mechanization and electrification of agriculture is part of socialist industrialization. Socialist industrialization itself requires the technical transformation of agriculture and other branches of the national economy; this is also an unavoidable task that the various departments of heavy industry must take up. It is wrong to think that heavy industry can develop in isolation from light industry; or that industry in isolation from agriculture. It is inconceivable that in a country as large as ours, in which four-fifths of a population of over 650 million are peasants, a well-integrated system of socialist industry can be built without tackling the technical transformation of agriculture at the same time. Neither is it conceivable for a large country like ours to permit the recurring situation in which industry expands by leaps and bounds while agriculture develops at snail's pace. In such a country,

if we only hop "on one leg" or hobble "on one and a half leg," four-fifths of the population will feel that there is no scope for their energies. If we do this, no all-round vigorous, stirring mass movements on the industrial and agricultural fronts can be launched. And national construction may become something in which only a small number of people are involved, withdrawn from the majority. The policy of our Party to develop simultaneously industry and agriculture with priority for the development of heavy industry and to develop simultaneously heavy and light industries reflects the important law that socialist economy requires planned and proportionate development. By carrying it out, we shall be able to avoid all lop-sided development in socialist construction. It will bring into full play the initiative of our over 650 million people, whether they are workers or peasants, lead to stirring and vigorous mass movements on all the fronts of the national economy, and enable industry and agriculture to expand at high speed and in step with each other. Thus an over-all big leap forward in the national economy will be brought about.

It is generally known that antagonism between industry and agriculture, and between town and country are among the characteristics of capitalism. Capitalism, seeking super-profits, also needs to transform its agriculture technically, and within certain limits and to a certain degree it may succeed in this. But it can do so only at the cost of bankrupting the overwhelming majority of the peasants and throwing them out of work. By contrast, the process of socialist industrialization is bound to be one that equips agriculture with new technology, increases its productive forces, and gradually narrows down the differences between town and country, and further cements and develops the alliance of workers and peasants. While it is true that the socialist system cannot be based on the existence side by side of two forms of ownership—socialist public ownership and private ownership based on individual economy, it is also not feasible for modern production methods in industry and manual labour in agriculture

to co-exist for long. In China, more than 500 million of our over 650 million people are peasants who work with hand implements. Productivity of labour is very low, so is the portion of farm produce that goes to the market. This is a legacy from the old China, a sign of our country's economic backwardness. Now that we have laid the preliminary foundation for socialist industrialization, and the people's communes have been organized in the rural areas, and that it is not only necessary but possible for socialist industrialization and the technical transformation of agriculture to proceed simultaneously, we will be making a serious mistake if we do not actively carry out the technical transformation of agriculture.

Just as it would have been wrong for us in the past to embark on socialist industrialization by itself, divorced from the agricultural co-operation, so now socialist industrialization must not be carried forward by itself, without the technical transformation of agriculture. We should view socialist industrialization and the technical transformation of agriculture as correlated things, and see to it that they keep in step. It is certain that without a modernized industry there can be no modernized agriculture, also that without a modernized agriculture it would be difficult for us to develop a modernized industry quickly and without interruption. The more agriculture is modernized, the greater its support to industry and the more quickly industry will be made to develop. As a result of agricultural co-operation and the success of the people's communes, our worker-peasant alliance is now firmly established, with socialist public ownership as its economic base. While speeding up socialist industrialization, so long as we vigorously carry out step by step the technical transformation of agriculture, going over to machines wherever possible, so as to change the whole aspect of the social economy—so long as we do this, we can further consolidate our worker-peasant alliance on the material and technical basis of industrial and agricultural production at an equally modernized

level. The accomplishment of this will create the conditions for realizing our noble ideal—the elimination of the distinction between town and country, and between the workers and the peasants.

It is after passing through the three successive stages of the mutual-aid team, the elementary co-operative and the co-operative of the advanced type that our agricultural co-operative movement has reached the stage of the people's communes. The technical transformation of our agriculture will also be carried out gradually, in step with the development of our industry, going through a process of change from the old to the new, from the elementary to the more advanced, from small to large numbers. This process, we assume, will take roughly ten years beginning from now. In the first four years or so, an initial foundation may be laid. Another three years should bring us halfway to the final solution—which is set for about the tenth year. This means that in 1969 or thereabouts, all the land in our country which can be cultivated by machines will be worked, in the main, with mechanical instead of animal traction; and where irrigation by machines is needed it will in the main replace human labour. In rural transportation, human and animal traction will practically disappear, giving place largely to motor vehicles. The processing of agricultural and subsidiary products will be partly or wholly mechanized. The nation will produce sufficient chemical fertilizers to apply seven or eight times as much to every *mou* of land, on the average, as at present. This will enable us to exercise more initiative in the struggle with nature, and effect a radical change in our agriculture.

Our rural areas are spread across our whole vast country and have a big population; local natural and economic conditions differ; and the support which agriculture receives from industry is increasing only gradually. For these reasons the technical transformation, mechanization and electrification of agriculture should be vigorously but also gradually carried out. At the present stage, the use of modern machines and

improved indigenous farm tools must go hand in hand. For the next four years, mechanization should in the main be carried out by stages and in groups where conditions permit; in the majority of rural areas, improved indigenous and semi-mechanized farm tools will be used on a large scale. In seven years' time, modern machines will be used in large quantity while improved indigenous and semi-mechanized tools will still play a part.

What about the present Second Five-Year Plan? How, in this period, are we to carry out the policy of the simultaneous adoption of modern machines and improved indigenous farm tools, while advancing the technical transformation of agriculture?

Mechanization: This has two aspects. On the one hand, in the majority of areas and branches of agricultural production, the tools now in use for farming, water-carrying, transport and the processing of agricultural and subsidiary products must be improved; and at the same time we must design and trial-manufacture different types of modern as well as semi-mechanized equipment. In each county, special administrative region, province, municipality, or autonomous region research institute for farming and other tools should be set up, to carry on research and experiments in their improvement. On the other hand, in places where land is plentiful and labour is short, where transport is readily accessible, and where the portion of the farm produce going to the market is high (e.g. land-reclamation areas, highly industrialized areas, the suburbs of big cities and areas growing industrial crops, etc.) the mechanization of agriculture must be actively undertaken, with the primary emphasis on replacing exceptionally strenuous manual work by machinery.

Power: In the majority of areas and branches of agricultural production, the chief thing is to make rational use of available manpower, animal traction and power from water, wind and other sources—and at the same time to make great and serious efforts to protect and breed various draught

animals. On the other hand, where the conditions exist, machine-generated power should if possible be used, and power stations of medium and small size built.

Fertilizer: On the one hand, livestock-breeding must be developed on a large scale, animal manure, green manure and other organic fertilizers must be increased; and at the same time all local facilities must be utilized to manufacture fairly effective indigenous chemical fertilizers. On the other hand, the state should vigorously develop the chemical fertilizer industry, to increase the production of all types of chemical fertilizers at a fast pace. In the use of such fertilizers, priority must go to the industrial and food crops most vital to the national economy and the people's livelihood.

Both when improving the farm tools and introducing modern machinery, attention should be given to the suitability of time and place, and their gradual popularization should always be preceded by trials. A stereotyped and headlong approach, neglecting differing local agricultural conditions and requirements, can obviously do harm. Particularly should we remember that our peasants possess rich experience accumulated in a prolonged struggle for production, and a fine tradition of intensive and careful cultivation. Both have been further developed since the formulation of the "Eight-Point Charter" of Agriculture. In the technical transformation of agriculture, the rich experience and traditions of our peasants should be assimilated and developed, not neglected or wilfully thrown aside.

In harmony with the principles of simultaneously introducing modern machinery and improved traditional farm tools, and of making simultaneous use of both the modern and the indigenous means in the technical transformation of agriculture, the industries which support agriculture should also simultaneously develop large plants on the one hand and medium-sized and small ones on the other.

Large industrial enterprises are the main support of agriculture. We should actively develop those big industries which

serve agriculture, expanding or building factories that make agricultural machines, tractors, power equipments, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, lorries, etc. We should do all we can to increase the output and improve the quality of industrial products (including such fuels as petroleum) needed for the technical transformation of agriculture so as gradually to improve farming with modern technology.

Large numbers of industrial enterprises of medium and small size, especially those run by counties and communes, are the local forces supporting agriculture. They are important and not to be overlooked. Widely scattered and close to farm areas, they are better adapted to serving specific local needs. They not only make improved farm tools, and turn out other means of production for agriculture—supplementing the big industries, but can also repair agricultural machinery and other equipment. At the same time, they can share the local manpower pool with agriculture, and fully utilize those scattered natural resources which big enterprises cannot use. We should develop such enterprises vigorously. We should also further make clear to them the policy that they should serve production and construction in agriculture. Thus they can shoulder increasingly more and greater responsibilities in the technical transformation of agriculture.

To accelerate the technical transformation of agriculture, the big industrial units, besides supplying agriculture with various sorts of machinery, power, fuel and chemical fertilizers, should do all they can to help the growth of the medium-sized and small ones (including those run by counties and communes). They should furnish them with new or replaced equipment and the necessary raw and other materials, train technical personnel for them, etc., so as to improve their techniques and heighten their capacity to serve the technical transformation of agriculture.

To transform all of rural China which is so vast and so backward in productive techniques into a technically modernized countryside—this is an extremely difficult task. The ques-

tion now is to strengthen the leadership of the Party and to make over-all plans. The various government departments concerned at every level—central, provincial, municipal, regional, county, and commune, etc.—should make concrete over-all plans based on the actual conditions. These should comprise the steps to be taken in the technical transformation of agriculture, the simultaneous development of new machines and improved tools, the division of work among large, medium-sized and small industrial enterprises, and their co-ordination, the mutual support of industry and agriculture, the mutual support between cities and countryside, the training of technical personnel and scientific experimentation.

We have the Party's general line for building socialism by going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, quicker, better and more economical results. We also have a set of policies for "walking on two legs." We have the firm will of hundreds of millions of people to achieve socialist industrialization and the technical transformation of agriculture. We have an industrial force with its main and local detachments, mutually co-ordinated. We have, further, the people's commune, a social organization of such great vitality. Having all these, there is no doubt at all that we shall be able to accomplish the great historic task of the technical transformation of our agriculture in the scheduled time.

The International Significance of the Chinese People's Victory

Wang Chia-hsiang

The victory of the Chinese people has not only ushered in a new era in Chinese history; it has a great international significance.

The victory of the Chinese revolution is a victory of a national-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. This victory has been achieved under the leadership of the proletariat and is therefore the victory of a new-democratic revolution. The Chinese people have swiftly accomplished the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, so this victory of the Chinese people is also the victory of a socialist revolution. The Chinese people are carrying on socialist construction at top speed and are rapidly changing the face of China; so the victory of the Chinese people is also a victory for the cause of socialist construction.

The victory of the Chinese people came about in a large Asian country with a population of 650 million, in a semi-colony which many imperialist powers rivalled with each other in pillaging and plundering, in an area that formed an important link in the strategic plan of U.S. imperialism to dominate the world. The great victory of the Chinese people, therefore, is also a great victory for the international proletariat and the people all over the world.

Imperialism was once one of the biggest mountains that weighed down for a long time on the Chinese people. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese

people, with the spirit of the proverbial old man who moved away mountains, waged a protracted, firm and sharp struggle against imperialism; in the end they overthrew imperialist rule and thoroughly abolished all the control wielded by imperialism in China, eliminated all its influences, firmly suppressed its spies, agents and other jackals and cleared away all the ideological poison left behind by imperialism. In the ten years since the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people, to defend their motherland, have been carrying on an uninterrupted serious struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea especially, the Chinese people, together with the Korean people, smashed the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism and dealt it a heavy blow despite conditions of disparity in military equipment. The Chinese people are clearly aware that only by carrying through the struggle against imperialism, which is aggressive by nature, can they safeguard and consolidate their victory.

It is only natural that the victory of the Chinese people should have attracted wide attention among the nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America which are waging a struggle against imperialism. For many a country and area in these three continents is in a plight similar to that of old China. The primary task that confronts them today is likewise to wage a revolutionary struggle against imperialist domination and plunder. In view of the victory of the Chinese people, every oppressed nation will naturally think that if the Chinese people, starting the struggle bare-handed, could defeat imperialism, which was armed to the teeth, completely overthrow its rule, achieve true and complete national independence and carry the anti-imperialist national revolution to the end, why couldn't this be done in other countries?

Since World War II the national liberation movement against imperialist-colonial rule has become an irresistible historical trend. Faced with this surging national liberation movement, the imperialist-colonial forces cannot but make some conces-

sions in certain countries in the hope of maintaining the influence of imperialism. In dealing with the national liberation movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries, therefore, they not only use bloody armed suppression but also resort to deception, splitting activities, appeasement and compromise, up to and including recognition of the independence of certain countries and allowing the bourgeoisie to monopolize the fruits of the national liberation movement, so as to prevent these countries from attaining complete national liberation. Innumerable historical facts prove that true national independence is by no means a favour bestowed by imperialism, nor can it be got through begging imperialism for it. If a struggle for national liberation is governed by the idea of looking for favours or relying on begging and is not carried on resolutely against imperialism, it will be impossible to accomplish in full measure the task of opposing imperialism, or enable the nation to free itself completely from the bondage of imperialism even though a certain degree of independence or nominal independence has been achieved. The Chinese people's anti-imperialist struggle was a thoroughgoing revolutionary struggle waged under the leadership of the proletariat. The Chinese Communist Party united all the patriotic people of the country, effected a complete break with imperialism and waged a resolute struggle against it, undaunted by all its threat and intimidation and unaffected by all its fraud and baiting. This is the road to true, complete national independence.

The day is not far off when imperialism will perish in all the colonies and semi-colonies. The age is gone for ever when a few imperialist powers could occupy large tracts of territory, lording it over and exploiting the majority of mankind, when imperialism could suppress with impunity the uprising of oppressed nations. Undoubtedly, the Chinese people's revolutionary way of out-and-out opposition to imperialism is certain to have greater and greater attraction for all the oppressed nations striving for liberation.

Powerful imperialism was not the only enemy of the Chinese people who also had to reckon with powerful feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The feudal landlord class was the principal social foundation of imperialist rule in China and an ally of the counter-revolutionary regime of the comprador-capitalist class. The system of feudal exploitation was the root cause of the aggression and oppression, the poverty and backwardness suffered by China; it was the principal obstacle to our country's independence, unity, prosperity and strength. The overwhelming majority of the Chinese population were peasants subjected to feudal oppression and exploitation by the landlord class. The Chinese peasantry was the main force of the Chinese democratic revolution. Consequently, the Chinese working class and its vanguard the Chinese Communist Party unswervingly led the peasants, developing to the full the peasants' movement and uniting the broad masses of the peasantry. In the light of the specific features of China, it organized a revolutionary army in the countryside, set up revolutionary bases and pursued the long-term revolutionary warfare of encircling cities from the countryside. In this way, the working class formed a solid alliance with the peasantry, carried on the anti-feudal revolution to the very end and demolished for good the cornerstones of imperialist rule in China. And on this solid foundation the road to the later transition from democratic revolution to socialist revolution was opened.

The democratic revolution is essentially a peasants' revolution. Only by mobilizing the peasants to wage a resolute struggle against feudalism can a mighty anti-imperialist force be organized. Otherwise, the anti-imperialist struggle would be feeble and impotent. The peasant question is, therefore, the central question of anti-imperialist struggle. In the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, only the working class can lead a true peasants' revolution and guide the peasants in carrying through the agrarian reform; only the working class can fully mobilize the broad masses of the

peasantry and organize them and form a powerful alliance with them. Only by relying on such a worker-peasant alliance can one defeat imperialism and feudalism. In the present age the bourgeoisie cannot be expected to achieve a thorough solution to the peasant question. The bourgeoisie cannot lead a true peasants' revolution. They dare not, and will not, undertake a thoroughgoing agrarian reform; they even oppose such a reform. To mollify the peasants' discontent, they may at best issue certain reformist laws and decrees of agrarian reform, but they are afraid of the awakening of the peasant masses and the alliance of workers and peasants, the two revolutionary classes. They are afraid that the agrarian reform movement of the peasants may exceed the limits allowed by the bourgeois interests. And when the peasants rise up to carry out the agrarian reform, they will, in collusion with the landlord class, suppress the peasants' movement. That is why, under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, it is impossible to secure a complete victory over feudalism and imperialism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

The entire history of revolution proves that revolution fails without the leadership of the working class, but succeeds with it. In the era of imperialism, no other class in any country can lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the numerous revolutions led by China's petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie have all ended in failure.¹

Our democratic revolution is different from the old democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie; it is a new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat. The victory of this revolution is the victory of a new-democratic revolution.

It is clear to all that the People's Republic of China founded after the victory of the new-democratic revolution is funda-

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 16.

mentally different from the nationally independent countries led by the national bourgeoisie which have come into existence in Asia and Africa since World War II. On account of specific historical conditions, the proletariat in these countries failed to attain hegemony in the national-democratic revolutionary movements. As a result, state power fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie after independence was achieved. The bourgeoisie which is in power in these countries has played to a certain degree a historically progressive role in opposing imperialism and striving for national independence and so on. While it can show a progressive and positive attitude towards the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary tasks, it has a wavering and traitorous side to it. It may to a greater or lesser degree go part of the way in opposing imperialism and feudalism and become friends of the socialist states in their struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace. But after all the bourgeoisie is the bourgeoisie. When in power, it does not follow resolute, revolutionary lines, it oscillates and compromises. Therefore it is out of the question for these countries to pass to socialism, nor is it possible for them to accomplish in full the tasks of the national-democratic revolution. What is more, even the national independence they have achieved will not be secure. Under the attack of the reactionaries both at home and abroad, there is often the danger of retrogression and the loss of the national independence already gained.

The victory of the Chinese revolution is a typical example of the transition from new-democratic revolution to socialist revolution in an originally semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The basic condition for ensuring this transition is that the proletariat should take the leadership of the revolution firmly into its hands during the democratic revolution. This is the case of the Chinese revolution. When the democratic revolution won nation-wide victory, the Chinese working class seized the state power and established a people's democratic dictatorship, which was, to all intents and pur-

poses, a dictatorship of the proletariat, thus enabling the democratic revolution to go over to socialist revolution without interruption. That is to say, the problem of state power for carrying out the socialist revolution was solved simultaneously with the victory of the democratic revolution.

Some people had doubts. Was it possible for an economically backward China to pass over speedily to socialism? Was it possible to fulfil the tasks of the socialist revolution at top speed? And wasn't it necessary to develop capitalism for some time before it could proceed with the socialist revolution? The practice of the Chinese revolution has answered these questions and exploded these erroneous views. The transition to socialism began the moment the Chinese People's Republic was inaugurated, as the proletariat took state power into its own hands and nationalized the enterprises formerly owned by the imperialists and bureaucrat-capitalists. Closely following the completion of the anti-feudal agrarian reform, the socialist revolution was unfolded on a large scale, that is, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and privately-owned industry and commerce. The facts prove that the tasks of the Chinese socialist revolution have been carried out not only speedily but smoothly and thoroughly.

Some people thought that a speedy socialist industrialization was inconceivable in such a populous, poor and backward country as China. However, when the Chinese people shook off all the shackles and established the socialist system, the masses became masters of the land and machinery, voluntary labour superseded compulsory labour, and the big population became an extremely important factor in promoting still more rapid development of the national economy and culture. The state of "poverty and blankness" has instead served to stimulate the strong determination of the 650 million Chinese people to press ahead and turn China into a strong and prosperous country. And so our economic construction is taking big strides forward. With the general line of "going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, quicker, better and more

economical results in building socialism" put forward by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the basis of the integration of the principles of Marxism-Leninism with the specific conditions of China, the great Chinese people have brought into full play their boundless revolutionary energy, initiated vigorous and full-scale mass movements for socialist construction, created the people's communes, which are characterized by their boundless vitality, and brought about a continued leap forward in our country's industrial and agricultural production. Today, it is clear to everybody that the fervent desire of the Chinese people to overtake and outstrip the capitalist powers in the level of economic development can be fulfilled, and this in not so long a time as previously envisaged.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said,

When the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism was overthrown by the people, many were not clear as to where China was heading—to capitalism or socialism. Facts give the answer: only socialism can save China. The socialist system has promoted the rapid development of the productive forces of our country—this is a fact that even our enemies abroad have had to acknowledge.¹

In this era when world capitalism is already on the decline, when all the most developed capitalist countries have run into blind alleys, when the Soviet Union and the other socialist states are flourishing in incomparable prosperity, the only way out for the people of a formerly colonial or semi-colonial country is to carry on the democratic revolution to the end and push it forward to socialism. In certain Asian and African countries where the bourgeoisie is in power it counts on developing the economy by taking the road of capitalism or state-capitalism, which it euphemistically styles as the "democratic" road. The fact is, by following this road these countries will

¹Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 24.

not be able to rid themselves of the exploitation and oppression by imperialism and feudalism; on the contrary, there may emerge bureaucrat-capitalism, which gangs up with imperialism and feudalism. In these circumstances, the development of industry can only be a slow and painful process, and it will be impossible to realize industrialization, to say nothing of fundamentally "improving" the livelihood of the people. Thus, in the final analysis, they cannot escape the control and clutches of imperialism.

Before the October Revolution, Russia was economically a relatively backward country among the imperialist powers. With the advent of the socialist system, the once backward Russia swiftly transformed itself into an advanced and mighty industrial power. This for the first time demonstrated to the world the incomparable superiority of the socialist system over capitalism. The living example of socialism set by the great Soviet Union gave the lie to the propaganda not only of the apologists who openly defended capitalism but also of the renegades of the Second International who worked for capitalism under the cloak of "socialism." Pre-liberation China was a colonial and semi-colonial country in a worse state of poverty and backwardness than Russia before the October Revolution. With the advent of the socialist system, China has undergone tremendous changes and is advancing at top speed on the road of socialist industrialization. This again demonstrates to the world the incomparable superiority of the socialist system. China's experience enables the people of colonial and semi-colonial countries to understand better that neither the capitalist system nor fake "socialism" of any brand can offer solutions to their problems.

The victory of the Chinese people is the product of the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese people. The experience of China is the summing-up of protracted, complex and varied mass struggles. Naturally, to a certain extent, the important parts of this experience have an international significance.

The victory of the Chinese people has further consolidated and extended the victory of world socialism. The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution. China with about one-fourth of the world's population ceased to be a rear for imperialism and joined the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, thereby bringing about further changes in the aspect of the world. With the solid unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and our common uninterrupted upsurge in the sphere of economy, we have broken through once and for all the encirclement of socialism by world capitalism. This has brought about a fundamental change in the relation of forces between socialism and capitalism. Socialism, having taken firm root over a vast land mass of the earth, is now invincible. The Great October Socialist Revolution was the bridge linking up the world proletarian revolutionary movement with the liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies. Old China being the largest semi-colonial country in the world, the victory of China's revolution and construction has forged still closer bonds between the world proletarian revolution and the world national liberation movement, and further laid a reliable foundation for the world-wide victory of socialism.

The victory of the Chinese people is hastening the end of imperialism. Whereas old China was like a juicy chunk of meat in the mouth of the imperialist tiger, New China has assumed the role of an anti-imperialist tiger-fighting hero. Whereas old China served as the rear for imperialism, New China stands in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism. International reaction headed by U.S. imperialism shows inveterate hatred for the victory of the Chinese people. This is because they have lost the market for the continued exploitation of the Chinese people. They are afraid that the rapid progress of construction in socialist New China and the eventual elimination of capitalism in such a big country as China will affect ultimately the destiny of world capitalism. They are afraid that the victory and achievements of the Chi-

nese people will have infinite attraction for the oppressed countries and people throughout the world. And yet all this is unavoidable.

The victory of the Chinese people has given the lie to the old reactionary idea spread by the Western bourgeoisie—that the coloured races are inferior, that the white peoples alone are superior peoples, that the East is backward and the West is advanced and so on and so forth. As a matter of fact, the people are always the creators of material and spiritual wealth, no matter where they are and whether they are coloured or white. Once the people, whether white or coloured, become the masters of society, they are capable of working wonders. The victory of the Chinese people further confirms the dictum of the great Lenin: the advanced East and the backward West. The rising sun is in the East, while the setting sun is in the West.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the Chinese people are continually sending forth, by means of their victories, calls to the oppressed nations, and the people the world over: the time is at hand when imperialism will come to grief. Imperialism, now on its last legs, can and must be defeated. How well people can live when they are free from imperialist oppression and exploitation! What vitality there is in the socialist system! Each and every victory of the Chinese people is a source of great inspiration to the oppressed peoples of the world; it tolls the death-knell of imperialism. The existence and progress of China help to quicken the pace of imperialism and all reactionaries to their graves; they encourage the world socialist revolutionary movement and the world national liberation movement and they inspire all those engaged in the struggle against imperialism. The victory of the Chinese people has greatly strengthened and stimulated the world forces in defence of peace. While our country has consistently adhered to the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, it is

the inexorable law of historical development that socialism will replace capitalism.

Bright prospects are before us. The Chinese people, together with the Soviet people, with the people of the other socialist countries, with the working class and toiling masses the world over, with all oppressed nations, with peace-lovers throughout the world, are marching forward victoriously towards peace, socialism and the great goal of communism shoulder to shoulder and arm in arm.

The Communist Party of China Is the High Command of the Chinese People in Building Socialism

Liu Lan-tao

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 opened up a new era in China's history; it liberated once for all China's hundreds of millions of oppressed working people from the criminal rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. For the first time in history the labouring people achieved state power throughout the country and the Chinese Communist Party became the only revolutionary political party assuming leadership in state power throughout the country. Our Party has travelled a truly glorious path over the past ten years: it led the Chinese people to complete victory in the democratic revolution; immediately afterwards it led them in achieving a decisive victory in the socialist revolution and in gaining brilliant successes in socialist construction. The socialist system which the Chinese people have been aspiring to build for many years is now firmly established on the broad, rich soil of our motherland. This is a great victory of Marxism-Leninism in China and a great victory of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

In this decade of national construction the growth of the Chinese Communist Party has been unprecedented. A membership of 4,500,000 in 1949 has grown to 13,960,000; the Party's basic organizations have grown from 250,000 in 1949 to 1,060,000 in 1959. Basic Party organizations have been universally established in cities, towns, villages, factories, mines, people's communes, government offices, schools and

companies of the People's Liberation Army. Party organizations have also been set up in various national minority areas throughout the country. Over the past ten years the veteran cadres who have been tempered well in the flames of the revolution have rapidly mastered the knowledge needed to build socialism while, at the same time, millions of outstanding new cadres have been trained and promoted from among the ranks of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. They are now shouldering the glorious responsibility of giving leadership on the political, economic, defence, diplomatic, cultural, educational, scientific and art fronts. During this period the Party, through its consolidation and rectification campaigns, has given its members a profound and systematic socialist and communist education, severely criticized the subjective, sectarian, bureaucratic style of work which is divorced from reality and the masses, and concentrated its fire against the bourgeois ideas which harm and damage the cause of socialism. The Party has also waged a resolute struggle against mistakes which go counter to the Party's line, principles and policies and, at the same time, expelled from its glorious ranks the tens of thousands of counter-revolutionaries, alien class elements, bourgeois rightists, elements who have seriously violated the laws and discipline and various other bad elements, who had wormed their way into the Party. Thus the organization of our Party is purer and better consolidated than ever, the level of communist consciousness of Party members has been greatly raised and our Party building has reached a high Marxist-Leninist level.

In the course of the prolonged revolutionary struggle our Party has forged inseparable ties of blood with the whole Chinese people and enjoys a high prestige among them. The Party's leading cadres at various levels and the broad mass of its members have shared all the joys and sorrows of the masses in a selfless and unselfish spirit, whether in labour, battle or work. The mass of the people look upon them as

their dearest, closest friends and comrades, treating them as affectionately as they would their own brothers and sisters. From their own experience in prolonged revolutionary struggle they have come to realize that the Chinese Communist Party is the party of the broad mass of the labouring people—the only party which represents the interests of all the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class; it is composed of those from among the Chinese working class and labouring people who are most progressive, most outstanding and most courageous and have a communist outlook. It is the highest form of the class organization of the Chinese working class. The sacred duty of us Communists is to achieve the great goal of socialism and communism in China, and Marxism-Leninism is the guide to all our actions. Under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has consistently adhered to the policy of linking the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This enables our Party to get a really thorough grasp of the laws of social development and China's revolutionary struggle, correctly understand the development of the revolutionary situation and its changes, put forward new historical tasks in good time, formulate correct political and organizational policies, and guide the entire people in the advance from one revolutionary stage to another and from victory to victory. History has proved that the Chinese Communist Party is the greatest and most glorious and most consistently correct revolutionary party in Chinese history, that it is a politically mature Marxist-Leninist party, that it alone is worthy of the high command in the revolutionary struggle and constructive work of the Chinese people. Long ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

Except for the Communist Party, none of the political parties, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, is equal to the task of

leading China's two great revolutions, democratic and socialist, to their complete realization.¹

Therefore, the consistent strengthening and consolidation of the Party's leading role in all the revolutionary struggles is the fundamental guarantee of the victory of our socialist cause.

It is as clear as day that the question of Party leadership or no Party leadership is a question of for or against socialism. It is an important question that concerns the fate of China and a fundamental question in the struggle to decide "which will win"—the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, the capitalist road or the socialist road—in China's transition period. This revolutionary truth has been irrefutably borne out by experience in all the mass revolutionary movements of the past ten years, especially the struggle against the bourgeois rightists in 1957. It was the Party's leadership in China's socialist cause that was the main object of attack by the bourgeois rightists in 1957. After the nation-wide socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts, the Communist Party has not pulled out from "all its positions" as the bourgeois rightists had fondly hoped; on the contrary, it has strengthened its leadership to an unprecedented extent in every sphere of endeavour. The proletarian dictatorship of our country has not collapsed, and the people's state in which this dictatorship is enforced under the leadership of the Communist Party has become even stronger and more consolidated. The bourgeois rightists have met with an ignominious and disastrous defeat in their attempt to try their strength against the Communist Party and people.

Although our socialist revolution has achieved a decisive victory on the economic, ideological and political fronts, the class struggle is not yet ended. This is because foreign imperialism and domestic classes still exist and reactionary ideological and political activities are carried on by the bourgeoisie

¹*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1954, Vol. III, p. 101.

in town and countryside eager to miss no opportunity of making trouble in their attempt to shake the foundations of the proletarian dictatorship and undermine the cause of socialism. In view of this, the ideological and political struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is still a protracted and complex one which advanced like a wave, rising at one time and falling at another, and may even become fairly sharp under certain circumstances. This struggle will continue for decades to come until the complete disappearance of class struggle.

The life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is bound to be reflected in the Party. There is nothing strange about this. The anti-socialist ideological trends of the bourgeoisie always try to influence and corrupt our Party in every way; the imperialists and all the internal and external reactionaries try by every means to find agents within our Party so as to carry out their disruptive activities from inside the Party and its leading nucleus. Waverers and unreliable elements inside our Party are always prone to fall under their influence. Opportunists, alien class elements and careerists with a bourgeois world outlook, who have wormed their way into the Party, are also bound to take a bourgeois stand in an attempt to change the Party into an opportunist party acting according to the world outlook and wishes of the bourgeoisie and to achieve their purpose of usurping the leadership of the revolution. During the period of the democratic revolution, agents of the bourgeoisie such as Chen Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-tao and others appeared in our Party. During the period of socialist revolution, when bourgeois and petty-bourgeois private ownership of the means of production were on the point of being completely, thoroughly and finally abolished, it was inevitable that some bourgeois revolutionaries and fellow-travellers of Marxists, who joined our Party in the period of the democratic revolution but were not in the least mentally prepared for the socialist revolution, impelled by their reactionary bourgeois ideas, should arise and put up a

resolute resistance and carry out anti-Party activities in unison with the internal and external reactionary forces. The Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih anti-Party bloc was the agent of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, responding to the wishes of the imperialists and the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries. The attack now launched by the right opportunists against the Party in opposition to the Party's general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's communes is essentially sabotage of the socialist revolution and socialist construction on behalf of bourgeois interests. It is quite clear that if their anti-Party activities are not thoroughly crushed, the Party cannot overcome the resistance of the bourgeoisie and firmly hold the leadership of the state to lead the nation to victory in revolution and construction. A Marxist-Leninist party is a united, militant organization and must have a closely-knit organization and iron discipline. The unity and solidarity of the Party is its life blood. In no case will opportunist factions or talk and activities calculated to split the Party and usurp its leadership be permitted to exist inside the Party. Those who sympathize with or connive at anti-Party activities and compromise and waver in the stern struggle against anti-Party activities are actually aiding the bourgeoisie and opposing the proletariat no matter what their subjective desires are.

To ensure the unified leadership of the Party we must persist in putting politics in command, fostering proletarian ideas, eliminating bourgeois ideas in all spheres of social endeavour and guide all revolutionary work in accordance with the Marxist world outlook. Ideological and political work is always the soul and commander of all our work. Wherever the proletariat fails to take command the bourgeoisie will do so, and wherever the Party's ideological and political work is neglected and discarded, this will result in divorce from the masses, loss of bearings and straying from the path. There are people who are adamantly against the principle of putting politics in command, saying that ideological and political work

can produce neither grain nor iron and steel for us, and provides no solutions for practical problems. By advocating the idea that the Party's leadership should be separated completely from practical mass work and politics from professional work, they aim in effect to weaken and even deny the leading role of the Party. Let us ask them: Is it not so that the all-round leap forward in socialist construction and the great victory of the switch of the entire countryside to the people's communes in 1958 are historical wonders achieved precisely by relying on the principle laid down by the Party of putting politics in command and resolutely implementing the mass line?

To ensure the unified leadership of the Party, it is necessary for all revolutionary organizations, including government offices, army units, people's bodies, political and judicial organs like public security bureaux, courts and procuracies, and departments of finance, economy, culture, education, science and public health, to be brought under the unified leadership of the Central Committee and the local committees at all levels (including the Party committees at the basic level) of the Party in their work and in the struggle to implement the general line and the fundamental tasks of the Party. Since the Chinese Communist Party is a tried and tested political party and the best representative of the people's interests, all revolutionary organizations have voluntarily accepted its leadership, for only in this way can they work under correct guidance, with a clear-cut goal and give free play to their initiative in the common cause of the revolution. Yet in our practical work we have not infrequently come across leading personnel in certain organizations who are eager for their organizations to go in for "independent activities." They overemphasize the setting-up of the necessary leadership in the same field and the relations for the guidance of work at a lower level by the higher level. They even go the length of spreading such an absurd argument as that "amateurs cannot lead experts," ask for all kinds of powers

from the Party, and try to turn the organizations under their leadership into "independent kingdoms." There are still other organizations whose leading personnel are willing to accept only the leadership of the government departments at the higher level but not the unified leadership of the local Party committees at their own level. It is obvious that all these ideas and activities are, as a matter of fact, a denial of the unified leadership of the Party, a denial of the role of the Party committees at all levels under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, as the highest form of organization and the core of leadership in the various localities concerned. These are dangerous ideological tendencies. Persisting in these errors, quite a number of comrades have made the work led by them suffer the loss of the leadership of the Party and supervision by the masses, and thereby committed serious political mistakes.

Although some comrades verbally acknowledge the role of leadership by the Party, they argue that the Party can exercise only political and ideological leadership, not organizational leadership, over non-Party organizations, otherwise, it will be an interference with the "independence" of these organizations. As everybody knows, it is by relying on all the organizations (including the Party organizations in the state organs and people's bodies) and members of the Party to unite with and lead the broad mass of the people that the lines, principles and policies of the Party have been carried out. Organizational leadership is the guarantee for the exercise of political leadership. Without concrete organizational leadership, without Party leadership over the groups of responsible Party members and the rank-and-file members in the state organs and people's bodies, can there be any guarantee for the carrying out of the lines, principles and policies of the Party? Can there be any political and ideological leadership of the Party? It should be pointed out that in denying the necessity for Party members in non-Party organizations to obey unconditionally the leadership of the Party organizations, they are, in

essence, regarding themselves not as Communist Party members appointed to work in non-Party organizations, but as representatives of the "guild" in the Party; considering the Party not as the highest form of organization of the proletariat but as a liberal federation of various bodies. It is quite obvious that this point of view is utterly wrong. As a matter of fact, there can be no "independence" for any revolutionary organization when it is divorced from the leadership of the Communist Party. If it does not accept the leadership of the Communist Party, it will inevitably accept the leadership of the bourgeoisie. In 1919 when refuting the slogan that called on the trade unions to abandon the leadership of the Communist Party and to achieve "independence," Lenin pointed out that in the class struggle "all talk about independence and democracy 'in general,' whatever sauce they are garnished with, is the greatest fraud, the greatest betrayal of socialism."¹ Do not all the activities of those who oppose the leadership of the Party over non-Party organizations serve to confirm this truth?

Some people will probably say: In doing so aren't you in fact making no distinction between the Party and the Government? Our reply to this is that, in the first place, we do not make a distinction between the Party and the Government and yet we also stand for drawing a line between the Party and the Government. In our socialist country led by the proletariat there can be only one "political planning council," and not two "political planning councils." The general line and general tasks, the general policies and general planning for all work can only come under the sole leadership of the Party. All revolutionary organizations outside the Party must accept unified Party leadership in carrying out Party lines, principles and policies, otherwise they will go astray and bungle their work. But this of course does not mean that the Party should take over the routine running of such non-Party organizations as state organs and the people's organizations and so blur the

¹V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russian ed., 1950, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 395-396.

distinction, which is a matter of principle, between the Party and non-Party organizations. On the contrary, we hold that it is only when the Communist Party not only draws a sharp line between itself and all other classes on matters of principle but also stands in the forefront of the masses of the working class and firmly carries out its vanguard role, ideologically, politically and organizationally—only then can it give more vigorous leadership to non-Party organizations and effectively heighten the political understanding and organizational ability of the masses. It is therefore wrong that in a few places “the Party and people’s communes became merged” and “the Party and local administration became one,” for to all intents and purposes this confused the highest form of organization of the working class with non-Party revolutionary organizations. In doing so the role of the Party as the vanguard of the proletariat was debased. We have already criticized and corrected this mistake.

Our Party has always adhered to the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. We hold that only through the collective can the abilities and talents of an individual be turned to proper account; on the other hand, only by being integrated with a system of personal responsibility can collective leadership play its role to the full. While there must be a division of work and responsibility in a body exercising leadership, there must also be someone in general charge, just as an orchestra must have a good conductor and an army squad must have a strong leader. Likewise, there must be a nucleus of leadership in the Party committees at all levels. Without this, it will be like an amorphous body without a head pulling in all directions; in which case everybody will be out of step with everybody else and there can be no common action. All this is common sense; it is also true. The right opportunists do not understand in the least the unity of collective leadership and the role of the individual (the unity of the Party committee and its first secretary). They oppose the first secretary taking command,

describing this as dictatorship, and “not democratic.” The truth of the matter is that they are only interested in knocking down what they call the “dictatorship” of the Party so that they themselves can take over and set up a “dictatorship.” This is trickery, a sort of scheme to usurp Party leadership. We hold that the nucleus of collective leadership represents the essence of collective wisdom; for the first secretary to take command in important matters means that he should become a good squad leader, giving the lead and setting an example in doing a good job. This is not a divorce from collective leadership and the assumption of personal “dictatorship.” The Party committees at all levels, and especially the higher leading organs, all have a nucleus of leadership, which is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, tried and tested in the crucible of revolutionary fire, and close to the masses. They are the cardinal guarantees that our Party will weather every storm and stress. The fact that the right opportunists spearhead their attacks against the Party leadership shows that they aim at disintegrating the Party’s nucleus of leadership, the nucleus of the masses, and the vanguard of the proletariat. We must thoroughly expose this and firmly repulse this attack.

What has been said above about the mistakes of debasing, weakening and even denying the leading role of the Party by opposing putting politics in command, opposing the leading role of the nucleus of the Party committee, opposing the Party guiding non-Party organizations, and opposing the first secretary taking command, is in essence a reflection of bourgeois individualism, liberalism and anarchism in our Party, and directly runs counter to the Party spirit of the proletariat. The lessons drawn from the prolonged revolutionary struggle, and especially from the struggle waged against the bourgeois rightists, and the rectification campaign, have taught us one simple yet most essential truth: the moment any revolutionary organization divorces itself from Party leadership it will make major mistakes, work harms and do nothing good. All revolutionary organizations, if they want to play a positive role

in the interests of the revolution and avoid making serious mistakes, must put themselves fully under the leadership of the Party. With regard to this question the cadres and members of the Communist Party must be constantly educated one way or another. Similar lessons have shown to us that in the ranks of the proletariat bourgeois individualism is the source of all evil. Those members of the Communist Party, and especially high-ranking cadres, who harbour individualist ideas, are sure to scramble for power and personal advantage inside the Party and even take to the criminal road of ranging themselves against the Party and people, unless they have rooted out all such wrong ideas. It is therefore clear that to strengthen Party leadership over all revolutionary organizations and to strengthen the Party's ideological work, these two things must be synthesized. We must educate all Party cadres to make further efforts to steel themselves and enhance their Party spirit and voluntarily become the well-disciplined instruments of the Party. A constant and important task that faces us in building the Party is to adhere firmly to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, earnestly criticize, repudiate and overcome all wrong tendencies which debase, weaken and even deny the leading role of the Party, and unceasingly consolidate and strengthen that leading role of the Party in all fields of endeavour.

In order to ensure unified leadership over all revolutionary organizations and work, the Central Committee of the Party has worked out a number of systems of leadership to implement this fundamental principle. Ever since the establishment of the People's Army, the Party has carried out the system of division of labour between the heads of an army unit, making them assume responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. During recent years, the system of making managers assume responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee has been established in the administration of factories and enterprises, the system of making school councils headed by their presidents assume responsibility

under the leadership of the Party committee has been set up in higher educational institutions, etc. The thorough implementation of these systems ensures the unified leadership of the Party and fully develops the sense of responsibility of the administrative leaders, thus greatly strengthening the ties between the Party and the masses and bringing into play the initiative and creativeness of the masses to the fullest possible extent. In the light of the experience of the Chinese revolution, the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed the work of Party building and the mass line.

When the whole nation is celebrating the great victory of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic and when we speak of the Chinese Communist Party as the greatest, the most glorious and consistently correct revolutionary Party in the history of China, we feel very happy and infinitely proud and naturally remember that the complete victory of our democratic revolution and the great triumph of the socialist revolution, the splendid successes of socialist construction and the high position China enjoys on the international scene are inseparable from the name of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of our Party, and his invincible, outstanding Marxist-Leninist leadership. The high prestige of Comrade Mao Tse-tung as the great leader of our Party and the whole Chinese people and the high prestige of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the important guarantee that the Party will exercise unified leadership over all revolutionary work; it is the important guarantee for the victorious development of our revolutionary work. The historical facts of our revolution and construction have proved and will continue to prove that when our work of revolution or construction proceeds under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his teachings, the revolution advances and wins victories and our constructive work speeds ahead in seven league boots; and that when our work of revolution or construction departs from the

guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his teachings, the revolution sustains defeat and our constructive work suffers setbacks. In their prolonged revolutionary struggles our Party and people have found their great leader in Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is the embodiment of the maturity of our Party. It is the embodiment of the victory of our Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the most outstanding representative not only of our valiant proletariat but also of the finest traditions in the history of our great people; he is the beacon light illuminating our road of advance to communism; he is also one of the most outstanding Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, statesmen and theoreticians of our age; he has creatively enriched the treasury of Marxism-Leninism on a series of important questions. The Chinese Communists and popular masses, who endured terrible suffering in those grim, dreary days under reactionary rule and who won victory after arduous struggles seldom matched in history, when recalling the past and looking to the future, always think of their leader with feelings of infinite affection and reverence; they always think of the decisive role he has played in the successes achieved both in revolution and in construction. The 650 million Chinese people see in him their own happiness, their hopes and their future and regard him as the incarnation of communism and truth, as their ever-victorious banner. His influence, wisdom and experience and his thought, namely, his creative integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, are the most precious assets of our Party and people. The warm affection we cherish for the leader of our Party is one with our ardent love for the Party, for the working class, for our people and our great motherland.

Let us raise still higher the victorious banner of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and further strengthen and consolidate our great and glorious Party ideologically, politically and organizationally and, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by him, march forward with one mind and

united ranks, guiding our 650 million people to brave the winds and waves and press ahead valiantly and carry out resolutely the general line of going all out and aiming high to get greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism and strive to build our country as speedily as possible into a socialist power with a modern industry and agriculture, a modern science and culture.

The Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in China

Teng Tse-hui

I. The General Course of the Development of the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in China

In the ten years since the founding of the People's Republic, in the vast Chinese countryside with its more than 500 million peasants, as on all other fronts in China, great, historic successes in socialist transformation and construction have been achieved under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung: land reform has been completed, agricultural co-operation realized and on this basis people's communes have been set up. A most profound and fundamental change has taken place in the whole aspect of our countryside.

After the liberation of the mainland, our Party at once began to carry out land reform in the newly-freed areas. During the three years between 1950 and 1953, feudal land-ownership was abolished and the ownership of the land by the peasants established on a country-wide scale. Productive forces were liberated, agricultural production was raised and the whole national economy was rapidly rehabilitated and developed. At the same time, pre-conditions were created for the socialist transformation of agriculture. In 1953, the Central Committee of the Party made public in time its general line for the transition period. This, like a beacon, illuminated every corner of the countryside and the socialist transforma-

tion of agriculture began systematically and on full scale immediately after victorious completion of the land reform, that is to say, we struck the iron while it was hot. By the winter of 1952, when the land reform was largely completed, 40 per cent of all peasant households in China had joined the mutual-aid teams. More than 3,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives of the elementary type had been set up, and supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives had been set up everywhere. In 1953, the state embarked on the policy of planned purchase and distribution of grain and other major farm produce. In 1954, the number of elementary farm co-operatives grew to more than 114,000. In 1955 it reached 630,000, embracing 14.2 per cent of all China's peasant households. The active participation of the peasant masses in co-operatives in increasing numbers showed that an upsurge in the socialist transformation of agriculture had arrived. Noting this inevitable, objectively existing trend, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a timely correction of the erroneous right conservative thinking within the Party which checked the peasants' enthusiasm for co-operation, and called upon the whole Party to lead the movement actively, enthusiastically and in a planned way. As a result, the upsurge in socialist revolution in the countryside began in the latter half of 1955. In the latter half of 1956, the elementary co-operatives went a step forward and became fully socialist, agricultural producers' co-operatives of the advanced type. Thus the socialist transformation of agriculture was virtually completed in the field of the ownership of the means of production. The foundation for the growth of capitalism in the countryside was thereby uprooted and the way was opened for the broad mass of the peasantry to enjoy a common prosperity. Following that, in 1957, the rectification campaign, the movement to check up on the work of the co-operatives and the full-scale movement of socialist education swept across the countryside. This brought about the decisive victory of socialist revolution on the political and

ideological fronts. The victory of the socialist transformation of agriculture was further consolidated and developed. A new situation emerged which gave rise to the socialist and communist ideological emancipation of the entire nation and the great leap forward in agricultural production.

The people's commune movement, which unfolded in the latter half of 1958, was based on this great emancipation of the mind and big forward leap in production. It is a result of the Party's general line for building socialism, of the political and economic development in China. The emergence of the people's communes is by no means fortuitous, they are a development of the advanced farm co-operatives and appeared as a reflection of the objective law that relations of production must correspond to the development of productive forces. Hence, within a short period of several months, more than 700,000 farm co-operatives were merged, through the voluntary participation of the mass of the peasants, into more than 26,000 people's communes. Thus the movement was carried through. The people's commune is large and comprehensive. It is characterized by the over-all development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries; the combination of industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs; and the integration of government administration and commune management. Its emergence is an epoch-making event of great historic significance and marks a new stage of the development of Chinese agriculture. It has a more profound significance in that the people's commune has provided the best form of social organization for speeding up socialist construction in China and preparing for the transition to communism. "Communist society is paradise and the people's commune is the bridge leading to it." The peasant masses look upon the people's commune as the "bridge of happiness" on the road to socialism and for the transition to communism. Today they are marching at an unprecedented rate along this broad avenue of socialism.

II. The Great Historic Significance of the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in China and Its Characteristics

China used to be a country in which the small-peasant economy was overwhelmingly dominant. Therefore, to transform the small-peasant economy into a collective economy was one of the most complicated tasks the Party had to undertake after winning nation-wide victory in the democratic revolution. After completing the land reform, we had to rapidly and uninterruptedly carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture because this was of vital historical significance.

The first reason was our desire to build a socialist China. The economic structure of our country at the time, as pointed out by Comrade Liu Shao-chi, "embraced not only a socialist economy but also capitalist and individual economies." The Party's general line for the transition period was to "transform the complicated economic structure into a homogeneous socialist one." Since China was an agricultural country, and the ocean of the small-peasant economy was still predominant in the entire national economy after the land reform, the socialist transformation of agriculture became the most difficult, most important historic task in realizing the general line for the transition period. Among the mass of the peasants there was then a struggle between two roads of development. On the one hand, the mass of the poor peasants and the lower section of the middle peasants developed great enthusiasm for mutual aid and co-operation and wanted resolutely to take the road of socialism. On the other, a spontaneous tendency towards capitalism grew among a small number of well-to-do middle peasants who wanted to "make the family prosperous by working on their own and get rich by exploitation." If affairs had been allowed to take their own course, new class differentiation would certainly have taken place, making "one family rich and a hundred poor." Capitalism would have swept the countryside and the broad mass of the peasants would have

once more fallen prey to exploitation by a few rich peasants. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said well: "If positions in the countryside are not held by socialism, capitalism will assuredly occupy them." The facts taught the masses of the cadres and peasants that only by organizing themselves, only by taking the road of mutual aid and co-operation could they shake off poverty and embark on the sole road to happiness and common prosperity; and that only by carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture and turning the small-peasant economy into socialist co-operative economy could our country attain socialism.

The second reason was our desire to industrialize our country. Industrialization is the core of the socialist economy. Without socialist industry there could be no strong national defence and welfare of the people. Without it, it would be impossible to transform our backward agriculture into modern agriculture. But the development of socialist industry must itself be founded on a fully-developed agriculture. This is particularly true in such a big rural country as ours, where agriculture has extreme importance. Our agricultural situation exercises a decisive influence upon the development of the national economy as a whole. We can say it would be impossible for us to have a flourishing industry without a fully-developed agriculture. But unless the small-peasant economy is transformed, there could be no rapid development of agriculture, which, in turn, would fail to meet the needs of industrialization. On this point Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stated: "Socialist industrialization is not something that can be carried out in isolation, separate from agricultural co-operation." We cannot stand with one foot on the ground of socialist industry and with the other on the ground of the small-peasant economy. Hence, the socialist transformation of agriculture, and the enlistment of the 500 million strong peasantry in the task of socialist construction, are the decisive conditions for the industrialization of China.

The third reason was our desire to realize the mechanization and electrification of agriculture. In the conditions of China, to effect a fundamental change in the backwardness of agriculture involves two tasks. One task concerns the economic system: we had thoroughly to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture and change scattered, individual farming into collective farming. The other task is the technical transformation of agriculture; i.e. we want to introduce machinery, wherever this can be done, in all branches of agricultural work, in order to realize mechanization and electrification. But as China's industrial foundation is weak, it has been impossible to supply agriculture with many machines, chemical fertilizers and other industrial products at once. What was the way out, then? Should we have postponed agricultural co-operation until industry was developed and could equip agriculture with machines, or was it right to carry out agricultural co-operation first and then gradually to mechanize agriculture along with the development of the country's industrialization? Had we chosen the first road, i.e. had we not taken steps to carry out agricultural co-operation immediately following the land reform, capitalism would have developed freely in the countryside. This would have been the opportunist road, which the great majority of the peasants would not have tolerated. So there was only one way out. We had to carry out agricultural co-operation first while still temporarily unable to equip agriculture with large amounts of machinery and then gradually, on the basis of co-operation, to realize the mechanization of agriculture along with the development of industrialization. The facts have proved that provided the small-peasant economy is reorganized into collective economy, agricultural production can be considerably expanded even relying on the existing manpower, animals and farm tools, because the labour enthusiasm of the producers is greatly developed. The constant increase in the production of farm co-operatives in the past years gave vigorous support to socialist industrialization. At the same time it provided

the preliminary conditions for the mechanization and electrification of agriculture. In circumstances where farm machinery was lacking, the most appropriate and only correct way of accomplishing the modernization of China's agriculture was first to carry out agricultural co-operation and then gradually to realize, on this basis, the mechanization and electrification of agriculture.

From the three points mentioned above we can see how significant it is for the industrialization of the country, the modernization of agriculture and building China into a socialist country that the socialist transformation of agriculture was carried out by the Party immediately following land reform. But it was not easy to accomplish such a gigantic task in an extremely backward country like China, mainly agricultural and with a predominantly small-peasant economy. How to explain, then, that we were able to perform this most complex historical task fairly successfully and quickly—in less than five years? The reasons were:

First, China's peasants had long groaned under multiple exploitation and oppression by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The farm labourers and poor peasants, the rural proletariat and semi-proletariat who accounted for 60-70 per cent of the rural population, possessed little or no land. Their burning desire was to end their poverty quickly. At the same time, our Party has all along treated the peasant question as the central issue of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Liu Shao-chi has said:

In the democratic revolutionary period, the Chinese Communist Party, therefore, went deep into the villages and for twenty-two years led the armed revolutionary struggle which used the villages to encircle the cities. What the Party adopted was the mass line policy of resolutely relying on the peasants' political consciousness and organized strength, mobilizing the peasants to save themselves, to overthrow the landlords, to acquire land and safeguard the land

(this policy of the Party was carried out continuously up to the land reform after the founding of the People's Republic of China); not the contrary bourgeois policy of "bestowing" land on the peasants as a favour. This enabled the Party to build powerful and reliable revolutionary bastions in the rural areas, to build up the revolutionary army and revolutionary bases, gradually raise the revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary discipline of the broad masses of impoverished peasants close to the level of the revolutionary proletariat.

Secondly, our land reform movement, which was carried out most thoroughly and gave full rein to the arousing of the masses, was a typical example of "letting the masses emancipate themselves." Through the land reform, the mass of the peasants achieved real emancipation, the farm labourers, poor peasants and the lower section of the middle peasants firmly established their leading position in rural areas and further took control of the political power and the armed forces. The land reform not only eliminated the landlord class economically and greatly weakened the rich-peasant economy, but also completely overthrew the landlord class and isolated the rich peasants politically. All this created pre-conditions for the socialist transformation of agriculture. The more thoroughly the land reform was carried out, the more favourable were the conditions created for the transition to socialist revolution.

Thirdly, the socialist transformation of agriculture in China followed closely on the heels of the land reform. In the winter of 1952 land reform was in the main completed throughout the country. In 1953, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward in good time the Party's general line for the transition period and took the "Decisions on the Development of Mutual Aid and Co-operation" and the "Decisions on the Development of Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives." Subsequently, between the winter

of 1955 and the spring of 1956, lower stage co-operation was in the main completed throughout the country. In the winter of 1956 a quick advance was made to the higher stage. Thus, by "striking the iron while it was hot," we quickly switched the democratic revolution, after the land reform, to the socialist revolution in the countryside, prevented any large-scale development of capitalism in the rural areas and lessened the resistance to the revolution. This made it possible for the socialist transformation of agriculture to advance successfully.

Fourthly, the movement for mutual aid and co-operation in China had a fairly long history. Already in the period of the revolutionary wars, our Party led the peasants in the revolutionary bases to organize themselves into farming labour mutual-aid units with rudiments of socialism. In the period of agrarian revolution, for instance, there were mutual-aid labour groups and farming teams in Kiangsi Province. During the subsequent War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, there were work-exchange teams and labour-for-hire teams¹ in northern Shensi; and mutual-aid teams in North, East and Northeast China. After nation-wide liberation, such mutual-aid teams developed more extensively and on their basis agricultural producers' co-operatives were organized in large numbers. These mutual-aid and co-operative units provided the experience and the organizational foundation for the agricultural co-operative movement that began in 1953.

It was precisely because the broad mass of peasants had a high degree of class consciousness and enthusiasm for mutual aid and co-operation, because the foundation was laid in the wake of the complete victory of the land reform, because we carried out agricultural co-operation immediately after the

¹A labour-for-hire team was generally composed of peasants who had insufficient land. In addition to exchanging labour power between themselves as in a work-exchange team, the main function of the peasants in the team was to collectively hire themselves out to those households which needed labour power—Tr.

land reform without losing time, because we had accumulated some experience of co-operation and were organizationally prepared—it was precisely for these reasons that we were able to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture fairly successfully and quickly. It was for the same reasons that the enthusiasm of the peasant masses for production remained constantly at a high pitch throughout the transformation, and that agricultural production, instead of suffering losses during this earth-shaking change, gradually went up as the socialist transformation of agriculture was completed. This is a great victory for Marxism-Leninism in China.

III. Principles, Steps and Policies in the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture

Our Party held that, after the completion of the land reform, energetic steps must be taken to transform the small-peasant economy and that it would be wrong to let the latter take its own course. It held that at the same time the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit must be adhered to, that we should get the peasants organized voluntarily through persuasion, example and state help. It also held that various steps and forms of transition easily acceptable to the peasants should be adopted so that they might enter a completely socialist system mentally prepared and without reluctance. These steps and forms were:

First, the peasants were advised to organize themselves into seasonal mutual-aid teams characterized by simple collective labour, or year-round mutual-aid teams based on collective work which carried out a certain degree of division of labour and specialization and owned a small amount of common property. Members of such teams maintained private ownership of the means of production, and the management of the land was decentralized. But since the members organized themselves and worked collectively, the mutual-aid teams already

contained the first shoots of socialism. Year-round mutual-aid teams had more socialist elements than the seasonal ones.

The second step was to organize elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives on the basis of the mutual-aid teams. In such co-operatives, which were based on private ownership, land was pooled as shares; the management unified, and income distributed in proportion to the amount of land invested and of work done. Dividends on land were distributed according to the amount of land pooled on a share basis by the members, while reward for labour was paid according to the quantity and quality of the work they did in the co-operatives. Members were further given reasonable payment for the draught animals, farm implements and other means of production they pooled in the co-operatives. Elementary co-operatives possessed more accumulated public funds than mutual-aid teams. This made them semi-socialist in character, and a very good transitional form in guiding the peasants to advance to a fully socialist system.

The third step was to establish agricultural producers' co-operatives of the advanced type (i.e. collective farms), socialist in character, based on the collective ownership of the basic means of production, and distributing their income entirely in accordance with the principle of "to each according to his work." Some co-operatives of this type were set up in a few areas soon after the land reform. In 1954 their number grew to more than 500. By the winter of 1956, the whole country had in the main passed to higher-stage agricultural co-operation.

Practical results proved that it was entirely correct to correlate the steps of gradually organizing the peasants, gradual transition, gradual transformation and systematic advance from mutual-aid teams with rudiments of socialism, through semi-socialist elementary co-operatives, to fully socialist co-operatives of the advanced type. As the Party's Central Committee put it, the advantage of this transition was that it would "enable the broad mass of peasants to be quite prepared in

advance, both materially and psychologically, for the day when they come to a completely socialist economic system, instead of being taken by surprise; thus it will be possible to avoid losses which might occur if there were an abrupt change."

During the movement for the socialist transformation of agriculture, the Party again firmly adhered to the class policy of "relying on the poor peasants and the lower section of the middle peasants and firmly uniting with the upper section of the middle peasants." The poor peasants and the lower section of the middle peasants among both the new and old middle peasants, who, in the period under review, formed about 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population, wanted and were disposed to organize co-operatives either because of their economic difficulties or because their economic conditions were still not too good. In the early period of co-operation, the first thing to do was to draw them into co-operatives by stages and in groups according to their degree of understanding, so as to enable them to become the leading core and backbone of the co-operatives. Although the middle peasants who were well off or relatively better off formed the minority in the countryside, they exerted an important influence over the broad mass of poor peasants and the lower section of the middle peasants. As a whole, they supported the Communist Party and the People's Government, and some of them benefited immensely in the land reform. But since they were economically better off, they inevitably wavered in joining the co-operatives. In general, therefore, none of them were to be drawn into the co-operatives too soon. We should educate them for a fairly long period and wait patiently till their understanding grew. We would admit them when they saw that the yield per *mou* of the co-operatives and the income of the co-operative members equalled or surpassed their own, that they stood to gain nothing by going on working on their own, and that it was rather more profitable to join. At the same time, as a result of our policy of making fair and reasonable payment for the draught animals, farm implements

and other means of production pooled by the members, the middle peasants did not suffer by joining the co-operatives. Thanks to the policy of planned purchase and distribution of grain and other major farm produce introduced by the government in 1953 and the extensive setting-up of rural supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives, the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism in the rural areas was greatly restricted, and the middle peasants realized that the capitalist road would not take them far. The constant increase in the output of the co-operatives also awoke the better-off middle peasants to the fact that "individual farming is inferior to co-operation." Finally they stopped wavering and, during the upsurge in agricultural co-operation, applied to join the co-operatives in large numbers. It was precisely because of these Party policies that the overwhelming majority of the rural people were united and that the socialist revolution was carried on without disrupting the solidarity between the middle and poor peasants. On the contrary, all the positive factors were mobilized. Agricultural production went up steadily throughout the socialist transformation of agriculture, instead of suffering any decrease in its course.

The historical task of agricultural co-operation was thus accomplished. But the victory of the socialist revolution cannot be consolidated by eliminating capitalism in the ownership of the means of production alone. The socialist revolution must also be effected on the ideological and political fronts, by fostering proletarian ideas, eliminating bourgeois ideas, and ensuring that proletarian ideas get the upper hand. After the completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, it was inevitable that we should have continued to encounter the counter-attacks and resistance of hostile classes and ideas. This ideological and political struggle was unavoidable. So in the latter half of 1957, simultaneously with the struggle in the cities against the frenzied attack of the bourgeois rightists, a large-scale socialist education campaign was carried out throughout the rural areas. The masses were thoroughly

aroused through such forms of socialist democracy as the full airing of views, debates and *tatsepao*. Firm confidence was placed in the great majority of the masses who were encouraged to come out with what they wanted to say. They set forth all the facts, explained their views fully, recalled their past experience, compared the present with the past and drew a balance sheet of gain and loss. The many bare-faced lies directed against socialism by hostile elements were thus demolished by the numerous indisputable facts that were brought out. From then on, capitalist ideas were discredited and socialist ideas shone bright everywhere. This opened the eyes of the rural cadres and the masses. They knew where they were going. Their socialist consciousness was greatly enhanced; their enthusiasm for production welled up as never before. From then on, the advantages of the farm co-operatives were brought into full play. The stage was set for a big leap forward in our agriculture.

IV. The Superiority of Advanced Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives and Their Consolidation and Development

The accomplishment of the socialist transformation of agriculture released the productive forces, fundamentally solved the contradiction between socialist industry and the small-peasant economy, and promoted the year-by-year upsurge of agricultural production. It also gave an impetus to the increasing prosperity and development of the whole national economy, fully demonstrating the incomparable superiority of the socialist system.

In 1956, the first year the advanced farm co-operatives were set up, an enormous increase was achieved, despite serious natural calamities, in the output of grain and other major farm crops. The total output of grain was 365,000 million catties, 15,400 million catties more than the figure for the bumper harvest year 1955, over 148,000 million catties more than that

of 1949, over 56,000 million catties more than in 1952, and over 87,000 million catties more than in the peak year before liberation. Thus the target for grain output set for the First Five-Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of time. The total value of agricultural production in 1956 was 58,300 million yuan, over 2,700 million yuan more than in 1955, and an increase of 78.8 per cent above 1949. Some 80 per cent of the more than 700,000 farm co-operatives and 80 per cent of their members increased their incomes; in only a small number of co-operatives, because of serious natural calamities or inadequate management, production did not go up markedly or dropped slightly. In 1957, agricultural production went up again. In 65 counties and cities, the per *mou* yield of grain reached the targets of 400, 500 and 800 catties respectively as laid down for different natural regions by the twelve-year (1956-1967) National Programme for Agricultural Development. For cotton, in 64 counties and cities (i.e. in one-seventh of the total area sown to this crop) the per *mou* yield reached 60, 80 and 100 catties respectively. That is to say, in all those areas, the targets laid down by the National Programme for Agricultural Development were fulfilled eight years ahead of schedule. The incomes of the peasants, and the standards of their material and cultural life rose considerably alongside the steady increase of agricultural production. In 1957, the average level of consumption of the rural people, shown by available statistics, was more than 80 per cent higher than 1949 and 30 per cent higher than 1952. It was also markedly above the 1955 level. Rural purchasing power rose more than 50 per cent compared with 1952, and more than 10 per cent compared with 1955. The economic condition of the peasants improved a great deal. Now the middle peasants formed the great majority of the rural population, and in approximately 20 to 30 per cent or more of the farm co-operatives established at the time, the living standards and income of the members had caught up with and surpassed that of well-to-do middle peasants before co-operatives were founded. Apart from

having engaged in various kinds of capital construction for agriculture, each farm co-operative possessed, on the average, an accumulated public fund (comprising cash, grain and various big farm tools) valued at about 66,000 yuan. This was an average of 198 yuan per farm household. Thus a material foundation for the continued development of agriculture was laid.

Why were our farm co-operatives able to achieve such a great increase in production without the help of machines? The key was the collectivization of agriculture, the release of the productive forces and the full mobilization of the working enthusiasm of the peasants, resulting in steady increase in the sphere of work, the scale of production and the productivity of labour.

The labouring people are the most fundamental, active and positive factor of the productive forces of society. In old China, with the vast countryside suffering from age-old feudal rule, the producers were deprived of the means of production. The peasants either owned very little land or none at all, so a large amount of labour power was wholly or partially unused and rural unemployment mounted. In this situation, it was impossible to utilize the rich resources and develop the productive forces of our country. During the land reform all the peasants received land. Thus the producers were united with the means of production. The conditions of production consequently were radically changed. But in the small-peasant economy, in which the single household continued to be the unit of production, it was impossible to adopt advanced farming techniques or practise any well defined division of labour, much less carry on large-scale capital construction in farming. So there were still great limitations on the use of labour. The development of the productive forces was still fettered. Mutual-aid teams were better than the individual peasant economy in this respect. But they too were still based on private ownership. Though working together, the members could only produce according to the re-

quirements of the different participating households. The limitations of private ownership remained to be broken. Until this was done, the extension of the sphere to which labour could be applied, and the rational use of labour power, were out of the question. The elementary farm co-operatives went a step further towards solving this contradiction. They permitted a unified use of land, labour power and other means of production, so the productive forces developed. But because private ownership of the land by members still remained, and a considerable portion of the annual income of the co-operatives had to be distributed according to the shares of land pooled, the working enthusiasm of the members could not but be somewhat restricted. Also, the elementary farm co-operatives were incapable of carrying on capital construction on the land, or of making full use of natural resources to enlarge the sphere of management and change the conditions of production. Thus the scope of utilization of labour power was still restricted and the full development of productive forces still had some fetters.

After the advanced farm co-operatives were established the situation improved further. Advanced farm co-operatives had a socialist collective economy. Their land and other major means of production were collectively owned, thus breaking the shackles of private ownership. The nature of labour was thus fundamentally changed. The fruits of work were distributed entirely according to the interests of those who did it. As a result, the members' enthusiasm for production further mounted. Also, the advanced farm co-operatives, being fairly large, and owning the principal means of production collectively, could manage land in a unified and planned way, grow crops according to the nature of the soil, organize labour power rationally, assign jobs according to ability, carry out division of work and specialization, and diversify their undertakings. As the scale of production grew, additional undertakings were set afoot, and a lot of work had to be done more thoroughly in conquering nature, the sphere

of application of labour was greatly extended, the reserve potential of labour was fully tapped, and the rate of utilization of labour grew higher. Not only did people with full and partial labour power turn up in the fields in increasing numbers. Those capable only of auxiliary labour could be employed in suitable jobs, and those who had formerly taken no part in labour now did so. After going over to the advanced farm, as shown by surveys of some typical co-operatives, attendance at labour generally increased by 20 to 30 per cent for men and 35 to 100 per cent, or even as high as 500 per cent or more, in the case of women. Large numbers of women came to take part in productive work. The total number of persons at work increased, on the average, by about one-third. "Labour creates value"; more labour power means more production. This is a major truth of Marxism-Leninism. It is also the root of the superiority of co-operation.

The superiority of collective economy, however, cannot be brought into full play merely by raising the rate of utilization of labour and the working enthusiasm of the co-operative members. This can be done only by directing their labour enthusiasm so they can do their work scientifically, thus constantly raising efficiency. Collective labour is different from individual labour, and agricultural production differs from industrial production because its operations are scattered. At present, our farm work is done in the fields, with hand-operated tools. Agricultural production is strongly affected by geographical and seasonal features, i.e. it is limited by weather and natural environment. Without a set of procedures for managing production that suit these characteristics, without clearly defined division of labour, without a properly formulated system of responsibility in production, it is still impossible to develop the advantages of collective production to the full, because even if more members turn out to work they cannot raise their efficiency. That is why, when farm co-operatives were first set up in various parts of the country, the productive forces did not develop sufficiently. In 1956

and 1957, after co-operation was brought about, extensive and careful checking-up and consolidation was done in various places. Besides giving effect to a system of socialist distribution, systems of management and production responsibility suited to the characteristics of agriculture were worked out. Division of work between different management levels was more clearly defined. Labour power was organized on a more compact basis and utilized more rationally. As a result, labour efficiency was raised still higher, the superiority of the advanced farm co-operatives was further brought into play, and productive forces were still more greatly developed. What problems, then, were solved during this check-up of the co-operatives?

First, we carried out a socialist policy of the distribution of income. The Communist Party had always followed the principle of maintaining a proper ratio between accumulation and consumption. This ensured that a certain portion of the income went to the accumulated public fund so that the co-operative could carry out expanded reproduction from year to year; and another for distribution among the members, so that the earnings of the majority grew and their enthusiasm for greater production was sustained. But when the farm co-operatives strode forward in their production, especially in 1956, not a few cadres thought of "increasing the portion for accumulation and decreasing the portion for distribution." Thus they hoped to swell the accumulated public funds overnight. What they did not realize was that, by increasing the portion for accumulation, they would naturally have to cut that for distribution. This was bound to affect the income of the members, their labour enthusiasm, and the development and consolidation of the co-operatives. To guard against it, the Central Committee of the Party, acting in time, put forward a policy of earmarking a greater portion of the income for distribution and a smaller portion for accumulation. It laid down that 60 to 70 per cent of the co-operative's gross income must go to the members, and

that 90 per cent of the members must enjoy a rise of income over the preceding year. In 1957, when the production of the co-operatives developed further, many co-operative cadres, in their thinking, veered in another direction. They were now inclined to lay more stress on increasing the portion for consumption by the members, and less on increasing the portion for the accumulated public fund. This tendency too was overcome in time by the Central Committee of the Party. It laid down that the portion for the accumulated public fund in the advanced co-operatives could go up from 5 to 10 per cent. At the same time it called on co-operative members to raise their attendance at work and carry out expanded reproduction by building water conservancy projects, afforestation, and making equipment for collecting manure and manufacturing fertilizer, etc. As to the criterion for deciding the income of co-operative members, the Party consistently adhered to the principle of "to each according to his work and more pay for more work." But peasant households differed one from the other. Among the poor and lower middle peasants, there were some families which had difficulties in making ends meet, with many mouths to feed but few hands to work. Some families, because of illness, deaths and funerals or other unforeseen circumstances, could not eke out a living even with the bonuses earned by their working members. In the co-operatives too there were a small number of people—the widowed, the orphaned, the disabled, the aged without sons or daughters to support them—who were unable to work and make a living for themselves. Since the co-operatives could not turn a blind eye to their plight, they adopted a policy of "mutual assistance and due consideration for different cases." Families which were short of money to meet medical or funeral expenses received certain allowances out of the public welfare fund. Families which had supplementary labour were helped to take up more cottage side-occupations. Those who had special skills were helped to resume their former trades, such as carting, tinkering, hair-

cutting, tailoring, mat-weaving, fruit-growing, etc. The co-operatives established what were known as the "five guarantees" for the aged, the weak, the orphaned, the widowed and the disabled. All were assured a regular supply of food, clothing, and fuel; the young got education; the aged, after death, received proper burial. All these expenses were paid out of the public welfare fund. Such measures of mutual assistance represented, in essence, the early beginnings of communism.

Second, we elaborated the system of "unified management for the whole and administration at their own level by the production units." Just after their establishment the co-operatives in various parts of the country tended to concentrate too much power at the top. They would refer everything, important or unimportant, to the chairman, thus leaving the production brigades without authority. This made management cumbersome and bogged it down in routine. On the other hand, since the brigades had no authority to make decisions required by specific conditions and by seasonal changes in their areas, necessary measures in production were often taken too late. Such things often caused unnecessary friction between cadres on the co-operative level and those leading the production brigades. During the check-up the farm co-operatives in various parts of the country, basing themselves on the principle of "unified management for the whole and administration at their own level by the production units," defined a "division of authority" between the co-operative management and the production brigades. The respective powers and functions of the two were clearly demarcated. It was expressly laid down that the co-operative administrative committee was the body responsible for unified planning, management, distribution and leadership, while the production brigades were the basic units of agricultural work operating under the leadership of the co-operative administrative committee. If the co-operative undertook side-occupations, separate bodies were set up to manage them. This

system gave much scope to the enthusiasm of cadres at various levels, greatly stimulating production.

Third, we set up and perfected the system of fixed responsibility for production at every level. In the early days of the co-operatives, each production brigade was given so much farmland, so many draught animals and so many farm tools for such and such a job. Questions arose. Just how many work-points should be credited for a given job? How much of the harvest should go to the co-operative? How should the fertilizer be paid for? How much should be paid for the repair of farm tools? The system of "accounting in accordance with actual expenditure" was adopted for a time in some co-operatives. Under it, so many work-points were credited for so much work done; the entire harvest was turned over to the co-operative; and expense sheets were drawn up according to the actual outlay. The result was that the co-operative management and the production brigades were always at loggerheads on what the actual expenses were, and what constituted a correct accounting. There were also bickerings among the production brigades themselves, which differed in their available land, draught animals and sources of water. Furthermore, cases of concealment of facts and discrepancies in the way work-points and output were reported. The solidarity between the production brigades was affected by such things. How were these internal contradictions resolved? In the course of the check-up all co-operatives adopted the system of "three fixed responsibilities with compensation and bonuses." The three fixed responsibilities were for labour, production and costs. Bonuses were given for production in excess of the fixed quota. Compensation was made by the production brigades when production fell short of the fixed quota. Through this system the relations between the co-operative management and the brigades were normalized, and the responsibility for production was clearly defined. Since bonuses were awarded for exceeding the set quotas and since the earnings of the pro-

duction brigades were not equalized but accorded with performance, those with better work records received higher incomes and were satisfied. On the other hand, the poorer brigades, with less production and lower incomes, were encouraged to catch up with the richer ones by improving their conditions of production, for which purpose they were given assistance by the co-operative management and the state. This system of fixed responsibility was therefore a good one, conforming to the character of agricultural production at the time. It inspired co-operative members to yet higher enthusiasm for work and led to technical improvement and higher efficiency. With the coming of the people's communes this system has been preserved and consolidated by making the bonuses for extra production a source of the partial ownership by the production teams. The production brigade assumes the "three responsibilities," and under it are a number of provisional work teams. The relationship between the production brigade and the work teams is generally based on fixed responsibility, i.e. the work team takes on seasonal jobs of one kind or another, to be done in a fixed area, from the production brigade. If the work team stands high in technique and efficiency, it can put fewer men than the rated number for the job. In this case the production brigade does not subtract any of its work-points for the job; but neither does it add any if the work team uses more than the agreed number of men. Under this arrangement there are fewer bickerings between the production brigade and work teams. It also encourages work teams to seek ways to improve farming techniques and raise efficiency.

Fourth, we carried out the policy of "running the farm co-operatives industriously, thriftily and democratically." On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, "to run the co-operatives industriously and thriftily" was made the fundamental policy in the socialist management of agriculture. "Industriously" meant fully mobilizing co-operative members to press ahead with their jobs, expand the sphere

of management, develop a diversified economy, and plough and cultivate intensively. "Thriftily" meant to enforce economy measures, lower production costs, and oppose waste and extravagance. All the farm co-operatives put this policy into effect in the course of the check-up. While tackling the development of agricultural production, they also paid much attention to a many-sided management, and starting up new kinds of production. Doing many things to ensure the success of current production, they also made plans for capital construction. As production rose, they steadily developed education, culture, communications and transport, sports, and the health services. They were thus able to overcome the wasteful and extravagant practices of the early days of the co-operatives, and production was effectively stimulated. All farm co-operatives also put into practice a whole series of measures for democratic management, in which the mass line was applied. That is to say, they relied on the masses and took them into confidence. They combined the production experience of the older peasants with the enterprising spirit of the younger ones. They made full use of the various forms of socialist democracy, such as the full airing of views, uninhibited debate and the posting of *tatsepao* by the masses. They listened, as fully and widely as possible, to the opinions of the masses, inviting them to air their views and debate the jobs at hand, and made timely improvement in the style of leadership and in all the work. The co-operatives published their accounts and constantly invited supervision by the masses. Their cadres took part in production and guided it. Experimental farm plots were introduced, in which management cadres and agricultural technicians of the co-operative worked together with the peasants. All this enabled the members to take a real part in co-operative administration, raised their feeling of being masters and inspired them to new heights of labour enthusiasm.

Fifth, we carried out over-all planning and strengthened measures to educate co-operative members as to their future.

Thanks to the above measures taken during the check-up, the co-operatives not only increased their scope of work and enhanced the members' labour enthusiasm, but also raised their working efficiency. The superiority of the advanced type of farm co-operatives was thus fully demonstrated, and productive forces in the countryside were developed further. But since it would not be possible for the productive forces to take big strides forward, if the manpower of the co-operative was not properly organized and used, the Communist Party led the farm co-operatives in all parts of the country to make over-all plans for their work, centring on production. Each such plan was discussed first among the leadership, then all the way down the line to the masses, and then again from below upwards. It took account of, and provided over-all measures for, both current production and capital construction. These measures embraced farming and forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries and side-occupations, and the building-up of production, communications and transport, education, culture and the health services. It allocated labour forces in proper proportion among different fields of work, so that the manpower of the co-operatives was organized and used still more rationally. The Party laid particular stress at the time on putting more manpower on agricultural capital-construction jobs, for only through large-scale capital construction could expanded reproduction be carried out and a big leap forward in agricultural production and the side-occupations be launched. At the same time, throughout the rural areas the Party educated the co-operative members to see their future—the new socialist countryside. At the suggestion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung the Central Committee of the Communist Party put forward in good time the National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967) and initiated a nation-wide discussion of it. This had a profound impact on the peasants, opening before them the vistas of life in a future full of happiness. It was, in essence, a nation-wide mobilization for the building of the new socialist countryside. It defined the way ahead,

inspired one and all to still greater efforts; and was in itself a criticism and repudiation of right conservative ideas of all kinds. It greatly stimulated the working enthusiasm of cadres and masses and turned all positive factors to account, welding them into a great material force. Thus it effectively promoted the continuous progress in agricultural production and all other fields of endeavour in the rural areas. Mass peasant enthusiasm for production gave rise, first of all, to a high tide of capital construction in agriculture. Then the Party's general line for socialist construction, and its call for "a hard battle for three years so as to basically change the face of the countryside," gave great impetus to the peasants. In the winter of 1957, an agricultural production campaign centring on water conservancy and the accumulation and manufacture of fertilizers heralded the great leap in agriculture. In the period between the winter of 1957 and the autumn of 1958 a total of 480 million *mou* was added to the country's irrigated area and 260 million *mou* to its afforested area. Besides, the work of water and soil conservation was completed over an area of 320,000 square kilometres as a result of afforestation, over 206 million *mou* of lowland were relieved from the threat of water-logging, and 160 million pigs (serving as a main source of manure) were raised. Results like these had never been achieved before in our history.

Mass peasant enthusiasm for production was accompanied by initiative in reforming farm tools. The campaign to popularize two-wheeled, double-shared ploughs and other new farm tools surged up as early as 1956. Many more improved farm tools were created by the peasant masses in 1958, when a total of more than 210 million such implements were manufactured and put in use. We can see that the popular campaign for production led to a new one for technical innovation.

The same mass peasant enthusiasm for production stimulated technical improvements in farming, such as intensive cultivation, rational use of fertilizers, improvement of seed strains, rational close planting and other technical measures for in-

creasing production as laid down in the twelve-year National Programme for Agricultural Development. These measures were popularized on a wider scale since 1956. They were systematically condensed into the "Eight-Point Charter" of Agriculture during the great leap of 1958.

Mass peasant enthusiasm for production also gave rise to a diversified agricultural economy. After the autumn of 1957, the advanced farm co-operatives, from engaging solely in farming, generally developed their economies so as simultaneously to carry on livestock breeding, fisheries, forestry, the processing of farm produce and other side-lines. In the summer of 1958, the Central Committee of the Party initiated a policy calling for farm co-operatives to set up industries, and for the merger of three formerly separate types of co-operatives for farming, supply-and-marketing and credit. After this, many advanced farm co-operatives went further in undertaking industry, handicrafts, trade, communications and transport, and credit operations. Furthermore, the co-operatives had from the start had militiamen drawn from among their active members. Thus a great many of the advanced farming co-operatives had already overstepped the bounds of organizations purely for agriculture and assumed the character of the people's commune for developing farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries in an all-round way and integrating industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs. Hence there emerged in the autumn of 1958 the people's commune—a great creation of our labouring people. As compared with the advanced farm co-operative, it is characterized by larger size and more public ownership, all-round operations and the integration of government administration and commune management. This demonstrates fully that the people's commune movement which took place on the basis of the great leap of 1958 was the inevitable outcome of historical development of our revolution. It was a great victory of the Party's general line for socialist construction. It reflected the objective law that the relations

of production must keep step with the development of the productive forces. The right opportunists, alleging that the people's communes have been set up "prematurely" and are "an utter mess" and slanderously calling the revolutionary creation of hundreds of millions of people "petty-bourgeois fanaticism," are jabbering nonsense without looking at the facts. What is more, in showing hostility towards the popular movement, they have disclosed their bourgeois stand.

V. Hold Aloft the Red Flag of the People's Commune and March On Courageously to Carry Out the Modernization of Agriculture

In one short year the people's communes, rising like the morning sun, have already displayed greater superiority and unlimited vitality as compared with the advanced farm co-operatives. Although their ownership is still by the collective, they already contain certain elements of ownership by the whole people. The communes have done away with the character of the advanced farm co-operatives as purely economic organizations. They have turned themselves into the basic organization of society, combining government administration and commune management and embracing industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs. The commune is much larger than the advanced co-operative, nearly thirty times as big on the average. As a result, it is able to organize labour power more scientifically and extensively, and to utilize land, materials and funds more rationally so as to promote farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries at the same time and make it possible for industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs to advance in big strides side by side. The commune is able to go in for industry on a broad scale, so as to develop industry and agriculture simultaneously and speed up the industrialization of the countryside. It is able to hasten the technical in-

novation in farming and to organize labour power, materials and technical equipment on a greater scale and more efficiently, as required by the division and co-ordination of work, to put a stronger fight against natural calamities. It is able to increase its accumulated public fund more quickly and ensure constant expanded reproduction. It creates favourable conditions for the mechanization and electrification of agriculture. It can promote cultural and welfare services in the countryside more quickly and, through various collective activities, provide members of the commune with knowledge of many fields, integrating labour with education and manual work with brain work. For these reasons, the people's commune is the best form for speeding socialist construction. By relying on it, we achieved last year's great leap in industrial and agricultural production, last summer's bumper harvests, and last autumn's decisive victory over unprecedented natural calamities. From now on, as long as we resolutely implement the Party's general line for socialist construction, oppose the right deviation and advance full steam ahead, the superiority of the people's commune will manifest itself with increasing clarity, making it perfectly possible for us to continue to fulfil this year's great leap plan and reach the targets set by the Second Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

The technical equipment of our agriculture is still backward. To transform drastically the backwardness of our agriculture, we must carry out technical innovation, mechanization and electrification in agriculture, making machinery available in all branches of the work where it can be used. When this has been done, a new leap forward in the productive forces in agriculture will take place. We must rely fully on the people's commune as the form of social organization, turn it to full account, and press further ahead to transform drastically the backwardness of our agriculture and speed up its modernization. With leadership by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with our correct general line of going all out, aiming high and getting

greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism, with the strong revolutionary will of the broad mass of the people, with such an excellent form of social organization as the people's commune which has been increasingly consolidated since the check-up and constantly displayed its superiority—in short, with all conditions much more favourable than we have ever enjoyed before, it is fully possible for us in the coming winter to bring about a greater leap than in 1958, and in a relatively short time, to build China into a great, rich, prosperous and mighty socialist country with a modern industry and agriculture.

Ours is a great victory. The prospects ahead of us are boundlessly bright. Let us hold high the red flag of the people's commune, advance resolutely and courageously under the guidance of the Party's general line for socialist construction, oppose the right deviation, go all out, aim high, make strenuous efforts to increase production and practise economy, so as to accelerate socialist construction and modernize our agriculture.

The Development of Science and Technology in Our Country over the Last Ten Years

Nieh Jung-chen

In 1949, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people won a revolutionary victory of immense significance to the world. This great country with a history of 5,000 years and a population that accounts for a quarter of mankind has since then shaken off the fetters of feudalism, broken the chains of imperialism and stepped forth on the broad and glorious road of socialism. The Chinese people, determined to build their motherland into a great socialist country, have in the last ten years thrown themselves into the great work of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and achieved a decisive victory in socialist revolution and splendid successes in socialist construction. Our socialist construction has advanced at an unprecedented speed, especially since the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and getting greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism.

Science and technology, occupying a very important position in socialist construction, have also advanced by leaps and bounds. They have taken on a new look. Their development is an important component part of the technical and cultural revolution and is essential for the building of a modern industry and agriculture, and a system of modern national defence. It is an indispensable condition for the building of our country into a socialist power. We are determined to catch up speedily with the most advanced levels of the world in science and

technology, and this is a most arduous task, considering the weakness of our foundation in these fields. Nevertheless, there are no difficulties that the Chinese people cannot overcome. Inspired by the great successes and experience gained during these ten years, we are marching confidently towards this goal.

I

In semi-feudal, semi-colonial China, the productive forces could not be developed and as a result, it was very backward in respect of modern science and technology. On the eve of the liberation, there were only about forty institutions doing scientific and technological research; they had a staff of only a few hundreds specialized in research work. There were not even minimum housing and equipment for scientific and technological research, and money allocated for this purpose was extremely meagre. At that time, a certain degree of development was possible only in such subjects as geology, biology, etc., which are related to investigation and research of a local nature; it was possible only for such theoretical subjects as mathematics, which require no modern equipment for experimental work. And such development as there was, was achieved mainly through the scientists' own efforts. Conditions did not exist at all for the pursuit of certain newly-developed branches of science and technology and in research and experimental work that required a little larger equipment and more funds. Quite a number of honest scientists, in spite of their desire to develop China's science and technology, met with constant rebuffs; they were frustrated under reactionary Kuomintang rule and found it impossible to go ahead with their work. The reactionary rulers of old China, who were subservient to imperialism, never thought of developing production and had no use for the development of science and technology in this country. Generally speaking, therefore, scientific research at that time was unrelated to production

and theory was divorced from practice, not to mention the purpose of science to improve the welfare of the people. In old China, conditions did not exist for scientific and technological work to take root and grow. Scientists were consciously or unconsciously dominated by bourgeois idealism; the idea of science for science' sake was prevalent.

Considering the impoverished, backward foundation, China's science and technology have developed to an amazing extent and the increase in the numbers of its personnel through ten years of strenuous effort, and especially through the great leap forward in 1958, is really amazing. By the end of 1958, the country had over 840 institutions for research in the natural sciences and technology, 21 times as many as at the time of liberation, and the technical personnel working at these institutions were 51 times as many. Of these, 91 are scientific and technical research bodies directly under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Various ministries of the Central Government have their own research bodies working in their respective fields. Local academies of sciences affiliated to the Chinese Academy of Sciences and research bodies geared to local needs have been set up in all the provinces, cities and autonomous regions, except Tibet. The majority of the teaching staff in colleges and universities are engaged in scientific research. A mass campaign for mastering science and technology has been in progress in many large and small industrial and mining enterprises and people's communes, and this has resulted in a countless number of new research bodies and laboratories being set up. Practically every city and township in the country has a branch and members of the All-China Association of Science and Technology. The needs of socialist construction have encouraged millions of people to go in for science and technology, and now we are witnessing a great upsurge of enthusiasm for the study of science. There has been a marked rise in the level of political consciousness of research and technical workers and a very considerable rise in their academic attainments.

The present state of China's science and technology is characterized by the following facts. Firstly, we have already embarked upon a great deal of creative research work even while we study and strive to master the latest scientific and technical attainments of other countries. We should strengthen our research work by gearing it to the concrete conditions of our country so that modern science and technology will put down deep roots in China and bear rich fruit. Secondly, thanks to the work of investigation and research done in connection with production and construction, or with science and technology, we have stored up a great deal of data regarding natural resources and natural conditions. Then we have the data gathered in the course of industrial and agricultural production and construction as well as in medical and health work. In this way we have laid a foundation for the further development of research work in science and technology. Thirdly, a large amount of scientific and technical information stored up in past ages has been recovered either from the country at large or from scattered books on various subjects. Traditional skills in farming, medicine, weather forecasting, metal-smelting and in various arts and crafts, thus salvaged, have been further analysed and systematized. Such theories and skills of past ages, when put on a modern scientific basis, will furnish fresh clues to research in their respective branches of science which may well lead to important results. Fourthly, we have made up many omissions in our research programme. In certain branches which used to be called "blanks," we are now able to carry on research and experiment. Old China had no basis whatsoever for the study of such subjects as jet propulsion, electronic computation, radio astronomy, petroleum chemistry and biophysics. But now after several years of work, thanks to the great assistance given us by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we have established preliminary bases for each of these subjects and have trained a certain number of cadres; and research work is now well under way.

Now that we have the necessary personnel and laid a fairly firm foundation for scientific and technological work, we shall certainly make even speedier progress in these fields.

II

Our advance in science and technology has kept pace with the advance of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. The course of development during the last ten years may be broadly divided into the following three stages:

The first stage of development of our science and technology covers the years from the founding of the Chinese People's Republic to 1956. Immediately after the establishment of the People's Republic, we set about building up scientific and technological research bodies both organizationally and ideologically. The Academia Sinica, the Peiping Research Institute and their affiliated research bodies were taken over. In November 1949 the Chinese Academy of Sciences was founded. Various industrial departments also took over respective bodies for scientific research and experiment. After due adjustment and consolidation, a big expansion of scientific and technological research bodies took place with a corresponding increase in the number of research workers. We made organizational adjustments both in the Chinese Academy of Sciences and in the research bodies belonging to various ministries and departments; we expanded and strengthened their staffs and increased and improved their equipment. Furthermore, fresh cadres were trained in the course of practical work. A preliminary transformation of our scientific and technological education was achieved, and large numbers of young research workers and engineers were trained as a result of our educational reforms and the reorganization of colleges and faculties. By carrying through the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals,

we helped the scientific and technological research workers carry on ideological remoulding on their own. They took part in such social reforms as the land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionary elements, the campaign to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy, and ideological remoulding; they studied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the advanced scientific and technological experience and achievements of the Soviet Union. They criticized the idealistic viewpoints of the bourgeoisie and developed criticism and self-criticism on the basis of such political study. As a result, their ideological level as well as their level of political consciousness was greatly raised. By taking part in national construction and engaging themselves in scientific and technological research, our research workers learned from personal experience that the socialist system provides the widest opportunities for, as well as most urgently needs, the development of science and technology. While constructive work went forward both ideologically and organizationally, stress was laid on gearing research work to practical problems the better to serve the needs of production and construction. The period reviewed covers the three years of national economic rehabilitation and the first phase of the First Five-Year Plan. A great majority of the key construction projects of the First Five-Year Plan were built with Soviet blueprints and with the help of the Soviet Union, which provided the most advanced as well as the most comprehensive technical assistance. We made conscientious attempts to study and master the skills of advanced Soviet science and technology, and under the circumstances carried on surveying and prospecting of our natural resources as well as designing and research work in co-ordination with the Soviet assistance. Research in the theoretical sciences showed some advance on the original basis. On the whole, however, during this period scientific and technological work was rather haphazard and not much was done in the way of original research.

The second stage in the development of science and technology covers the period from 1956, when the Central Committee of the Party called the meeting to discuss the question of the intellectuals, to 1958. In January 1956, when the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was at its height, the Central Committee of the Party held the meeting on the question of the intellectuals and issued the call to scale the heights of science, putting forward the objective of reaching or approaching within twelve years advanced international standards in the most important or most urgently needed branches of science and technology. This great call pointed out the future development of science and technology in our country, and had a great influence on undertakings in these fields. In May of the same year the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in science, literature and art which greatly invigorated scientific and cultural activities and gave fresh impetus to academic thinking. In 1956, under the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party and guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's principle of "over-all planning and strengthened leadership," a planning commission for scientific activities was established under the State Council. More than 600 experts in science and technology from all parts of the country were assembled to draft a 12-year plan for the development of science and technology, and the first long-term, comprehensive plan for China's scientific and technical undertakings came into being. This was an event of great significance in the history of science and technology in our country. Meanwhile, the First Five-Year Plan was approaching completion and the Second Five-Year Plan was being drafted; it was therefore possible for us to formulate in a more comprehensive way the demands placed on science and technology by socialist construction in our country. Moreover, we made a fairly systematic analysis and

study of the levels reached in the progress of world science and technology and the prevailing tendencies, and made an adequate appraisal of our own achievements and strength in science and technology. All this made it possible for us to work out in a comprehensive and relatively scientific way a long-term plan for science and technology. It embodied the principles and policies of the Party and the state for the development of science and technology and took account of the demands of socialist construction. It pointed out the direction for the development of science and technology in our country, made such over-all arrangements as were possible between the present and future, theoretical and practical, and major and minor tasks, and put forward measures for the training of personnel and building of scientific and technological centres for the implementation of this long-term plan. The experience of the last three years shows that this plan has been a guide to each year's plans for science and technology and in research work in scientific and technical departments and institutions of higher learning. It has also helped to improve the technical levels of the various branches of our national economy. Moreover, it serves as a basis for strengthening or starting work in branches of science and technology in which we are still weak or uninitiated, for establishing necessary courses of study in institutions of higher learning, for the training of personnel, and for setting up research centres. In 1957 the Party strengthened its leadership in science and technology by despatching a great number of excellent cadres to the scientific and technical front. Then we proceeded to draft annual national plans for science and technology and, under unified planning and arrangements, organized the manpower available in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the various industrial departments and institutions of higher learning, and strengthened co-ordination and co-operation between them; as a result, the scientific and technical undertakings in our country began to advance rapidly in a planned manner on a nation-wide scale.

Like the rest of the people throughout the country, scientific and technical workers also experienced an uncommon summer in 1957, which saw the rectification campaign and anti-rightist struggle. This socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts had a profound and far-reaching influence on the progress of science and technology. In scientific and technical circles a great debate was waged on what path science and technology should take in their advance, and this virtually involved a choice between the socialist and capitalist roads in scientific and technical undertakings. This was the time when the bourgeois rightists launched a frenzied attack against the Party in order to usurp the Party's leadership in science and technology and get them to leave the socialist road. They put forward a comprehensive anti-Party, anti-socialist programme for scientific work. They attacked the Party's leadership in science and technology and clamoured that "laymen cannot lead experts." They advocated "science for science's sake," and denied that the sacred duty of science is to serve socialist construction. They were opposed to carrying on scientific and technical work in a planned manner and advocated that such undertakings should be conducted entirely according to personal interests and in an un-co-ordinated, haphazard way. The rightists tried to take advantage of the weaknesses of the intellectuals and lead them astray so as to sabotage our socialist scientific and technical work. But their schemes were thoroughly foiled. The broad mass of scientific and technical workers, led by the Party, resolutely crushed the onslaught of the rightists, learned to distinguish between who is our enemy and who isn't, and their political understanding was raised. Through the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, the socialist road has won the wholehearted support of the overwhelming majority of our scientific and technical personnel. In this way the leadership of the Party in scientific and technical work is now more firmly established than before. This is the most fundamental question in the development of science and technology in our

country, and its solution has provided the most essential guarantee for the rapid advance of science and technology.

The third stage of the development of science and technology began in 1958. As a result of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle, the level of socialist consciousness of the broad mass of cadres and the people was raised and their initiative and creativeness roused so that an all-round big leap forward took place in production and construction, culture and education, science and technology, and in all other fields of endeavour. The Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party formulated the general line of "going all out, aiming high and getting greater, quicker, better and more economical results to build socialism," and put forward the great tasks of technical revolution and cultural revolution. It outlined a whole set of principles of "walking on two legs," such as, on the basis of giving priority to the development of heavy industry, simultaneously developing industry and agriculture, heavy industry and light industry, industry under the central authorities and the local authorities, big enterprises and medium-sized as well as small ones, production by indigenous and modern methods, and so on. It was under these circumstances that the over-all big leap rose to an upsurge among the 600 million people of our country. Inspired by the upsurge in industrial and agricultural production, a mass campaign of technical revolution advanced with giant strides.

In the past, quite a number of people in the fields of science and technology had an attitude bordering on the superstitious with regard to foreign things and an indiscriminating worship of authority that constricted their minds and prevented them from going in for original research and bold enterprises. Many people looked on science and technology as something so difficult as to be beyond their ken and they shrank from it. Quite a few harped on the special nature of science and technology, put no trust in the masses, and did not recognize how important practice is to science and technology. Since Comrade

Mao Tse-tung issued the call to emancipate our minds and get rid of superstition and to foster the communist spirit of thinking, speaking and acting boldly, people have got rid of their inferiority complexes and given free play to their minds. Vigorous mass campaigns have been started and the mass line has been applied to scientific and technological work. Many kinds of work which our scientists fought shy of for years in the past have been taken up and have begun to yield results. New techniques which a great many old experts in the past thought difficult to achieve have now been mastered by our young people. Things which were impossible for many scientists and engineers in the past have now been done by the workers and peasants. Inventions and innovations have mushroomed in every field—industry, mining, agriculture, forestry. Tempered in the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle, a great number of experts and scholars have shown much greater initiative; some of them have accomplished in a single year what was originally planned for three or five years and have achieved substantial results. The practice of the intellectuals to forge close ties with the labouring people has made big headway. Experts and scholars should be of the masses. As long as they regard themselves as ordinary workers, go into the midst of the labouring people, value and learn from the experiences of the masses, they will find the wisdom of the masses to be a source of valuable materials, and as long as they study and analyse these experiences, they will continue to enrich science and technology. Scientists must adopt the mass viewpoint in real earnest and serve the masses with all their hearts. This is required not only by the needs of ideological remoulding but also by the need to raise the level of science. The more thoroughly the mass line is applied to scientific and technological work, the greater will be the contribution of the scientists so long as they, of their own accord, maintain contact with the masses.

The Party's working method of the mass line which has proved its effectiveness in the long-term revolutionary struggle,

has shown its mighty strength on all fronts of socialist construction. Since last year the mass movement in the great leap forward in agriculture and to set up the people's communes, the mass campaigns to make iron and steel, and build water conservancy projects, for technical innovations and in all other fields of endeavour have promoted the rapid development of science and technology. The mass line is strictly adhered to in scientific and technological work where we put forward the policy of the simultaneous development of science and technology by the central and local authorities, the simultaneous development of modern and indigenous methods, the combining of special scientific and technological research institutes with popular activities in the technical revolution, the combining of efforts in popularization with efforts to raise the level of attainments and the combining of production with teaching and scientific research. The dreary conditions of the past have been swept away and in their stead an exciting situation where the entire Party and people are scaling the heights of science and technology is now taking shape. As a result, science and technology are flourishing through the length and breadth of the country, and China's scientific and technical work has taken a giant step forward in the great task of carrying through the technical and cultural revolution.

The practice of the past ten years testifies to the fact that only under the leadership of the Party can China's science and technology achieve a high-speed development and that the Party has led us successfully not only in waging the class struggle, but in waging a war against nature and in developing the productive forces, science and technology. It was the Party that put forward the general line for building socialism and the great tasks of the technical and cultural revolution. It was the Party that issued the call that science and technology in China should catch up with advanced world standards within twelve years; it was the Party that worked out the principles for scientific and technological work, pointed out the road and direction of its development, and led us to map out our grand,

long-range plan for the development of science and technology. It was the Party that put forward the policy of uniting with educating and remoulding intellectuals, helped scientific and technical personnel to study Marxism-Leninism and to apply the dialectic materialistic way of thinking to their research work and trained many intellectuals of a new type. It was the Party that formulated the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," called on us to topple the idols of superstition and emancipate our minds and taught us to carry out the mass line in scientific and technological work.

The development of the work of science and technology and the building of a scientific and technological army that is politically strong and professionally proficient must be led by the Party and guided by the theory of dialectical materialism; it must proceed from the tasks of socialist construction, have over-all planning, strengthen co-operation and adhere to the mass line and the principle of "walking on two legs." This is the most important and fundamental experience of the brilliant success scored in the work of science and technology in the past ten years.

III

The great leap forward in science and technology since 1958 is the result of implementing the Party's general line for socialist construction in scientific and technological work, and is a big victory for the general line. At last we have found, after some searching, a road for the speedy advance of science and technology in our country. We must keep to this road so that we can rid our country the sooner of its present state of backwardness in science and technology and reach the world's advanced standards.

The successes we have scored since the great leap forward are facts of life which no one can possibly blot out. However, as people differ in their stands and viewpoints, they also

differ in their appraisal of the great achievements of this mass campaign. 1958 witnessed a change in the old way of doing scientific research as the work of a few to be carried out in seclusion. Many new methods were invented, much new experience was gained and there was an exceptionally rich harvest in the fields of science and technology. This is the view of the overwhelming majority. However, there are still certain people in scientific and technical circles with quite a bit of bourgeois ideology left who stand aloof and find fault with everything. They disapprove of mass movements which were enthusiastically carried out; they say that this interferes with the routine work of scientific research. In their eyes, young people and innovators with a worker's or peasant's background are incapable of doing scientific and technological research. "Better follow the beaten track," they say. They exaggerate certain shortcomings which crop up in the course of our successful development, saying that although quantitatively there has been some progress in our scientific and technological work, yet qualitatively there has been no gain at all. They admit that work in the service of production has made some progress but they say that theoretical work has not been fruitful. There are not many who still persist in these erroneous views, but people with muddled ideas about one thing or another can still be found, so it is necessary to refute these erroneous views.

In the realm of science and technology, the toppling of superstitions and the emancipation of the mind are inseparably linked with implementation of the mass line. Science and technology are the crystallization of work in material production and the scientific experiments carried out by man in his struggle for production. If we firmly believe that science is created by labour, then we will necessarily see the importance of the struggle of the masses for production and the experience gained in practice. Under socialism, it is necessary to launch vigorous mass campaigns in order to develop the productive forces and carry on the struggle for production. The great

leap forward in industry and agriculture testifies to this truth. Prior to the great leap forward, not a few doubted the need to launch large-scale mass campaigns in the work of science and technology. Since 1958 it has been proved in practice that in scientific and technological work, just as in the struggle for production, it is not only possible but also necessary to conduct mass campaigns. Workers and peasants who have direct contact with practical work come across many practical problems in production; moreover, they have a wealth of experience in production. We can often find in their solution of these problems precious shoots of scientific and technical progress. Science and technology must therefore join hands with the masses, and with production. Meanwhile, it is necessary even in institutes of science and technology to launch mass campaigns and fully mobilize all forces for the work. Last year many research institutes developed vigorous mass campaigns and in one year they carried their research results beyond what had been achieved in the several preceding years. This is a very good example.

Since last year we have set up many research institutes, expanded the number of research personnel and mobilized the broad mass of workers and peasants to participate in such scientific and technical work as investigation, research and experiment. The number of research subjects has been multiplied by several times. For a big country like ours which is characterized by "poverty and blankness" and which calls for a high speed in the rate of construction, the present scientific and technical force, despite such great progress, is far from being adequate.

Economically and technically ours is a backward country. Its economy and technique also present a highly complex picture. At one and the same time we have modern machine production and work that uses a good deal of heavy manual labour; we have at once tractors and a large number of hand-operated tools; we have modern means of communication such as automobiles and aeroplanes, but at the same time we have

to rely for transport on carrying things on backs. We want to complete, in not too long a period, a course of industrial revolution which took the capitalist countries one to two hundred years; we want to transfer the country's economy, step by step, from backward techniques to a basis of advanced technique. That is why we should carry on various kinds of scientific and technological work on a large scale. Measured by modern standards of science and technology, some of this work by no means covers fresh ground. But so long as it benefits production and construction and raises labour productivity, we should value it, study and popularize it.

We are also living in an age in which science and technology are developing by leaps and bounds. We should try to master as speedily as possible the many new branches of science and technology such as atomic energy, jet propulsion, electronic computation and radio electronics so as to quickly measure up to the world's advanced standards and make these new sciences serve the cause of economic construction and national defence.

Ours is also a big country where there is wide discrepancy between different areas in their physical, social, economic and cultural conditions. A good deal of scientific and technical work has to be geared to needs arising from the special features of the different areas. The legacy of modern science and technology left by the old China was extremely meagre. Some branches were practically non-existent. We must establish and develop them as soon as possible. It is important therefore that different localities and departments should have an adequate scientific and technical personnel so that scientific and technical research can be closely geared to the specific conditions of each department and locality.

This being the case, we must carry on research work on a large scale in many fields so as to meet the varying needs of production and construction. Without an adequate number of organizations and staff and without the mass line in work, we shall not be able to cope with such highly complex tasks.

It is difficult to raise the quality of scientific and technical work without carrying on a definite quantity of work. For instance, it would be impossible to raise the theoretical level of meteorological science without a large amount of data provided by the meteorological stations; without geological surveying and prospecting on a big scale it would be difficult to discover the principles governing the formation of ores and other mineral deposits. Moreover, work of this kind is indispensable for providing solutions to current practical problems and training young cadres to be capable of independent work. Some branches of work are still at an early stage in the course of their development; work is only just beginning in others. More elaborate and thoroughgoing work remains to be done at the next stage. In most cases, for instance, further research is being carried on this year on certain subjects which yielded some results last year; data collected is being checked up systematically and experience is being summarized. A good beginning is half done. What reason is there to find fault with the half that has been done?

Since last year's great leap, there has been not only a great advance in quantity, but a notable improvement in quality. Starting from scratch last year, we set up many new branches of work, and this means the raising of our scientific and technical work to a higher level. On the other hand, existing branches of work have also made great progress on their original bases since last year, to say nothing of the improvement in the quality of their scientific and technical personnel.

It is correct to say that work in the service of production has been developed, but it is wrong to say that theoretical research has not been fruitful. 1958 was a year in which theoretical research developed at top speed and there was an abundant harvest of research papers. For example, the wordage of papers published in academic periodicals sponsored by associations of natural sciences affiliated to the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the All-China Association of Science and Technology increased 47 per cent compared with 1957, and a 22-

fold increase compared with 1952. These figures are most convincing. Of course while much of the work was done last year, some was done the year before last. But without the great leap forward we could not have reaped such an abundance of achievements in theoretical research. Since last year there has been a tremendous increase in the number of textbooks compiled by the higher educational institutes. The Higher Educational Publishing House alone has published upwards of 200 textbooks, about four times the 1957 figure. Moreover, many of the textbooks embody theories arrived at in the light of concrete conditions in China. Is this not a great leap in theoretical work? Is it not clear that practice serves as a driving force to theoretical research? If a considerable amount of theoretical work since last year has been the summing-up of the research and experimental work carried out the year before last, or even two to five years ago, why is it not permissible to wait for a year or two or even three to get last year's research and experimental work summed up? Generally speaking, we cannot expect to make achievements in scientific theoretical research over a short space of time. It is entirely understandable that we have not had time to make a theoretical summing-up of all the research results achieved since last year's great leap.

In the past ten years, particularly since the big leap forward, the scientific and technical personnel of our country, together with the broad masses of the labouring people, have done a great deal of foundation work, and have collected and accumulated much material and data from their investigations, observations and research experiments. On the basis of this work we shall certainly be able to make great contributions in the theoretical field.

Many theoretical problems have been raised during the actual course of production and construction, which demand solution by our scientific and technical research personnel. For instance, the methods of deep ploughing and close planting to a proper degree have yielded very remarkable results in increas-

ing agricultural production. So it is necessary for us to go a step further and sum up their laws on the basis of a great number of results obtained in practice. The high utilization coefficient, of iron-smelting furnaces requires us to develop the theory of iron-smelting technique. The healing effect of acupuncture and moxibustion handed down by traditional Chinese medicine has been fully confirmed, and it is incumbent on us to do further research in the theory of this treatment. We must pay sufficient attention to theoretical work, correctly carry through the policy of integrating theory with practice, and resolutely oppose separation of the one from the other.

In short, the big leap forward that has taken place in the field of science and technology since 1958 has been going on in a perfectly correct direction; it has made great achievements. It is precisely the normal revolutionary way of doing things in scientific and technical work to topple superstitions, emancipate thought, and vigorously carry on mass movements. Since the advent of the big leap forward there has been in our scientific and technical work not only a great increase in quantity, but also a big improvement in quality, not only have great results been obtained in the service of actual production, but great progress has been made in theoretical research work. Any doubts about the positive achievements of the big leap forward must be regarded as absolutely groundless.

Not long ago the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party called on all members of the Party and the entire people to oppose right tendencies and exert their best efforts in order to fulfil ahead of schedule the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan within the current year. This militant call has given rise to an enthusiastic and energetic mass movement for increasing production and practising economy throughout the country. Attempts by hostile elements both inside and outside the country to slander and attack us have all come to nought, and waverings and doubts on the part of the right opportunists have been submerged under the rising tide of the mass movement. We should learn

in good earnest and fully grasp the spirit of the resolution adopted at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and form a correct understanding of the great significance of the big leap forward. On the basis of the tremendous victory already won, let us embark on a new upsurge and forge triumphantly ahead.

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The people's New China has lived through a glorious period of ten years. Tremendous achievements have been made in the past ten years in the science and technology of our country, and a good foundation has been laid for scientific and technical work. Socialist construction as it advances by leaps and bounds, demands that still greater and more rapid progress should be made in the science and technology of our country in the coming decade.

In the ten years to come we shall completely transform the backward face of China's science and technology, and fulfil ahead of schedule the twelve-year long-term plan for the development of science and technology, so as to catch up with advanced world standards as quickly as possible. Large numbers of young scientific and technical workers will grow up and mature; a greater number of inventors and innovators from among the masses of workers and peasants will take part in scientific and technical research work and in its development; our scientists will make still greater contributions in the days to come; and we shall possess a larger and more powerful army of scientific and technical workers who are at once "red and expert." Scientific and technical work will be called on to play a still greater part in the course of building a powerful socialist country.

Let us march ahead courageously under the leadership of the Party and the brilliant guidance of the Party's general line for building socialism! Let us greet the next ten years of our motherland with still more splendid achievements!

The Struggle Between Revolution and Counter- Revolution in the Past Ten Years

Lo Jui-ching

It is ten years since the establishment of the great People's Republic of China.

The crowning victory of the Chinese people's great revolution has won enthusiastic applause from the entire Chinese people and progressive mankind the world over. Under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people of all nationalities have struggled arduously and heroically in the past ten years, attaining tremendous successes on all fronts of revolution and construction. Since 1958 in particular, the Chinese people, guided by the beacon light of the Party's general line for building socialism, have achieved an unprecedented great leap forward in industrial and agricultural production and created the people's communes in the countryside, greatly speeding the pace of China's advance to socialism. Responding ardently to the clarion call of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, our entire people are continuing the leap forward, striving with boundless enthusiasm capable of moving the mountains and draining the seas to fulfil within this year the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The victory of the great Chinese people's revolution is the greatest historical event since the Russian October Revolution. It attests that a poor, backward, colonial and semi-colonial country can liberate itself thoroughly from imperialist and reactionary-class rule, provided it has the correct leadership

of the Communist Party—the vanguard of the proletariat—and relies on the strength of the masses. The people can definitely defeat any reactionary force, however powerful and ferocious it may seem.

Of course, no victory in any people's revolution is easily won. What is more, great efforts must be made to consolidate the victory once attained. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, after a prolonged and difficult struggle with many ups and downs, have utterly overthrown the rule of the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries and set up the people's democratic regime led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The prolonged revolutionary struggle gave birth to the tested and steeled Chinese Communist Party, the powerful People's Liberation Army and a broad people's democratic united front. Since our nation-wide victory, the revolutionary people have always held the absolute initiative in the struggle against counter-revolution. Compared with the mass of the people, all the remnant counter-revolutionary forces are as a drop in the ocean. However, since China is a big country with a population of 650 million, the counter-revolutionaries, even if they constitute only one per cent or less of the population, are considerable in numbers. So after the country-wide establishment of the people's political power, a most complicated and very sharp struggle between the Chinese people and the counter-revolutionaries has continued to exist, a struggle of paramount importance in the first ten years of the People's Republic of China.

We know that in their more than one hundred years of aggression against China, the imperialists forged innumerable ties with the counter-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionary classes within our country, and trained a large number of lackeys. It is difficult to weed these out all at once. Imperialism has always been, and will still be, the most ferocious enemy of the Chinese revolution and people. It is not at all

reconciled to having been driven out of China, but will go all out in its vain effort to overthrow People's China and stage a comeback.

We know also that since the counter-revolutionary coup d'état of 1927, the Kuomintang reactionaries have always been the Chinese people's deadly foes. During its more than 20 years of domination in China, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang resorted to every reactionary measure known to human history, setting up a huge reactionary military and political apparatus, and its party, secret service and other organs. When the reactionary Kuomintang rule collapsed, it left behind, on the mainland, two million disbanded armed men (political bandits), along with 600,000 key members of reactionary parties and organizations and 600,000 secret agents of different kinds. In the reactionary Kuomintang ruling clique there is a most deep-dyed group that is the backbone of the remnant counter-revolutionary forces, and is determined to be reactionary to the end. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, since it fled to Taiwan, has been trying by all means to keep contact with part of the mainland reactionaries.

We know that the feudal class with its forces in China was always the prop and stay of the imperialists and bureaucrat-capitalists in their reactionary rule. In the countryside these forces were the triple group of bullies, bandits and the reactionary secret societies; in the cities, the triple group of feudal gangbosses, ringleaders of reactionary secret societies and vagabonds. They were quite numerous and entrenched in various parts of the country, serving as henchmen of the reactionary rule of imperialism and the Kuomintang, or as "small Chiang Kai-sheks" in their own areas. For many years, no matter in what dynasty and no matter whether their masters were the Manchu emperors, the Northern warlords, Chiang Kai-shek, the British, Japanese or American imperialists, they always lorded it over the people and indulged in all sorts of lawlessness and vice. The hands of many of them were stained with the blood of the people.

The reactionary forces in China cannot shake off responsibility for the atrocious crimes they committed. The people regard them with hatred deeper than the sea, and wrath hotter than fire. Having won victory, the people have every reason to exact the repayment of the blood debts they owe, and no punishment, however severe, is too heavy for them. But the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party, cherish the lofty ideal of reforming both society and men. In order to treat the different kinds of counter-revolutionaries in a discriminating way, to punish only the few who committed the most vicious crimes and give the majority a chance to atone for their crimes and become new men, the Party and People's Government have devised correct policies to deal with the remnant counter-revolutionary forces.

The proclamation of the Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army signed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on April 25, 1949 announced that, apart from incorrigible war criminals and counter-revolutionaries with heinous crimes, we would not capture, arrest or subject to indignities the personnel of the reactionary Kuomintang ruling clique—unless they carried out armed resistance or committed sabotage. The proclamation also said that the People's Government would employ, according to their individual circumstances, persons with any ability who had not engaged in serious reactionary activities, or whose personal record was not seriously stained. In *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* written in July 1949, Chairman Mao said:

So long as they do not rebel, sabotage or create disturbance after their political power has been overthrown, members of the reactionary classes and the reactionaries will also be given land and work and allowed to live and remould themselves through labour into new men.

This policy is the greatest humanitarian policy ever found in history.

This most benevolent policy of the Party and the People's Government awakened many members of the reactionary classes, and many reactionaries, to the fact that their future provided they obeyed the people's power, admitted and repented of their crimes before the people, worked honestly and turned over a new leaf. Thus the disintegration among the counter-revolutionaries was greatly accelerated, some surrendering to the people and some beginning to waver. But there were also a number of obstinate counter-revolutionaries who refused to accept our policy and insisted on sabotaging the revolution.

In the first days of liberation these stubborn counter-revolutionaries, working hand in glove with the imperialists, engaged frantically in disruption. They harassed some localities and opposed the People's Government. Imperialist and Kuomintang secret agents spread rumours among the people in an attempt to smear the Communist Party and the People's Government and disrupt the unity and co-operation among the different nationalities, democratic classes, parties, groups and people's organizations. They undermined the people's economic undertakings, collected intelligence and assassinated revolutionary working personnel. Later, when U.S. imperialism unleashed the aggressive war against Korea, the disruptive activities of the domestic counter-revolutionaries rose temporarily to a pitch of extreme violence. Again in 1955, on the threshold of the upsurge of socialist transformation of the country's capitalist industry and commerce, agriculture and handicrafts, the remnant counter-revolutionaries increased their sabotage in cities and the countryside. In 1957, when the rising tide of the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts swept the country, the remnant counter-revolutionaries and other anti-socialist forces once more revived their destructive activities, responding to the frantic attacks of the bourgeois rightists.

It is as clear as day that the task of the Chinese people has been to struggle resolutely against the counter-revolutionaries

and to crush thoroughly all their plots for a comeback and disruptive activities. If this had not been done, the revolution would have failed, the people would have suffered and the state would have perished. In the past ten years, the Party has led the entire nation in determined struggles against counter-revolution. In these struggles, the purpose of which was to consolidate the victory of the revolution and the people's democratic dictatorship, thoroughly emancipate the people and the productive forces, rid the revolution and construction of obstacles and create a secure environment, the masses of the people unleashed three large-scale, vigorous movements, and won great victories in all of them.

It was logical and inevitable that such sharp struggles between revolution and counter-revolution should take place after the nation-wide victory. The Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung had long since wisely foreseen and made an adequate estimate of this situation. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party held in March 1949, on the eve of the liberation of the whole country, Chairman Mao called upon the entire Party to learn to wage open and covert struggles against counter-revolutionaries at home and abroad. He stressed that, unless we learned to fight against counter-revolution and won victories in this fight, "we would not be able to maintain our political power and hold our position, and we would fail." Speaking before the First Session of the Preparatory Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on June 15, 1949, Chairman Mao once again called the people's attention to the fact that "the imperialists and their lackeys, the Chinese reactionaries, will not take their defeat in this land of China lying down." In his *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* written on July 1, 1949, he gave a profound explanation of why the revolutionary people must enforce dictatorship over the reactionary classes and the reactionaries. On September 21, 1949, in his opening speech at

the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Chairman Mao reiterated:

Our revolutionary work is not yet concluded. . . . The imperialists and domestic reactionaries . . . will try every day, every minute, to stage a comeback in China. This is inevitable and beyond all question and we must not relax our vigilance.

Later, at each critical moment of the country's socialist revolution, the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao always gave brilliant direction to the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, thus correct leadership was given to the revolutionary struggles of different periods.

The thinking of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao concerning the enforcement of people's democratic dictatorship in China (a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat), and concerning the correct leadership of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, embodies analysis of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is the correct application and development of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of China. Writing of the Paris Commune of 1871, Marx fervently extolled it in these terms: "History has no like example of like greatness!" But he also seriously pointed out that "if they are defeated only their 'good nature' will be to blame."¹ In accordance with the teachings of Marx and the lessons of the Paris Commune, Lenin had more than once pointed out emphatically: "The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it makes this struggle particularly wide, sharp and ruthless."² The practice of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution in China again bears out how

¹K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 420.

²V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russian ed., 1950, Vol. XXXI, p. 165.

absolutely correct is the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Our victory in this struggle is a victory for the correct application and development of Marxism-Leninism by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The struggle between revolution and counter-revolution in China has been carried out most resolutely, correctly and thoroughly. In the short space of ten years, we have successfully accomplished the following tasks pertaining to it. 1. We have purged the country fairly thoroughly of counter-revolutionaries and crushed enemy intrigues for a comeback; 2. We have thoroughly wiped out the remnants of the Kuo-mintang reactionary forces in some backward areas and consolidated the people's democratic rule; 3. We have achieved the further political emancipation of the people, and thus given impetus to the great liberation of the productive forces, raised the political consciousness of the broad mass of people, and their enthusiasm in production, in the course of the struggle; 4. We have got rid of the scum left by the old society, thus creating increasingly secure order in our socialist society. All this has guaranteed the successful conclusion of the country's socialist revolution and its gigantic strides forward in socialist construction.

What we call thorough suppression of the counter-revolutionaries means the uncovering of all counter-revolutionaries and the meting out to them of such punishment as they deserve; it does not mean that the counter-revolutionaries whom it was necessary to punish were all put to death. The imperialists have slandered us maliciously on this point, and the bourgeois rightists inside the country have also raised a hostile clamour. This only shows that they have been trying to frighten us and tie our hands in the struggle so that the counter-revolutionaries can be saved to facilitate their activities for staging a comeback in China. The struggle between revolution and counter-revolution is a life-and-death struggle, an irreconcilable, sharp class struggle. Any class struggle inevitably involves bloodshed. This is true of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, as it is even more so with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and of all exploiting classes. The difference is that in the dictatorship of the proletariat it is the revolution that suppresses counter-revolution, the majority of the people who suppress the few reactionaries, while the reverse is true of the exploiting-class dictatorships. To preserve their dictatorship, the bourgeoisie and all the exploiting classes have shed an enormous amount of the people's blood. Lenin in his *The State and Revolution* said:

Naturally, to be successful, such an undertaking as the systematic suppression of the exploited majority by the exploiting minority calls for the utmost ferocity and savagery in the work of suppressing, it calls for seas of blood through which mankind has to wade in slavery, serfdom and wage labour.¹

In suppressing the resistance of the counter-revolutionaries, the dictatorship of the proletariat also cannot, of course, avoid the shedding of blood. But the nature of such bloodshed is entirely different from the bloodshed under the dictatorship of the exploiting classes; here the blood that is shed is not the people's but that of counter-revolutionaries. As far as the amount of bloodshed is concerned, it is much less than that under the cruel dictatorships of the exploiting classes, and of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. So all the slanders of the imperialists and bourgeois rightists are barefaced lies. It was precisely because the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution in China was carried out most resolutely, correctly and thoroughly that it involved the least possible bloodshed.

Complying with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we meted out the death penalty only to a small number of

¹V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 293.

counter-revolutionaries who had committed heinous crimes and had to be put to death. For most criminals who had to be punished and even those who deserved death penalty for their crimes but were not yet in the category of criminals who must definitely be executed, the method of reform through labour was adopted. One of the ways of punishing criminals in our country is "the death sentence with reprieve for two years, and with reform through compulsory labour to see what effect is produced." The imperialists slander this as the cruelest thing imaginable; but we say it is the most humane. Even the criminals concerned understand that the death sentence with reprieve, saving them as it does from execution, is the last opportunity the People's Government gives them to reform themselves into new men. In fact, the criminals who were so treated were, in practically every case, saved. We may ask: Has there ever been any such great creation, at home or abroad, in ancient or modern times? Can such a humane law be found in the capitalist world? In practising our policy of the reform of counter-revolutionaries and other criminals through labour, we aim not only to completely deprive counter-revolutionaries of the conditions in which they can carry out disruptive activities, but, above all, to eliminate the class and ideological roots of counter-revolutionary and other crimes, so that the counter-revolutionaries will not commit crimes again after serving their terms.

In the past ten years, through participation in labour and production and through the ideological education given them, most of the criminals have reformed to varying degrees, and a number of them have actually changed from evil to good. Not only have a certain part of the former bandits, local despots, secret agents, key members of reactionary parties and organizations, chieftains of reactionary secret societies and other criminals reformed their reactionary ideas; many have acquired the habit of manual work. Some who had not the slightest knowledge of production in the past have become relatively skilled technicians or engineers. Those who were

illiterate have learned to read ordinary books, newspapers and magazines. These wonders seem almost incredible but they are a well-attested fact. And they are not isolated cases in our new society.

In Hopei Province, there was a criminal named Wang Lun who was a secret agent of the Second Department of the Chiang Kai-shek gang's Defence Ministry. After political and ideological education during his imprisonment and reform through labour, he understood the nature of his crimes, recognized the justness of his punishment, and by energetically taking part in manual labour gradually became a skilled building worker and is now up to the technical standard of a fourth-grade construction engineer. He has been given lenient treatment by the People's Government.

The criminal Li Tsung-ying, who had served the British imperialists as a policeman in Hongkong, was arrested in Tsingtao in 1951 on criminal charges and sentenced to five years' penal servitude. After undergoing political and ideological education he was determined to reform himself into a completely new man. During his labour reform he learned productive techniques and devised many improvements for machines. The People's Government treated him leniently, setting him free two years before his sentence expired. However, he had become so fond of the labour reform machine works—the place which gave him his new lease on life—that he himself asked for continued employment there. He is now a fourth-grade skilled worker, earning 57 yuan a month. He was married in 1954, and his first child was born in May 1956. He has started a new life.

The broad masses of our country give enthusiastic, active support to the policy of reforming criminals through labour laid down by the Party and government. The dependants of counter-revolutionary criminals are very grateful to the Party and government for enabling the black sheep of their families to be changed into new people. Thousands and thousands of letters were sent to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the People's

Government, telling of their indescribable gratitude and joy. Han Hsueh-min of Tientsin, the wife of Chang Chuan who was released after serving his term, wrote: "I see with my own eyes that the People's Government has not only treated criminals humanely as to living conditions but has reformed their reactionary ideas and turned many who were the scum of society into useful persons. Since my husband was released he has not once quarrelled with me. In future we shall show our gratitude to the Party in deeds. We took a family photo the other day to mark the start of our journey to a bright, happy life. We would have liked to send a copy to a friend of ours, but though we spent a lot of time considering, we couldn't think of the right person. Finally we decided we should send it to the Chinese Communist Party, the mother who gave us new life. Enclosed is a copy of our family photo, please accept it for the Party."

From this people can see that, as counter-revolutionary criminals, men like Wang Lun, Li Tsung-ying and Chang Chuan, have already been liquidated. But as toilers living by their own honest work in the new China, they are not only alive but live quite well. In relation to the building of socialism, these criminals were formerly negative elements engaged in wrecking activities. Today, not only are they no longer forces of destruction but thanks to their reform, they have become part of the force building the new China. To transform negative factors into positive ones—this is typical of the thoroughness with which we suppress counter-revolution; it is also a major triumph of revolution over counter-revolution in our country!

In these ten years the successes won in the struggle of revolution against counter-revolution have brought about great changes in the aspect of Chinese society. China has changed from a country in which reaction, darkness and chaos reigned supreme under Kuomintang rule to one of the world's most advanced states with the brightest prospects and maximum

security. Epoch-making changes have taken place both in town and in countryside.

It is worth recalling the terrible conditions in the rural areas of old China. Then the reactionary Kuomintang officials and the local administrators of the so-called *paochia*¹ system were constantly extorting money and grain from the people. They press-ganged men into the Kuomintang army. Bandits and local bullies ran wild, killing, robbing, and raping. The peasants, reduced to dire circumstances, were on the verge of death, hardly able to keep body and soul together. Here is how they described their tragic fate: "A man can't call his harvest his own, it must go to the landlord. He can't call his wife his own, she must go to the *paochia* head. And when a son is born, he must go to Chiang Kai-shek's army." Liberation ended those terrible days for ever. Through a series of great reform movements—the reduction of rent and refund of deposits on land, the suppression of bandits and bullies, the land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the movements for agricultural co-operation and for the people's communes—the countryside of all China had become the socialist countryside, bright, prosperous and bubbling with activity. The 500 million peasants of China have completely emancipated themselves. They are free for ever from exploitation and oppression, in any shape or form.

Take Yehsien County in Honan Province for example. In Kuomintang days, it was notoriously the prey of bandits. There were murders and robberies every day and every night. The people there were victims of what they called the four evils—flood, drought, insect pests, and Tang En-po (one of the Kuomintang warlords). They were utterly impoverished. Untold suffering dogged their every step. In 1942, over 10,900

¹*Paochia*—a system founded on collective responsibility, which formed the lowest link in the chain of the administrative organs and through which the Kuomintang reactionary clique maintained its fascist rule—Tr.

people of the county, including some 1,600 entire households, were starved to death because of serious drought. It happened not infrequently that people tried to save themselves from starvation by selling their own children. This was a hell on earth. But Yehsien today is a place of happiness. The warlords and bandits are no more. Last year the peasants reaped a bumper harvest. Grain was piled high in the fields and on the threshing grounds, but there was not one case of theft. This year, the drought was worse than in 1942. But nobody starved. What is more, there was even an increase in the grain output. As a result of their exertions and efforts in the past decade and especially during the big leap forward in industrial and agricultural production and the people's commune movement over the last two years, the people of Yehsien County have built 52 medium and minor reservoirs. There are several factories in each commune. The county today has iron and steel, cement, farm equipment, textile and other industries—over 300 factories and workshops in all. Like the rest of the nation, the people of Yehsien County have taken the high road of security, happiness and prosperity. The political and economic changes in this county epitomize the great, amazing changes in the whole Chinese countryside.

As in the countryside, there have been epoch-making changes in the cities as well since the liberation.

Peking, now the people's capital, was once the ruling centre of the feudal dynasties, imperialism and the warlords. Here the forces of counter-revolution were banded together. The scum of the old society turned the city into a horrible place—dirty, foul, chaotic. The liberation changed all this. Peking became the nerve-centre of the nation. In the social reforms of the past few years its whole aspect has been transformed; the city has had a good cleaning politically and physically. Since the big leap forward, our capital has become through construction still more majestic and beautiful. Large numbers of modern factories have risen. There are flowerbeds everywhere one goes, in the city or the suburbs. Even the

most notoriously dark and filthy places of the past are clean and bright. Tienchiao ("The Bridge of Heaven" in the southern part of Peking) was a place of ill fame and the haunt of Peking's riffraff in old China. Gangsters, bullies and toughs terrorized the people there. Swindlers, thieves and ruffians had the free run of the district, while the well-behaved had to endure injury and insult. Countless girls from honest families were ravished and thrown into brothels. After the liberation, social reforms were introduced and a campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries was launched. The "six tigers" and "four toughs" who used to boss the Tienchiao district, together with other offscourings of society, were swept into history's garbage heap. The red flag flies over Tienchiao; the masses of the people have completely emancipated themselves.

In the old days, Shanghai, another major city of China, was notorious throughout the world as "the paradise of adventurers." Today, it is a paradise not for them but for the people. In the last few years, Shanghai has had no robberies; even burglary and theft are practically unheard of. There was a well-known amusement centre in Shanghai called the "Great World." It was in fact a centre for the activities of imperialist hirelings, Kuomintang agents, ruffians, toughs, robbers, thieves, swindlers and prostitutes, an underworld of crime and wickedness, a point of no return for the insulted and the victimized. Today, thanks to the democratic reforms and the struggles waged against the former underworld bosses, this "Great World" has been rid of the forces of evil. The public can go there to enjoy a varied daily programme with dozens of items to choose from—films, theatre, music and variety performances. The "Great World" today serves the working people as a happy place for rest and recreation and for carrying on socialist self-education.

Such tremendous changes are of course not confined to Yehsien County in Honan Province, or to Peking and Shanghai. They have taken place throughout China, urban and rural. In

this big, wide land of ours every family, every man and woman, lives and works free from worry and fear. All breathe freely, work, study and live freely; none will ever again have to endure the oppression and insults of the imperialists, and the reactionary classes and elements. "Spring wind through ten thousand willow branches, six hundred million in the Sacred Land equal Shun and Yao."¹ This is a true description of the new China. Illuminated by the beacon light of the Communist Party's general line for socialist construction—to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism—the whole nation is forging ahead with boundless enthusiasm and energy. Industry and agriculture are making big leaps forward. The sun-rays of the people's communes cast their lustre in all directions. The swift currents of socialist construction roar forward. The China of today is, as Chairman Mao described it in April last year in the article "Introducing a Co-operative":

Throughout the country the communist spirit is surging forward. The political consciousness of the masses is rising rapidly. . . . Never before have the masses been so high in spirit, so strong in morale and so firm in determination. The former exploiting classes are reduced to mere drops in the ocean of the working people; they must change whether they want to or not. There are undoubtedly some who will never change and would prefer to keep their heads as hard as rocks till their dying day, but this does not affect the general situation. All decadent modes of thought and other unsuitable parts of the superstructure are daily crumbling. It will still take time to clear this refuse away completely but there can be no doubt that these things will disintegrate.

The events and trends in our country in the past year or so have further borne out the absolute correctness of this Marxist-Leninist analysis and conclusion of Chairman Mao.

¹Shun and Yao were two ancient sage kings of China—Tr.

Below are the principal reasons why the Chinese revolution has achieved a great victory in the struggle against counter-revolution.

First, ours is a just cause and a just cause is certain to triumph. The struggle of the revolution against counter-revolution represents the highest interest of the broadest mass of the most oppressed people. It serves the needs of social progress and the development of the productive forces, the greatest truth and the highest justice. Everybody can see with what great indignation and agitation the broad mass of the people accuse those guilty of counter-revolutionary crimes, how much courage and enthusiasm they show in the struggle against counter-revolution, how great is their joy and exultation when the struggle to suppress counter-revolution is victorious, and how much positive result the successful struggle of revolution against counter-revolution has yielded. All this speaks volumes for the justness of our struggle against counter-revolution, a struggle which appeals most fully to the moral sense and to sound minds. It is the reason why it has won the enthusiastic response and support of the people throughout the country and achieved great victories. The situation of the counter-revolutionary elements is exactly the opposite. They are utterly unjust and intolerable either from the viewpoint of moral sense or from that of human justice, because they engage in vicious, reactionary activities, set themselves against the people, bring disasters on the people, betray their country, and try in vain to check the progress of society. Since they are completely isolated from the people and their position in society deteriorates with each passing day, there is no doubt that they are doomed to fail.

Secondly, the struggle of our revolution against counter-revolution has been carried on under the wise leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. After the victory of the revolution throughout the country, our struggle against counter-revolution has continued to be a great revolutionary movement, and would have come to nothing if

not led by the Communist Party. In leading the struggle of the revolution against the counter-revolution, the Party and Chairman Mao have formulated correct principles and policies. "Heighten vigilance so that all secret agents may be cleared out; guard against any possible mistake so that no innocent man will be involved," and "When a counter-revolutionary element is found, he must not be let off; whenever a mistake is discovered, it must be rectified." This expresses the principles to which our government has adhered all along. In dealing with counter-revolutionary elements, to integrate punishment with leniency, and reform through labour with ideological education—this has been the constant policy. The pardon proclaimed by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China on September 17, 1959 reflects the great victory of this policy of the Party and, at the same time, its practical application and development under new historical conditions. A survey of the practical struggles over the past ten years fully reveals that the principles of the Party are the most correct, that its policies are the most effective, and that the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the best. In these extremely sharp struggles the principles, policies and leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao have always been as clear and bright as the pole-star, as bold as the lion, as just as a pair of balances, as ardent as flame, and as stable as Mount Taishan. All are actuated by mighty revolutionary vigour and the most practical spirit. The principles and policies which the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have formulated for the struggle of the revolution against the counter-revolution, and their art of leadership in practical struggles, fully prove the powerful vitality generated when Marxism-Leninism is applied to the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution. The wise leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the decisive factor in the great victory of the struggle of our revolution against counter-revolution.

Thirdly, our great victory in the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution is a victory for all our 650 million people. The fundamental line followed in this struggle is the mass line in weeding out counter-revolutionaries. The struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, through which the people achieve their complete emancipation, is a great revolutionary mass movement. It is impossible to defeat and thoroughly weed out the counter-revolutionaries without relying on the masses and arousing them fully for struggle. In our struggle against counter-revolution, led by the Party and Chairman Mao, we have consistently followed the mass line, combining the mass struggle and the work of the organs specially assigned to this work. The facts have proved that the mass line in weeding out the counter-revolutionaries is the most correct, most revolutionary and most thorough and gives the greatest guarantee of success. It is precisely by virtue of this mass line that we have achieved great victories in a short space of time, permitted very few deviations to occur, and attained quick results. Our experience proves fully that by following the mass line in the fight against counter-revolution we can quickly strip the counter-revolutionaries of their arrogance and quickly raise the people's consciousness. So long as there are counter-revolutionaries and the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution exists, we must continue to adhere to the mass line. The Party's leadership and the mass line are our banner of victory. We must hold this glorious banner aloft until the complete disappearance of the class struggle and the complete victory of revolution over counter-revolution!

China's situation, both internal and external, is now very good; and the conditions of struggle between the revolution and the counter-revolution in our country have changed fundamentally. The revolutionary forces are forging ahead with great strides. The remnant counter-revolutionaries have already gone to the wall, and are breathing their last. They are sure to be wiped out. But today, the struggle has not yet

ended. Internally we still have classes, class struggle, and anti-socialist forces. Externally, the imperialists still exist. Although our enemies have been greatly weakened they have not yet been eliminated. They still do not want to give up, but are continuing to step up their plots against us in every way. Our people's public security organs have recently made a series of arrests of secret agents and spies sent to the mainland by the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. They have also uncovered a number of cases of sabotage by the remnant counter-revolutionaries inside the country. All these facts warn us that we should under no circumstances become complacent and hold our enemies too lightly; that we must not rest on our laurels or slacken our vigilance and struggle.

All the remnant counter-revolutionary elements are, in fact, lackeys of imperialism. Some of their disruptive activities are instigated from behind the scenes by imperialism, and especially by U.S. imperialism. At a press conference he gave on June 18, 1958, President Eisenhower of the United States made it clear that the United States would step up its subversion and disruption against the countries of the socialist camp. He said that "what the United States is seeking to do is to set up centrifugal forces" within the socialist camp. And he openly admitted: "In this, the United States is already doing great work." On January 14, 1959 he said of China at the National Press Club: "I would think that if they continue in that line . . . then we must indeed be watchful." He went so far as to speak of attempting "to create a ferment" on the Chinese mainland. Thus Eisenhower, in his capacity as head of state, raises subversive and disruptive activities against the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries to the level of a government policy. Against this dangerous line, which the United States is now pursuing, it is the Chinese people who "must indeed be watchful."

In the last ten years the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party and our great leader Chairman Mao, have

been able to win successes in the struggle of revolution against counter-revolution, have eliminated the counter-revolutionaries more or less thoroughly. In view of this, we are sure that the fate of the counter-revolutionaries in the future will be no better than in the decade just past. The Chinese people, with their high revolutionary vigilance and rich experience in struggle will make short work of any wrecking schemes that the imperialists and reactionaries may hatch.

光輝的十年

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