



SELECTED WORKS
OF
ZHOU ENLAI

Volume II

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**SELECTED WORKS
OF
ZHOU ENLAI**

Volume II

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CONTENTS

THE PRESENT FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION AND RELATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY OF NEW CHINA (<i>December 22-23, 1949</i>)	11
On the State Financial and Economic Plans	12
On Relations Between Different Aspects of the Economy	18
SPEECH AT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION (<i>June 8, 1950</i>)	25
I. Principle of Education Under New Democracy	
II. Unity of Theory and Practice	27
III. Unity and Reform	29
CONSTRUCTION AND UNITY (<i>August 24, 1950</i>)	31
STRIVING TO CONSOLIDATE AND EXPAND THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY (<i>September 30, 1950</i>)	41
Great Victories in the People's War of Liberation	41
Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China	43
Consolidating the People's Democratic Dictatorship and Pre- paring for Agrarian Reform	47
Centralization of Finance and Rehabilitation of the Economy	52
Training Cadres and Raising Educational Levels	56
RESISTING U.S. AGGRESSION, AIDING KOREA AND DEFENDING PEACE (<i>October 24, 1950</i>)	59
TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THE MARRIAGE LAW AND PROTECT WOMEN'S LEGAL RIGHTS (<i>September 26, 1951</i>)	65
ON THE REMOULDING OF INTELLECTUALS (<i>September 29, 1951</i>)	69
I. The Question of Standpoint	71
II. The Question of Attitude	77
TWO DOCUMENTS ON IMPROVING THE WORK IN OLD BASE AREAS (<i>1951-1952</i>)	81

I. Do Not Forget the Places We Came from (<i>October 9, 1951</i>)	81
II. Vigorously Promote Economic and Cultural Development in Old Base Areas (<i>January 28, 1952</i>)	84
THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THE “THREE EVILS”, AND THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE (<i>January 5, 1952</i>)	90
OUR FOREIGN POLICIES AND OUR TASKS (<i>April 30, 1952</i>)	94
PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE CHINESE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE (<i>June 19, 1952</i>)	103
THE GENERAL LINE FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD (<i>September 8, 1953</i>)	114
FIVE PRINCIPLES FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE (<i>December 31, 1953</i>)	128
STRENGTHEN PARTY UNITY AND OPPOSE BOURGEOIS INDIVIDUALISM (<i>February 10, 1954</i>)	129
BUILDING PHYSICAL FITNESS FOR THE MOTHERLAND (<i>February 21, 1954</i>)	139
TURNING CHINA INTO A POWERFUL, MODERN, SOCIALIST, INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRY (<i>September 23, 1954</i>)	142
SPEECHES AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE (<i>April 19, 1955</i>)	155
Main Speech	155
Supplementary Remarks	162
ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING INTELLECTUALS (<i>January 14, 1956</i>)	166
ECONOMIC WORK SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN A PRACTICAL WAY (<i>February 8, 1956</i>)	195
TWO TALKS ON THE KUNQU OPERA <i>FIFTEEN STRINGS OF COINS</i> (<i>April and May 1956</i>)	197
Talk on April 19	197
Talk on May 17	199
TAIWAN WILL BE LIBERATED (<i>June 28, 1956</i>)	206
CONTINUE TO EXERCISE DICTATORSHIP AND AT THE SAME TIME TO BROADEN DEMOCRACY (<i>July 21, 1956</i>)	210
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN (<i>September 16, 1956</i>)	217
PROBLEMS OF POLICY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (<i>November 10, 1956</i>)	233

REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN CHINA AND BURMA (<i>July 9, 1957</i>)	245
QUESTIONS RELATING TO OUR POLICIES TOWARDS CHINA'S NATIONALITIES (<i>August 4, 1957</i>)	253
I. Two Types of Chauvinism	253
II. Regional Autonomy for the Nationalities	259
III. Prosperity and Social Reforms Among All Our Nationalities	268
IV. The Right of the Nationalities to Self-government and National Identity	275
LETTER TO CHENG YANQIU (<i>November 13, 1957</i>)	279
IMPROVE THE POLITICAL QUALITY OF THE ARMY (<i>December 24, 1957</i>)	280
CURRENT TASKS FOR THE REFORM OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE (<i>January 10, 1958</i>)	287
PASS ON KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE TO FUTURE GENERATIONS (<i>April 29, 1959</i>)	301
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (<i>July 14 and 15, 1960</i>)	306
ON INVESTIGATION AND STUDY (<i>March, May 1961</i>)	320
The Importance of Conducting Investigation and Study and Seeking Truth from Facts (<i>March 19, 1961</i>)	320
Report on an Investigation in Handan Prefecture, Hebei Province (<i>May 7, 1961</i>)	321
REMARKS AT A RECEPTION FOR HIRO SAGA, PU JIE, PU YI AND OTHERS (<i>June 10, 1961</i>)	323
TALK AT A JOINT MEETING OF PARTICIPANTS IN A FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART AND PARTICIPANTS IN A CONFERENCE ON FILM SCENARIOS (<i>June 19, 1961</i>)	331
Introduction	331
I. Material and Mental Production	337
II. Class Struggle and the United Front	341
III. Whom to Serve?	346
IV. Laws Governing the Development of Literature and Art	351
V. Preserving and Creating	354

VI . Leadership	356
VII . Modern Drama	358
SPEAK THE TRUTH, MAKE GENUINE EFFORTS, DO REAL WORK AND STRIVE FOR PRACTICAL RESULTS (<i>February 3, 1962</i>)	361
ON THE QUESTION OF INTELLECTUALS (<i>March 2, 1962</i>)	366
I. Definition and Role of Intellectuals	366
II. The Process of Growth of Intellectuals in Contemporary China	368
III. How to Unite with Intellectuals	377
IV. Self-remoulding of Intellectuals	381
READJUSTMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND OUR CUR- RENT TASKS (<i>March 28, 1962</i>)	383
NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNITED FRONT (<i>April 18, 1962</i>)	401
GET A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION AND KEEP THE INITIATIVE IN OUR HANDS (<i>May 11, 1962</i>)	416
THE KEY TO BUILDING A POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY IS TO MODERNIZE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (<i>January 29, 1963</i>)	427
LEARN FROM LEI FENG (<i>March 6, 1963</i>)	432
COMBAT BUREAUCRATISM (<i>May 29, 1963</i>)	433
MEET THE TEST IN FIVE DOMAINS (<i>May 29, 1963</i>)	439
EIGHT PRINCIPLES FOR ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO OTHER COUNTRIES (<i>January 15, 1964</i>)	446
COMPLETE PROHIBITION AND THOROUGH DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (<i>October 17, 1964</i>)	448
SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE ON HARNESSING THE HUANGHE RIVER (<i>December 18, 1964</i>)	450
MAJOR TASKS FOR DEVELOPING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY (<i>December 21, 1964</i>)	458
RURAL HEALTH WORK AND FAMILY PLANNING (<i>November 1, 1965</i>)	462
AFFORESTATION: A PROJECT OF VITAL AND LASTING IM- PORTANCE (<i>February 23, 1966</i>)	465
EXPAND PRODUCTION AND REBUILD OUR HOMES (<i>March 10, 1966</i>)	468
ON PROTECTING CADRES (1966-1974)	470
A List of Cadres Who Should Be Protected (<i>August 30, 1966</i>)	470

We Should Respect Soong Ching Ling (<i>September 1, 1966</i>)	471
Wages Should Not Be Reduced for Cadres Who Are Under Criticism (<i>September 18, 1966</i>)	472
Li Baohua and Li Renzhi Must Be Released (<i>November 14, 1966</i>)	472
On Liu Lantao's Release from Kuomintang Prison (<i>November 24, 1966</i>)	472
Wang Enmao Should Be Made a Deputy to the Ninth National Party Congress (<i>January 12, 1969</i>)	473
Xu Haidong Should Join the Presidium of the Ninth National Party Congress (<i>March 31, 1969</i>)	473
Tao Zhu Should Be Hospitalized (<i>April 5, 1969</i>)	474
Leading Members of Democratic Parties Should Not Be Subjected to Criticism and Denunciation (<i>May 4, 1969</i>)	474
Hua Luogeng Should Be Protected (<i>March 4, 1970</i>)	475
On the Death of Zhang Linzhi (<i>July 31, 1970</i>)	475
Fascist Methods of Interrogating Cadres Must Be Abolished (<i>December 18, 1972</i>)	476
On the List of Person to Attend the National Day Reception (<i>September 29, 1974</i>)	477
COMMENTS CONCERNING ECONOMIC WORK (1966-1973)	479
The Workers' Petition Must Not Interfere with Production (<i>November 28, 1966</i>)	479
Let the People Store Up Material Wealth (<i>May 3, 1967</i>)	480
Railways and Waterways Must Not Be Cut (<i>May 31, 1967</i>)	481
Unite to Protect Harbour Traffic (<i>October 2, 1967</i>)	482
Measures for Checking Violence (1968)	482
Rational Rules and Regulations Should Continue in Force (<i>April 12, 1969</i>)	483
Problems of Quality Should Be Put on the Agenda (<i>December 15, 1971, and January 21, 1972</i>)	484
Remedy the Economic Damage Caused by Lin Biao and Company (<i>February 26, 1973</i>)	485

Attention Should Be Paid to Preventing Waterlogging and Combating Drought (<i>May 14, 1973</i>)	488
INSTITUTIONS OF CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SHOULD RESUME THEIR NORMAL FUNCTIONS (<i>1970-19</i>)	489
Don't Reject a Book Simply Because of the Author's Political Background (<i>September 17, 1970</i>)	489
On the Teaching of Foreign Languages (<i>November 20, 1970</i>)	490
Spread Knowledge of History and Publish More Books (<i>April 12, 1971</i>)	493
Ultra-Left Ideas Undermine Art (<i>April 9, 1972</i>)	494
On Improving Meteorological Work (<i>July 30, 1972</i>)	495
Pay Attention to the Study of Basic Sciences and to Theoretical Research (<i>September 11, 1972</i>)	496
Certain Students May Enter Universities Immediately After Graduation from Secondary School (<i>October 14, 1972</i>)	497
Learn from the Strong Points of Foreign Countries (<i>February 26, 1973</i>)	497
THE GATE TO FRIENDLY CONTACTS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES HAS FINALLY BEEN OPENED (<i>February 21, 1972</i>)	499
THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE PEOPLES SHOULD LIVE IN FRIENDSHIP FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION (<i>September 25, 1972</i>)	501
MARCHING TOWARDS THE SPLENDID GOAL OF THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS (<i>January 13, 1975</i>)	504
NOTES	505

THE PRESENT FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION AND RELATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY OF NEW CHINA

December 22-23, 1949

Comrades,

Now that the Central People's Government has been founded, various ministries and commissions have been holding separate national conferences, as necessary, to learn about the actual situation and to formulate principles and plans for their work in the coming period. Though general principles have already been set forth in the Common Programme,¹ operational meetings are needed to determine specific principles for each field and to have them implemented at lower levels. Since the various ministries and commissions were formed only recently, they have not had time to grasp the overall situation, so they need meetings and on-the-spot investigations to collect information as well.

Having come to Beijing to attend meetings, in addition to discussing the work in your own field, you also have the right to inquire about the country's overall policies and general principles in the political, military, economic, cultural and other fields. That is the only way you will be able to keep the work of your department in conformity with the general principles and to keep an overall picture in mind. Otherwise, you will lose your direction and be working in isolation in the dark. That is not a scientific approach, and it won't help to build a new country. The purpose of my talk today is to help you acquire the habit of considering the overall situation. I am going to discuss issues of a general nature. It is my opinion that you have

¹Speech to participants in the national conferences on agriculture, iron and steel production and civil aviation.

not only the right to make a request of the Central Government but also the right to ask the leading comrades in your localities to give such a talk on overall policies and principles at regular intervals. Some people say that those are state affairs that ought to be kept secret and not revealed to anyone who asks. Some state affairs do indeed require secrecy, but there are also some that do not, and even secret matters should be handled selectively. I think major state affairs should be made known, and we should encourage everyone to learn about them. Others say that since everyone has a heavy work load, it is enough for him to fulfil his assignments without taking time to learn about state affairs. That is the attitude of a clerk conducting business in the old society. In New China administrative staff should have a sense of responsibility towards their own country. If they do, thousands upon thousands of enthusiastic and creative staff members will come to the fore.

Elaborating on what I have said just now, I am going to touch on two issues. First, I want to talk about the state financial and economic plans, which will give you a picture of the overall situation. We have begun to shift our work as a whole from military operations to construction, and our financial and economic plans are the embodiment of some of the policies adopted by the government in this new situation. For instance, it can be seen from these overall plans which activity is to be considered the most important — military operations or construction — and, within construction, which sector is to be given major emphasis — industry or agriculture. Cultural, educational, diplomatic and other government policies are also reflected in these plans. Second, I want to talk about the relations between different aspects of the economy of New China. The key to success in our work is to handle these relations correctly and to be clear about our priorities.

ON THE STATE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PLANS

The state budget for 1950, approved by the Central People's Government Council, will be effective for only one year. Why? Because the war is still going on. The area around Chengdu, Tibet, Taiwan, Hainan Island and a few other places have not yet been liberated. Under these circumstances, it is not possible to lay out a

plan good for several years. Even this one-year plan can be only rough and approximate; to be accurate it will have to be revised continuously in the process of implementation. It is not realistic to try to formulate an accurate plan all at once. We can only draw up a rough plan like this one, which is scientific and feasible given the present stage in China. Naturally, your own operational plans at this stage must likewise be provisional.

What was the thinking behind the state financial and economic plans, and for what purposes were they drawn up? I shall explain with four points.

1. *Sharing the burden.* In order to achieve nationwide victory, our people are called upon to bear a necessary burden. I call it the burden of victory. Basically, we have been victorious in the War of Liberation, and only the area around Chengdu, Tibet, Taiwan, Hainan Island and a few other places are yet to be liberated. But our victory will be complete only when these areas are liberated. We therefore have to make military preparations and maintain not only the army but also the navy and air force. So military expenditure still takes up quite a large proportion of the budget. Moreover, the armed forces, now numbering 4,700,000 men, will expand, because they will absorb captured or reorganized Kuomintang troops. It is estimated that at its peak next year our army will reach 5,500,000 men. As you know, since last year, and especially during this year, we have incorporated most of the captured or reorganized Kuomintang troops. After Beijing was liberated we sent several hundred Kuomintang officers back to their hometowns. However, when Suiyuan was liberated,² our troops came upon those same officers again. Now we no longer have any place to send Kuomintang officers and men. If we turn them away, public order will be disturbed. So we have to provide for them, both the military and civil staff. Furthermore, some time ago in Shanghai, in an effort to streamline administration, the staff was reduced. This caused much anxiety both in Shanghai and in Nanjing, and the matter came to the attention of the Central Government. It is important to provide food for all. To remedy the situation, five persons are now sharing the food for three, so that everybody is provided for. But as a result, the national total of personnel in government and education will increase from the present 2 million to 3.5 million. Together, the additional civil and military personnel will come to 9 million.

Such a big increase in the number of persons dependent on the government will have to be supported by our people. This is a major

problem. However, feeding these 9 million people will be conducive to production and to national development. We should explain to our people that this is a burden we must bear for the sake of victory and that it cannot be avoided. The several million people we have provided for will play some useful role. We should be determined to turn them into a productive force. We are quite certain that this can be done, because it was once tried successfully during the War of Resistance Against Japan. We are now beginning to do it nationwide. Comrade Mao Zedong has expressed his opinion on military personnel engaging in production: they should start with agriculture and handicrafts and also produce industrial goods and armaments. We believe that in two or three years' time this practice will prove highly successful. It is not necessary to have 3.5 million government employees now. We should make preparations for them to take part in production and study, in addition to doing their regular jobs, so that they will become the revolutionary-minded office workers required by New China — meeting work requirements and also equipped with a correct attitude towards labour and with scientific knowledge. Governments at various levels should all do this work well. At present our government organs are overstaffed. Not all employees have to stay on in government offices; some of them can be transferred to enterprises.

2. *Restoring production.* The state will have a heavy burden next year, and we have no choice but to devote great efforts to production. Comrade Mao Zedong has said that production should increase as the army advances. What else but production can we rely on now to support the war effort and consolidate our victory? Production is the basic task of New China. The emphasis at present must be on recovery rather than expansion, though we certainly do not exclude any expansion that is possible and necessary. The highest total annual yield of grain before the War of Resistance Against Japan was 140 million tons. This year's harvest is down from that by about 20 per cent. Although we plan to increase the yield by 5 million tons next year, the total will still be far less than 140 million. The situation with regard to cotton production is similar. In general, what we should do is first put things back to normal in every field of endeavour, and then achieve expansion based on that recovery. Comrade Mao Zedong has said that recovery would take from three to five years and that expansion would ensue in eight to ten years. It will be remarkable enough if in three to five years we can just reach or top the pre-war

production figures. The recovery of agriculture will serve as the foundation for the recovery of all other branches, since if no food is available, everything else is out of the question. Light industry and exports depend for the most part on agriculture for raw materials and goods. With the exception of military and administrative expenditures, most of the funds in the state plan are allocated for the recovery of production. Only when production is resumed can the enterprises take in several million additional people transferred from elsewhere.

3. *Broadening sources of income and reducing expenditures.* This may sound like a platitude, but it is still a necessary measure. More funds will be available and deficits will be reduced only when revenues increase. The state will rely mainly on the people for new sources of revenue. First, the countryside will share the burden; second, the cities will make a contribution; third, state enterprises will hand over their income; and fourth, we shall draw in advance — that is, borrow money.

I want to elaborate first on the share of the burden to be borne by the countryside. Our old liberated areas have been shouldering a heavy burden for a long time; they haven't had a breathing spell in all the 12 years since the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Now that nationwide victory is just around the corner, is it possible to lighten their load? It is a reasonable suggestion, but for the time being we can't do it. This is because the war is still going on, things in the newly liberated areas are not yet well organized, agrarian reform has not been carried out, and preparations for collecting taxes have not been completed. So the old liberated areas will still have to carry the largest share of the burden, and the amount cannot be reduced. The burden on the peasants in the Northeast will be the heaviest, it will be light in the Northwest and moderate in north China. Those are the proportions we have worked out on the basis of our experience since the anti-Japanese war. On an average, each peasant harvests about 200 kg. of grain every year, of which 40 kg. are turned over to the government. If the expenses of the military are calculated in terms of grain, they come to 2,000 kg. per capita per year. That means that every 100 peasants can support two government employees. If this ratio is maintained, things will be just right; if it is broken, things will be difficult. For the last 12 years we have held out by keeping this ratio. As their share of the burden, the peasants will still have to contribute about 20 per cent of their income for a

considerable time to come. That fact also shows the great contribution of the Chinese peasantry.

The contribution of the cities takes the form of tax payments. In the past we depended almost completely on the countryside. Now that the situation has changed, we can also rely on the cities and let industry and commerce do their share. But in the initial period we cannot lay too heavy a burden on the cities; it should be lighter than that on the countryside. Now 41.4 per cent of the state's financial revenue comes from the countryside and 38.9 per cent from the cities. In actual practice, many taxes such as those on salt, commodities, slaughtering animals, etc., will still go to the peasants in the end. While it is wrong to ask too much of the cities at present, government employees in the cities should persuade industrialists and merchants to pay taxes.

The income of state enterprises accounts for 17.1 per cent of financial revenue.

The three sources of revenue I have mentioned are not sufficient and there will still be deficits. So we shall have to issue government bonds. Eighty-two per cent of the total budget for 1950 will be drawn from various sources of income, 7 per cent from the sale of government bonds, the rest from the issuance of currency. The funds raised this way will tide us over the difficulties next year following our victory. Can we borrow money from foreign countries? We do need foreign assistance. We welcome aid from friendly countries, for it is offered with sincere goodwill, but we should rely mainly on ourselves to build China.

In the state financial plan expenditures have been retrenched.

First, the military takes up 38.8 per cent of the total budget. The annual expenses of the army add up to only 2,000 kg. of grain per capita, or 10.5 million tons in all. The expenses for building the navy and the air force are not included.

Second, administration takes up 21.4 per cent. Our administrative expenditure is modest. The average annual income in terms of grain for people under the supply system is from 900 to 1,000 kg. per capita. For those under the salary system, the amount is 2,100 kg. per capita. We cannot apply the salary system to all those now under the supply system, nor can we introduce the supply system among people now under the salary system. Incomes under the two systems are not equal. Nevertheless, we have to ask those comrades who are under the supply system to be more patient. The government is aware of

their domestic difficulties and is trying to solve some of their most pressing problems.

Third, economic development, education and culture take up about 30 per cent of the budget. Funds allocated under these categories will go for investment in state enterprises, for cultural and educational facilities and for construction in the localities. Investment in state enterprises will constitute 23.9 per cent of this total.

Fourth, the general reserve fund takes up about 10 per cent of the budget and will be used for covering unforeseen expenses, such as relief to disaster areas.

The breakdown of the budget shows that the major expenditures are to support the war effort that will liberate the whole of China. After that come the expenses for construction and the recovery of production. Total expenditures add up to less than the equivalent of 30 million tons of grain, a figure that reflects frugality on the part of the state and a low standard of living. Historically, the Chinese nation has always been valiant and industrious, and our Party has the revolutionary tradition of hard work. In the initial stage of building New China, we hope all our administrative workers will maintain that tradition and carry it forward.

4. *Following policies.* We must all implement government policies and conduct our work according to the general guidelines I have mentioned, so as to prevent departments from asserting their "independence". We should attach special importance to heavy industry, although other types must not be neglected. Within heavy industry, the iron and steel industry should be given priority, although we must not neglect the others either. In agriculture, equal importance should be given to water conservancy and agricultural production, with the former supporting the latter. In transport, the most important thing is to restore railway service. Actually, we have made rapid progress in that respect. We originally planned to reopen 18,0 kilometres of railway lines this year; now the plan has been overfulfilled by 2,000 kilometres. It is anticipated that all railway lines will resume service next year and that some new ones will also be built. The restoration of road and water transport will come next.

Every unit should keep the overall situation in mind, find its own position and orientation under the general financial and economic plans, and restore and expand production, establishing clear priorities and proceeding in accordance with a plan. In this way it can avoid

departmentalism and exclusive reliance on the state and will make the greatest possible contributions in its field.

ON RELATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY

Now I want to discuss six relationships between different aspects of the economy. These are: the relations between the cities and the countryside, between self-reliance and foreign aid, between industry and commerce, between the public sector and the private sector, between labour and capital, and between upper and lower levels.

1. *The relation between the cities and the countryside*

The relation between the cities and the countryside is of vital importance in China. On the one hand, the Chinese revolution calls for the leadership of the working class; on the other hand, in order for the revolution to succeed, it must rely on the peasantry and the vast countryside. To liberate the cities, we must depend on the countryside, establishing revolutionary base areas there, organizing and accumulating our forces, carrying out armed struggles, encircling the cities and seizing enemy positions one by one. The cities in turn provide leadership for the countryside in restoring and developing production and in building the country. This dialectical handling of the relation between the cities and the countryside in our country is the most successful example of Comrade Mao Zedong's application of Marxism-Leninism to the problems of the Chinese revolution.

On the question of who is to exercise leadership, we have now established the principle that the cities exercise leadership over the countryside and industry over agriculture. This is true in capitalist society and even more so in socialist society. Although the countryside contributes a far greater proportion of China's national economy than the cities — agriculture and handicrafts make up about 90 per cent while modern industry accounts for only about 10 per cent — that in no way diminishes the leadership role of the cities and of industry, far less deprives them of that role. The cities' demand for food and industrial raw materials spurs agricultural production in the countryside, and at the same time the consumer goods and means of production they supply serve to advance it.

Since it is the cities, where the population is concentrated, that lead the countryside, where the population is scattered, and since it is industry that leads agriculture, does it follow that we need not rely on agriculture — the foundation of our economy — and can ignore the countryside? No. The broad foundation of agriculture can never be dispensed with or ignored. City and countryside are two aspects of a dialectical whole; so are industry and agriculture. Neither aspect can replace the other or be stressed at the expense of the other. When we speak of the leadership of the cities and of industry, we are by no means forgetting the role of agricultural production in promoting industrial growth. The growth of industry is impossible without the growth of agriculture. The primary task at present is to restore agricultural production to its pre-war level and then to expand it. We plan to increase grain yield by 5 million tons next year. We should be able to attain an annual yield of 140 million tons — the highest pre-war output — in from three to five years. Thus the purchasing power of the 400 million peasants will be increased, and their demand for industrial goods will grow. The amount of industrial raw materials they supply will also be augmented. Expansion of agriculture will then serve to restore and develop industrial production. The cotton output this year is over 400,000 tons, and the plan for next year is to increase it to 650,000 tons. If we fail to reach that amount, one million spindles will stop spinning. The urban population cannot go on living without food. The 10 million people in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai all depend on the countryside for their food and clothing. The cities cannot manage without the countryside. Industry cannot operate without agriculture but must be based on agriculture.

In handling the relation between the cities and the countryside we have to guard against two deviations. Cadres from the old liberated areas have accumulated rich experience in rural production and are skilled at organizing agricultural production. But that is no reason for them to focus on agriculture to the neglect of industry, negating or underestimating the leading role of the cities and of industry. If this deviation is not prevented, mistakes will be made. Agriculture cannot be the focus of work and will grow only under the leadership of industry. Only when urban industries are organized to play a leading role can agriculture be modernized and mechanized. The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee³ decided to shift the focus of the Party's work to the cities, and we should now devote

most of our energy to rehabilitating and developing industry, which in turn will promote the recovery and development of agriculture. But at the same time, there is another deviation to be avoided. Comrades working in the cities should not overlook agriculture and the countryside just because it is industry that leads agriculture and cities that lead the countryside. In China, peasants make up more than 80 per cent of the total population, and as I have said, agriculture and handicrafts represent almost 90 per cent of the national economy. So in planning industrial production we have to take into account the needs of the countryside. For instance, when a new railway is to be built, primary consideration should be given to its potential role in communication between the cities and the countryside and in the exchange of industrial and agricultural products. Anyone who neglects the interests of the peasants and agriculture will make mistakes.

We must develop industry on the basis of expanded agriculture and raise the level of agricultural production under the leadership of industry. Without agriculture as the foundation, industry cannot advance; without the leadership of industry, agriculture cannot expand. This correct dialectical principle is the outcome of applying Mao Zedong Thought to the relations between industry and agriculture and between the cities and the countryside.

2. *The relation between self-reliance and foreign aid*

In building our country, which should we chiefly depend on: domestic capabilities or foreign aid? Our answer is domestic capabilities — in other words, we must chiefly rely on ourselves. Small countries have to do that, and it is even more necessary for China, a big country with 450 million people. There is no question that we need to be self-reliant economically and independent politically. The blockade imposed on us by U.S. imperialism has caused great hardships, but we should never yield to it for that reason. We have to withstand these hardships. Moreover, the blockade and bombing in themselves have forced us to devise more methods of building up our country. In 109 years of struggle, countless people with lofty ideals have sacrificed their lives, and the Chinese people have suffered many a setback and failure before the final victory. We are quite capable of dealing with the present situation. We shall grapple with the difficulties, for as the saying goes, much distress can regenerate a nation.

There is nothing to fear if the imperialists refuse to do business with us. Their past invasions turned China into a colonial and semi-

colonial country. The Chinese people rose up to make revolution because that was the only way they could survive. We certainly cannot rely on the imperialists now. And after all, the business China did with them in the past was never very extensive: before the anti-Japanese war it amounted to only a few hundred million yuan of the national currency a year and during the war to not more than a few score million. It is all right for us to do business with imperialist countries now if the terms are favourable. We shall neither refuse it nor ask for it. The habit of relying on imperialism, a habit formed over the last hundred years and deep-rooted among some people, has to be broken. Old China was dependent on imperialism not only in the economic sphere but also in the spheres of culture and education; it was exploited economically and polluted ideologically. That was very dangerous. It is now time to expose and eradicate the evil influence of imperialism. We shall neither rely on imperialism nor be afraid of it. Thus we shall be able to base self-reliance on solid ground. Most of the materials we need can be supplied by ourselves, some by our friends. We should never count on enemies. Furthermore, we can surely find favourable markets for our goods. Next year grain output will be increased by 5 million tons and cotton output by more than 200,000 tons. Increased grain production can serve to increase our exports, earning foreign currency, and increased cotton production can help reduce our imports, saving foreign currency. We welcome any assistance from friendly countries based on equality and mutual benefit. Assistance offered with goodwill helps us to be self-reliant.

3. *The relation between industry and commerce*

Industry certainly takes precedence over commerce. But what about those cities with a high proportion of commerce? Shouldn't they give first place to commerce? No, they too should give priority to industrial development. The state mainly manages heavy industry. State commerce and commerce run by co-operatives are designed to facilitate the circulation of industrial and agricultural goods in the service of the people. We must guard against speculation. As to private capital, we should encourage it to develop industrial production and help it to do so. In case of urgent necessity, the state can also come to the assistance of private commerce. On the eve of liberation almost all urban production was disrupted, and all that remained was commercial speculation. This situation must be remedied.

4. *The relation between the public sector and the private sector*

In order to restore and develop the economy, new-democratic China needs the assistance and co-operation of private capital. In addition to state enterprises, private enterprises will be allowed to exist and grow. The principle proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong of giving consideration to both the public sector and the private sector has been incorporated in the Common Programme. In our transition to a socialist society, we shall have to solve the problem of private capital.

It must be made clear that the public sector is to be given priority. The state economy should be the leading sector. Although it now accounts for only 5 per cent of the national economy, it is socialist in nature and its leading position guarantees that China will develop towards socialism. All enterprises that have an important effect on the national economy and people's standard of living and thus should not be controlled by private capital should be placed under state operation. The Kuomintang government once monopolized the national economy by making use of bureaucrat capital, which not only enslaved the people but also stifled the development of the private economy and should therefore be confiscated. On the other hand, the monopoly of bureaucrat capital has resulted in an increasing concentration of large enterprises and has thus prepared centralized organizations of production ready-made for the state. In this way certain institutions of the old society turned into positive forces as soon as the people took control of them. To increase the proportion of the state-owned sector of the economy and to assure its leadership, the government has allocated to it 23.9 per cent of the budget for 1950.

If the public sector is to take priority, does it mean that the private sector is to be ignored? Certainly not. Now half of all industry is privately run. This is very helpful to our country's economic development. The government will help resolve the difficulties of those private enterprises that contribute to the economy and to the people's welfare. State-owned enterprises should play the leadership role so that private enterprises will benefit the growth of production. We endorse the existence of private capitalist enterprises. However, our aim is to guide them away from the old capitalist road and onto the road of New Democracy. We intend to move towards socialism gradually, carefully and methodically over a long period of time.

5. *The relation between labour and capital*

The question of this relation does not arise in state enterprises, but it does in private enterprises. Comrade Mao Zedong has

formulated the principle of benefiting both labour and capital. However, this does not mean we should put labour and capital on a par. The People's Republic is led by the working class. So we should adopt the policy of protecting labour while allowing capitalist management an appropriate profit. Our policy of placing restraints on private capital serves both to encourage the operation of those private enterprises that contribute to the economy and the people's welfare and to discourage those that do the opposite. To be allowed to make profits, private capital has to meet two conditions: (1) the profits must be legal, and (2) they must not be excessive. Workers should not make excessive wage demands just for their immediate benefit: that would make it impossible for management to run the enterprise. As a result, the enterprise would shut down and the workers would lose their jobs. We should not sacrifice the long-term interest to the momentary interest. It is reasonable that workers should work eight hours a day. However, in many cases they still have to work as much as ten hours a day. Workers' living standards should correspond to the present conditions prevailing in China. The major problem right now is to eliminate unemployment and hunger. Working conditions cannot be greatly improved overnight; that will have to be done gradually. It is essential for the workers to devote themselves to production in a spirit of self-sacrifice. We must first develop production before we can protect labour and restrict capital.

6. The relation between upper and lower levels

When I say upper and lower levels I am referring to central and local authorities. Though under the present circumstances we have not yet been able to achieve total centralism and uniformity, we do not allow each to go its own way. We practise democratic centralism, not feudal separatism. As provided by the Common Programme, the relation between the central and local authorities should both ensure national unity and meet the needs of the localities. For instance, in iron and steel production, unified arrangements should be made for all steel-making areas with respect to industrial investment, iron-ore mining, sale of products, etc. In plans for cotton production however, local conditions should be taken into consideration. When we make plans for water transport, we should pay attention to the various sectors concerned, avoiding departmentalism and making sure that we don't discourage the initiative of local authorities. During the revolutionary war Comrade Mao Zedong held a tight grip on leadership in matters of strategy, but he left the organization of battles

and the choice of tactics in the hands of subordinates, for they were best informed about actual conditions. Battles can be won only by bringing into full play the initiative and creativity of officers and men, What has been proved true for warfare will also be true for construction. There is no limit to people's creative abilities. Only by giving full scope to the initiative of the local authorities, under the unified leadership of the central authorities, can we invigorate our work in all fields; otherwise it will stagnate. And only by bringing into full play the initiative and creativity of production workers can we raise the standards of their material and cultural life and overcome bureaucratism.

All departments, the ones that deal with production in particular, will come across the six relationships I have been talking about and will have to handle them correctly. That is the only way they can avoid departmentalism, keep the overall situation always in mind, co-ordinate their production with the unified state plans, establish priorities in their own fields of work, and correctly implement their plans.

SPEECH AT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

June 8, 1950

I am told that the National Conference on Higher Education has been very successful. I am sure that the decisions reached through extensive discussions at this meeting of educational experts from all over the country are realistic ones. Now, in the light of the cultural and educational policies set forth in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference,¹ I should like to discuss three points with you.

I. PRINCIPLE OF EDUCATION UNDER NEW DEMOCRACY

Article One of the Common Programme makes it clear where we stand. New-democratic education should conform to the entire programme of New Democracy, which is to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In education, therefore, it is imperative to root out feudal, comprador and fascist ideas. That task cannot be accomplished overnight. Haste makes waste, and if we are too eager for quick results, these ideas may seem to disappear but in essence they will still linger on. For this reason, we must firmly uphold the educational policies of New Democracy in principle, but in practical measures, we can only proceed one step at a time.

What do we stand for? As is clearly stated in the Common Programme, we stand for new-democratic education, that is, for mass education that includes science and has a specifically national character.

Education under New Democracy belongs to the broad masses of the people and serves the people. This is its orientation. In the

people's era today education should benefit the people. Who are the people, then? At the present stage, they are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. It is they whom our education should serve. Our country is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. So we should open the doors of higher education first of all to the workers and peasants and train intellectuals of a new type, who are from worker and peasant backgrounds. As everyone knows, except for the children of feudal landlords and capitalists, few young people had access to university education in the past. Basically that is still true even today. This situation is at variance with the requirements of our policies for new-democratic education. However, it is not possible to train intellectuals of working class and peasant origins all at once. That calls for planned steps and long-term effort. The difficulty is especially great because our workers and peasants have long suffered from exploitation and oppression and many of them are illiterate. Precisely because this problem is so difficult, university educators should pay more attention to it. We must try to train large numbers of new-type intellectuals from among the labouring people within a few years. We do not mean to exclude existing intellectuals but to bring in new blood, trying at the same time to transform previously trained intellectuals and unite with them.

Education under New Democracy should include science. Science, a system of knowledge derived from practice, is objective truth. Some people say that there was no science in China in the past. That is not true. All things, whether in the natural world or in human society, are subject to objective laws governing their existence and development. The point is whether people can explain them scientifically or not. Contemporary natural sciences were initiated in the West. It was Karl Marx who first scientifically explained the laws governing the development of human societies. But that doesn't mean that no science existed before Marx. Take China for example. The fact that the Chinese nation has existed for thousands of years, that its population has now grown to 475 million and that it is capable of repelling enemy invasions and overcoming natural disasters demonstrates that it understood certain objective laws and that there was science in China in the past. The problem is that we have not conducted serious explorations and studies of such laws. Scientific theory is the rational summation of knowledge derived from practical experience

and will in turn guide practice. Labour has created the world, and science is the product of manual and mental labour. We should teach scientific theories in schools. Again, this can only be accomplished gradually and with careful planning.

Our education has a specifically national character and should have its national form. Universal truth is applicable to all nations, but different nations may express it differently. The Chinese nation has its traditional customs which are always manifested in its national form. Only education assuming the national form will be readily accepted and cherished by the people. Education that is out of keeping with a nation's characteristics and form won't work. Ours is a multinational country, so the particular features and form of each nationality should be taken into consideration. Moreover, the fraternal nationalities should learn from each other's strong points. Only in this way can science be disseminated among the people of different nationalities and education be made a success.

II. UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Common Programme states that education should be conducted by integrating theory with practice. I should like to elaborate on this. Theories are the summation of practice and in turn provide guidance to practice. They are not to be taken as dogmas. We are bound to fail if we apply theories in disregard of actual conditions. On the other hand, only if our practical work is guided by theory can we avoid acting unwisely. It is true that when an action fails for lack of theoretical guidance we can learn something from the failure, but in the hard way. In education we should guard against dogmatism, the mistake of divorcing theory from practice, and also against empiricism, the mistake of abandoning the guidance of theory. It is the duty of educators to teach young people to avoid detours and pitfalls.

Some theory is advanced, some elementary. The two types are not in conflict with each other, they are connected. Theory develops from the simple to the profound. Even an illiterate may have some knowledge and know some elementary theories. For example, the peasants may lack systematic scientific knowledge, but they know a great deal about farming and they have some ways of combating natural disasters. That shows that they have mastered some simple

elementary principles. However, they need further education. We should never deny the necessity for further education.

Opinions differ as to whether schools should allow for more practice or less. To achieve quick results we may have to have less practice, but to ensure a better mastery of theory we need more. It is only through repeated practice that one can come to an accurate and profound understanding of a theory. So it is wrong either to neglect practice or to pit practice against theory.

Our university students should learn theory. But it should be theory already tested in practice, so that they can apply it to guide their practice in future and better serve the people. That is the only way they can meet the requirements of practical work. It is wrong to consider it unnecessary for university students to study relatively advanced theory. Institutions of higher education should all recognize the importance of practice and raise the theoretical level of their students.

Generally speaking, in higher education in old China theory was dissociated from reality. It would not be truthful to say that in our universities today theory is totally integrated with reality. As you are all aware, many teaching methods that to some extent divorce theory from practice are still used in our institutions of higher learning, and many aspects of education call for reform. How can we integrate theory with practice? We must study teaching materials, classroom instruction, experiments and field work and hold frequent discussions to sum up experience.

The question of specialists and generalists has been raised during this conference. Both types of experts have to integrate theory with practice. There is no contradiction between them with regard to this principle; they differ only in the range and depth of their knowledge. So it is wrong to oppose or restrict the integration of theory with practice in universities. On the other hand, it is also wrong to place so much emphasis on practice to the neglect of theory that universities are reduced to the level of vocational schools. They are not the same: it goes without saying that universities offer broader and deeper courses and devote more time to the teaching of theory.

Our economy is now in a period of recovery, and there is an urgent need for specialists. To facilitate the integration of theory with reality and to meet the needs of construction, it is quite right for industrial departments to run short-term training courses or vocational schools. But that in no way implies that all existing universities should be

placed under the leadership of various industrial departments, relieving the Ministry of Education of responsibility for them. To meet the demand, we can set up secondary technical schools, and we might also consider shortening the required course of study for some specialities in the universities. But we must maintain our policy of educating and training highly qualified personnel in universities. If we want to produce specialists who have a higher theoretical level and who are better equipped to solve practical problems and to meet our long-term needs, we have to consolidate the existing universities. At present, there can be no dramatic expansion of universities, and higher education can only develop to the extent that the economy develops.

III. UNITY AND REFORM

Last year we held a National Conference on Education. Now we are holding this National Conference on Higher Education. A conference on primary and middle school education will be convened later, and a national educational union will be formed. The purpose of these activities is to achieve greater unity among educators throughout the country and to carry out the educational reforms outlined in the Common Programme. Except for a handful of reactionaries, we should unite with all educational workers. We shall forge unity with everyone who is politically opposed to the three main enemies [imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — *Tr.*] and who favours new-democratic education. This is our firm and irreversible principle.

Of the several decisions adopted at this Conference, some are to go into effect soon, some are to be implemented in a number of schools on an experimental basis, and some are only for schools to refer to. This is a good approach. We should carry out the reforms in culture and education envisaged in the Common Programme one step at a time and in accordance with a plan. Chairman Mao has advised us to be cautious. The reforms should not be conducted at random; they should be introduced by stages, in the order of their importance and urgency. We should bide our time on some questions. On the one hand, culture and education serve as precursors of political change; on the other hand, they themselves will be transformed only after economic and political changes have taken place. That is why we

say that culture and education are both the vanguard and the rearguard.

Though educational reform is a long-term project and should be accomplished gradually, that is no excuse for inaction. We must not merely pay lip service to the need for reforms and delay introducing them when conditions are ripe. We are justified in waiting only when objective conditions are really difficult or when we do not yet know enough about the present situation. Waiting doesn't mean procrastinating. On the other hand, if we push too hard for immediate reforms before people are ready to accept them, that will be wrong too. For instance, we must not impatiently impose on others our views on materialism and idealism, atheism and theism, teaching methods and other questions. If we do that, people may pretend to agree with us, when in fact the problem has not been solved. In short, we should give guidance to educational workers in an unobtrusive way and unite with them by convincing them.

In education, both public and private interests should be considered. It is very good that representatives from many private schools are attending this Conference. Private schools are in difficulty now, because they can no longer rely on warlords and bureaucrat-capitalists for financial support and because their farmland⁴ was distributed to peasants during the agrarian reform. The government should concern itself with these difficulties. Missionary schools, having severed relations with foreign countries, are also in trouble financially, and the government should help them with their difficulties too. The Ministry of Education should make it a point to solve the problems of the private schools. Of course, the schools themselves should also take responsibility. Since the country is now engaged in economic recovery, everyone should think of more ways to get through the next couple of years.

CONSTRUCTION AND UNITY

August 24, 1950

Fellow representatives and comrades,

I am very happy to be here today at the National Conference of Workers in the Natural Sciences. At the preparatory meeting last year, I discussed with some of the comrades present here the future of scientists in China and the tasks before them. This Conference in Beijing is indeed an event worth celebrating, for natural scientists have taken the occasion to form a leading body for themselves. I am a layman in natural sciences, and there is no question of my offering comments on them. I am here mainly to learn from you. However, scientists may also be concerned with questions in other fields, such as the environment for their work, the relations between work in the natural sciences and that in other fields, assignments for scientists, their future and so on. Now, I should like to make some remarks about these things under the headings of construction and unity.

First, on construction.

To begin with, some comments on natural scientists themselves. I think people engaged in research in the natural sciences usually have some understanding, be it deep or not so deep, of our struggle to master nature. They devote their time and energy to their work for the purpose of clearing away impediments to human existence, improving man's material life and enriching his cultural life. People in medicine want to cure patients; in agronomy, to wipe out plant diseases and insect pests; in engineering, to build a better material foundation for human life; in the sciences, to augment scientific knowledge and raise the cultural level of the world. Generally speaking, scientists do not wish to use their scientific knowledge to harm mankind. There are some exceptions: certain bacteriologists in Japan, for example, have done research on bacteriological warfare and have thus endangered mankind. But they are a very small number and some of

them were forced into this research — an even smaller number engaged in it willingly. I believe the overwhelming majority of scientists study and work to bring happiness to mankind.

Why do I start by mentioning this? Because I want to say that we have the conditions for uniting with scientists to serve the Chinese people. We are confident that scientists will do that because they are good people and because along with others they have now won their emancipation after many years of oppression under the old regime.

Western culture and science entered China after the lifting of the ban on maritime trade.⁵ But how much have China and its people actually benefited from Western science? How much have they suffered? Could the Chinese bring happiness to themselves by mastering science? Under reactionary governments — whether the Qing court, the northern warlords⁶ or the Kuomintang reactionaries — they were not allowed to do so. It cannot be said that no individual Chinese scientists scored achievements. A few of them immersed themselves in construction, designing railways, irrigation works and other engineering projects. But generally speaking, their achievements were rare. Very often their work was disrupted by reactionary rulers. For example, Mr. Li Yizhi⁷ started a water conservancy project in the Weihe River valley of Shaanxi Province, bringing great advantages to agriculture there, especially cotton production. But later on, cotton-growing peasants suffered enormously because H. H. Kung⁸ forced down the price of cotton and they were unable to carry on. The irrigation project was therefore adversely affected as well. This single example reflects the whole picture.

Damage caused by reactionary governments was an internal factor. Even greater damage was done by imperialist aggressors. It is obvious to all that for the last hundred years and more the imperialists, lording it over the Chinese people, have used science as a means to exploit, oppress and slaughter us. They seized control of China's economy, and much of our industrial production served them. With agricultural raw materials being plundered by imperialists, and with floods and droughts causing constant devastation, construction was practically impossible. Innumerable crimes were committed by the Japanese imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, especially after the War of Resistance Against Japan was launched. For instance, the blowing up of the dike at Huayankou,⁹ which was ordered by Chiang Kai-shek, was an enormous disaster that inflicted a wound yet to heal. It was the direct cause of the flooding of the Huaihe River

last year and again this year. Because the dike was breached, the silt of the Huanghe (Yellow) River flowed into the Huaihe, raising its riverbed, and the water level of Hongze Lake, into which the Huaihe flows, rose higher than the surrounding farmland, thus causing frequent floods.

Not only did the havoc wreaked by the imperialists and the reactionary ruling class at home make it impossible to build up the country. It also made it difficult for science to develop, so that in old China scientists could not do justice to their abilities. However, the ones with a conscience did not renounce their desire to contribute to the country's progress, and many tried to find the right road for China and for science in China. They wanted to seek truth. Yet they were unable to, for they were under constant political and economic oppression. They could not fulfil their dreams, carry out plans or undertake projects; they could not even make ends meet in their daily lives. You must have a much deeper understanding than I of the hard times scientists went through. Now the situation has completely changed. The victory of the new-democratic revolution and the liberation of the Chinese people have opened up a broad prospect for the development of science and of scientists themselves. The Common Programme¹ adopted last year at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has set the goal of building an independent, democratic, peaceful, unified, prosperous and powerful New China and turning it from an agricultural country into an industrial one. That is also the goal set for our scientists, and it is just such a clearly defined objective and direction that they have been seeking for almost a century.

The direction and the objective being set, it is up to us to make the journey one step after another. It is clear to everyone here that the old China we have taken over has been completely devastated. To start construction from this chaos, we must first heal the wounds of war and restore damaged industry and agriculture. We should never attempt to build a tall building on a rotten, unstable base: we have to lay a solid foundation first. What have we inherited from the Kuomintang reactionaries in science and technology? What scientific instruments, equipment and data have they left us? Precious little. That doesn't mean that your fellow scientists didn't want to work hard, but they were not allowed to by the reactionaries. They were denied opportunities to prospect for rich underground resources and to write about the historic achievements of the Chinese people. Now,

to start construction we should first undertake the work of exploring, surveying, collecting statistics and gathering data. This is important spadework; it will lay the foundation for the building of New China. The financial and economic situation is now beginning to take a turn for the better. Fundamental improvement, however, will appear only after three to five difficult years — years of recovery, consolidation, investigation and priority construction to pave the way for nationwide construction.

As scientists, what should you do first within the framework of the national construction plan? It is impossible to undertake everything at once, so you should start with a few fundamental things.

In agriculture, the primary task is to carry out agrarian reform so as to liberate the productive forces and then work for development. Historically, China did not suffer from a shortage of grain. However, oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism have drastically disrupted China's rural economy. The on-going agrarian reform¹⁰ is designed to free the peasants from the shackles of the old relations of production. It will take about two years to accomplish this task. To co-ordinate your efforts with the agrarian reform, you can start with the following:

First, build water conservancy projects. We should not just seek stopgap measures but find radical solutions. Major rivers such as the Huaihe, the Hanshui, the Huanghe and the Changjiang (Yangtse) should be harnessed. The Yongding [Always Calm — *Tr.*] River in north China is in fact never calm. Although it was granted its name by an emperor of the Qing Dynasty, it frequently swells. What's the use of naming rivers instead of harnessing them? Under the Kuomintang, an engineering school in Nanjing that specialized in river and marine projects could not find support because the reactionaries saw no need for water conservancy and the government did not serve the people. Today we must go all out to harness the rivers. Even if we call together experts from all parts of the country, we shall still be short-handed for this work. As water conservancy projects are linked with the generation of electric power, they will need even more long-term planning.

Second, repair our railways and build more of them. As vast as China is, the country has only 20,000 kilometres of railways. There is no comparison with industrially advanced countries. In our efforts for recovery, we must also devote great energy to this task. Above all,

we must build railways to transport grain from the Northeast to relieve food shortages in areas south of the Great Wall.

Third, manufacture chemical fertilizers. Mr. Hou Debang¹¹ has a very good understanding of this point. We should devote major effort to developing the chemical fertilizer industry; otherwise, we shall have to spend foreign currency on imports from abroad.

These major tasks, to mention only a few, all call for the efforts of scientists. Far from having a surplus of specialists, we don't have enough of them. Among the representatives here today, Mr. Sa Fujun¹² was with Mr. Zhan Tianyou¹³ when the Guangzhou-Hankou Railway was built. He could tell us that we don't have nearly enough railway experts.

As for forestry, China's resources are far below the requirements, and it will take a major effort to remedy this. The present forest area is too small, trees are unattended and felling is not done in a scientific way. According to a survey, unless we improve our forestry work, the forests in the Northeast will be totally depleted in from 10 to 25 years. Without scientific felling, forest protection and tree planting, the region will turn into barren hills like those in the Northwest. We need forestry experts to take up this work.

On the industrial front, according to rough statistics, there are more than 60,000 machine tools in China. Some of these are not in operation. Others are not being used efficiently in production — for example, the factory may be too far away from the source of raw materials, or the products they are turning out may not be urgently needed, etc. Also, much work is needed to maintain and repair these machine tools. From the point of view of national defence, factories cannot all be located on the coast. Moreover, many coastal factories used to serve the interests of the imperialists; now, to serve the interests of the people, they should be located in the broad countryside in the hinterlands. This is where the question of electric power comes up. The farther away from the coast, the greater the shortage of power. Prospecting for fuel resources is therefore needed. Just imagine how many scientists will be required for this undertaking!

Regarding health work, the question of providing universal medical care was raised at the National Health Conference, and hope was expressed that within three to five years every county could have a hospital and every district a clinic. That would require an increase of more than 90,000 doctors and several hundred thousand nurses and midwives. It will take at least three to five years to train these

people. There are no statistics on the number of people now practising traditional Chinese medicine. People practising Western medicine are estimated to be about 30,000. It is clear that we need many more doctors.

In the national defence industry, specialists are required for the manufacture of weapons, planes and so on. We feel the shortage of trained personnel in this area too.

The shortage of available experts in all areas became manifest right from the beginning of the recovery, as soon as we started our investigation and reorganization. I said last year that once we had made some progress in restoring order, we would find that we had not too many scientists in our country but too few. Now the more we know about the facts, the more we recognize the seriousness of the problem.

I cannot report to you today on the overall plan for national construction, because that plan has yet to be decided upon by the Third Session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. However, I'm certain that workers in the natural sciences do have their role to play and that their efforts are urgently needed by the state. But right now we must take some time for rational reorganization. Statistics on the number of scientists are far from complete. I am very happy that a national organization of natural scientists has been formed at this Conference. This organization gives us strength. With the opportunity thus afforded, we can start our work by making a survey of the number of scientists in the whole country. I hereby make a formal suggestion that the All-China Federation of Specialized Societies in the Natural Sciences take up this job first. The government will give all material assistance. How many scientists does China actually have? What is their level of knowledge? What about their specialities, jobs and qualifications? A comprehensive survey should be made. Then we will be in a better position to assign them proper jobs in the service of the country and the people. We are not clear about the situation in this respect; many talents may have been overlooked. Statistical surveys are very useful to the government in carrying out construction. Although it will not be possible for everyone to find a job suited to his ability and preference immediately after the statistical surveys are made, at least we can begin to move in that direction. If the job assignments are not appropriate today, better arrangements can be made tomorrow. Material benefits are not so good this year. But let us hold on a

little longer: conditions will certainly improve in about three years. Things are getting better every day. In the old society we were oppressed both materially and mentally. Now that we have been liberated mentally, it should not be too hard to endure temporary material difficulties a little longer. I also hope the scientists today can train more young scientific workers so that they too will join the march forward. That is the only way the future of China's scientific undertakings can be assured.

Next some remarks on unity.

To work effectively, scientists must be united. People tend to associate unity with the proverb "birds of a feather flock together". In a class society, people are divided into classes. Class differentiation gives rise to struggles between classes and to unity within classes. Our country has many classes. Today we aim to overthrow the imperialists, feudalists and bureaucrat-capitalists; we aim to unite with the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Even when classes are abolished, we shall still need to continue the struggle to master nature, so we shall still need unity. Since the struggle against nature is endless, our unity must be enduring too. Natural scientists will certainly understand this.

Unity in our ranks is particularly important now because there are still factors undermining it. We must make a clear distinction between enemies and friends. With whom should we unite and whom should we oppose? We should unite with all scientists who serve the people to oppose imperialism and feudalism. We should unite with every one who recognizes the Common Programme. Doctors in private clinics and engineers in privately owned factories — all are needed. Our country has limited financial resources and cannot afford to set up many hospitals all at once. So we need the help of doctors in private practice; they are useful to the country and the people. Therefore, for the purpose of overthrowing the common enemy, we should respect and unite with all scientists and intellectuals who are working for the people, whether they come from the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie or the exploiting classes. The enemies at home have now been overthrown, but external enemies, the imperialists in particular, still exist. As the precondition for unity, we must struggle against the enemies who undermine our people's cause. We oppose the handful of scientists who so degenerated as to serve imperialism willingly. But some scientists did so passively, unwittingly, or because they had no alternative but to

leave the country and go with the enemy. We want to win them over and to welcome them home. We can convince them with facts. Scientists are most ready to accept truth. The people bear no personal grudge against them; they only share a common hatred of the reactionaries.

All democratic classes have now been united. Scientists will surely do better in this respect than other people.

All scientists who are trying to serve New China are friends, and should unite with each other. To realize and strengthen this unity, they must overcome sectarian bias. Natural sciences are divided into different categories. Not all scientists specialize in the same field of study; they work in different areas. But that is no reason for scientists in different disciplines to be prejudiced against each other, to discriminate against each other, or for people in the same branch of learning to despise each other because they belong to different schools of thought. Many of our natural sciences originated in foreign countries. In medicine a division has arisen between doctors who favour German/Japanese medicine and those who prefer British/U.S. medicine. Similar factions exist among people working in mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, agriculture and transport. Factionalism reflects the influence of the old society and is highly detrimental to our efforts to build up the country. We emphasize collective cooperation now and should break away from the old influence. Different sides should be aware of each other's strong points, retain their own, overcome their shortcomings, consult with each other and learn from each other. Of course that is not easy to do.

The Chinese Communist Party is armed with the proletarian world outlook and is determined to serve the revolution and the people. Nevertheless, although comrades inside the Party agreed on the main issues, mutual misunderstandings arose owing to the different circumstances each one was in during the period of democratic revolution. Misunderstandings between different mountain strongholds that were isolated during the long period of rural guerrilla warfare gave rise to a mountain-stronghold mentality and sectarian bias. Another example: the revolutionaries working in the Kuomintang areas were likely to be concerned only with their local situation since they had to work underground for a long time, whereas comrades working in the base areas, who had been used to doing everything openly, tended to overlook underground work. The Chinese proletariat was small, China's level of industrial development was low and the socialist

tradition had no deep roots. Members of the Communist Party had different class origins. All this gave rise to different ideas. Our Party therefore carried out a rectification movement.¹⁴ Two or three years after the rectification movement began, the Party's Seventh National Congress was held.¹⁵ That strengthened the unity of the Party and enabled it to achieve tremendous growth after Japan's surrender and to further demonstrate its strength during the War of Liberation. These facts show that sectarianism existed in the Party and that rectification was needed. If that was the case even inside the Communist Party, how can we expect an ideal state of unity to be achieved immediately among other groups and among all scientists?

We should not be impractical and act on wishful thinking. It takes conscious effort to eliminate sectarianism. The only way to find correct ways to overcome our shortcomings is to face up to reality. It is not easy for people from different backgrounds and with different ways of life and thinking to get along with each other within a scientific organization. Members of the Communist Party have lived a collective life and were in the same ranks during the war. But scientists work in small groups, or with only a few individuals, and have thus formed different temperaments. They are admirable for their conscience and integrity, but they are sometimes difficult to get along with because of their temperaments, which are the result of the particular environment in which they live. We should approach this matter from a materialist point of view: we should understand that environment can affect people's temperament and that temperament can change as environment changes.

Unity is formed and grows amid contradiction. People think differently just as people do not look alike. People differ in wisdom, ability and character, and they are sometimes in contradiction with each other. Unity means that parties to a contradiction are united on common ground. The people who are good at uniting with others are the ones who can bring contradictions into unity on common ground. Combining iron and steel with cement, a material of a different nature, produces powerful things like reinforced concrete. Since scientists can unite different substances in nature, why can't they unite people of different views and temperaments? We certainly lay stress on unity and solidarity in our own ranks. The unity of contradictions does not impede the development of individuality. In his essay "On Coalition Government", Chairman Mao said that individuality can develop only within the framework of a common programme. In the

old society, reactionaries manipulated intellectuals by taking advantage of their weaknesses and isolating and splitting them. Now the people's state has set a common objective for all: to move from New Democracy to socialism and ultimately to communism, to gradually eliminate all classes and reactionary forces that impede human progress and to achieve genuine progress and freedom. What tremendous freedom and expansion of individual initiative there will be when the strength of all humanity is mobilized to fight against nature! This is the only way to enable individual initiative to develop correctly. Otherwise, the development of some people's initiative will lead to the exclusion and suppression of other people. How can that be called the development of individual initiative? Throughout thousands of years of class society, the insatiable greed of a few has always hampered the survival and development of the many. That sort of development of individual initiative is of the nature of despotism and individualism. As collectivists, we oppose it. We should display the collective spirit, break with petty individualism and pool the wisdom and efforts of the masses to build New China. Today's victory is the outcome of several decades of struggle. We have now won dignity and emancipation. In the journey we have set out upon, we should try to achieve unity and to advance together.

Our generation has gone through much turmoil of war, and we welcome peace. We are confident that in our lifetime we shall see a bright, happy and prosperous New China. Starting with New Democracy, we are laying a foundation for ourselves and our posterity for generations to come — an outstanding service not inferior to that of Da Yu.¹⁶ Da Yu contributed to the well-being of Chinese nation by harnessing rivers to prevent floods. The efforts of Chinese scientists today will surely yield even greater achievements than his.

STRIVING TO CONSOLIDATE AND EXPAND THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY

September 30, 1950

A year has elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. This has been a year of great victories and swift advance for the Chinese people. At home we have continued to make great progress in the War of Liberation and have liberated the whole country except for Tibet and Taiwan. Internationally, we have established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and 16 other countries and have signed the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the U.S.S.R.¹⁷ With internal and external circumstances providing this firm foundation, the Central People's Government has led the people throughout the country in carrying out energetic reform and construction in the political, economic and cultural fields. As people both at home and abroad have seen, China's history has witnessed more important changes during the past year than during the previous several centuries and even millennia. The old China is fast disappearing, and the new people's China has been firmly established.

Let us now take a brief look back on the past year.

GREAT VICTORIES IN THE PEOPLE'S WAR OF LIBERATION

The past year has been one of continual victories in the People's War of Liberation. On the eve of the founding of the People's Re-

Speech at a meeting to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, held by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was carried in *People's Daily* on October 1, 1950.

public of China in 1949, the war, which began in July 1946, had already been basically won. But at that time, remaining Kuomintang brigands still occupied south China (the region around Guangzhou), southwest China (the region around Chongqing) and several islands. During the past year, the People's Liberation Army liberated all of south China and Fujian Province in the Hengyang-Baoqing, Guangdong, Guangxi, Ping'erguan, Hainan Island and Zhangzhou-Xiamen campaigns. Later, in the Southwest, Southern Yunnan and Xichang campaigns, it liberated all of southwest China with the exception of Tibet. The PLA also liberated the Zhoushan, Dongshan and other islands. During this past year our army wiped out 203 entire enemy divisions consisting of about 2,180,000 men.

Our army has thus annihilated 8,070,000 enemy troops during the four years of war since July 1946. Among the many trophies captured during those four years, artillery pieces alone numbered 54,430. As we all know, except for a small number manufactured by the Kuomintang reactionaries themselves, most of the guns and other munitions we captured were manufactured and supplied to the Kuomintang reactionaries by the United States. Some were made by Japan, and these were also handed over to the Kuomintang reactionaries by the surrendering Japanese army with the assistance of the United States.

The Chinese people have annihilated the American-equipped Kuomintang armies throughout China's mainland, winning an enormous victory. What lessons can we learn from this? The most important lesson is: a victory this great can never be an accident of history but is the inevitable outcome of the many revolutionary struggles waged by the Chinese people over the past century. Such an overwhelming, rapid and complete victory would have been inconceivable without the selfless support of millions of people. This victory of the Chinese people is entirely different from all the so-called unifications in China's history. There were many "unifications" of one sort or another, but either the unifiers were oppressors of the people to begin with, or they became so afterwards. Therefore, they could not achieve real unification, and even if they had done so, the unification would never have lasted. Today, unity among the Chinese people has emerged for the first time. The people themselves have become masters of China's soil, and the reactionaries have been irrevocably overthrown. Since the enemy annihilated by the Chinese people was armed by the U.S. government, we can declare

categorically that the Chinese people have won victory not only over their enemy at home, but also over their enemies abroad, namely, the imperialist interventionists of the United States. If U.S. imperialists still want to interfere in our affairs and invade China, no matter what new ways and forms they try, they will inevitably meet with defeat as did the Kuomintang.

The struggle between the Chinese people and the Kuomintang reactionaries has not yet come to an end. This is because Taiwan, which is occupied by the remaining reactionaries, is now under the direct control of the U.S. navy and air force. The PLA is determined to liberate Taiwan from the grip of the U.S. aggressors and to clean out the lairs of the reactionary brigands once and for all. It is clear that in the war for the liberation of Taiwan, our strategic position is much better than any enemy's. On our side stands inspired righteousness; our rear is nearby, vast and consolidated, and we are now redoubling our efforts for final victory. The PLA is also determined to march west to liberate the Tibetan people and defend China's frontiers. We are willing to undertake peaceful negotiations to bring about the liberation of Tibet, which is necessary to the security of our motherland. Patriots in Tibet have expressly welcomed our position and we hope that the local authorities there will not hesitate to bring about a peaceful solution of the issue.

The history of the past century, and especially of the past 20 years, clearly shows that China has been the prey of imperialist aggressors. The victorious Chinese people, therefore, cannot be without a mighty national defence force to protect themselves. We must accelerate the building of our national defence and always be on guard against the plots of the imperialist enemies to extend their war of aggression. We must build up a powerful people's air force and navy, so that we can beat back armed invaders from the air and sea and safeguard our territorial airspace and waters from incursion. The people's ground forces must be continually strengthened so that they can defeat any aggressors.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of China has been clearly laid down in the Common Programme¹ adopted by the Chinese

People's Political Consultative Conference. According to the Common Programme, "The principle of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is protection of the independence, freedom, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country, support of lasting international peace and friendly co-operation between the peoples of all countries, and opposition to the imperialist policy of aggression and war." On the question of establishing diplomatic and trade relations with foreign countries, the Common Programme states: "The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China may, on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, negotiate with foreign governments that have severed relations with the Kuomintang reactionary clique and that adopt a friendly attitude towards the People's Republic of China, and may establish diplomatic relations with them." "The People's Republic of China may restore and develop commercial relations with foreign governments and peoples on a basis of equality and mutual benefit." The foreign affairs of the Central People's Government in the past year have been conducted in accordance with these basic principles.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, 17 countries have established formal diplomatic relations with our country. They are the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Korea, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, Albania, Burma, India, Viet Nam, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and Indonesia. Eight other countries — Pakistan, Britain, Ceylon, Norway, Israel, Afghanistan, Finland and the Netherlands — have also expressed willingness to establish diplomatic relations with us. Four of these — Britain, Norway, the Netherlands and Finland — are now conducting talks with us for that purpose.

The People's Republic of China resolutely sides with the world camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union and has established the closest fraternal relations with that country. During Chairman Mao Zedong's visit to the Soviet Union, the two governments signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, an event of global and historic significance. Because of this treaty, nearly 700 million people of the European and Asian continents have united in close alliance militarily, economically and culturally, and thus greatly strengthened the power of the two countries to guard against aggression from the East. At the same time this treaty was signed, or shortly thereafter, China and the Soviet

Union also concluded the Agreement on the Chinese Changchun Railway, Lüshunkou and Dalian; the Agreement on the Granting of Credit to the People's Republic of China; the Agreement on the Founding of the Sino-Soviet Petroleum Joint Stock Company in Xinjiang; the Agreement on the Founding of the Sino-Soviet Nonferrous and Rare Metals Joint Stock Company in Xinjiang; the Agreement on the Establishment of the Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Joint Stock Company; the Agreement on Experts; and the Trade Agreement. Through these agreements, our great ally has extended much generous assistance to China, which is recovering from its war wounds. All the Chinese people are elated by the signing and implementation of the treaty and agreements between China and the Soviet Union and express their boundless thanks for the friendship extended to them by the leader of the Soviet Union, Generalissimo Stalin, and by the government and people of the Soviet Union.

China has also signed trade contracts and agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Korea. Trade negotiations are under way with the German Democratic Republic and Hungary.

Trade relations have also developed between China and certain capitalist countries. The total amount of China's foreign trade is expected not only to reach but to surpass the original targets.

Establishing diplomatic relations with capitalist countries is more complicated than establishing trade relations. Here I should especially mention our lengthy negotiations with Britain, which have so far produced no results. The reason the negotiations have been fruitless is that, while the British government recognizes the People's Republic of China, it favours permitting the so-called Chinese representatives belonging to the reactionary Kuomintang clique to continue their illegal occupation of China's seat in the United Nations. This makes it difficult to open formal diplomatic relations between China and Britain. And Britain's unfriendly and totally unjustifiable attitude towards Chinese residents in Hong Kong and other places cannot but be of serious concern to the Central People's Government of China.

Throughout the Chinese People's War of Liberation, the U.S. government has sided with the enemy of the Chinese people, assisting the Kuomintang reactionaries with all its might in their attacks on the Chinese people. The enmity of the U.S. government towards the Chinese people has increased since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Despite just criticisms from the Soviet Union, India

and other countries, the U.S. stubbornly bars the representatives of the People's Republic of China from attending meetings of the United Nations and its various organs and shamelessly protects the seat of the representatives of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Similarly, the U.S. bars the Chinese representatives from participation in the Allied Council for Japan¹⁸ and plots to exclude China and the Soviet Union from the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan, in order to re-arm Japan and retain U.S. occupation troops and military bases there. The U.S. deliberately instigated the assault of the Syngman Rhee¹⁹ puppet gang on the Korean Democratic People's Republic in order to expand its aggression in the East. Then, on pretext of the situation in Korea, it dispatched naval and air forces to invade the Chinese province of Taiwan and announced that the so-called problem of Taiwan's status should be settled by the U.S.-controlled United Nations. Moreover, time after time, it has sent its air force in Korea to enter the airspace over the Chinese province of Liaodong²⁰ to strafe and bomb the residents there and has ordered its naval forces off Korea to bombard Chinese merchant ships in international waters.

These violent acts have revealed the U.S. government to be the most dangerous foe of the People's Republic of China. U.S. forces have invaded China's borders and may at any time expand their invasion. MacArthur, commander-in-chief of the U.S. invading troops in Taiwan and Korea, long ago disclosed the designs of the U.S. government and continues to invent new excuses for extending its aggression. The Chinese people firmly oppose the atrocities committed by the United States and are determined to liberate Taiwan and other Chinese territory from the clutches of the U.S. aggressors.

Ever since Korea was invaded by the United States, the Chinese people have followed the situation closely. The Korean people and their People's Army are resolute and courageous. Led by Premier Kim Il Sung, they have been remarkably successful in resisting the U.S. invaders and have won the sympathy and support of people throughout the world. With persistent, long-term resistance, the Korean people will surely overcome their many difficulties and achieve final victory.

The Chinese are a peace-loving people. One hundred and twenty million of them have already signed their names to the solemn Stockholm Appeal,²¹ and the signature campaign is still growing. It is obvious that after liberating all the territory of their country, the Chinese people want to rehabilitate and expand their industrial and agricultural production and pursue cultural and educational work in

a peaceful environment, free from outside threats. But if the U.S. aggressors take this as a sign of weakness on our part, they will commit the same fatal blunder as the Kuomintang reactionaries. The Chinese people profoundly love peace, but they never have been, and never will be, afraid to fight back against aggression in order to defend peace. They will not tolerate aggression against themselves or their neighbours. Anyone who attempts to exclude the nearly 500 million Chinese people from the United Nations or who ignores and violates the interests of this one-fourth of mankind, imagining that any Far Eastern problem that directly concerns China can be solved arbitrarily without China's participation, will certainly meet disaster.

CONSOLIDATING THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP AND PREPARING FOR AGRARIAN REFORM

The imperialists and reactionaries have always underestimated the strength of the Chinese people, because they have been accustomed to regarding liberated New China the same way as they did old China. They keep forgetting that the Chinese people have already secured their own most powerful weapon, that is, the people's democratic dictatorship. This people's democratic dictatorship has already organized its own forces and crushed the reactionaries who opposed the people.

In the past year, under the leadership of the Central People's Government, China has established one people's government of a greater administrative area, one people's government of an autonomous region directly subordinate to the Central People's Government, four military and administrative committees of greater administrative areas, 28 provincial people's governments, nine people's administrative offices equivalent to provincial level, 12 municipal people's governments directly subordinate to the Central People's Government or to greater administrative areas, 67 municipal people's governments under provinces, and 2,087 county people's governments. All these organs of state power are exactly opposite in principle to the reactionary Kuomintang organs of state power that oppressed the people, because they are instruments of the people's democratic dictator-

ship. They represent the interests of the people of every stratum, maintain ties with the masses and suppress only reactionaries.

Some of the people's governments at various levels have been elected by people's conferences at the corresponding levels.²² People's congresses have been convened in a few cities and counties. Conferences of representatives from all circles have been held in all the other cities, 1,707 counties and 36 Mongolian banners. People's congresses, people's conferences or peasants' conferences have been convened in most of the districts, townships and villages. All these conferences and congresses have had good success in uniting people of various strata, parties, groups and nationalities, making it possible both for the government to hear the opinions of the people and for the people to understand and supervise the work of the government. People's supervisory organizations have begun to be established at all levels, and some have started functioning, although the people's governments must strengthen their leadership in this regard.

Over the past year the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has proved to be an effective organization of the people's democratic united front, enabling the various democratic classes, parties and groups, fraternal nationalities and people's organizations to consult together. On the basis of this experience, 12 provinces, 73 cities and a large number of counties have organized consultative committees at their own levels.

The rapid increase in the organized ranks of the people during the past year has been another important factor in strengthening unity. Most of the workers in all the major industries and major cities throughout the country have been organized. The trade unions now have a membership of 4,090,000, which is about one-third of the total number of workers and other employees in the country. Peasant associations are being established in all the newly liberated areas. Their membership has reached 20 million in east China and in central-south China, both of which will carry out agrarian reform this year. More than 30 million women in all parts of the country have been organized under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. More than seven million young people throughout the country have also been organized, including the 3,010,000 members of the New Democratic Youth League.

The experience of the past year demonstrates the solidarity of China's various democratic classes, parties and groups in the struggle against their common enemy. To foster this unity, the Central Peo-

pie's Government and the National Committee of the CPPCC have taken a series of measures to adjust the relations among them, especially the relations between the working class and the capitalist class. The working class is the leading class in the People's Republic of China. Under no circumstances can we allow the political and economic interests of that class to be ignored. Since the national bourgeoisie plays an important part in China at the present stage, it is also in the interest of the working class to unite with the national bourgeoisie, so as to enable it to take an active part in economic rehabilitation and development. Improving the relations between the various democratic classes will remain an important task for the people's democratic united front. The relations among the various democratic parties and groups, and especially between the Communist Party and all other parties, are harmonious and excellent. The chief policies carried out by the Central People's Government have all been agreed upon after thorough discussion by the various democratic parties and groups. Thanks to the directive issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on strengthening unity and co-operation with non-Party people,²³ and thanks to the rectification movement,²⁴ co-operation with non-Party people has improved. Certain Party members still have a closed-door attitude towards non-Party persons, and that deviation must be overcome if we are to consolidate unity with the democratic parties and groups and the democrats without party affiliation. At the same time, we must guard against yielding on matters of principle.

China is a multinational country with the Han nationality in the majority. Under the reactionary Kuomintang rule, relations among the various nationalities were bad, but the founding of the People's Republic has brought about a fundamental change in them. An autonomous region has been established in Inner Mongolia with its own people's government. A coalition government of all nationalities, in which Han people form only a minority, has been established in Xinjiang. Regional autonomy is gradually being realized in multinational areas. People's governments in those areas are trying to mediate the historical disputes among the nationalities and to encourage tolerance and mutual help among them. The Central People's Government is striving to promote health, education and economic development among the minority nationalities. Nevertheless, it relies entirely on the free will of the peoples themselves to bring about social reforms rather than on compulsion. As for religious

beliefs and other mass customs and habits, the people's government and the PLA have adopted the firm principle of non-interference. Because of these policies, the minority nationalities have begun to like and trust the PLA and the Han cadres in the people's government. But we have still done very little to unite the various nationalities, many things must be improved and much remains to be accomplished. So we have no excuse for complacency.

The people's democratic dictatorship embraces democracy for the people and dictatorship towards reactionaries. The democracy must be further expanded, while the dictatorship must be strengthened.

Although the remaining Kuomintang reactionaries have fled to Taiwan, hordes of bandits and secret agents have been deliberately left behind on the mainland. At its peak, the number of Kuomintang bandits reached more than one million, but after the vigorous mopping-up actions of the PLA in co-operation with the local people during the past year, there are only about 200,000 left. These must be wiped out so as to eliminate the bandit menace and secure public order in the newly liberated areas. Great successes have also been achieved by the people's public security organs in their struggle against the secret service organizations. During the past year 13,797 secret agents were arrested and 175 clandestine radio stations were captured. Moreover, seven cases of international espionage were brought to light. It should be understood that the battle against secret agents and spies will not end with the ending of the battle against bandits. Now that their open, armed struggle has failed, both domestic and foreign enemies will undoubtedly take their struggle underground, resorting to all kinds of disguises. The people must be on the watch for their activities and the people's government must suppress them.

The people's judiciary has also accomplished much in the past year. Its achievements include the protection of people's rights, the punishment of bandits, spies and other criminals, the drawing up of people's laws, and the improvement of legal procedure and prison administration. But there have also been problems, the chief one being that many local judicial workers have misinterpreted the policy of leniency in connection with the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. They: have shown leniency to the counter-revolutionaries without suppressing them, so that the masses blame them for being "boundlessly lenient". The masses are right. The principles set forth by Chairman Mao Zedong for the treatment of counter-revolutionaries are: "Punish

the ringleaders, leave the accomplices alone and reward those who do meritorious service." These principles must be carried out not partially but completely, so that persistent counter-revolutionaries are suppressed. This is one of the important tasks in consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship.

At present, the most important task in consolidating that dictatorship is to carry out agrarian reform¹⁰ in the newly liberated areas. To carry out agrarian reform means to protect the fundamental right of existence of the peasants, who constitute 50 per cent of the Chinese population; to eliminate the landlord class, which forms the most important social base for counter-revolutionary activities; and to accomplish the fundamental task of the people's democratic dictatorship in China, which is to release the agricultural productive forces from the shackles of feudal relations of production and thus create the conditions for China's speedy industrialization. Agrarian reform in the newly liberated areas, with their total population of some 300 million, is China's most acute class struggle since the People's War of Liberation. In order to carry out this struggle in a systematic, well-prepared manner, the Central People's Government has issued a number of guiding documents, including the Agrarian Reform Law, General Regulations for the Organization of Peasant Associations, General Regulations for the Organization of People's Tribunals and Decision Concerning the Differentiation of Class Status in the Rural Areas. Also, it has decided to carry out agrarian reform this winter that will only involve areas with a total population of 100 million, postponing reform in the rest of the country until next year or later.

In areas where agrarian reform is to be carried out this winter, propaganda work is being conducted to explain the law, regulations and documents on agrarian reform. Cadres are being trained for the reform and for the people's tribunals, and peasant associations are being reorganized or expanded. These steps are indispensable. No exploiting class leaves the stage of history voluntarily, and the Chinese landlord class, which goes back several thousand years, will be no exception. Some members of the landlord class are now inventing theories in opposition to agrarian reform and the Agrarian Reform Law. We must firmly refute such theories and strengthen our publicity about the main contents of the Law, making them known to every family in those areas where we are preparing to carry out the reform, especially in the villages. Other landlords are now illegally dispersing their land and property, killing farm animals and destroying farm

implements, houses, arable land and trees. Such unlawful acts must be prevented or punished. Since the most important preparation for agrarian reform is the training of cadres, we must concentrate our efforts on that and on consolidating the peasant associations. Only the peasant associations, led by honest, reliable peasant activists, can ensure the smooth progress of the agrarian reform.

CENTRALIZATION OF FINANCE AND REHABILITATION OF THE ECONOMY

One of the most urgent tasks that confronted the People's Republic of China and its governments at all levels, in places where the war was over, was to take drastic measures to end the chaotic and precarious situation in finance and the economy. That situation was the legacy of the long years of criminal rule by the Kuomintang reactionaries. Because of years of constant inflation and soaring prices, the cities taken over by the Chinese people had virtually become huge gambling dens for speculators. In order to stabilize the currency and prices, national expenditures and revenues had to be balanced and sufficient supplies of goods guaranteed. Once the currency and prices were stabilized, industry and commerce had to be readjusted and communications improved throughout the country, under new conditions and in the light of new demands, to help restore production. In addition, the people's government had to carry out immediate relief work to address the calamities and unemployment that had resulted from reactionary Kuomintang rule and the war. These were enormous and difficult tasks. The imperialists repeatedly asserted that the young People's Republic of China would be crushed by these seemingly insoluble problems and would be forced to ask for their help. But the experience of the past year has given the lie to their predictions. The Chinese people have been victorious on the economic front as well as on the military and political fronts.

The Central People's Government, after experiencing several months of inevitable inflation while the War of Liberation was expanding, decided last March to do everything possible to increase national revenues and reduce expenditures so as to bring the two into approximate balance. To implement this decision, the government swiftly centralized control over finance throughout the country,

something that had never been accomplished before. The government's action won the warm support of the people. Thus, inflation was checked immediately, and since last March there has been no need to issue new currency to meet the financial deficit. On the contrary, the total deposits of the People's Bank of China increased more than sixteenfold by September as compared with December 1949.

To maintain price stability, a sufficient supply of goods must be guaranteed. Although China is an agricultural country, the corrupt, reactionary Kuomintang government had to import even grain and cotton for many years on end. On top of that, the home market was manipulated by bureaucrat-capitalists and speculators, making it impossible to stabilize prices. The Central People's Government has effected a fundamental change in this terrible situation. By ensuring a sufficient supply nationwide of food, cotton, cloth, coal, salt and other daily necessities, and by overcoming the serious difficulties in transportation and storage, it has foiled the speculators' attempts at disruption and solved the supply problems for the big cities and calamity-stricken areas. In general, since last March commodity prices throughout the country have been stable. Recently, owing to good harvests in the summer and autumn and to reduced imports of certain materials, the discrepancy between the prices of agricultural and industrial products has increased somewhat. The Central People's Government is now taking measures to readjust prices so that this discrepancy will not affect the standard of living of peasants and of those workers whose wages are calculated in terms of grain.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out, the approaching balance between national revenues and expenditures and the tendency of prices towards stabilization only mark the beginning of a turn for the better and do not yet constitute a fundamental improvement. According to Chairman Mao's instructions, in order to achieve a fundamental improvement, it will not be enough to complete agrarian reform and drastically reduce government spending. We must also carry out a rational readjustment of existing industry and commerce, which are now subject to hoarding and speculation, so that we can proceed to restore and expand production as planned. In order to solve this problem, the government departments in charge of the economy, state enterprises, private enterprises, co-operatives and trade union organizations have held a series of conferences and consultations. They have discussed many questions, including the following: ways to eliminate haphazard production and distribution and to introduce

planning; a system of placing orders with private enterprises, entrusting them with processing, buying their products, and extending loans to them; the division of labour among public commercial enterprises, private commercial enterprises, banks and co-operatives; overseas remittances; and the readjustment of relations between labour and capital. These meetings have achieved preliminary results. Of course, contradictions exist between the capitalist nature of the private sector and thorough planning. But there are two things we must bear in mind. First, we have a powerful state sector of a socialist nature in all key economic branches, and we have started to develop a co-operative sector of a semi-socialist nature. Second, the private sector is under various forms of leadership by the state sector, including the state capitalist sector, which is expanding and which serves the interests of the socialist economy. We may therefore say that it is possible to lead China's economy gradually away from the anarchic conditions of the past and to introduce more planning.

The development of co-operatives is beginning to assume great significance in the readjustment of relations among various sectors of the economy. According to statistics compiled in July this year, co-operatives throughout the country had a total membership of over 20 million and a total capital of 550 billion yuan.²⁵ The volume of business of the co-operatives during the first quarter of this year reached 3,850 billion yuan. Co-operatives developed mainly in the old liberated areas in northeast, north and east China. In 1949 the total volume of business of the co-operatives in the Northeast was equivalent to the value of 1,300,000 tons of sorghum, or 40 per cent of the total volume of business done by publicly owned commercial enterprises in the region. At present, the main types of co-operatives we need are supply and marketing co-operatives in the countryside and consumers' co-operatives in the cities. The tasks of these two kinds of co-operatives are to protect small producers and consumers partially or entirely from exploitation by middlemen and to promote production. The institution of these co-ops is a great event in the economic and political life of the labouring people of our country. The Central People's Government is working out a law to expedite the healthy development of co-operatives throughout the country and to prevent the repetitions of mistakes made in the past.

Taken as a whole, economic work in China is still at the stage of rehabilitation. This is because of the long years of war — a war that is not yet over — and because of the lack of necessary prerequisites.

We still do not have enough capital to develop industry, or an adequate understanding of the overall situation, or sufficient numbers of cadres or enough experience. So far this year the Central People's Government has invested 23.9 per cent of total state expenditure in economic construction. This percentage exceeds the investment for economic construction of any government in Chinese history, but it is still very small in relation to the needs. The figure will not increase sharply in 1951. It will in effect take three to five years to revive the economy before we can begin to systematically expand it. During these years, we should concentrate on developing certain key elements that will help to prepare the essential conditions for industrialization, such as capital, the domestic market and technology. At the same time, a certain proportion of the budget must be allocated to national defence. Therefore, the Central People's Government will devote much of its economic investment to such undertakings as water conservancy, railways and communications that will directly support the development of industry and agriculture, to agriculture and textiles and to the fuel, iron and steel, and chemical industries, which are needed by all other industries.

The Central People's Government planned to produce 120 million tons of grain and 650,000 tons of cotton this year. Now it is estimated that these plans will be fulfilled or even exceeded. China has a total of 5,220,000 cotton spindles, of which 4,080,000 were in operation in September 1949 and 4,280,000 have been in operation since September of this year. Two hundred thousand more will enter operation before the year is out. Of the railways in China, 21,742 kilometres or 88 per cent of the total were opened to traffic by the end of last June. By the end of this year the figure will be 22,019 kilometres. The output of coal in the state-owned mines showed a 37 per cent increase from January to August this year compared with the corresponding period last year. During the same period, the generating capacity of state-owned power plants increased by 31 per cent, and power consumed increased by 58 per cent.

During the past year of intense activity, in addition to putting an end to the economic chaos and making a good beginning with rehabilitation work, the Central People's Government has done its utmost to relieve famine and unemployment. In 1949 China suffered serious floods that devastated an area of eight million hectares and affected 40 million people, seven million of them seriously. This year, flooding occurred again in Henan Province and in northern An-

hui, affecting more than 2,666,000 hectares of land. To provide direct or indirect relief for the flood victims, the government distributed 1,120,0 tons of fine grain [rice and wheat — *Tr.*] from January through September this year and sent large numbers of cadres to the stricken areas to help the people cope with the disaster by every means possible. This policy is in sharp contrast to the way flood disasters were dealt with in 1931 by the reactionary Kuomintang government, which allowed vast numbers of people to die. In 1950 the government provided more than half a million tons of fine grain and mobilized several million people to repair and build dikes and irrigation works. This has been one of the most important factors in reducing the effects of these disasters and bringing about a good harvest throughout the country. The government and the people of the whole nation have also worked together to bring relief to more than 400,000 unemployed workers, including a number of unemployed intellectuals. Unemployment is merely a temporary phenomenon in the initial stage of our country's economic rehabilitation. It has been largely eliminated in northeast China, and in the coming two or three years it will also be eliminated in other areas.

TRAINING CADRES AND RAISING EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

As in our economic work, so in our cultural and educational work in the past year we have restored order and begun to make fresh progress.

The year since the founding of the People's Republic of China has been one in which people throughout the country were swept up in a wave of studying. The cultural control of the Kuomintang reactionaries, which strangled intelligence and created ignorance, has been overthrown. People of all strata — from workers to professors and even many elderly people — have spontaneously insisted on looking at China, the world and even themselves with a fresh eye. Through study, the masses have quickly come to a new understanding of China and the world and of the glory of labouring and serving the people. The people's government has satisfied the people's demand for study in various ways. The workers and peasants, who previously had little opportunity to study, can now do so. Schools have opened their doors to workers and peasants and their children. Seven hundred

thousand workers and other employees are regularly attending spare-time schools, and in 1951 there will be more than twice that number. More than 10 million peasants have enrolled in winter schools, and next year five million peasants will attend regular spare-time rural schools.

To build a New China we need a great number of cadres with adequate political awareness and educational background. The people's government is solving this problem in the three following ways: First, by raising the educational level of a large number of existing cadres, particularly those from workers' and peasants' families, including cadres in the PLA; by setting up middle schools for workers and peasants and supplementary classes for them; and by admitting those with suitable qualifications into middle schools and institutions of higher education. Second, by giving political education to large numbers of former government functionaries and intellectuals, so as to help them discard their old erroneous outlook in a relatively short time and acquire the new attitude of serving the people. Third, by gradually reforming existing middle schools and institutions of higher education so that they can meet the demands of the people. During the past year we have made a start on this work and have already achieved good results. During the next few years we shall carry it out even more effectively so as to ensure a constant supply of the cadres necessary for military, political, economic and cultural work.

To enhance the people's cultural life, the Central People's Government is systematically improving and popularizing Chinese art and literature. In the cinema, films of people's China have rapidly replaced American films. They have been welcomed by a vast audience and more and more of them are being shown in the army, the factories and the countryside. The volume of books, periodicals and newspapers being published has been greatly increased and their circulation expanded.

While leading the people in the struggle against ignorance, the government has also led them in the struggle against disease. During the past year it has launched large-scale campaigns against epidemic diseases. It has decided to set up medical centres in every county and district within the next few years, so as to combat the ill health that has plagued the Chinese people for centuries.

Although in the first year of its existence the People's Republic of China has encountered many difficulties and made many mistakes, it has already displayed a robust vitality and given promise of a

limitless future. Difficulties can be overcome, and in many cases they already have been. Mistakes can be corrected and shortcomings remedied, and in many instances that too has already been done. The people have confidence in their state. There is no doubt that their confidence is justified. Throughout China's history only one government has, in a single year, done so much to benefit the people. Only one government has, in a single year, driven out so many rapacious troops and their "government" and replaced them with a strictly disciplined, benevolent people's army and an upright, just people's administration. Only one government has, in a single year, stripped the imperialist countries of their privileges, exterminated the despicable secret service organizations, put an end to long-standing inflation and offered the people a joyous and flourishing future. And that government is the Central People's Government.

All the remarkable successes achieved in the first year of the People's Republic of China have resulted from the combined efforts of the people throughout the country and from the brilliant leadership of the great leader of the Chinese people — Chairman Mao Zedong.

Under the guidance of their own government and their own leader, the people all over China will unite as one to consolidate and expand these successes.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the creator and leader of the People's Republic of China — Chairman Mao Zedong!

RESISTING U.S. AGGRESSION, AIDING KOREA²⁶ AND DEFENDING PEACE

October 24, 1950

The war to resist aggression has been successfully begun in Korea. We are now witnessing both the courage of the Korean people and the brutality of U.S. imperialism.

Since mid-July the U.S. imperialists have retreated south, swiftly massing their forces in the Taegu region in the south of the Korean peninsula and trying to entice the Korean People's Army to attack them. The newly formed Korean People's Army is courageously forging ahead, determined to drive the American soldiers into the sea. The current situation shows that the war will be a long one.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a new country and the Korean People's Army is a young force; we are impressed by its valour in combat. Taking advantage of his temporary superiority, the enemy has embarked on conspiracy. Right now the Korean people are confronted with difficulties, but they are holding on courageously, fighting a guerrilla war in the south and putting up resistance in the north. The struggle continues, and so long as they persist, new strength can be generated to defeat the enemy. North Korea has a small territory and all it has to rely on is its 9 million people. They are to be commended for resisting such a formidable foe with what forces they can muster and for being determined to fight for a long time. We cannot but express our admiration.

The Korean question is an international one and it cannot be separated from other international questions. As the Korean people fight on, their struggle will take on more importance internationally. Meanwhile, if they are to win, they must secure international assistance, especially now that they are in difficulty. We should uphold

Report delivered at the 18th meeting of the Standing Committee of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

revolutionary morality. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea must be victorious; otherwise, a wedge will be driven into the peace camp. And if that happens in Korea, more wedges will successively be driven elsewhere. If the enemy breaks down the east gate and makes his way into our house, how can we devote ourselves to construction?

China and Korea are neighbouring countries as closely related as lips and teeth. If the lips are gone, the teeth are exposed to the cold. If the D.P.R.K. is subjugated by U.S. imperialism, there will be no security for northeast China. Half of our heavy industry is in the Northeast, and half of the heavy industry in the Northeast is in its southern part, within range of enemy bombers. Just in the two months between August 27 and yesterday, planes of the U.S. imperialists have invaded our airspace 12 times. Recently they not only flew over the Yalu River but came to Kuandian on reconnaissance, strafing and bombing missions. If the U.S. imperialists get close to the Yalu River, how can we have the peace of mind to go about production?

To rebuild China we need to spend from three to five years restoring production, and that is what we are now doing. We have recently drawn up the economic plan for 1951. In accordance with our persistent wish to increase expenditures on economic and cultural development, military spending is reduced from 43 per cent of this year's budget to 30 per cent of next year's. This means that 70 per cent of the budget is devoted to economic construction and cultural and educational undertakings, to raising the living standards of government employees and teachers, to purchasing surplus grain from peasants and expanding the production of daily necessities. However, the enemy will not let us fulfil this plan. In a recent letter to Chairman Mao, Henry Wallace²⁷ expressed the hope that China would manufacture tractors and not divert its resources to building tanks. The fact is that the enemy will not permit us to undertake construction; we are forced to forego manufacturing tractors.

Passive defence would not work; besides, it would be costly. For instance, renovating an airport requires the equivalent of 50,000 tons of millet. If eight were to be renovated in the Northeast and three south of the Great Wall, more than 500,000 tons of millet would be needed. Moreover, substantial expenditures would have to be made for other facilities as well. Then too, factories would have to be moved elsewhere, and that would disrupt our plans for industrial production. Militarily, leaving aside the question of equipment, there

is the question of manpower. As the defence line stretched more than 500 kilometres along the Yalu River, countless numbers of troops would be required. Moreover, we would have to keep them there year after year, not knowing when the enemy might invade. Under such circumstances, how could we concentrate on production and construction? Besides, if the enemy succeeded in occupying the D.P.R.K., he would not stop at that. Therefore, if we consider the position the D.P.R.K. occupies in the East and its future prospects, we have no choice but to offer it our assistance; and if we consider our relations, which are as close as lips and teeth, the conclusion is the same. We are not just inviting trouble: the enemy is setting fire to our door.

A month ago — that is, before the landing of American troops at Inchon — we wondered whether the U.S. imperialists would halt when they reached the 38th Parallel²⁸ and would then open diplomatic talks. After they seized Seoul, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told us that it had been agreed at the meeting of foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and France²⁹ that the 38th Parallel would not be crossed and that if it were, the matter would be brought up for a vote at the United Nations. According to our information, however, they were attempting to lull us into a false sense of security while actually planning to cross the 38th Parallel. Once the crossing was effected, they meant to attack China. We saw through this ploy and therefore stated on September 30: We cannot let the U.S. imperialists' aggression against Korea go unheeded. News dispatches of October 1 and 2 indicated that U.S. troops had already crossed the 38th Parallel and that the South Korean army had penetrated far north of it. We pointed out to the Indian ambassador to China that what had actually come to pass was different from what Nehru had said would happen and that we could not stand aloof from the Korean question. We asked him to pass that message to Bevin³⁰ through Nehru. A few days passed, but the enemy continued to advance. Soon afterwards, Bevin indicated to me through Nehru that the enemy troops, having crossed the 38th Parallel, would come to a halt when they were 40 miles from the Yalu River. At that time they had already entered Pyongyang, and at this moment they are continuing their thrust north. It is obvious that they are cheating us once again. If this goes on, if we sit idly by without going to the rescue, the enemy will surely continue his advance, becoming in-

creasingly blatant in his aggression, until he reaches the Yalu River and then makes his next move.

Therefore, we must intervene. But how? A policy decision has to be made. We have intervened before. For instance, we brought the case up at the United Nations, denouncing the act of aggression. But that is no longer enough, and a new policy decision has to be made. The policy of the U.S. imperialists is to engineer a war and gradually escalate it. If we resist the enemy and strike back at him, he may pull in his horns. Otherwise, he will certainly continue his advance as planned.

The U.S. imperialists are pursuing the policy of MacArthur³¹ in the East, using Japan as their base, inheriting the mantle of Japanese militarism and taking their cue from history since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894.³² They are following the old maxim that anyone wanting to annex China must first occupy its Northeast and that to occupy the Northeast he must first seize Korea. While the Japanese imperialists spent 40 years inching their way towards that goal, the U.S. imperialists want to accomplish it in four or five years.

The historical lesson is as follows: When faced with aggression by the Japanese imperialists, one party in China was for resisting while the other party was for making concessions. And concessions were made until the July 7th Incident of 1937,³³ Had it not been for the fight put up by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, there would have been no resistance to Japanese aggression. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 was a kind of resistance, but it was resistance offered by the rulers and led by a corrupt imperial court. It enjoyed no popular support and ended in failure. If a people's state had been in place, the outcome would have been different.

It would be a mistake to offer no resistance to U.S. imperialism. That would place us in a passive position, and the enemy would first take an inch and then reach for an ell. On the other hand, if we fight back and cause the enemy to get bogged down in a quagmire in Korea, he will no longer be able to attack China, and even his plan to dispatch troops to Western Europe may be upset. In that case, the internal contradictions between the U.S. and its allies will grow. In short, if we make concessions, it will only alleviate their internal contradictions, whereas if we intervene, it will aggravate those contradictions. Only if we intervene will the relative strength of the enemy forces and our own be changed. But our way of intervening in the past has now proved ineffective: to be effective it must be backed up by force.

To us the Korean question is not merely a Korean question. Related to it is the Taiwan question. Taking a position against China, the U.S. imperialists have extended their line of defence to the Taiwan Straits, while professing non-aggression and non-interference. They have invaded Korea without justification. If we send troops to intervene, we are justified by the need to defend ourselves and the entire peace camp.

The U.S. imperialists are attempting to intimidate another nation by brute force. We should foil their attempt and oblige them to retreat in the face of difficulties and setbacks. Then it will be possible to settle the question. We shall exercise restraint. If the enemy does retreat, the issue can then be settled through negotiation either at the United Nations or outside the United Nations. For we want peace, not war. The Korean people should be left to settle their own problems, and all foreign troops must be withdrawn. If the Korean question is settled well and if U.S. imperialism does meet with a setback, there may be a change in the situation regarding the Taiwan Straits and the East as a whole. We must work hard for such a change by rallying the people at home and abroad.

However, there is another possibility. As fighting intensifies, the enemy may become more bellicose and make an incursion into the mainland, thereby expanding the war. It is possible that he may stake everything he has on such a move, because there are some among the U.S. imperialists who are spoiling for a fight. We must be prepared for that. We do not want to see the war expanded, but if the enemy wants to expand it, there is nothing that can be done. If our generation is forced to go through a third world war, we shall have to meet it head-on so that our descendants can enjoy peace forever. But we will never instigate a world war. We must do all we can to turn the first possibility into a reality, to make peace a reality. Nevertheless, we must be prepared to deal with the second possibility, to cope with another world war.

Now that we mean to back up our intervention with force, are our forces adequate for the task?

Our army is strong enough, but our navy and air force are not adequate because we began to build them only in the spring of last year. Should we then wait to mount the resistance until our forces have gained strength? No. If we did that, the enemy would overpower the D.P.R.K. and become even more domineering, and the balance of forces would be even more in his favour. So we must examine the

question from all angles, taking into account its probable evolution. We must increase our strength and temper ourselves in the course of the struggle. The revolutionary forces may sometimes seem to be in an inferior position, but as the struggle develops that will change. Of course, it will take time and we shall have to pay a price. We must also look to the defence of the mainland. The enemy may come and bomb us or use Chiang Kai-shek's air force to do the job, or he may land on our shores and harass us. We must therefore strengthen our defences. Politically, we can count on the support of allied and friendly nations as we strive for peace. So far as methods are concerned, we shall provide our assistance in the form of volunteers so that there is no need to declare war. We should give wide publicity to the movement to resist U.S. aggression, aid Korea and defend peace. We must also suppress enemy agents making trouble at home and consolidate unity among the people. Meantime, economic construction must not be suspended. We should rehabilitate key branches of heavy industry, proceed unswervingly with water conservancy, railway and textile projects, and try to raise people's living standards.

TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THE MARRIAGE LAW AND PROTECT WOMEN'S LEGAL RIGHTS

September 26, 1951

The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China³⁴ is one of the fundamental laws promulgated since the Central People's Government was established. Its implementation will constitute a major social reform that will help to eliminate vestiges of feudalism and to inaugurate a new set of social relations, now that the Chinese people have won the revolutionary war and begun nationwide agrarian reform.¹⁰ Since this law went into effect, it has won broad support from the people and has had excellent results. The old oppressive, feudal family system is gradually changing and a new type of family is emerging, one based on equality and harmony. In New China, men and women — especially women, who suffered most from feudal oppression — have gained freedom of marriage and equal rights. Thus, in our new society they are taking a greater part in all kinds of political activities and in all fields of construction.

However, Chinese society was under a feudal regime for a very long time. Although the agrarian reform movement is now dismantling the economic basis of feudalism once for all, feudal ideas and vestiges of the feudal marriage system are still deeply rooted not only among some of the people but also among many cadres. According to reports from various places, feudal-minded people are still taking illegal action, interfering with freedom of marriage and maltreating women and children. Moreover, while these things are happening, some cadres

Directive of the Administration Council of the Central People's Government on Overseeing the Implementation of the Marriage Law, issued over the signature of Premier Zhou Enlai. It was published in *People's Daily* on September 29, 1951.

look on with folded arms, or connive with and shield the law-breakers or, worse still, take direct part in illegal interference themselves. The victims are therefore deprived of the legal protection they are entitled to. Consequently, there are still many family-arranged, forced and mercenary marriages, especially in rural areas. On occasion, interference with freedom of marriage leads to crime and the violation of women's human rights, even of their right to life. The number of women throughout the country who are murdered or forced to commit suicide because of marital problems is substantial. According to incomplete statistics, the incidence of suicide and homicide of women who are unable to choose their own marriage partners and are mistreated by their families is as follows: in central-south China, more than 10,000 in the same year; in Shandong Province, 1,245 in the same year; in nine counties of Huaiyin Prefecture of northern Jiangsu Province, 119 between May and August of 1950. These figures ought to arouse grave concern in the people's governments at all levels: they reflect a situation that is absolutely intolerable.

In recent months, the East China Military and Administrative Commission, the Central-South China Military and Administrative Commission and some provincial and municipal people's governments have issued directives calling for the implementation of the Marriage Law. That has been essential to check the abuses mentioned above. But in China, where feudalism dominated the society for such a long time, it will take a difficult process of social reform to bring about full compliance with this law, a process requiring constant, systematic struggle on the ideological and legal fronts. The people's governments at all levels must therefore consider it a major, long-term political task to make sure the Marriage Law is carried out and conduct ideological education among cadres and the masses. They must direct the departments of justice, civil affairs, public security, and culture and education — in full co-operation with various political parties and people's organizations — to ensure that the law is enforced, combining that task as much as possible with the central tasks of agrarian reform and the democratic consolidation of local governments. At the same time, they should take legal measures to severely punish serious crimes of interference with freedom of marriage that result in women's being mistreated, injured, murdered or driven to suicide. They must investigate such cases immediately. If cases that have already been tried are found to have been wrongly handled, they should be re-examined and dealt with according to law. Cases that have not yet

been tried must be thoroughly investigated and dealt with according to law, so that all offenders are duly punished. Any cadre who connives with criminals or protects them, or who interferes with freedom of marriage in a way that results in a woman's death should be punished according to the gravity of the offence. In future, if a woman is deprived of the rights and protection provided by the Marriage Law and is murdered or commits suicide, leading cadres of the district, township and village (or urban neighbourhood) where the crime took place will be held partly responsible.

To ensure the faithful implementation of the Marriage Law, people's governments at various levels should first of all encourage cadres, especially local cadres and those doing judicial work, to study it thoroughly. Judicial departments and marriage registration offices should handle marriage cases in a serious and responsible way and follow the provisions of the Law. Using specific cases, they should give better publicity to the Law, criticize the irrationality of the feudal marriage system and commend typical instances in which marriage cases were handled according to the law, so as to create an atmosphere in which the new-democratic marriage system will prevail. After full preparations have been made among the people, serious cases that have educational value may be tried in public. All this will give both cadres and masses a correct and comprehensive understanding of the Marriage Law. Meanwhile, all cadres working in the people's governments, the People's Liberation Army, the democratic parties and the people's organizations must realize that their attitude towards this question is an important test. Whether they conscientiously implement the Marriage Law, whether they handle marriage cases in a serious and responsible manner, protecting women's lawful interests, whether they actively support the just struggle of the masses, and especially of oppressed women, against the feudal marriage system and feudal ideas, and lastly, whether they set an example to others by observing the Marriage Law in their own marriages — these things are a test of their determination to combat feudalism politically and of their willingness to abide strictly by the decrees of the people's government.

As soon as this directive is received, local people's governments at and above the provincial, municipal and administrative office levels should urge the departments of justice, civil affairs, public security, and culture and education under their leadership to check up on the implementation of the Marriage Law, paying special attention to major cases. They should also invite the consultative bodies, the

democratic parties and the people's organizations to join in the work. They should use effective methods to add to their achievements in this area and to correct their mistakes, investigating serious violations of the law that have led to a woman's death and punishing the criminals. Before the end of December, all provincial and municipal people's governments must submit special reports on the results of their investigations to the Administration Council of the Central People's Government. Likewise before the end of the year, local people's conferences at different levels²² and their consultative or standing committees must hear reports on and discuss the implementation of the Marriage Law and the publicity work being done in this connection and submit the results of their discussion to the next higher level of leadership.

ON THE REMOULDING OF INTELLECTUALS

September 29, 1951

The Teachers' Study Sub-committee of Beijing University³⁵ and President Ma Yinchu³⁶ asked me to give them a talk. That being the case, it seemed to me that I should speak to people from other universities as well. So after consulting with the Ministry of Education, I also invited representatives of the teachers and students at other universities in Beijing and Tianjin to join us here today.

What kind of talk should I give you? A general political report? No, that might not meet your needs, since you are now engaged in ideological remoulding. Now that you are taking part in these study sessions, you should make up your minds to remould yourselves. Today I am going to talk to you about this question of remoulding.

I'll start with my own remoulding. I spent one year in a university after I graduated from senior middle school. But I didn't learn very much there because it was the time of the May 4th Movement.³⁷ I went to Japan, France and Germany to "study", but I never attended a university in those countries. So I am only a middle-level intellectual and feel a little nervous speaking before you high-level intellectuals and undergraduates. However, since I am an intellectual after all, I think that if I tell you something about my personal experience of ideological remoulding, it may be helpful to you and not just a waste of time.

The aim of your study session is to remould yourselves ideologically. That is a basic understanding which anyone who wants to join in it should have. Of course, it takes time to remould oneself well, and we would be impatient and unrealistic if we expected people to change their thinking overnight. Ideological remoulding has to be a gradual process. Take my own example. It's more than 30 years since

Excerpt from a speech delivered at a study session of teachers from colleges and universities in Beijing and Tianjin.

I participated in the May 4th Movement, but I am still working hard to remould myself, trying to make further progress. Some comrades may ask, "Now that you are the leader of our government, do you still need to study and remould yourself?" Yes, I do, because there are many things I don't know and many truths I don't fully understand. Only by studying and constantly deepening our understanding can we make progress. Although I have worked for the revolution for more than 30 years and have been a leader of various departments at different times, I have made a lot of mistakes and have consequently had many setbacks. Yet I was never disheartened, because I had revolutionary confidence and optimism to sustain me. I drew strength from the masses. Whenever we have made mistakes, the right approach is to make a self-criticism, find out why we made those mistakes and take action to correct them. We should be determined to do that. If we learn something from our mistakes, we may make fewer of them in future or even avoid them altogether. Of course, we can't expect to correct all our mistakes at once, and we may repeat the same ones. But sooner or later we can correct them. We shouldn't regard mistakes as baggage and carry them around with us; we should get rid of them. In addition, we should tell others about our mistakes and make self-criticisms. In this way, not only do we learn a lesson ourselves, but we help others to avoid similar mistakes, and it lets people know that one can still make progress so long as one recognizes one's mistakes and is ready to correct them. When a person has made a mistake, he should make a private self-examination. But what is more important is to go among the masses and learn from them. There are two reasons why people make mistakes. One is that we don't have a correct understanding of certain theories and principles; that's why we need to study progressive theories. The other reason is that what we believe doesn't correspond to reality and therefore doesn't work; that means we have to learn from the masses and try to gain new knowledge and understand more truths through practice. If we do a good job in these two respects, we shall gain confidence, do our work more smoothly and make few mistakes or none at all.

The reason I am saying this is to help make you comrades confident that so long as you resolve to remould yourselves, you can reach your goal no matter what your background was in the old society. Since most of you here have spent a long time in the old society, you have carried many old ideas with you, I assume, and it is impossible for

you to discard them all at once. Only by constantly struggling against them can you make progress.

Now I'd like to discuss some questions you may encounter in the course of your studies and my views on them.

I. THE QUESTION OF STANDPOINT

There is always the question of what our position should be in study and work. Not all of us approach problems from the standpoint of the working class. This is true not only for you but also for me. I have been a Communist Party member for several decades. Does that mean I have always had a distinct working-class standpoint? Not necessarily. I do when I am reading or writing articles, but when I earnestly examine whether I have maintained that standpoint in everything I have done, I find that I haven't. Indeed, I have a long way to go. A working-class position doesn't just drop from the skies, and you can't simply claim to have adopted it. It can only come from practice. And only practice can show whether you conform to it. For example, during the First Revolutionary Civil War, we organized the masses of Chinese people — mainly the workers, peasants, students and part of the armed forces — into a revolutionary movement, and the revolutionary drive spurred them on. Yet during the Wuhan period of 1927, when Chen Duxiu³⁸ was in the leadership, some Party members wavered and committed the error of Right opportunism by following him. This shows that, under the influence of the reactionary class, they couldn't take a firm working-class stand. Other such cases could be cited. So it is clear that it takes a long time to solve the problem of standpoint.

Most of our country's intellectuals come from landlord or bourgeois families, so we can't expect them to take the side of the working class all at once.

I myself am from a bankrupt feudal family. My ancestral home is in Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province. When my grandfather was appointed county magistrate of Huai'an in Jiangsu Province, we moved there. My family — a feudal, bureaucrat family with a house but no land — necessarily influenced my thinking. The influences of childhood find their expression in one's thinking and life style for a long time after.

The old ideas come out now and then without one's realizing it, whenever one talks or writes without thinking carefully.

This being the case, it is unreasonable to ask intellectuals to acquire a firm working-class stand all at once. It takes a while.

It is easiest for people to cultivate a sense of nationhood and hold a nationalist stand, loving their own country. The reason for this is that for more than a century China was a semi-colonial country suffering imperialist aggression. For instance, when I was very young, I read articles by Mr. Zhang Taiyan,³⁹ published in the *Journal of Chinese Culture*,⁴⁰ that aroused my sense of patriotism even though I couldn't understand them fully at the time. The despotic and traitorous actions of Yuan Shikai⁴¹ and the northern warlords⁶ after the founding of the Chinese Republic developed my patriotic thinking further and made me take an active part in protests against the Twenty-one Demands⁴² and the Sino-Japanese military pacts.⁴³ I think many people went through a process of that kind. It was a good beginning. It seems to me that intellectuals can make progress if they start from a sense of patriotism and nationalism.

Of course, the sense of patriotism involves certain dangers. If our nationalist stand develops into étatism⁴⁴ or a narrow nationalism that leads to aggression abroad and oppression of minority nationalities at home, we shall have gone astray. But this danger is not a major problem for Chinese intellectuals. China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country subjected to aggression, bullying and oppression by foreign countries, so it was natural for people's patriotism to be aroused first in the form of national resistance to foreign aggression. Given these conditions, the nationalism and patriotism of the majority of intellectuals could develop into a desire for national liberation and for serving the people. This transformation in their thinking has begun to take place and should be well received. Of course, we should guard against dangerous ideas that lead to étatism and narrow nationalism.

In China, étatism and communism appeared at the same time. Many of you present here, I imagine, experienced the May 4th Movement. As you all know, the Young China Society⁴⁵ was divided into two groups at the time, one represented by Comrades Li Dazhao⁴⁶ and Mao Zedong, and the other headed by Zeng Qi,⁴⁷ Li Huang⁴⁸ and Zuo Shunsheng.⁴⁹ The first group became Communists and the second became Etatists, tailed after the Kuomintang and accomplished nothing, because in semi-colonial China, circumstances did not permit

the rise of Kemalism,⁵⁰ as in Turkey. Narrow nationalism could not take hold; it appealed only to a handful of people, and not to the majority of intellectuals.

For more than a century imperialists, in collusion with the Chinese comprador and landlord classes, rode roughshod over the Chinese people and turned the country into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Chairman Mao says in his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" that during that period many people with lofty ideals tried to find a way out for the Chinese people. Among them were Hong Xiuquan,⁵¹ Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who led the Revolution of 1911, and Yan Fu⁵² and Kang Youwei,⁵³ who launched reform movements. They all strove to push the country forward but failed. In China the feudal forces were not smashed, as they were by the revolution in France, and no movement arose like the Meiji Restoration in Japan.⁵⁴ Why? The reason is that, as you professors who recently took part in the agrarian reform¹⁰ found out, the feudal forces in China were too powerful, landlords and rich peasants constituting as much as 10 per cent of the rural population. Scattered everywhere across the land, they oppressed the poor peasants, and it was through them that the imperialists ruled China. In the national liberation movements of the past, people tried to follow the path of reform or the path of the old-type bourgeois revolution, but they failed, and finding themselves in a blind alley, they had to begin searching for a new way out.

We Chinese people awoke during World War I and, inspired by the October Revolution in Russia, we came to realize that we had to follow the path of the Russians. Dr. Sun Yat-sen raised the slogan "Learn from Russia", and it was on that basis that our First Great Revolution was organized and launched. During the revolution, many intellectuals who were nationalists acquired a better understanding of the people's stand and came to realize that they could save China and show their love for the nation only by taking that stand. The feudal economy fettered the productive forces of the vast rural areas; comprador forces hindered the development of national industry and commerce; and the Kuomintang reactionaries, a political force representing the landlord and comprador classes, oppressed the Chinese people with the support of the imperialists. That is why to win national liberation it was not enough to have a general sense of nationalism: we had to take the people's stand.

Did we take a firm people's stand as soon as we joined the Communist Party? I think that during the acute struggle against the enemy,

we did take the people's stand, resolutely fighting the landlord class, the comprador class and the Kuomintang reactionaries. But during the War of Resistance Against Japan, when our Party advocated alliance with the Kuomintang in the face of foreign aggression, some Party members failed to maintain a clear-cut people's stand. You can see from Hu Qiaomu's book *Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China* that at the early stage of the war Chairman Mao firmly believed that we should unite with the Kuomintang and at the same time struggle against it, and that we should push for a war of total resistance by the whole nation as opposed to a war of partial resistance without mass participation. This represented a firm people's stand. But some Party members recognized only the importance of making an alliance with the Kuomintang and not the importance of struggling against it. As a result, they accommodated themselves to it without maintaining a clear-cut people's stand. They made this mistake in 1938 in Wuhan. At that time they did make an alliance with the Kuomintang, but they didn't wage adequate struggle against it. Later on they recognized their mistake, corrected it and did a better job in Chongqing and Nanjing. This indicates that it is not so easy even for the Party leaders to take a firm people's stand all at once. I think everyone present here has read Chairman Mao's "Talk at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art". The writers and artists in Yan'an read a great deal and studied in the schools there. Nevertheless, many of them did not stand on the side of the people, and that is why Chairman Mao raised the question of stand first in that talk.

Now, the working class has its own ideas; so do the peasant class, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. So long as there are different classes, there will be different positions. We now insist that all of us have a common position — the people's standpoint — that is, that we all think in terms of the supreme interest of the majority of the people.

It is more difficult to take the next step and change from the people's stand to the working-class stand. Why do we demand that intellectuals take this further step? Because the working class is the class that is most advanced and dedicated to the people and the nation. Its goal is to realize communism and convert the existing society into a classless one. Therein lies the greatness of the working class. The bourgeoisie has no desire to turn everyone into a capitalist. If it did, who would be the workers? And how would the capitalists accumulate capital? It was this idea that struck me so forcefully that I decided to

join the Communist Party. Later on I wrote some articles to disseminate this notion. Why is the working class the most advanced? Because it can transform everyone in the world into a worker and integrate physical labour with mental labour. The most essential feature of the working class and of the Communist Party is that they can lead the whole world to a society without classes and without the exploitation of man by man, a task that no other class or party can undertake.

There are three different views among intellectuals with regard to class stand. The first is: there are not many industrial workers in China, only three or four million of them, and besides, having grown up in the feudal society, they have been influenced to a certain extent by feudal thinking. That being the case, they cannot be very powerful, so how can they lead the whole country? The second is: a large proportion of Communist Party members are from peasant and intellectual backgrounds, so how can they represent the stand and views of the working class? They can only represent the thinking of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. The third is: by putting into practice the Party's slogans and policies after joining the Party, the intellectuals naturally do everything from the standpoint of the working class and represent its thinking. All three of these views are wrong.

We hold that while the working class is small and a part of it has been influenced by feudal thinking, it can form a force with inexhaustible power so long as it works hard, steps up production, learns from the experience of workers' movements in other countries and studies the advanced theories they have put forward. Being a new force, it is bound to grow stronger. All new forces start small and grow larger. We all grow from infancy, and the infant grows fastest. Therefore the working class has a bright future. Moreover, the working class can take the overall interest into account. Under its leadership, the development of industry and commerce will benefit the peasants, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie as well as the working class itself. To accelerate the development of industry and commerce, the working class will see to it that the state controls the important means of production and will gradually lead the society to socialism. Only under the leadership of the working class can China industrialize, abolish classes and achieve communism in accordance with working-class thinking, the material conditions of the state and

ever-increasing productivity. We shouldn't ignore this most reliable, promising and unselfish class merely because it is small.

There are a good many Party members with peasant or petty-bourgeois backgrounds. Can they identify themselves with the stand of the working class? Yes, I think they can, after they have steeled themselves in struggle. The working class doesn't regard its standpoint as its own private property. On the contrary, it is happy to have people side with it so long as they sincerely accept its thinking. The Chinese working class also comes from the old society, but there is a difference between it and the intellectuals. The difference is that the working class has been tempered in modern large-scale production and is therefore advanced in its thinking and standpoint. So to remould themselves, intellectuals too should go through tempering and engage in study and practice. The reason intellectuals should go down to the countryside and into factories is precisely to learn the thinking and standpoint of the working class and other labouring people. This is true for intellectuals both inside and outside the Party. Mr. Liang Shuming⁵⁵ once said in a letter that he had used to believe the predominant thinking in the Party was that of peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, because while the Party leaders were intellectuals, many of the members were peasants. There is some truth in what he said. Some Party members are much under the influence of peasant or petty-bourgeois thinking in the beginning. But after they have undergone ideological remoulding, this kind of thinking will have less influence on them and working-class thinking will gradually come to have more. Mao Zedong Thought embodies the thinking of the Chinese working class. Volume I of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* is a great work representing that thinking.

Do Party members always take the position of the working class and act in conformity with its thinking? They may think they do, but they don't. As a matter of fact, whenever they make a mistake in their work or deviate from the Party's policies, they are departing from the working-class stand. This is very common. The reason we made Right or "Left" mistakes is either that we departed from the working-class stand by yielding to reactionaries or that we isolated the working class from the others. I have made many mistakes like this and I learned a great deal from them. It is no easy job to acquire a firm working-class stand; it takes a long period of trial and study and of tempering in struggle. Mao Zedong Thought is the compass for the revolution. But having a compass isn't enough: we must take

part in revolutionary practice. Chairman Mao has said time and again that other people's experience is not much help and that one has to gain one's own experience through blunders and setbacks in practice. One's own experience is the most precious. So Party members need to be tempered in practice for a long time.

Generally speaking, one moves progressively from the nationalist stand to the people's stand and finally to the working-class stand. We should push intellectuals to follow this progression, and we should try to keep them from making mistakes along the way. Thus we can help them to gradually change their stand.

II. THE QUESTION OF ATTITUDE

It is easy to tackle the question of attitude once we clearly understand the process of changing one's stand. Everyone takes a particular attitude towards every matter he comes across. Different stands lead to different attitudes.

In the world today classes still exist and there is still hostility among countries. The aggressive clique of imperialists wants to rule the world, and the U.S. imperialists in particular are trying hard to change the world into an American empire. The Chinese people have suffered enormously from the civil war launched by Chiang Kai-shek with the backing of the U.S. imperialists. Now those same imperialists are intruding into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and into our province of Taiwan. On the other hand, after two world wars the people of the world have awakened, socialist countries and people's democracies have been established one after another, national liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are growing and even the people in the imperialist countries are becoming aware of reality. The people of the world reject further exploitation and invasion by the imperialists; they reject the miseries of war and demand lasting peace. Thus the world is now divided into two camps. This is the inevitable outcome of international developments.

Faced with such a world situation, how can the Chinese people fail to declare their attitude? Of course, we should adopt a clear-cut attitude. The first thing to do is to draw a distinction between ourselves and our friends and the enemy. If you don't do that, how can you decide what attitude to take? Are you willing to side with the

enemy? In China there are still reactionaries and some remaining counter-revolutionaries who side with the enemy, and we shall wipe them out. How can persons who take the stand of the people and of patriotic nationalism not make known their position on this? While you are studying to remould your ideology, make sure that you always bear in mind the distinction between ourselves and our friends and the enemy. Internationally, the peoples of the world, including the American and Japanese peoples, are all our friends, and we should unite with them. We should also unite with the governments of colonial and semi-colonial countries that are still oppressed by the imperialists and persuade them to take a stand against war and in favour of peace, even if they are our friends only temporarily. We should win over all countries and governments that can be won over. It is also in the interest of the people if we can make some countries and governments remain neutral, even only temporarily or on one particular issue. We should understand very clearly that our only enemies are the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary governments of their allies and accomplices. We have friends all over the world. Some of them are only our temporary friends who share the same view with us on just one issue. If we follow this general policy, the people's forces will grow stronger. As for the attitude we should take towards our friends and enemies at home, that is clear to you all. Proceeding from the standpoint of the working class, we should first consolidate the alliance of workers and peasants and unite with the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and all other patriots. Our enemies are the reactionary classes represented by the remaining members of the Kuomintang clique and counter-revolutionaries. In the face of such a situation at home and abroad, is it possible for one to take a neutral attitude? I think it is almost impossible, especially so far as the domestic situation is concerned. For we have defeated our enemies, and the people are in power. How can one stand with the people and at the same time with Chiang Kai-shek? You can go and hide in Hong Kong for the time being, but sooner or later you have to declare your attitude.

We have always believed that a person should decide for himself what attitude to take. Let me give you an example to make this point clearer. Mr. Zhang Bolin,⁵⁶ in his later years, served the Kuomintang government as President of its Examination Yuan. After the liberation of Chongqing he came to realize that what he had done was wrong, and he regretted it. Later he returned to Beijing

and then went to Tianjin. In a sense he was my teacher, and we got along very well. Yet I never urged him to write something to declare his change of attitude. As time went on, he came to know more about New China and its superiority over the old China. He began to talk to me about certain things in New China that pleased him very much. Nevertheless, I still didn't ask him to write anything, because I thought that a person's progress could not be consolidated until he himself had recognized his past mistakes. I was looking forward to his further progress when he suddenly died of an illness. He wrote a deathbed testament, which you may have read in the news papers. It may be my fault that I didn't help him to raise his political consciousness as early as possible. If I had known that he was in such poor health and had lent him a helping hand earlier, he might have made more progress and thus won more forgiveness from the people. I regret that I didn't do so. Let me offer you another example: When he was in Europe, Weng Wenhao,⁵⁷ who everyone knows was a war criminal as announced by Xinhua News Agency, expressed his desire to return to New China rather than to go to the United States to become a professor. Accordingly, we welcomed him back. On his return, some of our friends suggested that he write a statement that would win him the people's pardon. Still, we thought it preferable not to force him to write such a statement but to have him do it voluntarily after his political consciousness had been gradually raised.

Generally speaking, there is no such thing as a neutral attitude, but it is possible for a person to waver or to have doubts for a time. We should allow people to take a wait-and-see attitude towards a new phenomenon and even to be sceptical about it for a while. To express some doubts about a thing doesn't mean you oppose it. But if a person does oppose New China, it means that he is hostile to it, and under no circumstances should we permit that. While a person is studying it is also allowable for him to conceive doubts about certain matters. That's because truth cannot always be accepted right away. We are not afraid of doubts, because we are convinced that through debate people will come to have a better understanding of truth. It's all right for people to simply observe for a time. Mr. Liang Shuming said to me when he first came to Beijing that he was just going to observe the situation for a while. We appreciated his frankness in this regard. Later we arranged for him to visit many places. On returning from each visit he had a better understanding of New China,

and he did make some progress, which we were happy to see. An observer is not just an onlooker: the former is active while the latter is passive.

Some people are sympathetic to the Chinese revolution, but do not make up their minds to join it. That's all right too. We are willing to wait patiently for them. Many people in Hong Kong have told us that they are in sympathy with New China but cannot return just now. We should be understanding and not urge them to do so, because we know they have difficulties both objectively and subjectively.

TWO DOCUMENTS ON IMPROVING THE WORK IN OLD BASE AREAS

1951-1952

I. DO NOT FORGET THE PLACES WE CAME FROM*

October 9, 1951

Comrades,

You have come to Beijing from afar. Some of you are from old base areas in the south, such as Guangdong, Sichuan, Jiangxi, Hubei, Anhui and Zhejiang provinces. Some are from those in the north, such as northern Shaanxi, the northeast and north China. The representatives of the combat heroes of the Chinese People's Volunteers have come from the battle front in Korea. The combat heroes of the People's Liberation Army have come from the greater military commands. It is not easy to arrange a gathering like this. Leading comrades from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government and all greater administrative areas would like to take this opportunity to meet you all.

It is indeed a great pleasure to meet you here. We have been separated for a long time, some of us for a decade, some for two decades. The Chinese revolution has been going on for 30 years. After the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, Chairman Mao led the troops to the Jinggang Mountains and set up bases in the rural areas. As a result, our strength in those areas began to grow, and with that strength as a basis, our Party and army expanded. The revolution spread from the south to the north, and our forces evolved from the Red Army through the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army to become the People's Liberation Army, which finally defeated Chiang Kai-shek in a nationwide victory. New China was

* Speech at a gathering of representatives of combat heroes and representatives from old base areas, who had come to Beijing to review the National Day parade (on October 1). The event was sponsored by the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

born. Since last year our Volunteers have been in Korea and, together with the Korean People's Army, have defeated the U.S. invaders. These victories were not won easily but through long, heroic struggle by all of us under the leadership of Chairman Mao. When drinking water, we think of its source — we should express our esteem and gratitude to you and to the people in the old base areas whom you represent. In these 30 years many people have died. Now I propose that we stand in silent tribute to those fallen martyrs.

Comrades, it has not been easy for you to come to Beijing. You have not only met Chairman Mao and visited our capital but witnessed the power of our army and the love the people bear our Party and our leader. I hope that upon your return you will tell the people and the troops in your place about these things so as to further reinforce their confidence in victory.

The Central People's Government recently sent delegations to the old base areas, where they heard some criticisms. Certain local comrades remarked that now that the revolution had triumphed, we should not forget the old places we came from — the mountains and the countryside. Should we have left the mountains and come to the cities? Of course we should. If we had not done that, today's national victory would have been impossible, the revolution would have failed, and the tremendous sacrifices we have made and the huge price we have paid would have been meaningless. Some representatives may recall how the people in the old base areas were ruthlessly massacred by White bandits after we left Ruijin. But could we return there without the victory we have won today? Comrades, there was nothing wrong about our leaving the mountains to go to the cities. It is true that we achieved victory by relying on the countryside, but now the improvement of the peasants' living standards depends on the cities. The purpose of revolution is to free people of the whole country from suffering and offer them a better life. Yes, we were right to leave the mountains and come to the cities. But as the comrades in the old base areas put it, we should not forget the mountains and villages we came from. That would mean forgetting our past. The countryside was the base of the Chinese revolution. If we forget it, we deserve to be criticized for not being good pupils of Chairman Mao. Now Chairman Mao has sent special delegations to the old base areas to express his concern for the people there. The delegations are not just to make an inspection but to try to solve as many problems as possible. Of course one cannot expect all the

problems to be solved overnight. The war is not yet over, the Chinese People's Volunteers are still fighting in Korea and the state is still beset with difficulties. Although we have achieved nationwide victory, we are still not in a position to make dramatic improvements in people's living standards. We have more difficulties to overcome and must try to restore and expand production as well as to reinforce our army so that the U.S. imperialists dare not provoke a world war. I think comrades in the old base areas will understand this.

Some of our cadres have not shown enough concern about raising living standards in the old base areas. They should acknowledge their mistake. In future, the Party committee and government of each province should pay more attention to the old base areas and assign a special vice-chairman of the province to be in charge of the work there. He should visit the old base areas at least once or twice a year to help the people solve their problems. People's conferences²² at all levels should include a certain number of delegates representing family members of servicemen and revolutionary martyrs. If these things are not done, you may write to the government, to me or to the Party Central Committee. I promise you we will respond. In this way we can keep in touch and understand each other better.

As for the specific questions you have raised regarding loans, road construction, water conservancy projects, the flow of goods between town and country and so on, they have been submitted to the Financial and Economic Commission of the Government Administration Council for discussion. The Commission will help you to solve these problems.

Regarding culture and education, more primary and middle schools should be established in the old base areas. We should also set up some workers' and peasants' schools to develop adult education and cadre education. Some comrades say that high-ranking cadres have been assigned to Beijing and low-ranking cadres to provincial capitals, leaving the rural areas without cadres. There is some truth to that. The old base areas have done a wonderful job of training cadres for the whole country. Now that there are fewer cadres in the countryside, we should train new ones and help the existing ones to raise their political and educational levels so as to meet the needs of their work.

Health work should also be given special attention. Recently I read a report on the high infant mortality rate in Bao'an County, northern Shaanxi Province. What sad news! In the old days when

we couldn't hold on in Wayaobu and retreated to Bao'an, the people of Bao'an did a great deal for the revolution. How can we rest easy, knowing that so many infants are dying there? We have already ordered the Ministry of Public Health to send medical teams to Bao'an. Things like this should not be allowed to go on.

It is also reported that plays and films are not readily available to rural people. Therefore, we have also given orders to troupes in Beijing to go on tour in November and stage performances for rural folk. We hope that many people will be able to attend them.

We should work out better ways of providing special care for disabled servicemen and for family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen. We must be sure to look after old cases as well as new ones, and to help the families of dead servicemen as well as those of living ones.

The persons who will represent families of servicemen and martyrs at people's conferences should be elected in the villages and their names be submitted to the leadership at a higher level for approval.

The points I have mentioned will be drawn up in a document⁵⁸ to be transmitted to all localities.

At this gathering today there are two groups of people: representatives from the old base areas and representatives of combat heroes. Without the old base areas, the People's Liberation Army would never have existed. The PLA is an army of sons of the people in the old base areas, and it regards the people there as uncles, brothers and sisters. Now we can have heart-to-heart talks and give each other consolation and encouragement.

Lastly, I hope you will do what Chairman Mao says: "Carry the revolutionary tradition forward and gain still greater glory."⁵⁹

II. VIGOROUSLY PROMOTE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN OLD BASE AREAS*

January 28, 1952

1. By sending groups to bring greetings to old base areas and by inviting their representatives to Beijing to review the National Day

* Directive of the Administration Council of the Central People's Government on Promoting the Work in Old Base Areas, issued over the signature of Premier Zhou Enlai. It was published in *People's Daily* on February 1, 1952.

parade, the Central People's Government has strengthened its ties with the people in those areas as well as the ties between local governments and the people there. These groups have praised the people in the old base areas for their great contributions to the revolution and have increased their love for the motherland and their enthusiasm for building the country. This has been very useful.

In the long struggle against ruthless oppression by imperialists, Kuomintang bandits and feudal landlords, the people in the old base areas made the greatest contributions to the revolution, but they also made the greatest sacrifices and suffered the worst devastation. Since liberation, many efforts have been made to promote production in these areas. Some areas have already recovered, and some have even surpassed their pre-war production level. However, owing to the enormous destruction caused by the war and to the poor transport facilities in mountainous regions, in most of them production has recovered very slowly. Furthermore, some of them have suffered floods or droughts. Especially in the base areas in the south, which were liberated later and where much land had been laid waste, the people lead an extremely hard life. It is therefore essential, from both a political and an economic point of view, to improve the work in old base areas and to lead and assist the people there in their economic and cultural recovery and development.

2. One of the key aspects of the work in old base areas is economic development. Most of these areas are located in mountainous regions, where conditions of production are hard. We should therefore combine solving people's immediate difficulties with promoting long-term development. We should adapt measures to local conditions and proceed by planned steps to restore and develop, according to priorities, farming, forestry, animal husbandry and sideline occupations. Generally, agriculture should be primary, but people in mountainous and hilly regions that are not suitable for farming should concentrate on forestry and animal husbandry. At the same time, they should take advantage of local conditions to develop possible handicrafts and sideline occupations that can increase their income.

a) *Agricultural production.* First we should replenish the supply of farm tools, increase the number of draught animals and raise pigs and sheep for manure, so as to remedy the shortage of those items. Hilly land should be gradually terraced if possible, but from a long-

range, overall point of view, we should stop reclaiming hilly areas. Instead, we should concentrate on raising the per-unit yield of land presently under cultivation. Where conditions permit, ponds, dams and canals should be built and wells dug to expand irrigated areas. Rivers should be harnessed, flooding prevented, gullies dammed and reservoirs built to prevent soil erosion and conserve water. In places that cannot produce enough grain, we should encourage people to plant additional high-yield food crops such as sweet potatoes, potatoes and pumpkins. In places that are self-sufficient in grain, we should encourage people to grow cash crops such as cotton, hemp and tobacco to raise their income.

b) *Forestry*. We should close off hills to facilitate afforestation and forbid people to burn bushes on mountains, fell trees indiscriminately or dig up roots. However, we should not be too rigid in our restrictions, for we must consider people's current needs for production and means of subsistence and permit rational felling of trees. If there are favourable conditions, we should vigorously expand cash crops such as tea and mulberry, tung, rubber, tea, lacquer and fruit trees as well as timber and fuel forests. We should encourage people to collect medicinal herbs, weave bamboo articles and develop other sidelines in keeping with local conditions.

c) *Animal husbandry*. We should greatly increase the number of cattle, sheep, horses, donkeys, camels, pigs and chickens in order to raise people's income and increase the supply of draught animals, manure, and raw materials for the wool and leather industries. We should improve techniques of raising animals and reward efforts to breed more of them. To strengthen prevention and treatment of animal diseases and to improve breeds, we should draw up plans to establish veterinary centres, ranches and breeding stations.

d) *Handicrafts and sideline occupations*. In many old base areas, sideline income makes up 30 to 40 per cent or more of people's total income, sometimes even exceeding earnings from farming. Different kinds of sideline occupations and handicrafts should be restored and developed according to local conditions. Co-operatives and state-run trading agencies should do everything possible to open up markets for sideline products, so as to increase the income of people in the old base areas. Some areas should specialize in processing local products, making pulp, for example, reeling silk, distilling spirits, breaking eggs, etc. In places where wild beasts represent a threat to the local population, hunting should be organized.

e) *Mining*. Many old base areas are located in mountainous regions rich in coal, iron, limestone, tungsten and tin. We might make plans to help the local people open small mines conforming to regulations, but only on condition that they do not damage the ore reserves or hinder large-scale mining operations.

3. Because most old base areas are in remote, poor mountainous regions, if we want to rapidly restore and develop the local economy and raise living standards, we must take the following steps.

a) Restore old communication lines and open new ones: that is the key to raising people's standard of living. There should be a division of responsibility among different levels. We must build main lines of communication such as highways, cart roads, pack-animal trails, footpaths and river courses, in a planned way and by relying chiefly on voluntary work by the masses with the help of state funds. We should develop transport by making use of all locally available means of transport — carts, wheelbarrows, boats, etc. — and help the people acquire more of them. To make it easier for the local people to market their products and to purchase necessities and means of production, we should build transshipment stations and organize transportation.

b) To promote the exchange of commodities, we should set up additional state trading agencies and supply and marketing co-operatives, and we should organize private merchants to go into the mountains and establish commercial networks. Co-operatives should regard mountain areas as key areas for development, help the people to raise product quality and inform them about buyers' specifications so that local products will be easily marketable. Trading companies and co-operatives should purchase mountain products and local products of the old base areas even if they make no profit from the transaction and have to subsidize these purchases. They should also help provide the local people with daily necessities like edible oil and salt.

c) We must vigorously promote co-operation and mutual help. On the basis of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, we should gradually organize the people into mutual-aid teams and co-operatives for raising livestock, planting trees and repairing riverbanks. We can also encourage the people to set up agricultural producers' co-operatives in areas where conditions are ready.

d) In the future, the old base areas should be given priority for general-purpose loans. Meanwhile, special loans should be granted for raising draught animals, building water conservancy projects, terracing land and buying farm tools, depending on local needs. Loans

should be made promptly, with simplified procedures and long periods for repayment. The current special relief fund for old base areas should be used to develop production, or part of it may be earmarked as a development fund.

e) Since the old base areas suffered badly from the war, they have a low level of production and the life of the people there is very hard. To help speed their recovery, we should readjust their provincial taxes. Areas in extreme difficulties can be exempted for a time from taxes paid in kind.

4. We must improve our work in the areas of culture, education and health and give special care to disabled servicemen and to the families of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen.

a) In general, people in old base areas have a higher level of political understanding than people elsewhere, hence a greater demand for cultural life. We must encourage the sending of cultural troupes and film-projection teams to rural areas and mountainous regions. We should make education universal and establish more schools in these areas — primary schools, middle schools, middle schools that offer intensive courses to workers and peasants, and all types of technical schools — in order to train intellectuals of working-class or peasant origin and specialized people of all kinds. To that end, each province should make the necessary appropriations for education and arrangements for teachers.

b) There is also a pressing demand for medical and health care in old base areas. Health departments should work with other departments to promote health and prevent epidemics, spread knowledge of hygiene and child care, set up clinics and hospitals and send out medical teams to tour the countryside and give treatment. They should also run courses to train medical personnel and to teach new methods of delivering babies, help doctors of traditional Chinese medicine with their studies, open Chinese medicine stores, and supply the people with sea salt and kelp to prevent goitre, Kaschin-Beck's disease and other diseases.

c) In giving special care to disabled servicemen and to families of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen, the first thing we must do is to locate the remains of the martyrs, bury them and record their deeds. There are many dependents of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen in the old base areas, and because they lack manpower they face many difficulties in production and daily life. In the past, the special care regulations⁶⁰ have not always been carried out very well; in future

they must be strictly enforced. We must give the dependents of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen more help with their farm work and ensure them a living standard no lower than that of the average peasant. Conferences of representatives of such dependents, of disabled servicemen and of model workers responsible for their care should be held regularly at county and district levels. This will provide an opportunity to check that the work is being done properly, to exchange experience in helping out with farm work and to conduct political education. People's conferences at different levels should also include representatives of disabled servicemen and of dependents of martyrs and servicemen.

5. Work in the old base areas is honourable work, and it should be included in any examination of the performance of provincial and prefectural governments responsible for such areas. People's governments at all levels with old base areas under their jurisdiction should make the reconstruction and development of those areas one of their chief concerns in 1952. They should set up special committees and appoint competent cadres to oversee the work in old base areas and speed up fulfilment of the tasks there. Well-prepared conferences of representatives of old base areas should be held, and economic development should be at the top of their agendas. Except in old base areas that were re-liberated only recently and where agrarian reform¹⁰ is either just completed or not yet completed, the county, district and township people's conferences should function as people's congresses. District and township people's conferences should be set up as soon as possible in places where they do not yet exist, so that the people in the old base areas, who have rich experience of struggle and good political understanding, can discuss their own affairs, make their own decisions, elect their own administrators and display their initiative, in accordance with the slogan "Carry the revolutionary tradition forward and gain still greater glory."

We must recognize that the recovery of the old base areas will take a long time. All provinces that have such areas under their jurisdiction should draw up practical work plans for them, in accordance with local conditions, and lead the masses in an effort to fulfil those plans by gradual stages. They should give whatever economic assistance is necessary and possible, try to transform the economy of the old base areas in from three to five years' time and, on the basis of economic development, improve the material and cultural life of the people there.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THE “THREE EVILS”, AND THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

January 5, 1952

The movement against the three evils of corruption, waste and bureaucratism is now in full swing in government offices at all levels, enterprises, educational institutions, mass organizations, the army and political parties. It needs to be further deepened. The three evils, which came into existence several thousand years ago, have deep roots in the Chinese class society. To uproot these long-standing evils, we must mobilize the whole society and especially the industrialists and businessmen, who are prone to corruption and wastefulness.

There is a progressive side to the national bourgeoisie in China today. Because for a long time they suffered the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, some among them, at certain times and to a certain degree, participated in or sympathized with the people's struggle for liberation. Since liberation, they have gradually become involved in the construction of people's China and, under the leadership of the state, are playing a positive role.

However, there is also a dark and decadent side to the Chinese national bourgeoisie: economically, they were tied in a hundred and one ways to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. At the same time, like the bourgeoisie of any other country in the world, the Chinese bourgeoisie are by nature solely concerned with profit, benefit themselves at the expense of others and seize every opportunity to gain advantage by trickery. Therefore, many of them, as we have been told by some industrialists and businessmen themselves in Tianjin, resort to such criminal activities as bribery, cheating, reaping exorbitant profits and tax evasion. They steal state property, harm

Excerpt from a speech made at the 34th meeting of the Standing Committee of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was published in *People's Daily* on January 8, 1952.

the people's interest and corrupt state functionaries in order to pursue their own selfish interests. Unless we check these tendencies and eradicate them, the revolutionary parties and groups, the people's government, the army and the mass organizations will be increasingly corrupted by the bourgeoisie, and the future will be dreadful to contemplate.

It is true that the Chinese national bourgeoisie are part of the people's democratic dictatorship, and the private capitalist sector is one of the five sectors of our national economy.⁶¹ But that does not mean that the bourgeoisie and capitalism can develop freely in people's China. The Chinese national bourgeoisie share in the state power of the people's democratic united front on the understanding that this state power is based on an alliance of workers and peasants led by the working class and its party, the Communist Party, and that the existence and development of the private capitalist sector are subject to the leadership of the state sector. Therefore, in state affairs as well as in social and economic activities, there are things they can do and things they cannot do; there are areas they are allowed to develop and areas they are not allowed to develop. All private economic undertakings that benefit the national economy and raise people's living standards are allowed to develop; others are not. All economic undertakings that have a major impact on the national economy and the people's living standards should be subjected to unified management by the state. This is provided for in the Common Programme.¹

Only in this way can the Chinese economy progress from the stage of New Democracy to socialism. If private economic undertakings were left to develop unrestricted and unguided, the economy would turn capitalist, not new-democratic. And it would not advance to socialism, but would again become a colonial economy or one dependent on imperialism. It must be one way or the other: there is no middle road.

In new-democratic China, first, we cannot simply "take both public and private interests into account". We can do it only on condition that private interests are subordinate to the guidance of the state sector, that is to say, private interests must conform to the highest long-term interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.

Second, we cannot stress mutual benefit to both labour and capital in abstract terms. Rather, it should be stressed with the understand-

ing that the working class is the leading class in the development of production and the achievement of a prosperous economy.

Third, production should not be haphazard; rather, it should be subjected to overall planning by the state. Both public and private sectors, city and countryside, central and local enterprises, large and small publicly owned businesses, should be gradually brought under planning. Unplanned production of industry and agriculture will result in oversupply or undersupply, and uncontrolled operation of commerce will destabilize the market and cause price fluctuations.

Fourth, we cannot allow industrialists and businessmen to reap exorbitant profits; they can only make legitimate profits within the limits and on the basis of prices set by the state.

Fifth, we should not allow such criminal activities as bribery, cheating, tax evasion, theft and the corrupting of cadres to continue to erode the people's power, encroach upon state property and demoralize government functionaries. All violators must be punished, but those who confess their crimes should be treated leniently.

The people's government protects and welcomes industrialists and businessmen who support the Common Programme and observe government decrees, but not those who reject guidance and restriction and who want to develop freely, produce whatever and however they please and make inordinate profits. If industrialists and businessmen follow the course charted in the Common Programme, abide by state policies and decrees and accept the guidance of the state sector and the state production plan, they will have a bright future. Not only will they be able at present to develop fully any undertakings that benefit the national economy and help to raise people's living standards, but they will be able to continue doing business in the future, when the whole country advances to socialism; they can also retain their property for their own use. Conversely, if anyone violates the Common Programme and state policies and decrees and resists guidance by the state sector and the state production plan, he is going against the economy of New Democracy and will undoubtedly end in failure, because he will be opposed by the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.

Because only the working class, not the bourgeoisie, can provide leadership, the guiding ideology of new-democratic China can only be Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, which is the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of China, whereas bourgeois ideology has to be repudiated and remoulded,

Today the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference has adopted the Resolution on a Study Campaign for the Ideological Transformation of Persons in Various Circles. It has decided to call upon all public figures, and especially upon industrialists and businessmen, to join in the struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucratism. This is a historic event. We call on persons in industrial and commercial circles to participate in this struggle, to inform on criminals and to confess their own misdeeds. This will not only help consolidate the people’s democratic government and establish a new mood in society. It will also help industrialists and businessmen to transform themselves and to advance along with the vast majority of the population.

OUR FOREIGN POLICIES AND OUR TASKS

April 30, 1952

I. OUR FOREIGN POLICIES

Ever since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, we have adhered to a foreign policy of peace. This is because we are confident that we will surpass imperialism through peaceful competition. Certainly, in our struggle for peace we should consolidate national defence and increase our economic strength so as to guard against the possibility of a war launched by the imperialists and to dissuade them from any such attempt. But if they start a war nevertheless, we will defeat them.

In implementing our general foreign policy of peace, our specific policies are as follows:

1. "*Making a fresh start*". As Comrade Mao Zedong put it in the spring of 1949, one of our major foreign policies is to "make a fresh start". That means that we repudiate the former relations between the Kuomintang government and other countries and establish new ones on a new basis. Foreign envoys to old China are no longer considered diplomatic representatives but are treated like ordinary foreign residents. In the past after a revolution the established foreign relations were sometimes maintained. After the Revolution of 1911, for example, the government went along with the old ties in hopes of winning recognition from other countries as soon as possible. But we haven't done that. In the "Proclamation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China", Comrade Mao Zedong announced that we would establish diplomatic relations with foreign countries on the basis of equality, mutual

Excerpt from an address at a meeting of China's diplomatic envoys to foreign countries.

benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. The governments of old China had never established such diplomatic relations in more than a century. After Comrade Mao Zedong's announcement, we transmitted the proclamation to governments of all other countries in the name of the Foreign Minister, making our position clear to all. To show that we were serious about foreign affairs, we asked for negotiations before establishing official relations with other governments. We want to make sure that they sincerely intend to establish relations with us on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. As far as members of the peace camp are concerned, the Soviet Union recognized us first, then the other people's democracies followed suit in succession. These countries sincerely wished to establish relations with us on the basis of the principles I have mentioned. That's why we established diplomatic relations with them quite soon.

As for the capitalist countries and the former colonial and semi-colonial countries, we cannot dispense with negotiations, because we need to understand whether they accept our principles for establishing foreign relations. We should not only listen to their words but also observe their actions. For instance, if they vote in the United Nations not for New China but for Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government, we would rather postpone establishing relations with them; on the other hand if India and Burma really cut off relations with the Kuomintang reactionaries, we can establish relations with them after negotiation.

Thanks to the policy of "making a fresh start", China is no longer a semi-colonial country and has established independent diplomatic relations with other states.

2. "*Leaning to one side*". In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", written in June 1949, on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the policy of "leaning to one side", declaring that China stands on the side of the peace-loving democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union. On July 7 all China's democratic parties and people's organizations published a joint statement endorsing this policy. By taking a clear-cut stand in favour of the camp of peace and democracy, China has dissipated the illusions of the imperialists. If we had not stated our position explicitly, the imperialists would still have indulged the vain

hope that they could count on us. For example, that's why Leighton Stuart⁶² stayed on in Nanjing after the city was liberated. By declaring our policy of "leaning to one side", we have thrown cold water on their heads.

3. "*Cleaning up the house before entertaining guests*". The imperialists still want to retain some privileges in China in the hope of sneaking back in. A few countries intend to negotiate with us about establishing relations, but we prefer to wait for a time. The remaining imperialist influence in China must be eradicated first, or the imperialists will have room to continue their activities. Although their military forces have been driven out, the economic power they have built up over the past century is still strong, and their cultural influence in particular is deep-rooted. All this will undermine our independence. We should therefore "clean up the house before entertaining guests", that is, before establishing diplomatic relations with them. But that doesn't mean we can do the cleaning in a hurry; we should do it step by step. When they invaded Korea, the U.S. imperialists adopted hostile policies towards us and froze our property. That being the case, we froze their assets in China and took over cultural institutions subsidized by them. It is particularly worth mentioning that in the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea,²⁶ we have denounced worship of the U.S. and pro-U.S. sentiment and dispelled fear of the U.S. Were it not for the movement, it would have taken us perhaps dozens of years to do that.

4. "*Courtesy demands reciprocity.*" As far as capitalist countries are concerned, if they treat us well, we shall treat them well, and if not, not. It is our policy to reciprocate, for it is impolite not to pay a man back in his own coin. We often gain the initiative by striking last, and if anyone plays a trick on us, we shall repay him in kind. We are not afraid if anyone strikes the first blow: if he does, he will immediately find himself in trouble. Since the founding of our People's Republic, we have been in a strong strategic position because we have made a fresh start and cleaned up the house before entertaining guests. In specific matters, however, it is desirable to gain the initiative by striking last.

5. "*Supplying each other's needs*". Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have done business with foreign countries in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit. We have put an end to the days when China was merely a market for the

consumer goods of foreign merchants. When the U.S. imperialists laid an embargo on us, we resorted to barter as a substitute for purchase with foreign exchange; that's an excellent way for us to get around the U.S. embargo. China mainly exports farm products in return for industrial equipment. Now we have substantially expanded trade with the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies and with capitalist countries. China's volume of export is greater than it was before World War II. Of course it would be good for us to turn the unfavourable balance of trade of the Kuomintang days into a favourable one, but for the time being our goal is simply to strike a balance between import and export. Now we import what we need and export what other countries need, such as eggs and pork. This practice of helping to supply each other's needs is an example of mutual benefit.

6. *"Uniting with the peoples of all countries"*. We carry out the policy of "leaning to one side" in our relations with the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies. Meanwhile, in order to help consolidate and develop the strength of the international forces for peace and to extend the influence of New China, we should unite with and win over the former colonial and semi-colonial states and also the people of capitalist and imperialist countries.

These principles constitute the foreign policy of peace to which we adhere.

II. THE DIPLOMATIC ALIGNMENT

1. *The kind of diplomatic alignment we should establish*. Does diplomacy refer to relations between countries or between peoples? Should we approach states or people? We must unite with the people of all countries not only fraternal countries but also former colonial and semi-colonial countries and capitalist countries. But the function of diplomacy is to deal with relations between states. Through diplomacy we ultimately gain access to the people, influencing them and winning them over. We should be clear about this dialectical relation.

2. *Drawing distinctions between ourselves and our friends and the enemy*. In the early days of our People's Republic, we called people's attention to this question. We ourselves and our friends

are on one side and the enemy is on the other. Let's make a specific analysis. There are two kinds of friendly countries: those that will be friendly more or less constantly and those that are friendly just for the time being. Even these last differ from each other. Some are our friends for a short time, while others remain so for a relatively long period. The crucial point that distinguishes them from each other is their attitude towards war and peace. Although by their nature they belong to the capitalist world, it is likely that they won't join in a war but will observe neutrality. This is what happened when World War II broke out. At that time the Soviet Union persuaded Sweden to remain neutral,⁶³ which was favourable to the U.S.S.R. It would have been more favourable to the Soviet Union and the other European countries if Norway had been persuaded to do the same. The neutrality of capitalist countries would be of advantage to us in a war against the imperialists, so we should on no account be hostile to them and push them into the enemy camp. Rather, we should make friends with them. Of course, their attitude will not be obvious until war breaks out, but we should try to anticipate it and do our best to unite with them. Once war breaks out, it is possible that these countries will remain neutral. There is even a slight possibility that they will come over to the peace camp and oppose the imperialists. That depends on how strong the peace camp grows and how serious the divisions are in the enemy camp.

It is also necessary to analyse even the imperialist camp. The countries that follow the U.S. imperialists are, after all, a minority. On the Korean battlefield, 15 countries joined the U.S. aggressors. But if the war had broken out in China, would there have been so many countries fighting against us? It is doubtful. In the final analysis, only a handful of countries will cling to their obstinate antagonism and be ready to fight us on the battlefield. The capitalist countries by no means form a monolithic bloc and we should make distinctions among them.

We should wage a resolute struggle against the countries that are most hostile to us.

As for the countries that have poor relations with us and have not established diplomatic ties, we should not put them on a par with the U.S. imperialists. There are contradictions between these countries and the United States, and we should try to influence them so that they will not be too hostile.

With regard to the European countries that have not established diplomatic relations but are negotiating with us, so long as they don't turn against us, we can go on with the negotiations.

As for the European countries that have established diplomatic ties with us, we should treat different ones differently.

The Southeast Asian countries that have diplomatic relations with us were previously colonies. Today all that has changed — they have established their own congresses and governments. And since the people have awakened, the imperialists have been obliged to give up their old trick of coping with a colony by delegating their power to the local bourgeoisie. Therefore, it would not be realistic to insist that these countries are still colonies. Even Japan cannot be called a U.S. colony. The chief attacks of the Japanese people are sometimes directed against the U.S. imperialists and sometimes against their own government. Only those countries directly under the rule of imperialists can be called colonies. The countries of Southeast Asia are in contradiction with the imperialists on the issue of war and peace. We should try to win them over so that they will remain neutral in time of war and keep their distance from the imperialists in time of peace.

Work with the Islamic countries can be completed gradually, since we have only limited relations with them and a modest degree of influence on them.

We should be flexible in our diplomatic work, relying on the progressives, uniting with the middle-of-the-road forces and splitting the diehards. In this way we will open up new prospects for diplomatic work. It is wrong to think that the world is simply divided into two conflicting camps and that there is nothing we can do to improve it.

III. IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP IN OUR DIPLOMATIC WORK

Our diplomatic work must be performed entirely under the guidance of the proletarian ideology. We can never allow bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas to exercise a corrosive influence, still less to become predominant. We must be steadfast in our stand and clear in our minds.

1. *Adhering to internationalism and opposing narrow nationalism.* Everyone knows in theory that this is the correct attitude, but in their practical work people sometimes manifest a nationalism and chauvinism that stem from their pride in the victory of New China. Of course, we should have national self-confidence, but it is wrong to behave, even unwittingly, in a conceited and arrogant way; that is narrow nationalism. Every nation has its good qualities, which we should respect and learn from. Narrow nationalism must be eliminated in favour of internationalism.

2. *Upholding patriotism and opposing globalism.* Our patriotism is socialist and people's democratic patriotism, not bourgeois chauvinism. We oppose globalism, which makes people lose national confidence and seek protection from big powers. The United States advocates globalism and leadership by the big powers in the hope of persuading small countries to follow them forever and of keeping them subjugated and exploited. Our internationalism means the independence and equality of all countries.

Socialist patriotism is not narrow nationalism; rather, it is patriotism that inspires national confidence but is enlightened by internationalism. Occasionally, some of our comrades deviate from their stand. This is because living in our country, a former semi-colony, they envy the high level of development of capitalist countries so much, without examining their evil aspects, that they come to worship those countries blindly. It is wrong to say either that everything is good in China or that everything is bad. We should incorporate all the best of both Chinese culture and foreign cultures. In the *Da Gong Bao* there used to be a column entitled "China's Firsts". How could it have been possible to capture so many firsts? Later the column was cancelled. It is true that New China is much better than the old one and that it is our beloved motherland; but we must still learn from foreign countries.

3. *Upholding collectivism and opposing individualism.* Since diplomats represent the state, they should always bear in mind the collective interest. It would be very dangerous if they proceeded from their personal interests. All of our successes should be attributed to the victory of Mao Zedong Thought and to the joint efforts of the people. All honours go to the state. We must never allow personal considerations to intervene in diplomatic work. And we should never feel complacent on hearing praise, because we owe all honour to the people. If we hear complaints, we should examine whether we are

doing anything wrong. We should totally merge the individual with the collective.

4. *Maintaining proletarian discipline and opposing liberalism.* We emphasize the conscientious observance of discipline in the interest of the Party. We cannot permit any liberalism. Irresponsible remarks and acts will cause trouble. Diplomacy deals with relations between states, so in this work we should ask for instructions before making statements and submit reports afterwards. Since we speak on behalf of the state, we must mean what we say. So it's better not to say too much. But does that mean we should keep our mouths shut? No, we can speak of any public pronouncement, achievement or decision, only keeping silent about things that have not been made public and things in areas that are unfamiliar to us. That is because we are not working within our Party but dealing with another state. We can be flexible to some degree, providing we keep to certain principles. We must adapt to changing conditions. And there's nothing wrong with postponing dealing with certain new problems: when we don't have sufficient experience, it's better not to act hastily.

5. *Upholding democratic centralism and opposing bureaucratism.* Since none of us is experienced in diplomacy, we should cultivate democracy. As the old saying goes, "Three cobblers with their wits combined match Zhuge Liang, the mastermind." While it is necessary to solicit everybody's opinion, we should stress centralism. But we must establish democracy in our embassies. Stressing centralism to the neglect of democracy will lead to bureaucratism, while promoting democracy can help us get rid of it.

6. *Encouraging dedicated Party spirit and creating a highly political atmosphere.* To create a highly political atmosphere, our comrades must first dedicate themselves to the Party, temper themselves ideologically and always act in accordance with principle. Being political involves many areas. It doesn't mean reciting principles as dogma. A person who does that is a pedant at best and a dogmatist at worst. We should investigate and analyse problems, and when talking about everyday life or about literature and art, we should proceed from principles. Thus there will be less concern with trivia and a more political atmosphere. Of course, a political atmosphere doesn't mean that you have to discuss Marxism-Leninism every time you open your mouth.

7. *Advocating hard work and plain living and opposing bourgeois extravagance and waste.* Affected by bourgeois values, we are quite

wasteful in our diplomatic work. It is wrong to try to match the Soviet Union in living standards. Actually, after the October Revolution the people of the Soviet Union still led thrifty lives. Comrade Mao Zedong disapproves of lavish entertainment, because it is not in keeping with our current economic conditions. We can't match the Soviet standard of living because our level of production is not up to theirs.

PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE CHINESE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

June 19, 1952

Over the past three years we have carried out three large-scale movements: the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea,²⁶ the agrarian reform movement¹⁰ and the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries.⁶⁴ As a result, we have by and large eliminated the forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism throughout the country. Under these circumstances, the class struggle in the country is most clearly manifested in the people's democratic united front. Now there is a new problem facing us, that is, how to deal correctly with the national bourgeoisie.

One of the characteristics of the Chinese national bourgeoisie is that from the period of New Democracy to the period of socialism it is both our friend and a class that will be abolished. We Communists must understand this dialectical relation. In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", Comrade Mao Zedong gave a very clear explanation, which combined principle with flexibility. At the beginning of the article, he said that the Communist Party of China would finally abolish itself and that all the Communist Parties in the world would eventually disappear. He also said that although now, in building New Democracy, we were co-operating with the bourgeoisie, we would abolish it in the end. Some people believe that the bourgeoisie as a class can enter into the socialist society along with us. That is wrong. Not long ago, Wang Yunsheng⁶⁵ published an article in *Da Gong Bao* in Shanghai. The whole article was excellent and very moving, except for its last sentence, which was not correct. He wrote: "The 'four friends' of our people's democratic political

Excerpt from a speech delivered at a national conference of directors of departments of united front work, held by the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

power [the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie — *Tr.*] will unite more closely and advance triumphantly towards socialism!” Chairman Mao deleted this sentence before the article was reprinted in *People's Daily*. When carrying out ideological education in the Party, we should explain clearly that the national bourgeoisie is both our friend and a class that will be abolished. If we stress only one aspect to the neglect of the other, we may cause a misunderstanding that will bring about a “Left” or Right deviation.

As there are two aspects to the bourgeoisie politically and economically, there are also two aspects to it ideologically. Bourgeois ideology is backward and reactionary as compared with that of the proletariat. However, when the bourgeoisie was opposing feudal forces, particularly in the early stage of capitalism, its ideology played a positive and progressive role. In the period of the European Renaissance, bourgeois ideology was advanced as compared with the feudal ideology of the Dark Ages. In the periods of the American War of Independence, the French Revolution and the American Civil War, it was still advanced in comparison with feudal ideology. Old China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country in which bourgeois ideology also played a positive and progressive role when the Chinese people were fighting their three enemies: imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Nevertheless, the Chinese revolution failed — it was doomed to failure — under the guidance of bourgeois ideology, because the powerful imperialist and feudal forces and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang prevented the bourgeoisie from expanding. At different times the bourgeoisie took part in the revolution, withdrew from it to remain neutral or made a compromise with the reactionary forces. The bourgeoisie has repeatedly changed its position.

The Chinese bourgeoisie has had a dual character for a long time. When leading the Revolution of 1911,⁶⁶ it compromised with the reactionary forces; as a consequence, the revolution failed, and the bourgeoisie itself was squeezed out of the ruling position. After the Revolution of 1911, the bourgeoisie continued to play a positive role for a time, and the capitalist economy expanded. But it was not long before the capitalist economy was suppressed by comprador-capitalism and imperialism. Then, the bourgeoisie took part in the Great Revolution (1924-27), but at the later stage of that revolution it again made a compromise with the reactionary forces, and in the end it was again

pushed out from the ruling position. Afterwards, it participated in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). During the War of Liberation (1946-49), the majority of the bourgeoisie remained neutral or sympathetic to the revolution; a few of its members even joined in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek. Since the founding of the People's Republic, the bourgeoisie has taken part in construction. So we say that the Chinese bourgeoisie is playing a positive role. It is one of the members of the people's democratic united front led by the proletariat, and it is therefore our friend.

The people's democracies of Eastern Europe have chosen to advance towards socialism by confiscating the enterprises of the capitalists and abolishing the capitalist class. We will not do it that way in China. The Chinese revolution took a long time — almost 30 years, from the birth of the Communist Party to its seizure of state power — in which it went through four stages. In these four stages, the national bourgeoisie sometimes took part in the revolution, sometimes remained neutral and sometimes joined the reactionaries. The period during which it joined the reactionaries was very short, but the period during which it remained neutral or vacillated was very long. During all periods there were always a number of members of the bourgeois who joined the revolutionary ranks or showed sympathy for the revolution.

When the revolution succeeded, some of the members of the bourgeois went to Taiwan, but most of them remained behind to take part in the construction of New China. An important reason for this is that they feel they have good prospects for gain, because since the founding of New China, the capitalist sector has expanded and they have made more profits than they did during the last years of the Qing Dynasty, in the northern warlords period⁶ or under the Kuomintang. Under those regimes the strong feudal forces colluded with the comprador class, and the reactionaries relied on the imperialists. Under those circumstances, the development of the Chinese bourgeoisie was restricted, which it greatly resented. The majority of the bourgeoisie are therefore in favour of the new regime, or at least do not actively oppose it. They attend national or local political consultative conferences, participate in the people's conferences at different levels²² and become our friends. This is an inevitable outcome of the historical development.

China is a vast country with a huge supply of manpower that can quicken the pace of development, but it has a backward economy, so

it will take a long time and the concerted efforts of all sectors of society to nationalize industry and collectivize agriculture. To accelerate the growth of our economy, we should bring into play the initiative of the bourgeoisie and allow it to develop economic undertakings that are beneficial to the national economy and will help to raise the people's standard of living. Thus, it is not only politically possible for us to unite with the bourgeoisie but economically necessary.

Of course, it is very clear that we are trying to achieve socialism. If we fail to keep this in mind, we will make political mistakes, become assimilated with the bourgeoisie and never reach the goal for which we are striving. It would be very dangerous to lose sight of our goal, to depart from the proletarian stand and be confused in our ideology. If we Communists do not recognize this danger, if we fail to understand problems and implement policies and tactics in accordance with basic principles, and if we fail to make friends with the bourgeois by suitable means so as to develop the economy of New Democracy, it will be very difficult to unite with them and remould them. Only if we keep clearly in mind that we are striving for socialism can we deal appropriately with the bourgeoisie. This is a very important domestic issue at present.

In the countryside — now that the feudal system has been eliminated — the principal contradiction becomes the one between the peasant masses and the capitalist forces. In the cities — now that the Kuomintang has been overthrown, the reactionaries have been eliminated and the imperialist forces have been driven out — the principal contradiction becomes the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This is a Marxist analysis. When we were fighting the three formidable enemies, it was right to say that the national bourgeoisie and the upper petty bourgeoisie were an intermediate force, but we can't say that now.

In our Party we must explain clearly the two opposing sides that exist in the countryside and in the cities. If we only mention one aspect of our relations with the bourgeois, we won't give the complete picture. If we just stress making friends with them, the movement to combat the "five evils"⁶⁷ will fizzle out, they will again become serious and we will again have to struggle against them. On the other hand, if we only emphasize class conflict, ideological contradiction, antithesis and the need to restrict the bourgeois or overthrow them immediately, "Left" deviation may result. We should therefore stress

both aspects of our relations with them. Our present policy is to oppose the “five evils” perpetrated by the bourgeois and at the same time to unite with them and remould them. Our purpose is to change our society peacefully into a socialist one and to create conditions for abolishing the bourgeoisie in the future. This is very dialectical. The comrades who are engaged in united front work must have a firm grasp of these principles and policies.

This is a matter of ideology and understanding. Unless we clearly understand our policy with regard to the bourgeoisie, we are liable to make two mistakes in our work. One mistake would be to regard our ultimate goal as the task we must achieve today. That sort of impatience would cause us to overstep the bounds of the present stage and would lead to “Left” adventurism. The other mistake would be to lose sight of our goal and principles and to concentrate blindly on immediate interests only. Then we would be assimilated by the bourgeois, or commit Right opportunist errors when they shoot at us with “sugar-coated bullets”. We must avoid these two mistakes.

In the movement against the “five evils”, some comrades have wavered on the question of the dual character of the bourgeoisie. That is dangerous. I have just analysed that dual character and described its historical roots. In the speech I made on January 5, which has been published in summary form in *People’s Daily*,⁶⁸ there is a passage about the self-remoulding of the members of the bourgeois that is related to this question.

We have to point out not only the dual character of the bourgeoisie but also its intrinsic nature. The intrinsic nature of the bourgeoisie is to seek nothing but profits, in other words, to exploit workers in order to extort surplus value. Looking at this nature from the socialist point of view, we should obviously reject it. Particularly in the movements against the “three evils”⁶⁹ and the “five evils”, we must expose it clearly. Unless we expose the nature of the bourgeoisie and its dual character, we will take a wrong direction in united front work. It is the decadent and negative aspect of the bourgeoisie that we oppose. If the “five evils” are not eradicated, that aspect will not only expand within the bourgeoisie but invade the state functionaries and the Communist Party, corrode the entire society and poison the people’s democratic united front and the people’s democratic power.

The “five evils” were specifically selected by Comrade Mao Zedong when he proposed a movement to combat economic crime. It would be to our disadvantage to include too many bad practices

among the targets of the movement. Take the restrictions to be imposed on the bourgeoisie for example. On the one hand, according to the principles of New Democracy, there should not be a free capitalist sector; rather, capital should be regulated. Both public and private interests should be taken into consideration, but only under the leadership of the state, and both labour and capital should benefit, but only under the leadership of the working class. Production should be planned and guided and not be allowed to develop haphazardly. A limit should be set for legitimate profits, and no one should be permitted to exceed it. These principles must be adhered to. But what are legitimate profits? And what are exorbitant profits? These terms will gradually be defined after we have reorganized the economy and developed industry and commerce. At the preparatory conference of the Federation of Industry and Commerce, Comrade Chen Yun⁷⁰ may give a rough idea about the limit set for legitimate profits, but it will not be final. The limit will be determined after we have gained some experience. Since it has not yet been fixed, we can't define exorbitant profits. That's why we do not include the making of exorbitant profits among the targets of the movement against the "five evils". If we did, it would create chaos in the economy. And that's why although we disapprove of the attempt to make such profits, we do not define it as an evil in this movement. If we did that, we would have to be very severe when it came to squaring accounts with the bourgeoisie. Another example is the sale of houses. The government needed many houses, so we tried to persuade people to sell their houses to us. Being reluctant to sell, they forced up the price. As a result, we had to pay them a great deal of money. Now that the movement against the "five evils" has been launched, should we settle accounts with them for having made exorbitant profits in this way? No, we can't do that, because at present we adopt a policy of free trade, and we can't force them to do business with us. After all, it is we who asked them to sell their houses, and it is we who decided to buy them at a high price. The problem of high interest rates on bank loans and low profits in industry also shows that our economy remains in disorder and needs to be reorganized. We shall work out a limit for profits, in order to lower interest rates and gradually increase industrial profits. But it will take some time to bring about these changes.

There is a positive, progressive side to the bourgeoisie, and we should make full use of it. With regard to the economy, our state

sector cannot completely replace the capitalist sector yet. When China industrializes and the state sector of the economy replaces the capitalist sector, there will be less private business. The extent of private business at present shows that the state sector accounts for only a small part of the national economy and that it cannot replace the private sector. So it is essential for us to take advantage of the positive factors in the private sector. When playing its role in developing the economy, however, the bourgeoisie must act in accordance with the Common Programme;¹ in other words, it should abide by the principles of New Democracy. But the bourgeoisie is by its very nature unwilling to do that. As soon as it reaches a certain stage of growth, it will break away from New Democracy and demand the right to develop freely in pursuit of profits. Actually, no bourgeois will follow our rules docilely and do whatever we want him to do. It is the nature of the bourgeoisie to secure its own benefit at the expense of others, to seek nothing but profit and to seize every opportunity to gain advantage by trickery. That is the direction in which it will develop. And that is why we must wage a long-term struggle against it.

That struggle means remoulding the members of the bourgeois, and its purpose is to eliminate the “five evils”. Comrade Mao Zedong said that if these crimes appeared again, we would eliminate them again by waging a long-term struggle to remould the members of the bourgeois. That is just what we are doing.

The reason we are able to stress remoulding now is that today we are supported by the people’s democratic power, which is led by the Communist Party and based on the broad alliance of workers and peasants. The bourgeois are few in number. In cities, all the industrialists and businessmen, plus their family members, number only a little more than two million. Besides, changes have been taking place in bourgeois families: many members of them have joined the Communist Party or the Youth League. There are a number of self-employed businessmen among the half a million people engaged in industry and commerce. If we can remould the landlords, why can’t we remould the bourgeois? Furthermore, the bourgeois have joined us in building the country, while the feudal landlords, with the exception of some enlightened gentry, have not done so.

Some foreign friends shook their heads when they heard we were trying to remould landlords. Could landlords be remoulded? This doubt was reasonable. The feudal lords in their countries were different from the landlords in China, because most of them were

great aristocrats and great feudal landholders. And because there were only a few of them, they could be driven out of their own countries. But in China there are nearly 10 million landlords, so many that they equal the population of a medium-sized country, and they are scattered everywhere. Where could we drive them? So all we can do is remould them. But is it possible for us to do that? The peasants make up over 90 per cent of the rural population. If the rural population is 400 million, then the number of peasants is more than 360 million; that is, they constitute the overwhelming majority. Moreover, the peasants have been educated politically through the long years of revolution. With such a strong base, why can't we supervise and remould the landlords? The landlord class was a target of the revolution, and we waged a life-and-death struggle against it for nearly 30 years. As for the bourgeois, generally speaking, they remained neutral in the Chinese revolution. Some of them were in sympathy with the revolution, and some even joined our ranks. As the capitalist sector is one of the five sectors⁶¹ of the national economy of New China, the capitalists can still make profits. Furthermore, we are in power, we have an army, courts and the strong proletariat as the leading force, so if we can remould the landlords, why can't we remould the bourgeois? Of course, during the remoulding, a few of them will turn into reactionaries or even collude with enemies abroad in an attempt at counter-revolution. We can definitely say, however, that those people are only a handful. If we do a good job, the majority of the bourgeois will follow us even if world war breaks out, or at worst they will vacillate or simply stand aside and await the outcome. Of course, there will be a few people who make little or no progress in the remoulding. This means that we will have to intensify our efforts to educate them.

What kind of people should the members of the bourgeois be remoulded into? The kind of people who will act according to the Common Programme and thus meet the needs of the economy, politics and culture of New Democracy. The economic aspect of the remoulding process is that we shall restrict the growth of their economy, while allowing them to develop it to a certain extent and to make profits; the political aspect is that we shall draw their representatives into the government and seek to influence them; and the cultural aspect is that we shall educate them ideologically and try to gradually change their thinking and that of their family members. If we do

this successfully, they will be led to the course charted by the Common Programme.

We should show them that their own future is bright. And we should also tell them about the prospect of socialism. The reason there is no mention of that prospect in the Common Programme is that when the document was drawn up, New China had only just been founded. If we had spoken of a socialist future, they would have accepted it, but we would have felt we were forcing them to do so. We therefore decided to wait and not to mention socialism in the Common Programme. However, socialism is our definite goal. We should explain to them that when we reach that goal, they, as individual persons, will find their own bright future, but the class they belong to will no longer exist. In the speech I made on January 5, taking up an idea expressed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi last year, I said that after remoulding, every one of them could look forward to a fine future and they would all be allowed to retain their means of livelihood. Some people say that in that case, the capitalists will use all their money for consumption instead of investing it in undertakings. That's a one-sided way of looking at things. If they know that tomorrow there will be a good place for them in the socialist society, they will work hard at their business today and develop managerial skills, which will also be useful in the socialist society of tomorrow. In short, it is possible to remould the bourgeois.

As I have said, the ideological essence of the bourgeois is to seek nothing but profit, to seize every chance to gain advantage by trickery and to secure their own benefit at the expense of others. This is bad of course. However, a certain portion of the profits they have made will go to the state. In the speech he will deliver at the National Conference of the Federation of Industry and Commerce, Mr. Huang Yanpei⁷¹ may pass on some words said to him by Comrade Mao Zedong. At a Party meeting, Comrade Mao described our policy on the distribution of profits as "giving each of the four horses a share of the fodder". He meant that the profits should be divided into four parts: the first part would go to the state in the form of taxes; the second part would go to the workers as welfare funds; the third part would be set aside as an accumulation fund to be used for reproduction; and the last part would be the net profit of the individual capitalist. Actually, the capitalist would get more than that, because the profits derived from the accumulation fund through future reproduction would also be divided into four parts,

of which the capitalist would again get one. If the capitalists obtain profits in this manner, those profits are legitimate. We should encourage them to make profits this way.

Of course, it would be false to say that the bourgeois are striving for lofty aims. After they have been remoulded, many bourgeois can move towards socialism. Nevertheless, for the time being, they are still seeking profits. Otherwise, they would not be capitalists. Legitimate profits should be recognized, and capitalists should be encouraged to obtain them. In the past we haven't made our policy on this matter clear. Huang Yanpei was very happy when Comrade Mao explained it to him. We should explain it to all the bourgeois.

I have read a speech by one comrade who seems to think that when you do united front work with the bourgeois you should be "diplomatic", just going through the motions and making empty talk. That's wrong. Did Comrade Mao Zedong invite Huang Yanpei to chat with him just because he had too much time on his hands? Everybody knows that Comrade Mao is busy all the time. So when he invites someone to talk with him, he certainly has some purpose in mind. After he was received by Comrade Mao, Huang Yanpei wrote to other bourgeois, first of all, to some in Shanghai, to relay Comrade Mao's directives in his own words. Wasn't that a good thing for us? Of course, we have to maintain contact with the members of the bourgeoisie sometimes. But when we engage in social activities with them, we should be guided by certain principles and policies and have certain purposes. Otherwise, it is wrong just to attend a dinner or a dance with them, lumping ourselves together with them. Activities that give us an opportunity to be together with the bourgeois and unite with them are necessary, because through the persons we meet in this way, we can impart the Party's policies to the people they represent.

Some people don't understand why we say that Huang Yanpei is a progressive member of the bourgeoisie. The reason is that he has established friendly relations with others of his class: he can tell us what is on their minds and let them know our views. Of course, there might be something missing when he reports our words. But that is only natural, because he is not a Communist. At meetings of our Government Administration Council there are representatives of the bourgeoisie who often make known what they are thinking about. When they speak their minds openly, we criticize the points we think are wrong, and they listen to our views and accept them.

So they are progressive people. Why is an Administration Council meeting held every week? Is it because I have nothing to do and want to pass the time by holding meetings? No. These meetings are useful, because they are different from Party meetings. At our own meetings, people's opinions about certain problems are almost the same, and after someone makes a speech, there are only a few words to be added. At a Council meeting, however, many different opinions — both correct and incorrect — are expressed by the representatives of the bourgeoisie or the enlightened gentry or the petty bourgeoisie. It is good for us to listen to these opinions because they can be illuminating. That's why Comrade Mao Zedong often says, "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened; heed only one and you will be benighted".⁷² Administering a country as huge as ours, we must pay attention to all kinds of opinions. As Communists, we must make clear which views are correct and which are wrong. Listening to other people and evaluating what they say is an opportunity for us to test ourselves, to educate ourselves and to learn. So it is wrong not to take the bourgeois seriously.

Some comrades are reluctant to meet non-Party people. As Comrade Mao Zedong says, they are a little shy. That is not good. Since we always work with our own comrades, what we say is almost the same as what we hear. So we are a little out of touch with matters Outside the Party. When we have contact with non-Party people, we can hear different opinions from all sectors of society. Of course, that presents us with a test: If we fail to take a firm stand or are confused in ideology and think whatever they say is right, we will be influenced by the bourgeois and may even succumb to their "sugar-coated bullets". In doing united front work we must learn, test ourselves and develop Party policies. All this can help us to make progress. We can't say, of course, that we will make no mistakes in our work, but we needn't be afraid of making mistakes. We should learn from experience. Since our policy towards the members of the bourgeoisie is to unite with them and remould them, we should be firm, careful and responsible about our work instead of being timid, slipshod and perfunctory.

THE GENERAL LINE FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD

September 8, 1953

Today I shall take up the question of the transition from New Democracy to socialism under the heading of the general line for the transition period.

I

This question is not new. Already at the time of the founding of the People's Republic of China we made it clear that there would be a transition from New Democracy to socialism. The Common Programme¹ did not include a description of the socialist future because it would have been premature to do so then. By premature I don't mean that the leaders lacked a proper understanding of that future but that it had not yet been explained to the people. Now I want to take up this question of the transition and try to clarify it.

Recently, at the Central Committee meeting and at the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work, Chairman Mao talked about the general line for the transition period. He said:

The time between the founding of the People's Republic of China and the basic completion of socialist transformation is a period of transition. The Party's general line, or general task, for the transition period is basically to accomplish the country's industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce over a fairly

¹Speech delivered at the 49th meeting (enlarged) of the Standing Committee of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

long period of time. This general line should be the beacon illuminating all our work, and whenever we deviate from the line, we shall make Right or “Left” mistakes.⁷³

In the transition period the country’s industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce will be accomplished only basically, not completely. When they are basically accomplished, we may consider that the transition period is over.

As for “a fairly long period of time”, it is impossible to say exactly how many years this will cover. Chairman Mao has said that several five-year plans would be required. The length of the transition period will depend on how rapidly the country’s industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce can be basically accomplished. That in turn will be determined by our own efforts.

If we deviate from the general line, we are bound to make major mistakes. Minor errors or defects in our work are unavoidable. However, if major mistakes are made because of a deviation from the general line, great danger lies ahead: the danger that we may strike out on a different road, the capitalist road. Such mistakes should not be made and they will not be tolerated.

Now I should like to take up two questions.

First, what is socialism? The quintessence of socialism is the completion of the socialist transformation. In other words, the ownership of the means of production by private capital has been abolished in favour of state ownership and agriculture and handicrafts have been collectivized. The accomplishment of this task calls for a fairly long period of transition.

In a people’s democracy like ours and under our social system, it is impossible that there will come a day when the state declares that all the means of production now belong to the state, and that until that day arrives, everything will stay as it is without change. After the October Revolution the Soviet Union declared that the state would take over all enterprises employing more than a certain number of workers, and a few years after the end of World War II the people’s democracies in Eastern Europe also declared that factories with more than a few dozen workers were to be nationalized. In view of present international conditions, and particularly in view of domestic conditions — the alliance of the different classes and the level of economic development — we are not taking that drastic ap-

proach. Instead of abrupt change, we envisage gradual transition. Although the changeover from New Democracy to socialism is in itself a revolution, we can accomplish it by gradual and peaceful transition, instead of announcing all of a sudden one morning that socialism is to be established. In the transition period efforts should be made to increase the weight of the socialist sector from day to day. I once told Mr. Sheng Peihua⁷⁴ that in future, classes would be eliminated and individuals would be happy. This means gradual transition, so that when conditions are ripe, the change will come about naturally.

Of course the transition will not be easy, but we should take into account the favourable conditions. We affirm first of all that the state sector of the economy, which is socialist in nature, is the leading sector and that all other sectors are subject to its leadership. This is stipulated in the Common Programme. The state-capitalist sector is one in which the state and private capital co-operate, with the former occupying the leading position.

In the transition period all sectors of the economy should be brought into line with the overall state plan. This is also stipulated in the Common Programme, in Article 33. Of course that's not easy to do. For instance, it is a difficult task just to bring the state sector of the economy into line with the plan. Our First Five-Year Plan has not been finalized yet. All we can do is to make plans and try to carry them out, revising them as we go along. It is even harder to bring the private capitalist sector and the individual economy into line with the plan. Bringing the various sectors of the economy gradually into line with the state plan under the leadership of the state sector will therefore be quite a long process.

Second, why is the question of the transition period being raised now? Some people say it is because of the armistice in Korea.²⁶ There is a grain of truth in that. If the Korean war were still raging, we could not be certain there would be no increase in military spending. Although the Korean issue has not yet been completely resolved, the fighting has ceased. In guiding our work, Chairman Mao follows this principle: As soon as one task is accomplished, another should be put forward to prevent slackening of effort. Now is the time for us to put forward our new task. From this point of view, citing the factor of the Korean armistice is partially justified, but it does not give the complete picture. This question is being raised also because of the current situation at home and abroad.

Internationally, in the 36 years since the birth of the new world following the October Revolution, the camp of peace and democracy has been consolidated and expanded, and the old world, despite all its clamouring for more armaments and war preparations, has been beset with difficulties. In appearance, the chief contradictions are between the two camps, but in fact they are within the old world itself. These include the contradictions between peace and war and between democracy and anti-democracy.

The contradictions of the old world, whether in the East or West, are increasing day by day. By their victory in the Korean war, the Chinese and Korean peoples succeeded in postponing a world war that the United States attempted to unleash. This has helped to aggravate the internal contradictions of the capitalist camp, to consolidate and expand the camp of peace and democracy, and to strengthen the national and democratic movements in the capitalist world and the peace and democratic movements of people everywhere. It has also provided more favourable conditions for the building of our own country.

Domestically, in the space of four years since the founding of the People's Republic, the people's democratic dictatorship has been increasingly consolidated, our national defence has become stronger and social reforms of many kinds have been basically completed. In particular, in these four years a basic turn for the better has been achieved in the financial and economic situation, the proportion of the socialist sector has increased from day to day, the leading position of the state sector in the economy has steadily grown stronger and the initiative of the people has been brought into fuller play.

As for industrial production, if we let total output value in 1949 equal 100, output in 1952 increased to 245. It will be 304 or more this year, if our plan can be fulfilled or overfulfilled. As for agricultural production, again letting total output value in 1949 equal 100, output in 1952 increased to 148. It is now clear that in view of the severe cold last winter and the frost and pests this year, together with droughts in the south and floods in the north, the increase of 6 per cent planned for this year cannot possibly be achieved. It is estimated that agricultural production will stay at the same level as last year or be slightly lower, although it may turn out to be slightly higher.

Now I'd like to talk about the proportion of industry and agricul-

ture in the national economy. The breakdown for 1949 and 1952 was as follows (figures for 1952 are approximate):

	1949	1952
Machine-building industry	17.4%	27.8%
Workshop handicraft industry	7.0%	6.0%
Individual handicrafts	6.8%	6.0%
Agriculture and sideline production	68.8%	60.0%

These figures show that the proportion of industry in the economy has considerably increased, and it will continue to grow this year.

Now for the ratio of the public sector to the private sector in industry and commerce. In industry, including both modern industry and workshop handicraft industry but excluding individual handicrafts, the breakdown of the various sectors was as follows (figures for 1952 are again approximate):

	1949	1952
State	33.9%	50%
Private	62.7%	42%
Joint state-private	2.4%	5.0%
Co-operative	1.0%	2.6%

In relative terms these figures show a rise in the proportion of the state sector and a fall in the proportion of the private sector, but in absolute terms both sectors registered growth. In commerce, in terms of total volume of commodity flow, the state sector already accounted for 50 per cent in 1952 and the percentage will continue to grow this year. In terms of retail volume, the state sector and the co-operative sector together accounted for 32 per cent.

In short, both the international situation and the domestic situation are favourable for the launching of a five-year plan for economic development now. It is also appropriate that the question of the transition period is being raised.

However, it must be admitted that there are still difficulties. China is still an agricultural country with a poor economic legacy and uneven development, and what industry we have is mostly concentrated in the coastal areas. Our educational sector is underdeveloped and our science and technology remain at a very low level. For example, we have few geologists we cannot design large factories by ourselves and the illiteracy rate is quite high. This backwardness may pose difficulties for economic development. As we still have

five different types of economy existing side by side,⁶¹ it is an extremely complex job to ensure their proportionate development and to bring about their socialist transformation under the present circumstances. If we do not take those difficulties into account, we may try to plunge ahead too fast; on the other hand, if we do not take the favourable conditions into account, we may be too conservative.

The co-operative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and the transformation of private industry and commerce are a big job. Chairman Mao has said that the transformation of private industry and commerce is relatively easy, so long as the issues involved are properly handled, but that agriculture and handicrafts present greater problems. These sectors of the economy will have to take different forms and be transformed at different speeds. Agriculture and handicrafts will become co-operative, and private industry and commerce will take the form of state capitalism. Now that we have charted the socialist road for China, we should feel confident we can accomplish this important task of transformation by our own strength.

II

Under the guidance of the general line, we should outline the basic tasks of the First Five-Year Plan for economic development.

The basic tasks of the First Five-Year Plan are the following: first of all, to concentrate on developing heavy industry, so as to lay the foundation for the industrialization of our country and the modernization of our national defence; to train technical personnel, develop transportation, light industry and agriculture and expand commerce; to promote the co-operative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce; and to enable individual farming, handicrafts and private industry and commerce to play their part in the economy. We must do all these things if we are to ensure a steady increase in the proportion of the socialist sector of the national economy and a gradual improvement in the material and cultural lives of the people on the basis of increased production.

Heavy industry is the basis for the industrialization of a country. Although we have some heavy industry, it is far from adequate as the basis for industrialization. We therefore have no choice but to con-

concentrate on developing it. When the Soviets embarked on their First Five-Year Plan for construction, their heavy industry provided a stronger foundation than ours, yet they still concentrated on developing it. There is all the more reason for us to do so. The development of the defence industry is predicated on heavy industry. We cannot yet manufacture tanks, aircraft, trucks, tractors or advanced guns. When the Soviets started their planned construction in 1928, many capitalist countries sold them machinery, and the international situation was not so tense as it became some years later when Hitler had come to power. They could therefore go about construction in a normal way. But we are in a different situation now, and it is all the more necessary for us to speed up the development of heavy industry so as to strengthen national defence. When we say we shall concentrate on this task, of course we don't mean that we are going to rush things through.

The training of technical personnel is the key to building our country. We don't have nearly enough technicians, and it is therefore very important to train more of them. We should use various means to do this. In addition to vocational schools, factories should undertake the training of technical workers, and cadres should be encouraged to acquire professional knowledge and skills.

Transportation is the precondition for economic development. Unless the transport sector is developed, it will be impossible to make big strides in industrial expansion. The most urgent thing right now is to have the southwest, the northwest and north China connected by rail.

Light industry should be developed to meet the needs of the people. The purchasing power of the people is now rising, and the population is growing very fast — by 10 million every year. We should try to gradually satisfy their needs. The development of light industry also helps the state to accumulate funds. Naturally, it has to be carried out step by step and according to a plan that sets well-defined priorities and focuses on much-needed products such as cotton yarn and cloth. If we pay attention only to heavy industry to the neglect of light industry, we are bound to make mistakes.

Agriculture must be developed, or there will be no increase in grain production. For a fairly long time to come we shall feel the pinch of a grain shortage. Not the same kind of shortage known in the past, but a shortage arising from the steady improvement of the living standards of the people. Agriculture has long since reached the

pre-war peak level, but if we want the standard of living to continue rising, we must pay constant attention to the grain supply and not tolerate any neglect of it. The state must continue to tighten its control over grain. In developing agriculture we should seek to advance not too rapidly but steadily, because arable land is limited and reclamation takes quite some time. Agricultural development has to keep up with industrial development, and first of all per-unit yield must be raised on the basis of what has already been achieved. Our peasants are highly skilled at hand labour, and this is an asset. In the period of the First Five-Year Plan we cannot yet make tractors by ourselves. When the time comes for us to use them we shall have to take into account the conditions of the different regions. For instance, tractors may not be good for hilly land. Right now we don't have to worry about the problem of surplus labour after the introduction of tractors. Grain is needed by various sectors. The agricultural population needs grain, and as more and more industrial and mining areas and cash-crop regions emerge, the need will increase. Besides, we must provide for natural disasters and must export a certain amount of grain in order to balance foreign trade.

Commerce must be expanded, or else again mistakes will be made.

The co-operative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce must be carried out step by step.

In short, to ensure victory in our planned development, we must promote advances in all fields of endeavour in a well-coordinated way.

III

About socialist transformation and state capitalism. In the transition period socialist transformation must be carried out in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. During this period there will not be a complete transformation but rather a gradual transition. Complete transformation means that private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and replaced by state ownership or collective ownership. In the transition period, however, limitations are merely imposed on private ownership of the means of production, so that the system becomes one of modified private

ownership. Such limitations are prescribed in the Common Programme. Dr. Sun Yat-sen advocated the regulation of capital, which means regulating private capitalism so that it cannot grow unchecked. The capitalist economy places profit-making above everything else. In China, there is also a dark side to private capitalism — the “five evils”⁶⁷ for example. We must combat its dark side. Private capitalist ownership of the means of production must be restricted, but this does not mean that it is abolished or that profits are eliminated. As far as income distribution is concerned, it is a case of “giving each of the four horses a share of the fodder”,⁷⁵ with the capitalists entitled to their portion of the profit. The situation is quite similar in agriculture. In agricultural producers’ co-operatives,⁷⁶ land is pooled and each owner has a share and receives dividends. However, public reserve funds must be collected, so this too is a system of modified private ownership. The same can be said of handicraft co-operatives. In all these cases the transformation is not complete; the purpose is to gradually guide each sector onto the road of socialism under the general line. This gradual transformation must be well planned and properly led, so that when conditions are ripe success will be assured.

Chairman Mao says, “The transformation of capitalism into socialism is to be accomplished through state capitalism.”⁷⁷ State capitalism is dealt with in Article 31 of the Common Programme. In the past three years we have done some work in this connection but not enough, because we were occupied with the three great movements,⁷⁸ the movement against the “three evils”,⁶⁹ the movement against the “five evils”⁶⁷ and the movement for ideological remoulding.⁷⁹ It was essential for us to occupy ourselves with these other fields of work in order to lay the foundation for socialist transformation. Our past experience has already shown that it is a sound policy to use state capitalism as a means to accomplish the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce. Now that a period of planned development has begun, the policy must be clearly understood and concretely applied. In particular, people in positions of leadership in the central and local government and in the various parties and people’s organizations should have a clear understanding of the policy, recognizing that state capitalism is the only road for the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and for the gradual transition to socialism. So far, this has not been the case either for members of the Communist Party or for eminent democratic figures. At the recent conference on financial and economic work this

question was dealt with at some length, and it will now be discussed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Government Council. It must be made clear first of all to leading public figures and, within the Party, to leading organizations at all levels. There's no hurry about conducting extensive propaganda in society at large, because phrases like "socialist transformation" and "gradual transition to socialism", if not properly explained, may easily be misinterpreted to mean instant implementation of socialism. We should make steady progress in our work and try not to be too hasty. Chairman Mao says that while we must not simply stand still and leave the socialist transformation to the indefinite future, we must not rush things through either.

Now about forms of state capitalism. In industry the advanced form is joint state-private ownership. That is to say, the state holds shares in enterprises, which are jointly managed by the state and by private capital. State ownership occupies the leading position, while private ownership is acknowledged but already restricted. The intermediate form of state capitalism is one in which the state places orders with private enterprises to process materials or manufacture goods. In other words, the state supplies the raw materials and purchases the products, while private enterprises undertake the production. Private ownership is also restricted here, because private enterprises cannot purchase raw materials or sell their products in the free market. In the elementary form, private enterprises generally buy the raw materials and undertake production, while the state purchases the greater part of their products, leaving a small portion for them to sell. Right now there are these three forms of state capitalism, and there may be others in future.

Is there state capitalism in commerce? Chairman Mao says that private commerce cannot simply be dismissed by replacing it or excluding it. That part of private commerce which involves speculation and profiteering and is detrimental to the national economy and the people's standard of living should of course be excluded. But we still maintain that state capitalism can also be applied to commerce. Privately owned business firms that are truly of vital importance to the national economy and the people's standard of living can be turned into firms under joint state-private ownership. The rational elements in their operation and management can be turned to good account and the irrational ones restructured so that the firms serve the interests of the state. Moreover, privately owned commercial un-

dertakings can do wholesale selling in place of the state, in accordance with state-fixed prices, or act as its purchasing and marketing agents. There are a vast number of privately owned commercial undertakings, several million of them, ranging from large corporations to street vendors, and we must lead them forward. As to the specific form of their transformation, here our experience is limited and further study is needed.

We shall try to bring the country's private industry and commerce onto the path of state capitalism. Chairman Mao says it will take at least three to five years to do that.⁷⁷ But this planned change is not yet the complete transformation. This gradual approach should cause no alarm or uneasiness among leading public figures.

Currently the proportion of private industry and commerce in the economy is quite large. In industry the private sector accounts for 42 per cent and in retail trade for 68 per cent. Workers and shop assistants employed in private industry and commerce (excluding handicrafts and family-run shops) total roughly 3.8 million as against the 4.2 million employed in state-owned factories and state commerce. The private industry and commerce are a great asset to the state and still play a large part in the national economy and help to raise the people's living standards. In Chairman Mao's words, "Not only do they provide the state with goods, but they can also accumulate capital and train cadres for the state."⁷⁷ We should therefore recognize their importance, give them leadership and take them into account as we proceed with construction.

There are two phenomena that deserve our attention. One is that some industrialists and businessmen still keep the state at arm's length and have not changed their profit-before-everything mentality. The new-democratic economy does not permit people to seek profit above all else, and that tendency must be restricted. The other is that some workers don't see this problem in the right perspective. They are advancing too fast and won't allow the capitalists to make any profit at all. That's not good. Chairman Mao has said, "We should try to educate these workers and capitalists and help them gradually (but the sooner the better) to adapt themselves to our state policy."⁷⁷ We should help them understand that if the capitalists act in accordance with state policy, private industry and commerce serve mainly to develop the economy and raise the people's standard of living — only partly to earn profits for the capitalists — and that they thus take the form of state capitalism. As for the distribution of profits, Chairman

Mao recently discussed the question with comrades doing trade union work and comrades working in major cities. A rational division of profits would be 34.5 per cent for the income tax, 15 per cent for the workers' welfare fund, 30 per cent for the accumulation fund and 20.5 per cent for the capitalists. Or the capitalists' share might be larger: 25 per cent, say, would be more appropriate. Although we talk about "giving each of the four horses a share of the fodder", there are actually only three horses, because the accumulation fund is used for the benefit of the state, the workers and the capitalists. Whether or not we have a system of state capitalism, this sort distribution means that private industry and commerce serve mainly to develop the economy and raise the standard of living and only partly to earn profits for the capitalists. Of course, if we adopt the form of state capitalism it will be possible to make this principle of distribution work even better. State capitalism, as we envisage it, is different both from private capitalism of the general type and from state capitalism in imperialist countries; it is state capitalism of the Chinese type.

Both workers and capitalists should be educated. At the Seventh National Congress of Trade Unions⁸⁰ held in May this year, Comrade Liu Shaoqi made a speech, and the questions of state capitalism and workers' jobs in capitalist industry and commerce were discussed. We have invited industrialists and businessmen from various places to the present meeting in order to enable them to understand these questions. We should cultivate key persons in the democratic classes, the democratic parties and people's organizations, so that they will unite with others in the struggle for socialist transformation through state capitalism. Chairman Mao has said, "It is necessary to go on educating the capitalists in patriotism, and to this end we should systematically cultivate a number of them who have a broader vision and are ready to lean towards the Communist Party and the People's Government, so that most of the other capitalists may be convinced through them."⁷⁷

Most of the capitalists are receptive to socialist transformation, but some will resist it. This must be taken into account. As Chairman Mao says, "Not only must the implementation of state capitalism be based on what is necessary and feasible (see the Common Programme), but it must also be voluntary on the part of the capitalists."⁷⁷ A line must be drawn between coercion and voluntariness. With the reactionary classes we must use coercion, but within the democratic

classes, the principle of voluntariness must be observed, because with them the implementation of state capitalism is a co-operative undertaking and co-operation admits of no coercion. Of course, we should bring about a situation favourable to its implementation and make the best use of it. In terms of labour productivity, state-owned enterprises are now the best, enterprises under joint state-private ownership are second best and trailing behind them are private enterprises that take orders from the state to process materials and manufacture goods. This shows the superiority of state-owned industry. On the other hand, we should make it possible for private enterprises to make a profit and for the capitalists to use their earnings at their own discretion. In the words of Chairman Mao, “Considerable progress has been made in the last few years by the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and people’s organizations, and still greater progress will, in my opinion, be made in the next three to five years. So it is possible basically to accomplish the task of leading private industry and commerce onto the path of state capitalism in three to five years.”⁷⁷

The Conference on Financial and Economic Work went on for two whole months. Some people are asking what it was all about. Will there be a lesser movement against the “five evils”? Chairman Mao has said that there will be no such movement. It is not necessary to launch one now. In Shanghai 160,000 cases of tax evasion have been uncovered, but most of them are medium or minor ones. These cases of tax evasion vary in seriousness, and there are also defects in our tax system. These things have to be addressed and rectified but there is no need for a lesser movement against the “five evils”. We are now considering ways to deal with the problem. The government will do the job and you will provide the support. All this comes under the general line for the transition period.

To sum up, it will take at least three to five years for us to get basically started on the path of state capitalism. This does not mean that socialist transformation will be completed in that time — several five-year plans will be needed to accomplish that. The two things should not be confused. On the one hand, it would be wrong to stand still, thinking that socialist transformation is a matter for the indefinite future. Inaction now means suffering later; progress now means joy in future. On the other hand, it would also be wrong to rush things through, to try to reach the sky in a single bound.

It must be made clear that the state sector of the economy leads and the sector of private capitalism is led. The state sector seeks no private profit but only the public interest. The co-operative sector is semi-socialist in nature, and the sector of private capitalism still seeks a certain amount of private profit. Therefore, the problems of the different sectors cannot all be treated in the same way; different approaches are called for. However, as private industry and commerce benefit the economy and raise living standards, in this sense they are the same as the other two sectors and should be regarded as such. We should try to convince their workers that like their counterparts in state-owned enterprises, they should practise economy, increase production and launch an emulation drive to improve labour productivity, lower costs and raise the quantity and quality of products. If this is done, workers will feel that their work is honourable whether they are working in state-owned or privately owned enterprises. If the capitalists act in accordance with state policy, do not engage in speculation or profiteering and are not guilty of the “five evils”, the work they do is also honourable. Under those conditions, workers and capitalists can work in collaboration. Then the idea of considering both the public and the private interest under the leadership of the state sector of the economy and of benefiting both labour and capital under the leadership of the working class will become a reality.

This approach is not understood by the majority of the people now, and we should work hard to educate the public, making the reasons for it clear to them. The Communist Party should of course be the first to take on this task, and trade unions, democratic parties, leading democratic figures and industrialists and businessmen should all be encouraged to join in. The government is preparing to establish a special agency to take charge of matters related to private industry and commerce so that work in these areas can proceed in a planned way and under proper leadership.

FIVE PRINCIPLES FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

December 31, 1953

Negotiations between China and India have opened today, the last day of December, fulfilling our promise that they would be held in 1953.

We believe that Sino-Indian relations will continue to improve. Some long-standing problems that are still unsettled can surely be solved smoothly. The principles that should govern relations between our two countries were put forward soon after the founding of New China, namely, the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

It is inevitable that there should be some problems between two big countries, particularly when, like China and India, they have a common border. But all unresolved problems can be discussed, providing the negotiators abide by these principles.

Excerpt from remarks at the opening session of negotiations held in Beijing from December 31, 1953, to April 29, 1954, between delegations of the Chinese and Indian governments concerning relations between the two countries with regard to Tibet. The five principles enunciated here were formally included in the preface to the "Agreement Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Communications Between the Tibet Region of China and India", and in late June 1954, when Comrade Zhou Enlai visited India and Burma, they were also incorporated in Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese joint statements.

STRENGTHEN PARTY UNITY AND OPPOSE BOURGEOIS INDIVIDUALISM

February 10, 1954

Comrades,

I fully agree with the report delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi [on February 6 — Tr.]. I propose that the Fourth Plenary Session approve this report and adopt the Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity.

Comrade Mao Zedong and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee have sounded the alarm, calling upon the whole Party to be on guard lest Party members who once served the people

Excerpt from a speech at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, held from February 6 to 10, 1954. During this Session a major, successful struggle was waged against a plot by Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the Party and usurp supreme Party leadership and state power. Party unity was thus strengthened. Two weeks later, at a discussion of the problem of Gao Gang, Comrade Zhou Enlai made another speech, in which he enumerated Gao Gang's misdeeds, including spreading the fallacy that the Party had been created by the army and had "grown out of the barrel of a gun", engaging in sectarian activities and attempting to form an independent fiefdom. He listed the following lessons to be drawn from this case:

- Criticize conceit, liberalism, individualism, sectarianism, small-group practice, decentralism, localism and departmentalism;
- Eliminate Gao's fallacy that the Party was created by the army;
- Be on guard against individualistic careerists;
- Stop activities within the Party that violate Party discipline;
- Oppose basing policy with regard to cadres on sectarianism;
- Eliminate the idea of forming an independent fiefdom in a region or department under one's own leadership;
- Uphold unified, collective leadership by the Party;
- Develop inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, and make sure that all Party cadres without exception are supervised by the Party organizations and by the masses;
- Foster the communist world outlook; and
- Strengthen education in Marxism-Leninism.

enthusiastically and wholeheartedly degenerate into base bourgeois individualists. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi put it in his report, "Whenever there are Party members who swell with pride and whose individualism is not resolutely checked by the Party, these members will contend for position, power and profit, traffic in flattery and favours, engage in small-group activities and even commit the crime of helping the enemy to disrupt and split the Party." I think this warning is timely and absolutely necessary, even if the danger involved is only at an incipient stage.

Why should this problem be regarded as serious? The Political Bureau of the Central Committee has taken into consideration the situation both inside and outside the Party, as described in the Draft Resolution and Comrade Liu Shaoqi's report, as well as the historical lessons learned by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by other Parties including our own. If the problem were not regarded as serious, the entire membership, and first of all the high-ranking cadres, would not realize the danger involved and would wittingly or unwittingly let it spread unchecked. That would damage the whole Party.

Why is this so? The reasons are as follows: Our Party is a victorious, ruling Party and, thanks to their correct leadership, the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong enjoy high prestige among the members and among the people throughout the country. It is therefore impossible for the individualists to openly oppose the Party's leadership. Rather, under the cloak of the Party's correct line, they seek to attain their personal ends by taking advantage of the shortcomings or mistakes of some leading comrades and of differing opinions within the Party, fomenting dissension, spreading rumours and sometimes carrying out illegal activities under false pretences. If we are not politically sharp enough we are likely to be fooled. In light of this situation, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee has pointed out the danger, reaffirmed Party discipline and set forth six regulations,⁸¹ with a view to ensuring Party unity.

Will observance of the six regulations undermine the Party's fine tradition of vitality and timely exchange of information between comrades at higher and lower levels, and produce instead a lifeless bureaucratism that stifles criticism and suggestions? No, it will not and must not. What we oppose is words and deeds that endanger Party unity and impair the prestige of the Central Committee, not discussion and the exchange of views among cadres about ways to

strengthen Party unity and enhance the prestige of the Central Committee. Recently some people have been saying that since they must guard against the sowing of discord and the spread of rumours, they will be careful not to say or listen to anything. Are they right? No, I'm afraid not. If they behave that way they will become mere onlookers and make the mistake of "letting things drift if they do not affect one personally", as Comrade Mao Zedong put it in his essay "Combat Liberalism". This is not the attitude for a Party member to take. We oppose any attempt by individuals or small groups to engage in illegal activities behind the backs of the Central Committee and the Party organizations; but we do not oppose the effort of high-ranking cadres to offer their political views and constructive suggestions to the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, either directly or through the organizations to which they belong. To sum up, our purpose in opposing anti-Party and individualistic words and deeds is precisely to invigorate political life in the Party and to strengthen Party unity.

Will observance of the six regulations restrict democracy and discourage criticism and self-criticism within the Party? No, it will not and must not. What we oppose is the kind of personal attack described by Comrade Mao Zedong in "Combat Liberalism" as "saying nothing to people to their faces but gossiping behind their backs, or saying nothing at a meeting but gossiping afterwards"; but we do not oppose "entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly". Recently, many organizations at and above provincial and municipal levels have held discussions on the Draft Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity and have responded quickly with their comments. The speeches made by comrades at the ongoing Fourth Plenary Session are full of the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. These facts amply demonstrate that inner-Party democracy is not contracting but expanding. We should encourage this spirit. To ensure Party unity we should emphasize the importance of holding regular meetings of high-ranking leading comrades to conduct criticism and self-criticism. If we do that, the individualistic careerists will have no chance to foment dissension.

We oppose the practice of regarding the region or department under one's leadership as one's own independent kingdom and putting oneself above organizations; we also oppose decentralism, localism and departmentalism. But this does not mean that we are rejecting

or revising the evaluation made by the Political Bureau that the bureaus representing the Central Committee in the six greater administrative areas have correctly implemented its political line and achieved a great deal in their work. Generally speaking, comrades in charge of the greater administrative areas have made satisfactory self-criticism in their speeches at this Session and expressed their disgust with the evil practices I have mentioned. As a matter of fact, Party, government and army departments at the central level have corrected their decentralism to a great extent thanks to the examination and criticism made by Comrade Mao Zedong personally at meetings of the Central Committee held in the past year. But despite all this we must in no case relax our struggle against decentralism, localism and departmentalism, for these evil practices run counter to the Party's principles of democratic centralism and unified collective leadership.

The reason we place special importance on combating complacency — which is extremely dangerous and is growing among certain cadres, especially among high-ranking ones — is that if we don't severely criticize it and correct it, these cadres will gradually degenerate into bourgeois individualistic careerists or be made use of by such careerists. No matter in what form and to what extent individualism manifests itself, it goes against collectivism. Both bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualism stem from bourgeois ideology. During the transition period — a crucial time during which our Party unites with bourgeois elements in the urban and rural areas and at the same time struggles against them and remoulds them in the course of socialist transformation — this class struggle will inevitably find expression in ideological struggle within the Party. What is more, we are submerged in the petty bourgeoisie, and the majority of Party members come from petty-bourgeois families. Petty-bourgeois elements are bound to be influenced by bourgeois ideology unless they accept the ideological leadership of the proletariat. So we can see that the main danger in our Party is the bourgeois individualistic mentality. The complacency of Party cadres, especially of high-ranking ones, provides the best hotbed for the growth of this mentality.

In most cases, when people have achieved some successes in their work they are apt to become conceited, forgetting the modest attitude and spirit of self-criticism that a Party member should have. If high-ranking cadres become complacent and their complacency increases unchecked, it will cause the gravest danger. This is because their

position, power, prestige and influence are likely to foster a tendency towards individualistic careerism, which can greatly damage the Party and the cause of communism. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee,³ convened on the eve of the countrywide victory of the revolution and before we entered the cities, Comrade Mao Zedong warned that we should guard against arrogance, forbid the celebration of birthdays of Party leaders and the naming of places, streets and enterprises after them, keep to plain living and hard work and put a stop to flattery and exaggerated praise. This was a timely warning against complacency. Comrade Mao Zedong has exhorted us time and again to single out the voice of discontent and opposition from amidst the roar of flattery and applause and the shouts of “Long live...!”, to listen to the dissenting voice and not hear only what is pleasing. It is a pity that this advice is often ignored by some comrades. During the rectification movement¹⁴ conducted before the Party’s Seventh National Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong recommended to us the essay by Guo Moruo entitled “The Tercentenary of the 1644 Uprising”.⁸² That uprising took place more than 300 years ago, but the lessons derived from it are still worth reviewing. Comrades who have made the serious mistake of succumbing to bourgeois individualism listen only to what they want to hear, not to criticism, and become dizzy with success. As a result, they are bound to become obsessed with the desire for gain and to lose their communist consciousness. This is the greatest danger. In the face of such a danger, comrades present here should remain on the alert and strengthen our unity. To weaken the influence of petty-bourgeois individualism, we should mobilize the entire Party membership— first of all, the high-ranking cadres—to overcome complacency, which easily grows and spreads. And we should require comrades who have succumbed to bourgeois individualism to correct their mistakes and help them to do so quickly and completely. This is of decisive importance for the Party, the people and the cause of communism during the transition period when we are implementing the general line and carrying out planned construction.

In short, we should make a distinction between words and deeds which are harmful to the Party’s unity and those which are beneficial to it. The former are wrong and in violation of Party discipline and should be criticized and combated. The latter are correct and necessary and should be cherished and encouraged. We should also make a distinction between rumour, slander and personal attack on the

one hand and criticism and self-criticism within the Party on the other. The former cannot bear the light of day and so cannot be engaged in openly. In the latter, however, words are consistent with deeds and thinking with action. Criticism and self-criticism can be carried out either to people's faces or in their absence, either at meetings or after meetings, in any place and among any group of people. Why? Because it is beneficial to Party unity. On the contrary, rumour and personal attack cannot be spread everywhere, but only behind people's backs, outside of meetings, among a particular group of people and in a particular area. Why? Because they cannot bear the light of day and cannot be circulated openly. So they are wrong and violate Party discipline. Here is the difference between these two practices. By saying this, I don't mean that you comrades shouldn't make any more comments. I just mean that the comments you make should enhance Party unity and help to uphold the prestige of the Central Committee. Everyone may offer comments and criticism, but it should be done openly within a Party organization or at meetings. If your comments are confidential, you may report them directly to the Central Committee or to its chairman. Anyway, they can't be so confidential as to exclude the Central Committee and its chairman. Moreover, we should make a distinction between activities that violate Party discipline and damage Party unity and ordinary liberalism. Of course, liberalism is a bad thing and stems from the bourgeois mentality, but it is a relatively mild failing. Many of the manifestations of liberalism mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong in his essay "Combat Liberalism" are of this ordinary category. We should also make a distinction between a serious degree of individualism and ordinary complacency. As I said just now, it is not unusual for people in our Party to become conceited when they have achieved a little in their work. We should draw a distinction between that sort of self-satisfaction and a serious degree of individualism. Of course, ordinary liberalism and complacency can be made use of by individualists who are engaged in activities that violate Party discipline, and they can develop into a serious degree of individualism. Then is there any difference between liberalism and complacency on the one hand and individualism on the other? Yes, there is. The criterion is whether or not the Party member has personal ambition, jockeys for leadership, damages Party discipline and carries out anti-Party activities. If this criterion is made clear to all, the political consciousness, vigilance and combat effectiveness of the entire member-

ship, especially of high-ranking cadres, will be greatly enhanced. All Party members, especially high-ranking cadres, should therefore combat and overcome not only individualism, but also liberalism and complacency. We should make efforts in this direction.

So much for general remarks. Now I want to say something specific.

In accordance with the principle proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong, at this Fourth Plenary Session comrades have carried out self-criticism and have repudiated from the high plane of principle the dangerous tendency to damage Party unity which was pointed out in Comrade Liu Shaoqi's report and in the Draft Resolution. They have unanimously demanded that comrades who have made mistakes of this kind should correct them quickly and completely and not make even worse ones. This shows that the political consciousness of the Party's leading cadres has risen greatly since the Seventh National Congress¹⁵ and that consequently Party unity, especially among high-ranking cadres, will be strengthened. This is the greatest political reward we have reaped at the present Session.

Now I'd like to say something about the comrades who have made the serious mistake of damaging Party unity. Their self-criticisms are a welcome sign of progress, but it should be stressed that those self-criticisms are incomplete and lack depth. We hope that they will continue their efforts in this respect so as to correct their mistakes quickly and thoroughly. This is what all of us demand of them. To this end, they should take a correct attitude towards self-criticism.

According to my experience, first, we should rely on the Party. We should believe that the Communist Party, led by Comrade Mao Zedong, can not only discover our mistakes but also help us to recognize and correct them. Without the Party and the people it would have been impossible for us to accomplish what we have in the past and to hold the posts we do now. The Party and the people are great, and we ourselves are insignificant by comparison. If we clarify this point in our minds, there will be no mistakes that we are reluctant to acknowledge before the Party and repent. At the Zunyi Meeting⁸³ the Party, led by Comrade Mao Zedong, formulated the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient". Since then this policy has saved quite a number of comrades who have made mistakes, and I am one of them. Shouldn't this example convince you?

Second, we should seek counsel from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. I think it is worth going back to the following works: *Lenin and Stalin on Party Unity*, distributed at this Plenary Session, the reports on rectification contained in the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party”, the “Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity” to be adopted at this Session, and Comrade Liu Shaoqi’s *On the Party and How to Be a Good Communist*. In considering our mistakes we should first examine our Party spirit.

Third, we should try hard to examine ourselves. All Party members should know what mistakes they have made. At the moment it may be difficult to remember some of the things they have said and done, but repeated recollection will help, and other comrades will also give a hand. In the course of making a self-examination, they should bear in mind the Party’s requirements and be mentally prepared to go through the process of realization, struggle and pain. With regard to political consciousness, since we all have different levels of understanding, a comrade may for some time take right for wrong, or fail to dig deep enough to get to the root of the mistakes he has made. He should, of course, be encouraged to make progress and change his ways. This is a very common case in our practice of criticism. For instance, some comrades have mistaken an erroneous political line for the correct one and criticized others who upheld the correct line. When they realize their mistakes, they naturally feel very sorry, but what they should do is readily admit them and rectify their wrong views. From this example we can see that raising one’s level of political consciousness is a process in which one’s ability to distinguish right from wrong can be improved. As for ideological problems, however, it is impermissible to reverse right and wrong. This is crystal clear to all. Denying facts and confusing right and wrong are manifestations of bourgeois, not proletarian, ideology. We should wait patiently and give people who have made mistakes enough time to raise their political consciousness and get clear on their problems. For their part, they should not deny their mistakes in the face of facts and witnesses but admit them in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts. Only with this attitude can they overcome the impulse to resent others and conceal facts. Then they will be able to confess their mistakes readily and draw closer to the Party.

Fourth, we should seek help from other comrades. Communists set great store by the collective life. If a Party member cannot tolerate any criticism or is unwilling to tell people what he is thinking, his shortcomings cannot be corrected in good time. As a result, when he makes a mistake it will be a big one, laying bare all his shortcomings at once. This is precisely what has happened with comrades who have recently made mistakes. If they really welcome help from others, they should withstand all sharp and unsparing criticism. They must know that only those who criticize them are their good teachers and helpful friends. What they need from others is encouragement and help, not a cover-up of their mistakes, which is only harmful. With the help of other comrades, more mistakes will be exposed and they will become not weaker but politically stronger than before. Comrades are as helpful as doctors, and we should not resent them but ask them to operate on us. A true Communist should not refuse treatment when he is ill, still less conceal his illness. Party members who have succumbed to liberalism and have now realized their mistakes should try to correct them. At this Plenary Session some comrades have made self-criticisms and also helped others who have committed serious errors. This is the quality a Party member should have. We need friends like that in the Party who admit their own mistakes when they have made them and help others who have made serious mistakes of a different nature, but not the sort of friends who deal in flattery and favours and cover up mistakes for others. Such people are only friends of the bourgeoisie, not of the proletariat. Take me as an example. I used to respect and, indeed, overestimate certain comrades who later made the mistake of harming Party unity. When I learned about it I felt responsible, since I was working in the Central Committee. To make up for my failure in this respect, I thought I should work all the harder to criticize and help them and ask them to correct their mistakes. It is inadmissible for erring comrades to deny their mistakes or try to hide them from the Party. To admit their mistakes and correct them thoroughly, first they have to free themselves from the mean, individualistic mentality of the bourgeoisie that impairs their political consciousness. If they succeed in doing this, they will have the courage of a Communist to expose their ugliest thoughts and deeds to the Party without losing heart. For what they have cast off is their mistakes and what they have retained is correctness; in other words, what they have lost is a malignant tumour and what remains

is good health. Their record of fighting for the revolution cannot be written off by others, but they themselves may obliterate it.

In accordance with the principle set forth by Comrade Mao Zedong that the purpose of criticism is to help those criticized and that we must “cure the sickness to save the patient”, the Fourth Plenary Session is waiting for the comrades who have made serious mistakes to further raise their political consciousness so as to benefit Party unity. I hope that those comrades will live up to this expectation.

BUILDING PHYSICAL FITNESS FOR THE MOTHERLAND

February 21, 1954

Thanks to the efforts of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission since its founding a little more than a year ago, much has changed in sports throughout the nation. Both to implement the general line for the transition period and to build socialism, it is necessary to improve the health of our people. They have weak constitutions because of the long years of repression and oppression under feudalism and imperialism. Comrade Mao Zedong places particular emphasis on promoting health. As we advance towards a socialist and communist society, everyone should strive for balanced development — moral, intellectual, physical and aesthetic. Lopsided development will result in defects, preventing people from making full use of their abilities and harming the state as well. All-round development means being sound in body and sound in mind; the two are interrelated and interact with each other.

The tasks at present are to increase production and to strengthen national defence, and these tasks require good health. Experience shows that the more developed an industry is, the more sophisticated its technology must be. And the more sophisticated the technology, and the faster the pace of production, the greater the workers' speed and stamina must be. Our people are agile, but they lack endurance. Likewise, to wield such modern weapons as planes and tanks, it is essential to be physically fit. So the "Training Programme to Prepare for Work and Defence"⁸⁴ has political significance: its purpose is not just to ensure the good health of individuals but also to safeguard the motherland and build socialism.

Speech at the 205th meeting on government affairs held by the Government Administration Council.

It will not be easy to improve the physical condition of our people, but it can be done in time — within five, ten or fifteen years, so long as we continue to expand sports activities. Experts have told me that about five to ten years will be enough. Congenitally weak physiques can be strengthened through physical training. My activities being restricted by my feudal family, I myself was in poor health until I entered school and became a different person. Young people's constitutions can be transformed. We pin our hopes on young people under 30, for they are an important force in national defence and production. We are counting on them to master sophisticated science and technology and modern weapons. Sports should be encouraged in factories, schools and in the countryside. If we do a good job, in five years we can bring about changes in people's physical fitness. In advocating the "three goods" for young people, Comrade Mao Zedong gave first place to having good health, because that is the only thing that makes it possible to achieve good results in study and work — an all-round development. We must link sports to our country's future, and the expansion of sports will bring about a tremendous transformation. Elderly persons should go in for physical exercise too, although naturally it is more difficult for them than for younger people. Good health will help them enjoy longer lives. It will be wonderful if they can live and see socialism for themselves. Once the Chinese people become strong and vigorous, they will be able to handle modern weapons. Facing our national defence then, will imperialists dare to invade us? They will certainly think twice before they try. Good health, therefore, is a prerequisite for building and protecting our country. If we keep this in mind, it will help us to promote physical culture.

Our policy today is to popularize physical training and to make it regular. To improve athletic skills we must popularize sports, and outstanding athletes will not appear until we have a regular sports programme. Ours is a big country with a huge population, and it will be difficult to popularize sports everywhere. But when tens of millions of people are involved in physical exercise, a large number of talented people will surely emerge. People's fitness is bound to improve dramatically if sports are played everywhere on a regular basis and with proper coaching. Because of the lack of regular training, China cannot expect to win many championships in international competitions two or three years from now. Wu Chuanyu,⁸⁵ a returned Chinese, has made his reputation by training over a long time. Without

this protracted training, he could never have won a title. We can't expect to participate in many events in the next Olympic Games in 1956. But by 1960, six years from now, many top athletes will emerge if our sports programme is carried out correctly. Physical culture in China, unlike that in capitalist countries, boasts mass participation and is very promising.

The key to achieving these goals lies in the leading bodies — not only the Physical Culture and Sports Commission and the two ministries of education [the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education — *Tr.*], but all administrative bodies. The Government Administration Council may wish to issue a circular recommending exercise in the morning and during work-breaks, starting with the central organs in Beijing. A summary of today's meeting should be communicated to the two ministries of education and to the mass organizations — the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Youth League and the Women's Federation. A good job of promoting physical culture should be done from the higher to the lower levels, and vice versa. At this meeting we are promoting it at the top level. The masses will provide supervision from the bottom. We should grant the Physical Culture and Sports Commission power to make inspections. Institutions that discourage sports activities should be called to account. In addition to exposing shortcomings in physical training, the Commission should work with public health departments in conducting physical examinations to monitor progress. Administrative leaders — heads of general offices at least — should be responsible for the health of the cadres in their departments. Spare-time contests can be held to encourage sports among the people. It's fine to watch ball games, but the essential thing is to take part in physical training personally. And because propaganda also plays an important role, we should give wide publicity to sports, explaining their political significance and helping people to master specific skills.

TURNING CHINA INTO A POWERFUL, MODERN, SOCIALIST, INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRY

September 23, 1954

The fundamental aim of this great people's revolution of ours is to liberate the productive forces of our country from the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and, eventually, from the shackles of capitalism and the limitations of small-scale production. That will make it possible for the economy to advance rapidly and according to plan along the road to socialism, thus improving the people's material welfare and cultural life and strengthening the nation's independence and security. China's economy has been very backward. Unless we establish powerful, modern industry, modern agriculture, modern communications and transport and a modern national defence, we shall neither shake off backwardness and poverty nor attain our revolutionary goals. During the years from 1949 to 1952 the Central People's Government, in accordance with provisions of the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference,¹ completed the unification of the mainland, reformed the agrarian system,¹⁰ launched extensive and intensive campaigns to suppress counter-revolutionaries⁶⁴ and effected various democratic reforms. It rehabilitated an economy long ravaged by war, fostered in particular the growth of the socialist state-owned sector of the economy and various types of co-operatives, and made initial readjustments in the relations between state and private industry and commerce. All this prepared the ground for planned economic development and the gradual transition to a socialist society. Then, in 1953, China embarked on its First Five-Year Plan of economic development. Gradually but systematically, it started on socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist

Excerpt taken from the Report on the Work of the Government made at the First Session of the First National People's Congress.

industry and commerce. Economic development takes first place in the overall life of the nation.

The formulation of the First Five-Year Plan is still not complete, and many details are being added or modified. As is generally known, the basic elements of the Plan are as follows: to concentrate on the development of heavy industry as a foundation for the industrialization of the country and the modernization of national defence; to bring about a corresponding development of communications and transport, light industry, agriculture and commerce; to train the personnel needed for economic development; to promote the gradual co-operative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts; to continue the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce; to ensure the steady growth of the socialist sector of the economy and at the same time to enable individual farming, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce to play their proper role; and to ensure a gradual improvement in the people's material welfare and cultural life as the development of production permits. The First Five-Year Plan calls for concentrated efforts to build up heavy industry, that is, the metallurgical, fuel, power, machine-building and chemical industries. Only by relying on heavy industry can we ensure the development of the whole range of industry, of modern agriculture, communications, transport and national defence. And in the final analysis, only by relying on heavy industry can we ensure steady improvement of the material welfare and cultural life of the people. It is true, of course, that heavy industry needs more capital than other economic branches, that it takes longer to build and is slower to yield profits, and that most of its products are not for direct consumption by the people. Consequently, while the state is concentrating on developing heavy industry, the people have to bear some temporary hardships and inconveniences, notwithstanding the corresponding development of light industry and agriculture. But which is better: to bear some temporary hardships and inconveniences so that in the long run we can live in prosperity and happiness, or to seek immediate petty benefits and never be able to shake off poverty and backwardness? We believe that everyone would prefer the first option to the second.

From 1949 to 1952, while industry was being rapidly rehabilitated, the total value of industrial production increased at an average rate of 36.9 per cent a year. In the period of construction, of course, the growth rate will be lower, but the total value of industrial output in

1953 exceeded that of 1952 by 33 per cent. It is estimated that in 1954 the total output value of modern industry will be 4.2 times what it was in 1949. If both agriculture and handicrafts are included, then the total value of output this year will be 2.2 times that of 1949. This growth rate would have been inconceivable in old China.

Three aspects of the growth of industry deserve special mention. The first is the rapid increase, in terms of value, in the proportion of modern industrial output to total industrial and agricultural output. While in 1949 this proportion was about 17 per cent, by the end of 1954 it will reach an estimated 33 per cent. The second is the rapid increase, again in terms of value, in the proportion of output of means of production to total industrial output. While according to estimates, the output of means of subsistence for 1954 will be about 3.1 times that of 1949, the output of means of production will be about 5.7 times that of 1949. The proportion of the output of means of production to total industrial output will rise from 28.8 per cent in 1949 to an estimated 42.3 per cent in 1954. The third significant aspect of industrial growth is the rapid increase, still in terms of value, in the proportion of output by state, co-operative and joint state-private industries to total output. Because state and co-operative enterprises are expanding every year, and because large numbers of capitalist enterprises are beginning to reorganize into joint state-private enterprises, this proportion is expected to grow from 37 per cent in 1949 to about 71 per cent in 1954. This means that output of capitalist enterprises that have not been turned into joint state-private enterprises will constitute only about 29 per cent of the total industrial output.

These figures show that China is advancing towards the goal of industrialization and towards the goal of socialism.

Although the original industrial foundation of our country was weak, it constitutes the main source of industrial products, profits and skilled personnel. It would be utterly wrong to ignore this foundation. We must utilize the original industrial bases and enterprises to their fullest capacity, and fully exploit their potential to increase both the quantity and variety of goods produced. Thus they can play an important part in national development, helping to accumulate capital, train personnel, supply equipment and provide for the people's needs. Nevertheless, such industries are, after all, very backward. They are scattered and unevenly developed. Therefore, to industrialize the country we shall have to depend mainly on building new industries, particularly heavy industry.

In our First Five-Year Plan period, some 600 important industrial projects are to be newly built or upgraded, the core group being, as we all know, the 141 projects that the Soviet Union is helping us to build. When they are completed, our country's industrial output and technological level will be greatly raised, and China will be able to produce metallurgical, power, oil-extraction and forging equipment, as well as motor vehicles, locomotives, tractors and aircraft. And we shall have new industrial regions and industrial bases, which will bring about a change in the present irrational distribution of industry in our country. Most of these projects will be completed by 1958, though a few will take nearly 10 years to finish.

From what I have said we can see that the Constitution of the People's Republic of China does not make empty promises when it provides that China will gradually achieve socialist industrialization, promote the development and transformation of the economy by planning for a constant increase in the productive forces, give priority to the state-owned sector of the economy, and encourage and guide the transformation of the capitalist economy so as to turn it into a state-capitalist sector. This is precisely what we have been doing. Through their heroic efforts, the working people of the whole country, under the guidance of the Communist Party and the people's government, are rapidly changing the face of our motherland. There is no doubt that in the course of several five-year plans we will be able to turn China into a powerful, modern, socialist, industrialized country.

Planned industrial production and construction are entirely new fields to us. We must therefore learn while we work. And as the experience of the past few years has shown, we have made progress both in our work and in learning. But we certainly have no grounds for complacency. Since we are only beginning to learn, we are bound to encounter difficulties — indeed, we have already met with quite a few — and we have many shortcomings to overcome in our work.

Inadequate planning is one of the pressing problems in industry at present. Many of our plans are not accurate enough or sufficiently well integrated. They are often badly co-ordinated and too frequently revised. Obviously, there are many objective difficulties that cannot easily be overcome in a short period. But many problems are caused by poor work and mistakes. For example, there are cases where supply, production and sales are not balanced, cases where types and specifications of products do not meet requirements, other cases where

there is no co-ordination among surveying, design and actual construction work, and still others where no consideration is given to municipal planning, industrial construction and communications and transport. This situation must be improved to reduce losses to the state.

Another vital problem in industry is the large amount of waste in many departments and enterprises. This stems from failure to economize on the use of funds and to control overhead costs. Every state-owned enterprise and construction unit, therefore, must strive not only to fulfil the state plans in every respect but also to exceed them, to introduce business accounting, to ensure strict economy and to lower production costs, in order to increase capital accumulation by the state and to eliminate waste.

Insufficient skilled manpower and poor technical management also present an important problem in industry. Without modern techniques, there can be no modern industry. Our industry inherited few technically skilled workers, and those being trained by existing institutions of higher education are insufficient in number, quality and range of specializations to meet the needs of industry and capital construction in the near future. That being the case, we must upgrade the skills of existing technical staff and use them more rationally and effectively. Skilled workers in the enterprises must be better organized, and greater efforts must be made to train more of them. In this way we shall be able to raise the present technical and managerial level of enterprises, improve the quality of their products and increase the quantity and variety of new products. We shall be able to build new, modern enterprises and see to it that the workers master new production techniques.

To strengthen planning, further economize our funds and improve technical management— those are the urgent tasks facing industrial departments, as well as departments of transport, post and telecommunications services, water conservancy, forestry, and others engaged in capital construction. Commercial departments and administrative organizations of state-owned agriculture also have responsibility for these tasks.

We have made fresh advances in agriculture since agrarian reform. The 1952 output of grain and cotton exceeded the peak annual level before liberation. The output of grain this year is expected to be 50 per cent higher and of cotton 180 per cent higher than in 1949.

The growth of agriculture has an impact on the growth of industry in many ways. Many industries, especially the textile and food in-

dustries, depend on agriculture for raw materials. The industrial and urban populations depend on agriculture for staples such as grain and edible oils and other foodstuffs. The imported machinery needed by industry has to be paid for mainly by the export of agricultural produce. The principal markets for a great number of industrial products are in the countryside. For this reason, during the past few years the Central People's Government has made great efforts in the fields of finance, technology and water conservancy to promote the development of agriculture. The peasants for their part have actively responded to the government's call to extend mutual aid and co-operation and to strive for increased output of grain and industrial crops, and they have enthusiastically supplied their produce to the state. In the last two years, our country has been able not only to deal effectively with natural disasters, but to increase agricultural production, thus consistently maintaining a stable market. For this, we must express our thanks to the 500 million peasants throughout the country.

But the expansion of agriculture obviously still lags behind the needs of the people and the state. In order that agriculture may develop more quickly and in a more planned way, we must gradually bring about its socialist transformation. That means gradually changing over from backward individual farming to collective farming, by getting the peasants to organize themselves voluntarily into mutual-aid teams and co-operatives.

In order to ensure an increase in agricultural production to meet the needs of our economic development as a whole, the expansion of co-operatives must be accompanied by the systematic introduction of new types of farm implements, water pumps, water wheels, improved seeds and better farming methods, by an increased use of fertilizer, prevention of insect pests, and the greatest possible increase in cultivated land. We must also enlarge the acreage of cotton and oil-yielding crops, so that the output of cotton meets industrial demands and oil production quickly teaches and surpasses the record of pre-liberation years.

To solve difficulties arising from shortages of draught animals, meat supplies and fertilizer, as well as to increase production of furs and hides, efforts must be made to develop animal husbandry and poultry farming. Attention should also be paid to the fishing industry.

In the field of water conservancy, in the past few years the state has built a considerable number of large-scale works, which have done a great deal to reduce flood and drought damage and to safeguard

agricultural production, especially in this year's fight against floods. The struggle against natural disasters is a long-term, arduous task for our people. So we must put more effort into water conservancy.

Afforestation is of great importance, for it supplies the timber needed for construction and serves to reduce the damage from floods, droughts, sandstorms and hurricanes. China's present timber resources are insufficient. Besides making greater efforts in afforestation and in planning the lumber industry, we must use restraint in felling trees and launch a nationwide mass movement to protect forests and plant trees.

The handicrafts industry, too, has an important part to play in our national economy. Like the peasants, handicraftsmen are rapidly forming producers' co-operatives among themselves. Such co-operatives should be actively promoted in a more planned way.

Transport and post and telecommunications services have also been restored and have made progress in the past five years. One of our main tasks in this area is to bring about a constant rise in transport capacity to meet the rapidly growing needs of the economy.

Domestic and foreign trade has made tremendous progress in the past five years. State-operated commerce has already attained a position in which it can handle the whole or the greater part of all principal commodities needed for the national welfare and the people's consumption. It has all foreign trade under its jurisdiction. At present, state-operated and co-operative commerce accounts for about half the total retail trade of the entire country and about 80 per cent of the wholesale trade.

To remedy the imbalance between supply and demand, which arose when the increase in the people's purchasing power outstripped the expansion in the production of consumer goods, the Central People's Government introduced a system of planned purchase and supply of grain, edible oils and cotton cloth, and planned purchase of cotton. These measures, designed to regulate relations between supply and demand, to stabilize market prices, to protect the people's standard of living and to provide materials for construction, are absolutely necessary and timely. They protect the interests not only of urban and rural consumers but also of agricultural producers. They are disadvantageous only to a small number of profiteers. That is why they have won the support of the people throughout the country.

In this period when the production of consumer goods has not yet been sufficiently developed, we shall not only continue the planned

supply of principal items but may also extend the system to include a wider range of products. As far as the planned purchase of staple products is concerned, it will be gradually extended as the socialist sector of the economy grows. Of course this is a complicated process, representing an enormous change in the life of the people and in the social economy. Hence, at the start, it is inevitable that temporary problems will crop up in the work and that people will experience certain inconveniences. But if we do not want to suffer from soaring commodity prices or from stagnating production caused by the speculation of unscrupulous merchants, and if we want capitalist, speculative trade to be replaced by socialist trade, which can ensure rational satisfaction of the needs of the whole population, then we must admit that planned purchase and supply are a necessity.

A fundamental change has taken place in the position of state-operated trade. This has been a result of several factors: the extension of the scope of planned purchase and supply, the increase in the orders placed by the state with private enterprises for manufacturing and processing, the marketing through state agencies of all or part of the products of private enterprises, and the purchasing by the state of part of their products. State-operated trade, which a few years back covered only a fraction of the market, has now grown to embrace the major part. It has become the leading force in every branch of trade throughout the country. The state trading department must now assume responsibility for planning and take full charge of the entire domestic market. It should draw up plans for the circulation of commodities and decide what steps should be taken to transform and manage all private trade, bearing in mind the need to maintain a balance between purchasing power and the volume of commodity production, as well as the relative proportions of trade handled by the state, co-operatives and private merchants.

The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is an important part of our fundamental task in the transition period. In the past few years we have already transformed a major section of capitalist industry into different forms of state-capitalist enterprise. Judging by present trends, the transformation will be brought about chiefly through joint state-private enterprises — an advanced form of state capitalism. An intermediate form is for private enterprises to manufacture or process goods to the order of the state, or to market all or part of their products through state agencies. The importance of this form lies in that it prepares the ground for joint operation by

state and private capital. This form has proved highly successful. With the introduction of planned purchase and supply of grain, edible oils and cotton cloth, large numbers of private shops dealing in these goods have been turned into marketing agencies for state trading organizations. This makes for rapid growth of the state-capitalist sector in private commerce, and has opened the path for the transformation of capitalist commerce trade by trade.

The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is a process involving both struggle and education. To make a good job of it, we need to accumulate more experience. It should be pointed out here that in this process the transformation of capitalist enterprises should be combined with the re-education of capitalists. This means that on the one hand, we have to eventually transform capitalist enterprises into advanced socialist enterprises, and on the other, we have to remould the outlook of capitalists and their agents so as to make them, in so far as possible, play a positive role in the process of socialist transformation.

In the past five years, the financial position of the state has undergone a marked change. From a budget deficit, we rapidly moved to a balance of revenues and expenditures and now enjoy a certain annual surplus to swell the state's credit funds. This balanced budget was achieved while both revenues and expenditures were greatly increasing. At the same time, sources of revenue have changed greatly. From 1950 to 1954, the taxes paid by the peasants dropped from 29.6 per cent of total national revenue to 13.4 per cent, while the taxes paid and profits delivered to the state by state-operated enterprises and co-operatives of the socialist type increased from 34.1 per cent to 66.1 per cent. Our budgetary appropriations also increased greatly as revenue grew. In the 1954 budget, the allocation for economic development is 650 per cent that of 1950; the proportion of spending for economic development to total expenditure has also increased from 25.5 per cent in 1950 to 45.4 per cent in the 1954 budget. In the past five years, the state has allocated a total of 328,000 billion yuan for economic development, of which the figures for 1953 and 1954 account for 200,000 billion yuan. This shows that by relying on the support of the people of the whole country, we have already accumulated the necessary funds for industrialization. The imperialist prophets who gloated over our financial difficulties and declared that we could never overcome them have been completely discredited.

Our immediate financial tasks are to continue pursuing a fair tax policy, to encourage people to bank their surplus capital or savings or buy bonds, to strengthen financial management in enterprises, to reduce state administrative expenditures and to enforce strict financial rules and regulations and close supervision, so as to ensure that the necessary reserves are available for economic development. In a word, we must make every effort to accumulate still greater reserve funds and employ them in a still more rational way for the sake of industrialization. In order to accomplish these tasks, we shall have to wage a series of struggles. Our budget is the people's budget: we collect revenues from the people and spend them on the people. Both the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses have the duty and power to scrutinize our revenues and expenditures. We hope you deputies will supervise the work of government functionaries and join with them in combating any bad tendencies such as waste of funds, inflated organizations, violation of financial rules and regulations, carelessness with state property, failure to practise strict economy, failure to strive for the accumulation of funds, tax evasion, theft of state property and corruption. To combat these things is to uphold socialism and to work for the early realization of a socialist society.

All our work is done in the interests of the people. Everything we do in regard to the economy and finance is aimed, directly or indirectly, at improving their material well-being and cultural life. Everyone can see what we have accomplished in these respects.

One of the most important things we have done in the last few years to improve the life of the people has been to stabilize national finances and commodity prices. This has stabilized the people's standard of living. The state must continue to keep prices stable so that the people's life can be further improved.

More and more people are employed every year to meet the needs of national construction and increased production. The severe unemployment inherited from old China has now been greatly reduced. For one thing, the people's government adopted a policy of taking over all personnel in the former Kuomintang government offices and all workers and other employees in bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises, thus preventing a rise in unemployment. For another, it did a great deal to help the unemployed find work. However, since our country's production has yet to be developed and since it has a large population, employment will remain a problem over a comparatively long

period. We shall continue the policies that have already proved effective, and gradually this problem will be solved.

In the past few years, the living standards of workers and other employees have greatly improved and so have their working conditions and welfare facilities. The state has spent vast sums of money to improve health and safety in industries and mines. As a result, the rate of accidents at work has been steadily decreasing from year to year.

Obviously, economic development in our country must be reflected in an improved life for the people, because the sole aim of a socialist economy is to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs. A socialist economy must constantly grow if it is to fully satisfy those needs. It is wrong, therefore, to emphasize either one — economic growth or people's needs — at the expense of the other. It is a manifestation of economism to raise wages and expand welfare measures too quickly, without taking into consideration the present level of production, and thus to impair the long-term interests of the working class. On the other hand, it is a manifestation of bureaucratism to be indifferent to the welfare and safety of workers and other employees, to neglect their problems or be unwilling to solve them when they must and can be solved. We must combat both of these mistakes at the same time.

Improvements have been made in the wage system during the past few years. But some confusion still exists, and egalitarianism has not yet been overcome. Egalitarianism is a petty-bourgeois concept that encourages backwardness and hinders progress. It has nothing in common with Marxism and a socialist system. It dampens the enthusiasm of workers and other employees for acquiring technical skills and raising productivity. It hampers economic development. We must therefore resolutely oppose egalitarianism. There is also considerable confusion, which must be clarified, regarding the system of merit grants in enterprises. In our government offices and certain state-owned enterprises, the wage system exists side by side with the supply system [payment in kind — *Tr.*]. The supply system played an important part during the revolutionary war years, but it conflicts both with the principle “to each according to his work” and with business accounting. Today it does more harm than good. We must therefore work out an appropriate plan, based on the requirements of socialist construction, for instituting a uniform and reasonable system

of wages and merit grants throughout the country, so that in the next few years it will gradually replace the supply system.

During the past few years the standard of living of the peasants has markedly improved as regards clothing, food, housing and so forth. This is a result of the completion of agrarian reform, the recovery and growth of agricultural production, higher prices offered by the state for agricultural produce, improvements in the agricultural tax system, and increases in agricultural loans and in the number of agricultural credit co-operatives.

Fellow Deputies! As I said before, to gradually improve the material well-being and cultural life of the people is a fundamental task that calls for constant endeavour and, of course, what we have achieved is not enough. We must make still greater efforts. However, at the present time we must consider this question in relation to the socialist construction that is now under way. It is common knowledge that China has been a backward agricultural country, and it is now our great and difficult task to turn it into a powerful, modern, socialist, industrialized country. There can be no doubt that we shall face many difficulties, both economic and financial, in carrying out this task, and we must not ignore them. How shall we surmount these difficulties? Fundamentally, by relying on the united will and hard work of our entire people. At this time, when our country needs to concentrate its main strength on building heavy industry — that is, on laying the foundation for socialism — the people must focus their attention on long-term interests. We must not see only immediate interests and overlook long-range ones. For the happiness of generations and generations to come, we shall have to put up with many temporary difficulties and hardships, but we are completely confident that we can overcome them all. We must make every effort to accomplish the fundamental task of the state during the transition period as set out in the Constitution, the most essential thing being that each one of us should concern himself with increasing the country's productive forces. We must realize that increasing production is of decisive importance to our people and our country. Only by constantly increasing production can we gradually end the poverty of our people, consolidate the victory of our revolution and assure ourselves of a happy future. We will not tolerate any breach of labour discipline or of economic and financial regulations, or any damage to public property or squandering of state funds. We must oppose all ideas and acts reflecting a concern for personal

interests but not public interests, for departmental but not general interests, for the immediate present but not the future, for one's rights but not one's duties, for consumption but not production. All these things impede the development of production and consequently jeopardize our future.

SPEECHES AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

April 19, 1955

MAIN SPEECH

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates,

The Asian-African Conference,⁸⁶ on which the whole world is focusing attention, is in session. The delegation of the People's Republic of China deems it a great pleasure to be able to discuss the common problems of the Asian and African countries at this Conference with the delegations of the other participating countries. We must first of all thank the five sponsors — Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan — whose initiative and efforts have made it possible for us to meet here. We should also thank our host, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, for the excellent arrangements it has made for the Conference.

This is the first time in history that so many countries of Asia and Africa have joined together to hold a conference. On these two continents lives more than half of the world's population. The peoples of Asia and Africa created brilliant ancient civilizations and made tremendous contributions to mankind. But ever since modern times, most of our countries have been subjected in varying degrees to colonialist plunder and oppression and have thus been forced into a state of stagnation, poverty and backwardness. Our voices have been suppressed, our aspirations shattered and our destiny placed in the hands of others. We have therefore had no choice but to rise against colonialism. Suffering for the same causes and struggling for the same goals, we, the Asian and African peoples, have found it

These two speeches were carried in *People's Daily* on April 20 and 21, 1955, respectively.

easier to understand each other and have long had deep sympathy and concern for one another.

Now the Asian-African region has undergone a radical change. More and more countries have cast off or are casting off the shackles of colonialism. The colonial powers can no longer use the methods of the past to continue their plunder and oppression. The Asia and Africa of today are no longer the Asia and Africa of yesterday. Many countries in this region have taken their destiny into their own hands after long years of struggle. The present Conference itself reflects this profound historical change.

However, colonial rule has not yet come to an end in this region, and new colonialists are attempting to take the place of the old ones. Many Asian and African peoples are still leading a life of colonial slavery. They are still subject to racial discrimination, and their human rights are trampled upon.

The courses which we peoples of Asia and Africa have taken in striving for freedom and independence may vary, but our resolve to win freedom and independence and to preserve them is the same. However different the specific conditions in each of our countries may be, for most of us it is equally necessary to eliminate the backwardness caused by colonial rule. We need to develop our countries independently, without outside interference and in accordance with the will of the people.

The peoples of Asia and Africa have long suffered from aggression and war. Many of them have been forced by the colonialists to serve as cannon-fodder in wars of aggression. The peoples of these two continents, therefore, can feel nothing but hatred for such wars. They know that new threats of war will not only endanger the independent development of their countries, but also intensify their colonial enslavement. That is why they especially prize world peace and national independence.

In view of these facts, the common desire of the peoples of the Asian and African countries can only be to safeguard world peace, to win and to preserve national independence and, accordingly, to promote friendship and co-operation among nations.

Following the armistice in Korea,²⁶ the Geneva Conference⁸⁷ brought about a cease-fire in Indo-China⁸⁸ on the basis of respect for the right to national independence and thanks to the support of the Colombo Conference of five powers.⁸⁹ As a result, international tension did relax somewhat at that time, and fresh hope was felt by the people

of the whole world, and particularly by those of Asia. However, the subsequent international developments are undermining that hope. Both in the East and in the West, the danger of war is increasing. The desire of the Korean and German peoples for peaceful unification is being frustrated. The agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China reached at the Geneva Conference are in jeopardy.⁹⁰ The United States continues to create tension in the Taiwan area. Countries outside Asia and Africa are establishing more and more military bases on the two continents. They openly preach that atomic weapons are conventional arms, and they are making preparations for atomic war. The people of Asia will never forget that the first atomic bomb exploded on Asian soil and that the first man to die from an experimental explosion of the hydrogen bomb was an Asian.⁹¹ The peoples of Asia and Africa, like those in other parts of the world, cannot be indifferent to the ever-increasing threat of war.

However, those who are committing aggression and making preparations for war are, after all, extremely few. The overwhelming majority of people throughout the world, regardless of the social system they live under, want peace and are opposed to war. The peace movement in different countries has grown and struck deeper roots among the people. They demand an end to the arms race and to preparations for war. They demand first of all that the big powers reach agreement on the reduction of armaments. They demand the prohibition of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. They demand that atomic energy be used for peaceful purposes in order to benefit mankind. Their voices can no longer be ignored. The policy of aggression and war is becoming more and more repugnant to the people. The plotters of war are resorting ever more frequently to threats of war as an instrument of their policy of aggression. However, threats of war can intimidate no one who is determined to resist. They can only further isolate the threat-makers and reduce them to a passive position. We believe that if we, together with all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, are determined to preserve peace, peace can be preserved.

The majority of our Asian and African countries, including China, are still very backward economically, owing to the long years of colonial domination. That is why we demand not only political independence but economic independence as well. Of course, our demand for political independence does not mean a policy of exclusion towards countries outside the region. However, the days when

the Western powers controlled our destiny are already past. The destiny of the Asian and African countries should be controlled by the peoples of those countries themselves. We are trying to achieve economic independence. This does not mean the exclusion of economic co-operation with countries outside the region either. But we want to do away with the exploitation of backward countries in the East by the Western colonial powers and to develop the independent economies of our own countries. Complete independence is an objective for which the great majority of the Asian and African countries will have to struggle for a long time.

In China, ever since the people became masters of their own country, they have concentrated their efforts on the elimination of the backwardness left over from the long period of semi-colonialism, and on the transformation of their country into an industrialized state. In the last five years we have rehabilitated a national economy ruined by long years of war, and in 1953 we started the First Five-Year Plan for Economic Development. As a result of these efforts, production in all major categories, such as iron and steel, cotton cloth and grain, has exceeded levels for any period in the history of China. But these achievements are small compared with our actual needs. Our country is still very backward compared with the highly industrialized ones. Like other countries in Asia, we are in urgent need of a peaceful international environment for the development of our independent economy.

Because the Asian and African countries oppose colonialism and defend national independence, they treasure their national rights all the more. All countries, whether big or small, strong or weak, should enjoy equal rights in international relations. Their territorial integrity and sovereignty should be respected and must not be violated. The people of all dependent countries should enjoy the right to national self-determination and not be subjected to persecution and slaughter. All people, irrespective of race or colour, should enjoy fundamental human rights and not be subjected to any maltreatment or discrimination. However, we cannot but note that the violent suppression of the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and other dependent countries fighting for independence has not been stopped, that racial discrimination and persecution in the Union of South Africa and other places have not yet been curbed and that the problem of the Arab refugees of Palestine still remains to be solved.

It has now become the common desire of the awakened countries and peoples of Asia and Africa to oppose racial discrimination and demand fundamental human rights, to oppose colonialism and demand national independence, and to firmly defend their territorial integrity and sovereignty. The struggle of the Egyptian people for the restoration of their sovereignty over the Suez Canal zone, the struggle of the Iranian people for the restoration of sovereignty over their petroleum resources and the demand for the restoration of India's territorial rights over Goa and of Indonesia's rights over West Irian have all won the sympathy of many countries in Asia and Africa. China's resolve to liberate her own territory, Taiwan, has likewise won the support of all justice-loving people in the Asian-African region. This shows that the peoples of our countries understand, sympathize and care for each other.

Peace can only be safeguarded by mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Encroachment on the sovereignty and territory of any country or interference in the internal affairs of any country inevitably endangers peace. If nations promise not to commit aggression against each other, the way will be paved in international relations for peaceful coexistence. If nations promise not to interfere in each other's internal affairs, it will then be possible for the people of each country to choose their own political system and way of life. The agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China were reached at the Geneva Conference precisely on the basis of the assurances given by the parties concerned that they would respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Indo-Chinese states and not interfere in any way in their internal affairs. In accordance with this understanding, the Geneva agreements provide that the Indo-Chinese states shall not join any military alliance and that no foreign military bases shall be established on their territory. That explains why the Geneva Conference was able to create favourable conditions for the establishment of a zone of peace. But after the Geneva Conference, we witnessed a development in the opposite direction, which is not in the interests of the Indo-Chinese states or of peace. We believe that the Geneva agreements should be strictly and faithfully carried out. No interference or obstruction from any quarter should be allowed. The question of the peaceful unification of Korea should also be solved in accordance with the same principles.

We Asian and African countries need to co-operate in the economic and cultural fields in order to eliminate the backwardness caused by the long years of colonial exploitation and oppression. This co-operation should be based on equality and mutual benefit, with no conditions for privilege attached. The trade relations and economic co-operation among us should be designed to promote the development of an independent economy in each country, and not to convert any country into an exclusive producer of raw materials and a market for consumer goods. In our cultural exchanges we should respect the development of the national culture of each country and not ignore the characteristics and special merits of any country, so that we can learn and benefit from each other.

Now that the peoples of Asia and Africa are increasingly taking their destiny into their own hands, even though economic and cultural co-operation among us cannot yet be on a very large scale, it can definitely be said that such co-operation, based on equality and mutual benefit, has a great future. We are convinced that as our countries become more industrialized, as our peoples' standards of living rise and as the artificial trade barriers imposed between us from without are eliminated, trade and economic co-operation among us will become ever closer and cultural exchanges ever more frequent.

By following the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, it is possible for countries with different social systems to achieve peaceful coexistence. So long as these principles are implemented, there is no reason why international disputes cannot be settled through negotiation.

In the interest of defending world peace, we Asian and African countries, which are under more or less similar circumstances, should be the first to strive for friendship, co-operation and peaceful coexistence. The discord and separation that were created among us by colonial rule must not be allowed to continue. We should respect one another and eliminate any suspicion and fear that may remain among us.

The government of the People's Republic of China fully agrees with the aims of the Asian-African Conference as defined by the prime ministers of the five South Asian countries in the joint communiqué of the Bogor Conference.⁹² We believe that to promote world peace and co-operation, the countries of Asia and Africa should, in accordance with their common interests, begin by seeking goodwill and

co-operation among themselves and establishing friendly and neighbourly relations. India, Burma and China have affirmed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence⁹³ as the guide for their mutual relations. More and more countries are supporting these principles. By following these principles, China and Indonesia have already achieved good results in their preliminary talks on the question of the nationality of citizens of one country residing in the other. During the Geneva Conference China also expressed its readiness to develop friendly relations with the Indo-Chinese states on the basis of the five principles. There is no reason why relations between China and Thailand, the Philippines and other neighbouring countries cannot be improved on the basis of these same principles. China is ready to establish normal relations with other Asian and African countries on that basis and is willing to work for the normalization of relations between China and Japan. In order to promote mutual understanding and co-operation among us, we propose that the governments, parliaments and people's organizations of the Asian and African countries make friendly visits to each other's countries.

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the days when the destiny of the Asian and African peoples was manipulated at will by others are gone forever. We believe that if we are determined to preserve world peace, no one can drag us into war; if we are determined to strive for and safeguard our national independence, no one can continue to enslave us; and if we are determined to cultivate friendship and enter into co-operation, no one can divide us.

What we want is peace and independence. We have no intention of setting the countries of Asia and Africa against countries in other regions. We want to establish peaceful and co-operative relations with them also.

This meeting was not easily brought about. Though there are many different views among us, that should not affect the aspirations we all have in common. Our Conference ought to give expression to these common aspirations and thus become a treasured page in the history of Asia and Africa. At the same time, the contacts that we have established at this Conference should be maintained, so that we can make greater contributions to world peace.

As His Excellency President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia has rightly said, we Asians and Africans must be united.

Let us hail in advance the success of our Conference.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates,

My main speech has been mimeographed and is being distributed to you. After listening to the addresses delivered by the heads of many other delegations, I should like to add a few remarks.

The Chinese delegation has come here to seek unity, not to quarrel. We Communists do not hide the fact that we believe in communism and that we consider the socialist system a good system. But there is no need at this Conference to propagate one's own ideology and the political system of one's own country, even though differences do exist among us.

The Chinese delegation has come here to seek common ground, not to create division. Is there any reason to believe there is common ground among us? Yes, there is. In modern times the overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries and peoples have suffered and are still suffering from the calamities caused by colonialism. This is something we all acknowledge. If we seek common ground along the lines of eliminating the sufferings and calamities caused by colonialism, mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support will easily replace mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism. That is why we agree to the four purposes of the Asian-African Conference declared by the prime ministers of the five countries at the Bogor Conference and why we are not proposing any additional agenda items.

On the question of the tension created by the United States with regard to Taiwan, we could have submitted for deliberation by the Conference a proposal similar to the one made by the Soviet Union for an international conference to settle the matter. The demand of the Chinese people for the liberation of their territory of Taiwan and the coastal islands is a just demand. It is entirely a matter of our internal affairs and the exercise of our sovereignty. This just demand of ours has won the support of many countries. Again, we could have submitted to the Conference the question of recognizing and restoring the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Colombo Conference held by the prime ministers of the five powers last year supported the restoration of the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and so did other countries of Asia and Africa. In addition,

we could have criticized the unfair treatment of China by the United Nations. But we did none of this, because it would have dragged our Conference into disputes about these problems without leading to solutions.

In this Conference we should seek common ground while recognizing our differences. The Conference should affirm all our common aspirations and demands. This is our main task here. As to our differences, none of us is asked to abandon his own views, because different viewpoints are an objective reality. But we should not let our differences keep us from reaching agreement on our main task. On the basis of what we hold in common, we should go further and try to understand and appreciate each other's different views.

Now I should like to talk first about the question of different ideologies and social systems. We have to admit that among our Asian and African countries, we do have different ideologies and different social systems. But this does not prevent us from seeking common ground and being united. Many independent countries have appeared since World War II. One group consists of countries led by Communist Parties and the other of countries led by nationalists. There are not many countries in the first group. But what some people dislike is the fact that the 600 million Chinese people have chosen a political system which is socialist in nature and is led by the Chinese Communist Party and that the Chinese people are no longer ruled by imperialists. There are more countries in the second group, such as India, Burma, Indonesia and many others in Asia and Africa. Both of these groups have freed themselves from colonial rule and are continuing their struggle for complete independence. Is there any reason why we cannot understand and respect each other and give each other support and sympathy? There is every reason to make the five principles the basis for establishing friendship, co-operation and neighbourly relations among us. The Asian and African countries, China included, are all backward economically and culturally. Inasmuch as our Asian-African Conference does not exclude anybody, why can't we understand each other, cultivate friendship and enter into co-operation?

Second, I should like to address the question of freedom of religion. Religious freedom is a principle recognized by all modern nations. We Communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious beliefs. We hope that those who have religious beliefs will also respect those who do not. China is a country with religious

freedom. In China there are not only seven million Communists, but tens of millions of Moslems and Buddhists and millions of Protestants and Catholics. Here in the Chinese delegation there is a pious Imam of the Islamic faith. This situation is no obstacle to China's internal unity. Why should it be impossible within the community of Asian and African countries to unite those with religious belief and those without? The days of instigating religious strife should be over, because those who profit from such strife are not among us.

Third, I should like to talk about the question of so-called subversive activities. The struggle of the Chinese people against colonialism lasted more than a century. The national and democratic revolutionary struggle led by the Chinese Communist Party was finally successful only after an ordeal that lasted 30 years. It is impossible to relate all the sufferings of the Chinese people under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and Chiang Kai-shek. At last they have chosen their present political system and government. It was thanks to their efforts that the Chinese revolution triumphed. The revolution was certainly not imported from outside. This point cannot be denied even by those who deplore the victory of the revolution. As a Chinese proverb says: "Do not do unto others what you yourself do not desire." We are against outside interference; how could we want to interfere in the internal affairs of others? Some people say that there are more than 10 million overseas Chinese whose dual nationality might be used to carry out subversive activities. But the problem of dual nationality is a remnant of old China. At this time, Chiang Kai-shek is still using a very few overseas Chinese to conduct subversive activities against the countries where they are residing. The people's government of New China, however, is ready to solve the problem of dual nationality of overseas Chinese with the governments of the countries concerned. Other people say that the autonomous region of Dai people in China is a threat to others. There are in China more than 40 million people of scores of minority nationalities. The Dai people, and the Zhuang people who are of the same stock, number almost 10 million. Since they exist, we must grant them autonomy. Just as there is an autonomous state for Shan people in Burma, so every minority nationality in China has its autonomous region. The minority nationalities exercise their right of autonomy within China; how can that be called a threat to our neighbours?

On the basis of strict adherence to the five principles, we are now prepared to establish normal relations with all the Asian and African countries, indeed with all the countries in the world, starting with our neighbours. The problem is not that we are carrying out subversive activities against the governments of other countries, but that there are people who are establishing bases around China in order to carry out subversive activities against the Chinese government. For instance, on the border between China and Burma there remain armed elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are carrying out sabotage against both China and Burma. Because of the friendly relations between the two countries, and because we have always respected Burma's sovereignty, we are confident that the government of Burma will find a solution to this problem.

The Chinese people have chosen their own government and they support it. There is freedom of religion in China. China has no intention whatsoever of subverting the governments of neighbouring countries. On the contrary, it is China that is the victim of subversive activities which are carried out openly, without any disguise, by the government of the United States. Those who do not believe this may come to China or send someone there to see for themselves. We understand that those who do not yet know the truth have some doubts in their minds. There is a saying in China: "Seeing once is better than hearing a hundred times." The delegates of all the countries participating in this Conference are welcome to visit China, any time they like. We have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smokescreen between us.

The 1,600 million people of Asia and Africa wish our Conference success. All the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world look forward to the contribution the Conference will make towards extending the area of peace and establishing collective peace. Let us be united and do our utmost to make the Asian-African Conference a success.

ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING INTELLECTUALS

January 14, 1956

Comrades,

In order to strengthen the leadership of the Party over intellectuals and over all the work in the fields of science and culture, the Central Committee has decided to call this conference to discuss questions concerning intellectuals.

The Central Committee's decision is part of its overall struggle to mobilize the Party to oppose conservative thinking and fulfil the general task of the transition period.

As everyone knows, the Central Committee, acting in accordance with the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, waged a series of struggles last year against Right conservative thinking within the Party. One of the most important results of those struggles has been the systematic development of a broad movement to eliminate counter-revolutionaries in government offices and throughout the country. We expect that this movement will be basically completed within two years.

A second important result of those struggles has been the rapid development of the agricultural co-operative movement, which is based on the phenomenally rising political consciousness of the masses. We also expect to achieve the semi-socialist co-operativization of agriculture this year, with a view to moving towards fully socialist co-operativization.

A third important result has been the socialist transformation of ownership in private industry and commerce, proceeding by whole trades, which is progressing at a good rate and should be completed this year throughout the country.

Speech at a conference on the subject held by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. It was published in *People's Daily* on January 30, 1956.

And a fourth result has been the prospect of early fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan for Economic Development. Certain production units will probably fulfil their 1957 plans in 1956; others may also be able to fulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

These enormous and heartening accomplishments would have been unimaginable a year ago. But if we hadn't waged the struggle against Right conservative thinking, they would have remained beyond our reach. From this we can see what a serious threat such thinking is to our Party.

The basic requirements of the struggle against Right conservatism are that we must further develop and consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, complete socialist transformation as quickly as possible, overfulfil the state plan for industrial development and make rapid progress in the technical transformation of the economy.

This struggle is of world significance. If we can speed up and overfulfil these tasks in our great country of 600 million people, accomplishing them with greater, faster, better and more economical results, it will strengthen the entire socialist camp. It will also help to prevent the outbreak of a new war, and if wanton aggressors dare to launch one, we shall be in a more powerful position. Accordingly, the Central Committee has decided to make the struggle against Right conservatism the central issue at the Eighth National Congress of the Party, calling on the entire Party membership to wage this struggle in their work units.

It is against this background that the question of intellectuals presents itself.

What is the relation between the question of intellectuals and our current efforts to speed up socialist construction?

Basically, we are building a socialist economy in order to provide maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural demands of the entire society. To reach this goal, we must constantly expand the productive forces, raise labour productivity and increase and improve socialist production on a foundation of high technology. In the socialist era, it is more necessary than ever for us to raise production skills, develop the sciences and utilize scientific knowledge. It follows that if we want to develop socialist construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results, we must rely not only on the working class and the peasant masses but also on the intellectuals. In other words, we have to rely upon close co-operation

between manual workers and mental workers and upon a fraternal alliance among workers, peasants and intellectuals.

More and more of our construction projects require the efforts of intellectuals. For example, in prospecting for mineral deposits we must have geologists, accompanied by college and middle-school graduates, to conduct surveys, prospect, and bore in remote areas. In the construction of mines, plants, railways and water conservancy projects we must have engineers and a large group of technicians to survey and to design, build and install equipment. In factories, every step in the production process, from design to inspection of finished products, calls for a certain number of skilled technicians. More and more, the management of industry and commerce will require specialized knowledge in various fields. To build a modern national defence we must have specialists and scientists.

Without teachers and doctors, we cannot have schools and hospitals. Without cultural and art workers, we can have no cultural life. After the mechanization and electrification of agriculture, we shall need many agrotechnicians, engineers for electrical power stations, agronomists, accountants and others. Even at present, to accomplish the urgent tasks set forth in the Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967)⁹⁴ — including the manufacture of animal-powered farm machinery, chemical fertilizers and water pumps, and the elimination of insect pests, human diseases and epidemic diseases of domestic animals — we have to depend on scientists, technicians, specialists in plant protection, medical personnel and veterinarians.

Intellectuals, therefore, are important to all aspects of life in our country. To fulfil the general task in the transition period, it is essential to handle correctly the question of intellectuals, to mobilize them and let them play their role in the service of the great cause of socialist construction. All departments and organizations of our Party must recognize the importance of this question.

What are the current problems concerning intellectuals? The most fundamental problem is that in number, professional competence and political consciousness, our intellectuals are inadequate to the rising demands of China's rapidly developing socialist construction. However, certain unreasonable practices in our employment and treatment of intellectuals, especially the sectarian attitude of certain comrades towards those who are not Party members, are preventing them from playing their role to the full.

We must strengthen leadership, overcome our shortcomings and adopt effective measures to mobilize intellectuals and take advantage of their skills, to raise their political consciousness and to expand their ranks by training more of them. We must also do everything we can to upgrade their skills so as to meet the state's ever-increasing demand for trained people. These are the fundamental tasks of our Party so far as intellectuals are concerned.

I

Before discussing these tasks, I first want to examine the present situation.

Our Party has always regarded the question of intellectuals as one of prime importance. In 1939 the Central Committee adopted a decision, drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong, to recruit large numbers of intellectuals,⁹⁵ and that decision was implemented in all the anti-Japanese base areas. After the entire country was liberated, the Party carried out a policy of uniting with, educating and reforming intellectuals on a nationwide scale.

The Central Committee believes that intellectuals are needed in construction as well as in revolution. This is particularly true because before liberation our country was backward in culture and science. We must therefore take full advantage of intellectuals left over from the old society, so that they will serve the interests of socialist construction.

The Central Committee also believes that while in the past intellectuals were influenced by the imperialists and the reactionary class, the overwhelming majority of them also suffered from the oppression of the imperialists and the Kuomintang. Accordingly, some of them joined the revolution and others were sympathetic to it. Most of them remained neutral observers. Only a very few were counter-revolutionaries. It was obvious to most of them that there was no alternative to standing with the working class and the Chinese Communist Party. It is therefore both necessary and possible for us to unite with the intellectuals.

With this in mind, the Central Committee has adopted a policy of taking care of all old-fashioned intellectuals. Most of them have been given appropriate jobs, including some positions of responsibility.

The Party makes every effort to help formerly unemployed intellectuals find jobs or to make appropriate arrangements for them. It also provides many outstanding intellectuals with the political status they need to carry out their work.

The Central Committee believes that it is necessary to help old-fashioned intellectuals remould themselves so that they can abandon their bourgeois, landlord ideology and accept the ideology of the working class.

The Party has adopted a series of measures to achieve this goal. It has organized intellectuals to take part in agrarian reform,¹⁰ to suppress counter-revolutionaries,⁶⁴ to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea,²⁶ to join the struggles against the “three evils”⁶⁹ and against the “five evils”,⁶⁷ to work in factories and villages, to visit the Soviet Union, to participate in international activities, to study basic Marxism-Leninism, to criticize the idealism of the bourgeoisie, to struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique⁹⁶ and other reactionaries and to conduct criticism and self-criticism. The Party has also adopted various measures to help them improve their work methods and raise their professional level.

Most of these intellectuals have become government functionaries serving socialism and are a part of the working class. While uniting with, educating and reforming old-fashioned intellectuals, the Party has made great efforts to develop a large contingent of new intellectuals including many from the labouring classes. As a result, tremendous changes have taken place among intellectuals in our country during the past six years.

Statistics compiled by various units show that about 40 per cent of the high-level intellectuals are progressive persons who support the Communist Party, the people’s government and socialism and who serve of the people, and that another 40 per cent are middle-of-the-roaders who support the Party and the government and can fulfil their tasks but who are not politically active. Of the remaining 20 per cent, more than half are backward persons who lack political awareness or are ideologically opposed to socialism, and only the rest are counter-revolutionaries and bad elements.

Such changes are very rapid as compared with those in the early period after liberation. For instance, according to a study of 141 teachers from four institutions of higher education in Beijing, Tianjin and Qingdao, during the past six years the number of progressive elements among these teachers has increased from 18 to 41 per cent,

while the number of backward elements has dropped from 28 to 15 per cent. Many intellectuals have been strongly influenced by the great programmes for socialist transformation and construction and have begun to see that after the rebirth of China their own future is closely bound up with the future of the nation.

It should be pointed out here that the ideological development of intellectuals does not necessarily correspond to the changes in their political and social positions. Even many progressive intellectuals, not to mention the middle-of-the-roaders, suffer in one degree or another from bourgeois idealism and individualism. Furthermore, intellectuals in many units, especially the backward elements, are making very slow progress. This reflects the inadequacy of our work among them.

Intellectuals have increased in number during the past six years. It is estimated that we now have approximately 100,000 highly trained people working in the fields of scientific research, education, engineering, technology, health, culture, the arts and so on. According to the available data, about one-third of them joined this force after liberation. In some fields the expansion has been quite rapid. During the initial period after liberation, there were fewer than 200 persons working in geology, for example. By 1955, however, there were 497 engineers and 3,440 technicians with college degrees working under the ministries of geology, heavy industry, petroleum and coal.

During the six years since liberation, 217,900 persons have graduated from institutions of higher education in China. Although not all of them are up to the standard of the highly trained people I just mentioned, they have brought new blood into the contingent of intellectuals and constitute a pool of potential specialists. It must be pointed out that a large number of young people who have not yet been officially classified as specialists have in fact taken up positions as specialists and have generally proved competent in their work.

Of the 42,000 teachers in institutions of higher education, professors and associate professors account for only 17.8 per cent, lecturers for 24 per cent, and assistant lecturers for 58.2 per cent. A number of the assistant lecturers have started to teach independently. In the field of engineering the situation is quite similar. There are a little over 31,000 engineers throughout the country. In addition, there are 63,600 college-graduated technicians working at various levels. A large number of the latter have actually taken up positions as engineers; many of them should have been rated as engineers long ago. Furthermore, there is an enormous reserve of intellectuals who will one day

become highly trained intellectuals. Members of this group are constantly raising their academic level through field work and through spare-time studies.

There is no clear-cut line of demarcation between high-level and other intellectuals. Statistics compiled in the fields of scientific research, education, engineering, technology, health, culture and the arts show that we have 3.84 million intellectuals. They constitute a formidable force in the socialist construction programme. It is extremely important for the Party and the government to correctly evaluate and utilize these people and to help them forge ahead politically and professionally. In this speech I am focusing on high-level intellectuals. However, most of the principles I am discussing are applicable to intellectuals in general.

As I just said, our intellectuals now form a tremendous force. Nevertheless, in view of the vastness of our country, the rapid development of our construction programmes and our plans for even faster development in future, we cannot but accelerate the expansion of that force, especially the contingent of high-level intellectuals. We must admit that there are many shortcomings in our work of training and promoting new intellectuals. Because of these shortcomings, their numbers have not increased as quickly as they should have.

During the past six years our intellectuals have raised their professional level considerably. Educational reform has been carried out in all of our institutions of higher learning. Many new departments and specialized courses have been added to the curriculums. Many new teaching materials have been compiled and translated, which has raised teaching standards. People working in the fields of science and technology have scored tremendous achievements in geological surveying and prospecting, capital construction and the design and trial production of new products. The results have been spectacular.

Thanks to our efforts to learn from the Soviet Union, our engineers are now able to design and build a large variety of modern factories, mines, bridges and water conservancy projects. They have also considerably improved their ability to design large machines, locomotives and steamships. Approximately 3,500 new mechanical products were produced between 1952 and 1955. A small number of them are up to world standards of quality. In the field of metallurgy, our country is now able to produce more than 240 kinds of high-quality steel and alloy steel. Our techniques in controlling blast and open-hearth furnaces have reached the Soviet standards of 1952.

So far as academic sciences are concerned, our achievements in certain branches of mathematics, physics, organic chemistry and biology have been hailed by world scientific circles. Some of these achievements have already contributed to actual production.

However, it must be said that as a whole the state of our science and technology is still backward. We are not only unable yet to master and utilize the latest scientific and technological accomplishments in the world, but also to work independently on the more complex technical problems in our construction programmes without assistance from Soviet experts. It must also be said that not until recently have we worked out an overall plan for the development of science and technology, that we have not made full use of our existing human resources, that our backwardness in these areas is attributable to our poor academic foundation and that it is precisely into scientific research that we have put the least effort.

This suggests that in spite of our achievements, there are considerable shortcomings in our work.

What policy, then, must we follow with regard to intellectuals? What tendencies must we try to prevent or correct?

The main one is the tendency towards sectarianism, but there are also tendencies towards indifference and conciliation.

Some comrades are indifferent to intellectuals, because they underestimate the tremendous political and professional progress the intellectuals have made and the important role they have played in our socialist cause. Reasoning that production is carried out by workers and that technical guidance can be provided by Soviet experts, they conclude that intellectuals are of no use and refuse to recognize them as a component of the working class. As a result of this attitude, these comrades have not sincerely carried out the Party's policy with regard to intellectuals and have made no conscientious effort to study and solve problems concerning them. Consequently, they have been apathetic about such urgent matters as mobilizing and developing the potential of intellectuals, further transforming them, expanding their numbers and raising their professional level.

Other comrades are conciliatory towards intellectuals, because they place one-sided emphasis on the progress intellectuals have made and overestimate their achievements without recognizing their shortcomings. These comrades trust intellectuals blindly, are not on guard against evil elements among them, do nothing to educate and reform

them even though they are aware of their shortcomings and, because of certain irrelevant considerations, are timid about trying to educate and reform them.

These two tendencies seem contradictory. But in essence they are both manifestations of Right conservatism, characterized by an abandonment of leadership and a lack of the will to struggle. They hamper our effort to deal correctly with the questions of intellectuals, science and culture, and impede the development of our socialist programmes.

We must therefore combat both these tendencies simultaneously. We must neither neglect the existing corps of intellectuals nor be satisfied with their number. We must neither try to rely on Soviet experts indefinitely nor relax our efforts to learn advanced science and technology from the Soviet Union and other countries. The only correct policy for us is to mobilize our existing intellectuals and develop their potential as a means of continuing our socialist construction programme with greater, faster, better and more economical results. In the meantime, we must quickly reform, expand and improve the corps of intellectuals at a speed and on a scale corresponding to the great strides we are making in other areas.

II

To fully mobilize our existing intellectuals and develop their potential is essential not only for our ongoing construction programmes but also for our future programmes for reforming, expanding and improving the corps of intellectuals.

Generally speaking, China's intellectuals have been adequately mobilized under the leadership of our Party. If that were not so, the tremendous progress I spoke of and their great contributions to the country would have been inconceivable. We must first acknowledge this fact as the principal aspect of the question.

However, there are truly many shortcomings in our work, including a number of serious ones. Now that our programmes of socialist transformation and construction are in full swing, we must strengthen our leadership and quickly correct our deficiencies so as to take full advantage of the intellectuals.

With this goal in mind, we must first of all try to improve our arrangements for using intellectuals, so that they may fully develop their specialized talents for the benefit of the state.

In most cases we have done fairly well in this regard. Many intellectuals have shouldered tremendous responsibilities in the state's work of construction and have constantly improved their ability through field work.

However, we still cannot say that we have perfected our arrangements for using intellectuals and that none of their skills are left unused. In many government offices, for example, because of unsuitable assignments or poor organization of work, a few intellectuals are still idle most of the time. In most cases they were assigned to these offices because of their specialized training in certain fields. This waste of the state's most precious resource must be eliminated.

For another example, in institutions of higher education throughout the country a few teachers are not teaching any courses. Some of them are capable of offering courses and others need only a little more training to be able to do so. Both types are entitled to their own courses. Those who are not competent to teach should be reassigned to other jobs corresponding to their abilities, such as translation, editing, publishing or library work. In no case should they be made to remain idle. For still another example, there are a few intellectuals who are able to work but remain unemployed. They should be assigned suitable work by the central or local authorities on the merits of each case.

In some places intellectuals are not being used to best advantage. A number of scientists who are willing to engage in research and who could make their greatest contribution to the state by so doing have been assigned to administrative jobs in government offices or schools. A number of specialists have been mistakenly assigned to positions completely alien to their past training. They are often asked to do one thing today and another tomorrow, but seldom reassigned to their own line of work.

According to statistics compiled by the No. 4 Staff Office of the State Council, in five units under the Ministry of Light Industry approximately 10 per cent of the high-level intellectuals were found to be assigned to positions unrelated to their training. What a great waste this is! We must take determined measures to eliminate bureaucratism, sectarianism and departmentalism in the handling of

personnel, so that persons with specialized training are assigned to the units that need them most.

The second thing we must do to mobilize the intellectuals and develop their potential is to try to understand them and to give them the confidence and support they deserve, so that they can work with enthusiasm.

Generally speaking, intellectuals are pleased with the confidence and support we give them. But we must recognize our shortcomings in this area too.

So far as placing confidence in intellectuals is concerned, there is a tendency, as I have said, to trust them indiscriminately in political and professional matters. As a consequence, secrets are sometimes unnecessarily exposed to persons who have no need to know them or who are undependable, and incompetent persons are sometimes appointed to very important positions, to the detriment of the work. This shortcoming must be overcome.

Then there is the other tendency, the tendency to withhold trust from intellectuals who deserve it. This means forbidding them to visit factories which they need to see, for example, or barring them from information which they need to possess. And this too should be overcome. While state secrets must, without question, be resolutely protected, a correct line must be drawn between what is secret and what is not. The scope of secrecy must not be arbitrarily expanded in such a way as to interfere with work and cause difficulties to personnel.

In the meantime, the biographical data on intellectuals should be correctly evaluated so that no one is kept under prolonged, unjustified suspicion simply because he has a complicated background. Many of the high-level intellectuals have such a background — there is nothing strange about it. Only a small number of them are politically questionable, and only a very few are dubious in the realm of current political affairs.

The fact that many intellectuals have not yet been cleared of suspicion regarding their background is often due to the negligence of leading cadres, who instead of taking practical action to resolve such questions have simply left them in prolonged suspense. Capable people should be brought together to settle all pending questions quickly, in the order of their importance and urgency, so as to pave the way for a more efficient use of intellectuals.

Intellectuals outside the Party are entitled not only to confidence but also to the real support they deserve. That is to say, they must not only be given positions but a certain amount of power commensurate with their positions. Their views should be respected and their achievements in research and other work should be acclaimed. Academic discussions concerning socialist construction should be encouraged. Intellectuals should be given opportunities to demonstrate their innovations and inventions with a view to having them widely adopted. There are a few Party and Youth League members who do not respect the leadership of intellectuals who are in positions of authority but are not Party members. We must see to it that they correct this attitude.

That certain intellectuals do not enjoy enough confidence and support is a strong indication of the sectarianism of some of our comrades. Many of our comrades are unaccustomed to consulting with intellectuals who are not Party members. They don't provide non-Party intellectuals with timely guidance or assistance. Some comrades even maintain a certain respectable distance between themselves and non-Party intellectuals. Since under these circumstances the two groups lack mutual understanding, it is only to be expected that conflicts arise.

However, it must be realized that intellectuals are important state personnel. Their work has an immediate impact on national construction. It is therefore our responsibility to learn to approach them in a spirit of comradeship and to understand them correctly, so as to provide them with guidance and assistance and help them to make positive contributions in the performance of their work.

The third thing we must do to fully mobilize our intellectuals and develop their potential is to provide them with necessary working conditions and appropriate material benefits.

Their present working conditions and material benefits are considerably better than in pre-liberation days. However, as I mentioned before, there are still certain unsolved problems.

One important problem is that many intellectuals cannot arrange their time efficiently. They feel that they spend too much time on non-productive conferences and administrative routines that do not actually require their presence. It is a fact that the more famous the scientists, writers and artists are, the more time they have to spend on conferences, administrative routines and social activities. This is a very serious situation on the cultural front in China. It is the

opinion of the Central Committee that intellectuals should be guaranteed at least five out of six working days, in other words at least 40 hours a week, for their own work. The rest of the time may be used for political study, necessary conferences and social activities. This must be done.

It is good for intellectuals to take part in social activities. The problem is that usually only a few people are involved in these activities. We must correct this and make it possible for a large number of people to participate. Many specialists hold too many jobs at the same time. This too must be quickly corrected.

Certain intellectuals feel that they don't have the books and other reference materials, facilities and qualified assistants they need, with the result that their efficiency is low. This is true. For example, some organizations with large collections of books and reference materials don't value them and don't assign qualified cadres to organize them, so that it is impossible for specialists to use them for study and research. The reason for this is that we are unfamiliar with the specialists' needs, or that even though we have heard about them over and over again, no real action is taken to solve the problem. Certain cadres are reluctant to be bothered by these "petty matters". This is a mistake. They are not petty matters. We must quickly and earnestly address them.

Generally speaking, intellectuals' standards of living have been considerably improved. However, in order that high-level intellectuals may devote more energy to their work, their material benefits should be appropriately increased. Certain high-level intellectuals are obliged to spend too much time on routine chores of daily life. This is a waste of the state's labour force. The living conditions of some high-level intellectuals are deplorable. In Beijing and certain other cities with rapidly increasing populations, some of them live with several members of their families in small rooms. Their rest and recreational activities, too, are poorly organized. The departments concerned must find solutions to these problems.

There are three main ways to improve the material benefits of intellectuals.

First, we must educate administrative personnel in the various organizations concerned, so that they will take seriously the problem of intellectuals' living conditions. The ideologically mistaken views of people who are only interested in the living conditions of leading administrators and neglect those of intellectuals, believing the latter

don't deserve their attention, should be corrected. When this is done, half the problem will be solved.

Second, we must explain to trade unions and consumers' co-operatives of the units concerned that they should improve their services to intellectuals. Trade unions should use their fees primarily for the units' cultural activities and welfare undertakings. Their personnel should personally and persistently help to overcome the difficulties of the union members in their everyday lives. This should be regarded as an important task in the various trade unions of intellectuals.

Third, intellectuals' salaries should be readjusted in accordance with the principle of to each according to his work, so that their earnings will correspond better to their contributions to the country. Egalitarianism and other unreasonable tendencies in the wage system must be eliminated. Meanwhile, the few intellectuals who are not state functionaries, such as certain theatrical performers, artists, practitioners of Chinese medicine and others, who currently have smaller incomes, should be considered separately by the competent departments for salary increases.

Another important question relating to the material benefits of intellectuals is the promotion system. Many aspects of the current system are unreasonable. There are too many grades with too little difference between them. College graduates are being assigned to low-level grades. There are no definite standards of promotion. In many units grades have not been reviewed for several years, with the result that some people have not received the promotions to which they are entitled. This unreasonable system has considerably dampened intellectuals' ambition. It is especially detrimental to the training of new intellectuals and the promotion of intellectuals in general. This system must be reformed immediately.

Meanwhile, academic degrees and titles, honorary designations by intellectual circles, awards for inventions, innovations and creative works, and similar forms of recognition are all important means of encouraging intellectuals to achieve more and of promoting the progress of science and culture. Some units are currently drawing up plans for such systems. They should be promulgated as soon as possible.

As for the political treatment of intellectuals, in that area too there are some things that need to be improved. The main problem is that many units don't pay enough attention to intellectuals' political life. Some intellectuals have complained that they have been asked to

listen to the same long lecture over and over again. A larger number of them, however, have complained that they don't have the opportunity to hear even one lecture a year. Likewise, although some feel they have too many social activities, more feel that they would be highly pleased if they had only one such opportunity. We must pay attention to all these complaints and make the necessary adjustments.

Meanwhile, we must also educate all personnel in the proper treatment of intellectuals. They must not inadvertently wound the intellectuals' self-respect; self-respect is necessary to all honest workers.

These are some of the preconditions for mobilizing intellectuals and developing their potential. To do that, it is naturally also necessary to educate and reform them, providing them with political and professional guidance. I shall return to this point later. In any case, the conditions I have mentioned are absolutely indispensable. With these conditions, we may hope to fully mobilize the intellectuals for the great undertaking of building the motherland. At the same time, we may also hope to promote their political and professional progress.

III

It is an important political task of the Party during this transition period to continue to help intellectuals remould themselves.

China is now in a transition period, a period of intensive social change. The private ownership of the means of production, which is an institution thousands of years old, will be transformed into socialist public ownership. A system of exploitation that has lasted thousands of years will henceforth cease to exist. And all people will become workers of one category or another. Such earth-shaking changes cannot but arouse acute reactions in the various social and ideological sectors of our country. Accordingly, we cannot view any social problem of this period, including the question of intellectuals, apart from class struggle. The political differences among intellectuals and the changes in their thinking are, precisely, reflections of the progress of class struggle in their ranks. As we have seen, there are still a few counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements, such as swindlers and hooligans, among the intellectuals. These must

be purged from their ranks. There are also a few who are ideologically opposed to socialism or who entirely misunderstand it. We must criticize their mistaken ideas and try to convert them.

During the past year, we have achieved considerable success in eliminating counter-revolutionaries hidden among intellectuals. We shall continue our efforts in this regard and try to eliminate most of them within the next two years.

In struggling against counter-revolutionaries, we must not involve people whose relations with them are merely social. This is a very important point, for there are many intellectuals who have such relations. Matters must be clearly explained to persons who have been involved in counter-revolutionary cases in the past. Those who have had contacts with counter-revolutionary organizations but who have truly changed their standpoint since liberation should be treated like ordinary people, once they have made a clean breast of those contacts.

As I mentioned before, there is a certain estrangement between some intellectuals and our Party. We must take the initiative to change this state of affairs. When intellectuals are alienated from the Party, it is usually the fault of both sides. On the one hand, our comrades have not approached them and tried to understand them. On the other hand, certain intellectuals have accepted socialism only with reservations or have taken a hostile attitude towards it. Such people are to be found in enterprises, schools and government offices, as well as in society at large. They do not distinguish between friend and foe, between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the Chinese people and the imperialists. They are dissatisfied with the policies and measures of the Party and the people's government and long for capitalism and even feudalism. They oppose the Soviet Union and are not willing to learn from it. They refuse to study Marxism-Leninism and even denounce it. They despise labour, working people and cadres who come from working-class backgrounds. They don't want to have anything to do with workers, peasants or cadres of worker or peasant origin. They are not happy to see the growth of the new forces and think people are progressive only out of self-interest. They often create dissension and antagonism not only between the Party and the intellectuals, but also among the intellectuals themselves. They have an overblown image of themselves, thinking they are superior to everybody else, and cannot accept leadership or criticism from others. They deny the existence of the interests of the people and of society, seeing everything

from the point of view of their personal interests. They support anything that is in their own interest and oppose anything that is contrary to it.

Of course, there are only a handful of intellectuals who are guilty of all these mistakes. But more than a few intellectuals have made one or more of them. Not only backward elements among them but also some middle-of-the-roaders often entertain wrong ideas. Quite a few progressive persons are narrow-minded and arrogant and see everything from the point of view of their personal interests. Unless these intellectuals make an effort to change their standpoint, they will remain alienated from us no matter how hard we try.

We should therefore not only reform backward elements but also educate middle-of-the-roaders, so as to help them become progressive. As for the progressives, we should help them to continue their progress, to study Marxism-Leninism and to rid themselves of the influence of capitalism, individualism and idealism. We should turn a large group of high-level intellectuals into "Red experts" who are dedicated to the socialist cause. Some high-level intellectuals have already become "Red experts", and many others want to do so. We should enthusiastically help them to reform themselves and realize this desire. It would be a mistake to despise them or discriminate against them.

In short, it is our plan to eliminate hidden counter-revolutionaries among the intellectuals, to reduce backward elements to a minimum, to turn middle-of-the-roaders into progressive elements and to help the progressives become truly socialist.

We have had considerable experience of reforming intellectuals and have accomplished a great deal. So it is not necessary to discuss in detail whether it is possible to reform them. Our task at present is to sum up our experience, overcome shortcomings in our past work and proceed more systematically from now on. Having analysed the political differences among intellectuals, we should, in the light of our analysis, draw up plans, based on measures that have proved effective in the past, for educating the backward, middle-of-the-road, and progressive elements among them.

Intellectuals are usually reformed in three ways. One is through observation of and participation in social practice; another is through their experiences in professional work; and still another is through the study of general theory. The three ways are interrelated, and often it is under the influence of all three that a person changes his

thinking. Generally speaking, however, it is social practice that has the greatest and most direct educational effect.

As everyone knows, many intellectuals have changed their thinking since participating in the agrarian reform and the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Visits to factories and villages during recent years have also strengthened intellectuals' confidence in socialism.

However, we have not yet organized this effort systematically. More often than not, we have left out of our plans the many middle-of-the-road and backward elements. From now on we should consider it an important task to organize intellectuals to witness socialist construction, and we should make arrangements for all those who have not had the opportunity to do so to go out, within the next few years, and see for themselves the progress that is being made.

Day-to-day work is also important in helping intellectuals change their thinking. In the past few years, the adoption of Soviet teaching materials and the reform of teaching methods have changed the minds of many teachers who used to have no faith in the Soviet Union and Marxism-Leninism. In the same way, the development of production skills by the masses of workers and peasants in our country, the adoption of Soviet science and technology and practical demonstrations by Soviet experts have also helped many of our scientists and technicians realize the superiority of the socialist system.

We shall continue to deepen our experience in this respect. However, we have made many mistakes with regard to learning from the Soviet Union. We have been too hasty and too rigid, copying everything indiscriminately. Certain comrades have even arbitrarily denied the scientific and technological accomplishments of the capitalist countries. These mistakes must not be repeated.

The study of Marxism-Leninism is of decisive significance in helping intellectuals to acquire a revolutionary outlook on life and a scientific outlook on the world. However, some localities need to improve the way in which these studies are organized, find better qualified instructors and devise study plans and methods more suitable to high-level intellectuals. Basic courses on Marxism-Leninism should be established for intellectuals to take on a voluntary basis and in accordance with the demands of their work. Correspondence courses, independent study courses, scientific symposiums, evening universities and the like should also be offered to help intellectuals study theory.

Since the reform of intellectuals is a reflection of class struggle, it is inevitable that the process of reform itself should involve a certain struggle. We should first of all ask intellectuals to obey the Constitution and to distinguish friend from foe on a patriotic basis. It would be unthinkable for us not to struggle against anyone who violates the Constitution or the patriotic spirit, or who, in word or deed, confuses friend and foe.

Meanwhile, it is also inevitable that there should be an acute struggle between socialist and capitalist ideologies and between materialist and idealist thinking. The process of ideological reform of intellectuals is inseparable from the development of ideological struggle in intellectual circles. Since liberation, the movement of ideological reform and the criticism of idealism, conducted under the leadership of our Party, have brought about considerable progress among intellectuals.

It is to be noted that a change in a person's thinking can be accomplished only through his own effort. Crude methods don't solve any problems. However, there have been cases recently in which crude methods were used to deal with scientists and scientific problems. This must be stopped. There are also people who persist in their ideological mistakes, but who do not oppose the people in word or deed and are even willing to serve the people with their knowledge and skills. While we may criticize their ideological mistakes, we must also wait patiently, helping them realize the need to reform themselves.

To help intellectuals make progress, it is very important for Party leaders to contact them directly. Many intellectuals want us to provide them with political and ideological assistance and criticism. They feel that we have done too little in this respect. Quite a number of them are unable not only to contact the leading comrades of the local Party committees, but even to find an opportunity to talk with Party committee members in their own units, even though they live together. They complain that we use them more than we help them, or that we only use them, without helping them at all. And some complain that our people talk to them on only three occasions: when they are to be transferred to another job, when their personal history is being reviewed and when they make a mistake. These are serious criticisms and they deserve our attention.

As part of our work to help remould intellectuals, we should talk to them about ideological and political matters and criticize them in

a comradely way. We should hold informal discussions to exchange views with them. These discussions are well received by intellectuals and should be held often. In addition, we should invite intellectuals who are not Party members to attend our meetings, as conditions permit, so that they will better understand the Party's intentions.

To help intellectuals raise their level of political consciousness, we should mobilize not only all Party members but also the approximately 40 per cent of intellectuals who are progressive to participate in our work. The Youth League, trade unions and various democratic parties have all made a considerable contribution to this work during the past few years. Their efforts should be used in a more systematic way.

Thanks to the experience we have accumulated in the transformation of intellectuals, to the support we receive from progressive forces and to the growing influence brought to bear by the rapid advances of socialist construction, intellectuals will surely make faster progress than in the past. If each unit works out its own plan for the transformation of intellectuals, in co-ordination with its seven-year plan ending in 1962 and with its annual plans, and faithfully carries it out, we shall be able by the end of our Second Five-Year Plan to transform more than 75 per cent of our high-level intellectuals into progressive elements working hard for socialism and acquiring basic Marxist-Leninist ideas and to reduce the number of backward elements among them to about 5 per cent.

Plans should be made to admit intellectuals to the Party. Many progressive intellectuals have applied for membership. The Nonferrous Metallurgic Design Institute of the Ministry of Heavy Industry is an example. Of the 1,920 engineers and technicians there, 605, or 31.5 per cent, have applied for Party membership. Of the 291 lecturers and professors at the six institutions of higher education in Tianjin, 106, or 36.4 per cent, have applied for membership. Of the 131 research personnel in the North China Agricultural Research Institute, 53, or 40 per cent, have applied.

During the past few years, however, we have very rarely admitted intellectuals to our Party. This reflects a "closed-door" mentality which should be corrected. New members must, of course, be admitted completely in accordance with established criteria. But it may be presumed that a large number of intellectuals who have applied for membership are qualified. In view of the continual infusion of new blood into the corps of high-level intellectuals and in view of the

growing numbers of progressives in their ranks, we believe that Party membership may be appropriately extended to one-third of them by 1962.

By the time this plan is fulfilled, a fundamental change will have taken place in the ideological and political outlook of Chinese intellectuals. We shall then be able to fulfil our historic task of completing their transformation during our country's transition period. At that time intellectuals, like everyone else, will still be required to advance in their study and their work and to rise from their newly attained levels to more progressive ones. But then the work will be of a more routine nature than it is today.

IV

To foster rapid development in construction, our corps of intellectuals must be expanded and professional standards raised.

The scientific and cultural workers in China are many fewer and of a lower standard than those in the Soviet Union and other major powers. This is inappropriate in a country as large as ours, which has a population of 600 million. We must make an urgent effort to expand our scientific and cultural force and raise its standards in order to reach the highest world levels in a comparatively short time. This is a great challenge to our Party, to our intellectuals and to all our people.

We have kept saying that we are backward in science and culture. But we have seldom taken the trouble to find out in precisely which areas we are backward.

Comrades, I would like to talk a little more about science. This is not only because it is critical to our national defence, economy and culture, but also because there has been rapid and tremendous progress in it in the world during the past 20 to 30 years. This progress has far outstripped our own scientific development.

Modern science is now advancing by leaps and bounds. Production procedures are gradually being mechanized, automated and fitted with remote control systems, which is raising labour productivity to unprecedentedly high levels.

Machines capable of withstanding high and super-high temperatures, pressures and speeds are being designed and produced. The

range and speed of transportation by water, land and air are constantly increasing. Supersonic aircraft have come into being. This technological progress demands a wide variety of new materials having special properties. To meet these demands, new metals and alloys are being produced and other materials are being produced by chemical and synthetic methods. Production techniques and procedures are being revised month by month and day by day to ensure faster production, more reliable processes, fuller utilization of resources, more economical use of raw materials and continual improvement in the quality of products.

The utilization of atomic energy tops all new developments in science and technology. Atomic energy has provided mankind with abundant sources of power and opened entirely new prospects for innovation in every branch of science. At the same time, progress in electronics and other sciences has brought computers into being. Computers are now able to replace human beings in the performance of certain types of mental labour in the same way that other machines have replaced them in the performance of physical labour, thus raising the level of automation still further. These latest developments have brought mankind to the eve of a scientific, technological and industrial revolution. This revolution, as Comrade Bulganin has said, will be of even greater significance than the industrial revolution brought about by the advent of steam and electric power.⁹⁷

We must try to catch up with the nations that are most advanced in this field. We should remember that while we are forging ahead, others are also advancing at high speed. For this reason, we must make the greatest efforts to win this race. Only through the mastery of the most advanced science will we be able to consolidate our national defence, build a solid economic foundation, and qualify ourselves to win a victory, together with the Soviet Union and other people's democracies, over the imperialist countries both in peaceful competition and in any aggressive war they may start.

It is hard to estimate accurately how much time will be required for us to overtake the most scientifically advanced countries. But we must now set ourselves the task of approaching, by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, their level in those branches of science that are most important to us, so that we ourselves can match all their latest achievements. In this way we shall be able to overtake the most scientifically advanced countries.

To fulfil this great task, we must first overcome the tendency to depend on other countries because as a nation we lack self-confidence, believing, for example, that since we cannot surmount our scientific and technological backwardness overnight, for some time we shall have no choice but to depend on Soviet aid. It is quite true that we have to depend on Soviet aid to surmount our backwardness, but how can we use this aid to best advantage?

One way is simply to “treat the head when the head aches and treat the foot when the foot is sore” — in other words, to deal with each problem on an ad hoc basis without overall planning — and to consult Soviet experts about everything. Instead of sending our scientists to the Soviet Union for advanced training, we have sent large numbers of high school graduates. Using aid this way means that we shall always remain in a position of dependency and apprenticeship. It not only increases the burden on Soviet experts but hampers the rapid and systematic development of science in China and hence retards the growth of the scientific, economic and defence strength of the entire socialist camp.

An alternative is to exercise overall planning and apply the latest achievements in Soviet science systematically in order of the urgency and importance of our needs, so as to catch up with the Soviet Union as soon as possible. In practice, this means that it is not enough to receive aid from Soviet experts in carrying out our urgent tasks and try to learn technology from them in the process. In addition, all those scientific units that can be improved by learning from the Soviet Union should either send their most advanced scientists to study there or invite Soviet scientists to China to help us build the foundations for our own scientific research. In this way, while trying to attain Soviet levels in the shortest possible time, we shall also be conducting our own research and training our own cadres. That is the most efficient and rational way to use Soviet aid to promote the planned development of science in our country and to quickly establish a relationship of mutual assistance between China and the Soviet Union, thereby promoting the growth of the scientific, economic and defence strength of the entire socialist camp. This second way of using Soviet aid has been proposed repeatedly by both Chinese and Soviet scientists, and it is the one and only correct way we should proceed.

To systematically raise the level of our scientific work, we must also try not to be short-sighted. We must divide our forces ap-

appropriately between academic and technical tasks and between advancing long-term interests and immediate interests. A correct division of labour is necessary to avoid uneven development. During the past few years, because we were only just beginning our work in many fields, it was understandable, indeed inevitable, that we should pay more attention to immediate interests and technical work than to long-term interests and academic work. But it would be a grave mistake now if we failed to change our approach and to advance our long-term interests and academic work.

Without a solid academic foundation for scientific research, it will be impossible to make progress in the long run and to bring about technological renovation. However, since academic progress is usually slower than technological development, and since the value of academic achievement is usually hard to recognize immediately, many comrades take a short-sighted view of this matter. They are reluctant to devote sufficient resources to scientific research and often request that scientists solve comparatively simple problems in technology, applied sciences, production and operational procedures. Of course, no academic work should be divorced from reality, and we must oppose any research of that sort. But we must try to overcome the prevailing tendency to neglect academic work.

This tendency is reflected not only in the natural sciences but also in the social sciences. The effort we have devoted to the social sciences is so feeble compared to the one we have made in the natural sciences that it is out of all proportion with the needs of our country. The distribution of members in the Chinese Academy of Sciences illustrates this. A hundred and seventy-two members of the Chinese Academy of Sciences are in the natural sciences, over half of whom are now able to devote most of their time to research. In the social sciences, on the other hand, there are only 51 members, and only a few of them are able to devote most of their time to research.

These two tendencies are interrelated. We must try to correct them once and for all, because they are hampering the development of science.

The State Council has now requested the State Planning Commission, in conjunction with related government departments, to formulate in three months' time a long-term plan for the development of science covering the period from 1956 to 1967. In working out this plan, the Commission should try to find ways of quickly introducing, where needed and as feasible, the world's most advanced

scientific achievements into our departments of science, national defence, production and education. This will provide the departments with the knowledge they most urgently need for national construction programmes, so that in 12 years' time they can approach the scientific and technological levels of the Soviet Union and other major powers.

What are the fastest and most efficient ways of achieving this end? They include the following:

1. Groups of specialists, outstanding scientists and outstanding college graduates should be quickly dispatched to the Soviet Union and other countries for one or two years of field work, research or post-graduate courses. When they return to China, they should immediately try to establish in the Chinese Academy of Sciences and in various government departments a foundation for developing those branches of science or technology that we are in most urgent need of. They should also try to train new cadres in large numbers. In the meantime, other groups should be dispatched to these countries for field work and research each year as needed.

2. With regard to other branches of science, specialists should be invited from the Soviet Union and other countries to help the Academy of Sciences and related departments establish research institutes as quickly as possible, to train cadres and to conduct research in co-operation with our own scientists.

3. Large numbers of scientists and technicians should be organized to study under Soviet experts now in China, the latter being employed as teachers rather than as working personnel. During the construction and operation of the 156 enterprises that the Soviet Union is helping us to build, technicians should be organized on a large scale to study and master new techniques and theories which they can then rapidly disseminate.

4. The most outstanding scientists and college graduates should be assigned to research work. We should do all we can to reinforce the Academy of Sciences, so as to make it the leading force for raising the scientific standards of our country and nurturing a new generation of scientists.

5. Since the overwhelming majority of our scientists are working in institutions of higher education, their research and teaching should be covered by a national plan, and they should help train large numbers of people for the modernization of China's science and technology.

6. Various government departments, particularly the departments of geology, industry, agriculture, water conservancy, transport, national defence and public health, should quickly establish research institutions to work with the Academy of Sciences to expand the ranks of scientists. These research institutions should try to introduce, as soon as possible, the world's latest scientific achievements to their departments in a planned and systematic way.

To take practical steps to attain the heights of modern science, and not just give lip service to reaching this goal, we must place great importance on time. One year's time can easily be wasted just in talking and trying to make up our minds. The Central Committee therefore demands that by the end of next April a long-term plan for scientific development be drawn up, along with annual plans for 1956 and 1957, and that decisions be made about the first groups of scientists who are to implement them. These decisions should include a list of scientists to be dispatched abroad, the number of Soviet experts to be invited to China, the number of individuals to be transferred from other fields of work to posts in science and a list of the principal ones to be so transferred.

If possible, the work of dispatching and transferring these scientists should be completed by the end of June. The plan to expand research and increase the number of scientific personnel in institutions of higher learning throughout the country should be put into effect starting from the end of next summer vacation.

To carry out our plan to reach the highest scientific levels, we must lay the groundwork for developing research. In this connection, it is of primary importance to provide our scientists with the necessary books and records, technical data and other essential facilities. We must try to increase the library funds for research units and institutions of higher education and see that these funds are used properly. The work of libraries, archives and museums should be improved. Many more foreign books and periodicals should be imported, and the ones already available should be distributed rationally. Foreign language training programmes should be expanded, and more foreign publications should be translated.

These guidelines apply to other educational and cultural units as well. All such units should work out plans for their development during the period from 1956 to 1967 and adopt measures for carrying them out.

Our plan for expanding personnel in the scientific and cultural fields must be designed not only to increase their number but also to raise their level. This is because a country as vast as ours needs more people in all fields of endeavour, and because quality can be improved only on the basis of a certain quantity.

To increase the number of people engaged in scientific and cultural work, we must first of all increase the number of college students. At the same time we should upgrade the existing corps of intellectuals by helping them to constantly raise their professional level. These intellectuals not only constitute a great reserve and auxiliary force for high-level intellectuals, but are also, as I have said, much more numerous than the latter. They are to be found in all localities and departments, shouldering great responsibilities for national development. Departments of the central government and provincial and municipal authorities should formulate special plans for these intellectuals to pursue advanced studies, so that they may quickly improve their professional competence and enter the ranks of high-level intellectuals.

V

Our Party is successfully carrying out the co-operative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. All our Party members and all our labouring people are now striving to fulfil and overfulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. Confident of success and eager to forge ahead, our people are creating an upsurge of development in the cultural sphere in the wake of the tremendous upsurge of development in the sphere of our socialist economy. At this particular time, we must try to resolve all the questions concerning intellectuals, in the interests of our socialist transformation and construction.

We cannot say that we face no difficulties in carrying out the tasks I have outlined with regard to intellectuals. But these difficulties cannot possibly be greater than the ones we encountered in transforming the 500 million peasants and all the capitalist industrialists and businessmen, nor can they be harder to overcome than the ones we face in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan.

During the past six years, our Party has had great success in guiding the scientific and cultural programmes of our country and the progress of intellectuals. By now, we are more experienced and capable than ever before. This being so, the Party will surely be able to guide our intellectuals to more victories in scientific and cultural work. There is no reason to say that the Party is not competent to guide intellectuals in scientific and cultural work.

The crux of the matter is to learn. The central and local Party organizations must learn how to properly guide the intellectuals and the scientific and cultural programmes. We must not assume that, because we are Party members, we are naturally capable of guiding intellectuals in cultural development without making mistakes. This is a very dangerous view. It is precisely because of this presumptuous notion that many of our comrades have undermined the work of the Party. In all matters we must admit what we do and do not know; we must not pretend to know something that we don't. Rather, we must always try to learn what we do not yet know. Our Party must train a large number of cadres who are knowledgeable about science and culture. Through diligent study we shall certainly master these fields.

Many of the tasks I have mentioned need to be addressed in a unified manner by the Central Committee. I therefore propose the following division of work:

With regard to administrative matters concerning intellectuals, the State Council is planning to establish a Chinese Specialists' Bureau to define guidelines and exercise unified management.

Until the Bureau is established, however, matters relating to intellectuals should be handled by the departments in which they are employed, expeditiously and in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee. The departments should not minimize their responsibilities in this regard even after the Bureau is set up, since its only function will be to deal with general questions that should not be handled separately by one department alone.

The Specialists' Bureau will be responsible for overall planning, readjustment, examination and supervision in administrative matters concerning high-level intellectuals and will have the authority to correct, in accordance with established procedures, any mishandling by departments of matters relating to them.

Under the supervision of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, the departments should take direct charge of

political questions concerning intellectuals, of their continued ideological reform and of the handling of counter-revolutionaries among them. The Propaganda Department, meanwhile, should constantly monitor the progress made by different departments and local authorities in carrying out the Central Committee's policy on intellectuals, review their respective work plans and check up on the implementation of those plans. In this way it can correct their shortcomings, publicize their successes and promptly submit to the Central Committee questions and comments on their work.

The Central Committee's Organization Department should take charge of admitting intellectuals to the Party, its Department of United Front Work should handle relations with those who are members of democratic parties, and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions should be responsible for trade union work among them. When important problems arise in any of these areas, however, the Propaganda Department should be consulted.

To strengthen leadership, Party committees and departments at all levels should charge appropriate organs with regular responsibility for handling matters relating to intellectuals and checking up on work among them. They should periodically call special conferences for exchange of experience and see to it that work in this area is improved.

Comrades! I am convinced that through our work intellectuals can be brought to rally around the Party and to take an active part in the building of socialism. With the passage of time, when we have done more work, the nationwide alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals, forged in the struggle for socialism, will be further consolidated and expanded. Before long, relying on this alliance, we shall make our country a great and prosperous, modern, industrial socialist state. Before long, the great prediction of Comrade Mao Zedong will be fulfilled: we shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture.⁹⁸

ECONOMIC WORK SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN A PRACTICAL WAY

February 8, 1956

The Ministry of Commerce, the General Handicraft Producers' Co-operative and the General Supply and Marketing Co-operative should attach importance to the transformation of privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises and handicrafts. We should not see only the people's fervent enthusiasm. That is good, of course, but we have to be cautious. The transformation should be carried out on the basis of achieving not only greater and faster results but also better and more economical ones, and it should help increase productivity. There is a tendency now to try to move too fast, and we must guard against it. The enthusiasm for socialism should on no account be dampened, but we must not set tasks that depart from Chinese realities and go beyond our capabilities, or speed up development haphazardly. Otherwise, our work will be jeopardized. Chairman Mao has said that "the nationwide socialist revolution will be basically accomplished in about three more years".⁹⁹ But he was only indicating the general completion of the revolution. In the areas inhabited by minority nationalities, for example, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private industry and commerce will probably take a little longer. So there will still be work to do in many areas and departments, and many tasks will have to be undertaken to achieve a complete democratic reform. It doesn't matter if we postpone the transformation where conditions are not yet ripe for it, since we have the security of holding state power in our hands. We should try to bring conditions to maturity — as

Remarks made at the 24th plenary session of the State Council, held to discuss the "Draft Decision on Some Matters Relating to the Current Socialist Transformation of Privately Owned Industrial and Commercial Enterprises and Handicrafts".

people say, “A melon falls off its stem when it is ripe” and “Where water flows, a channel is formed.”

We should on no account raise the slogan, “Realize industrialization at an early date.” If we think it over soberly, we shall recognize that we really cannot do that. We can speed up industrial development, but we can’t say we shall be able to achieve industrialization soon. It will be good for us to postpone the declaration that we have built a socialist society. Moreover, postponing that announcement will impel us to work harder. Only by industrializing can we genuinely consolidate the achievements of the transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. Without industrialization, our agriculture, even if it has undergone cooperative transformation, will not be stable. The same is true of handicrafts.

When drawing up plans, whether a twelve-year plan or an annual plan, all departments should bear actual conditions in mind. Certainly, it is important to oppose Right conservatism, and we must not pour cold water on the enthusiasm of the masses. But cold water can be useful for leaders who get carried away, for it may sober them up. The planned figures proposed by the special meetings of the ministries are very high. I hope all of you will be realistic about the figures.

TWO TALKS ON THE KUNQU OPERA *FIFTEEN STRINGS OF COINS*

April and May 1956

TALK ON APRIL 19

You artists from Zhejiang Province have done a wonderful thing. You have revived an operatic genre by staging *Fifteen Strings of Coins*,¹⁰⁰ a Kunqu opera which has strong popular appeal and high artistic merit.

Not only do we need theatrical performances that sing the praises of the labouring people while exposing the reactionary character of the exploiting classes; we also need operas like *Fifteen Strings of Coins*. Don't think that only those works of art that portray the working people can have popular appeal. In the past there were certain progressive persons even among the ruling classes. Living as they did in the old days, people had no way out of hardships, and they sometimes placed their hopes on these persons. Historical figures and events must not be viewed in the same way as we look upon what is happening in our own time. What we are doing today may seem ludicrous from the viewpoint of future communist society, despite the fact that we have to do it now. For example, people in future communist society will regard war as something absurd, but we still have to fight a war sometimes.

All of us have emerged from our mothers' bodies. In the same way, all of us have come from the old society. This explains why we still have in our thinking certain remnants of feudal and bourgeois

The first of these talks was given to members of the Kunsu Theatrical Troupe of Zhejiang Province after Comrade Zhou Enlai had attended their performance of the opera; the second was addressed to the artists during a subsequent discussion.

ideologies. Bureaucratism is a manifestation of these remnants. Among us, there are bureaucrats whose behaviour is more repugnant than that of the feudal governor¹⁰¹ presented in the Kunqu opera. This governor may serve as a mirror reflecting our own bureaucratism. In *Fifteen Strings of Coins* there is an act entitled "A Visit to the Governor", in which a great drum stands outside the governor's office. When the governor, being bureaucratic, refuses to see someone, the visitor need only strike the drum and he is obliged to appear. This episode may not be entirely historical, but it is an expression of people's wishes. Among our present-day bureaucrats there are some who do not appear even when the drum is struck and who behave worse than the feudal governor. This is a dangerous state of affairs. As can be seen in the opera, the character Kuang Zhong¹⁰² is a man who is very concerned about actual facts and who places particular importance on investigations and careful studies. His work style conforms to our materialist viewpoint.

Chairman Mao upholds the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom". But this must not be interpreted to mean that a lotus can put forth flowers even after it has been removed from the pool where it was growing. In artistic creations we should take into consideration local conditions and historical traditions. If for the time being some of the traditional operas are not suited for the presentation of modern subject matter, they can first be used to present historical events, with characters wearing ancient costumes. Don't think that only those dramas that depict contemporary life are progressive. It's no good to casually and hurriedly alter the traditional repertoire and change the original names of tunes in Kunqu operas. We should encourage more performances of those operas that are suited for the stage today. We shouldn't start to reform Kunqu opera until we have thoroughly familiarized ourselves with it. Experiments in reform should first be conducted within the performing troupes themselves. We must not carry out reform arbitrarily, or hurriedly at the first criticism.

A number of Kunqu opera actors will decline with advancing years. It is our hope that there will be a promising younger generation to take their place. We should give them ample help. We should warn the younger generation of artists not to repeat the mistakes we have made. The enthusiasm of young people is a valuable asset, but because they are inexperienced, their enthusiasms are sometimes short-lived. So veteran actors have to steer the course.

It is important for actors to acquire an education, especially a knowledge of language. In addition, they should study history, geography, mathematics and so on.

Kunqu opera is marked by a high level of performing technique. If only you study hard, you can expect to score even greater achievements.

TALK ON MAY 17

The performance of *Fifteen Strings of Coins* has had nationwide repercussions. There are certain historical reasons for this. For a long time Kunqu opera has been stifled. But now, thanks to the untiring efforts of artists, this “orchid” is blossoming more enchantingly than ever before. As a native flower, Kunqu opera has weathered the elements and is once again attracting people’s attention. We should admit that although we have advocated the principle of “letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new”, we have not yet put it into practice satisfactorily. A case in point is Kunqu opera, which has been looked down upon in the years since liberation. This shows that prejudices abound. In Beijing, for example, there are two northerners who are famous actors of Kunqu opera. Although we have asked them to train young actors, we have not encouraged them to promote Kunqu opera. The Kunsu Theatrical Troupe of Zhejiang Province has won popular acclaim solely through its unremitting efforts. In the years before liberation, to carry on the art of Kunqu opera, members of the troupe formed themselves into small, mobile groups and moved from one place to another giving performances. Since liberation they have kept working hard at their art and have finally won recognition. This demonstrates a truth: You have to do all you can in order to find a way out. You can’t hope to survive without making an effort. Under the conditions of our new society, you can succeed so long as you push hard in the right direction. But the decisive factor is your determination to do your best. Of course, the most significant thing is that society has changed in our favour. Even so, your own effort is crucial. Artists of Guangdong opera have also won recognition with hard work after being criticized by the audience. During their performance at the Central-South China Theatrical Festival, the Guangdong Opera Troupe came under criticism. But shortly after their participation in the National Festival of Drama and Opera, they

began to make innovations. Then in 1954 I watched their performance again and found it showed remarkable progress. Nowadays, with the help of Ma Shizeng, an accomplished actor who has just returned to the mainland, Guangdong opera must be in very good shape, making great advances. It has gone through a period of evolution. We used to be too critical of its weaknesses, overlooking its artistry and its popular appeal. Now, after a period of hard work during which young and old artists, undaunted by any setback, have cooperated very well to introduce reforms, Guangdong opera has taken on a brilliant new look. The success of both Kunqu and Guangdong operas is due to the tireless efforts of the artists. The Kunqu opera *Fifteen Strings of Coins* and the Guangdong opera *A Search in the Academy* are so popular that when they were performed in the auditorium of the People's Political Consultative Conference, additional seats had to be set up for the overflow audience. This shows that people are fair and unbiased in their judgements. Traditionally, Kunqu opera is extolled as the "orchid of the south", and Guangdong opera as the "love pea of Guangdong", [a hard scarlet berry sometimes exchanged as a love token — Tr.] and both are to be cherished.

The current reform of Kunqu opera will encourage artists in all kinds of drama and opera throughout the country to follow suit. The painstaking efforts of the Kunqu opera artists will help improve social customs and moral standards. The presentation of *Fifteen Strings of Coins* has contributed to the rebirth of traditional Kunqu opera. It has also laid the groundwork for further implementation of the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new". Promising results were already achieved at the National Festival of Drama and Opera, but the current presentation of *Fifteen Strings of Coins* is of even greater significance. It deserves congratulations and commendations and wide publicity in the newspapers. That is the first point I want to make.

Secondly, *Fifteen Strings of Coins* is an adaptation from a traditional play, and the adaptation is well done in that it adheres to the historical point of view. It doesn't express ideas that were non-existent in those days and it avoids the use of terms and phrases that are typically modern. The adapted version takes a step forward, not sticking mechanically to the original script, which starts with the death of the two Xiong brothers.¹⁰³ Kuang Zhong and Zhou Chen were two real persons in history. The adapted version gives a life-like portrayal of Zhou Chen, and Kuang Zhong's search for truth

through investigation is in accord with historical facts. The new opera also draws a truthful portrait of Guo Yuzhi, the county magistrate of Wuxi. The adapted script is excellent, and the Ministry of Culture didn't rate it highly enough. *Fifteen Strings of Coins* is very popular, it is ideologically instructive and it has great artistic merit. Its reappearance on the stage not only adds new lustre to the classical art of Kunqu opera but also demonstrates that a theatrical performance dealing with a historical subject can be of immediate educational value for contemporary audiences.

Some people maintain that only plays which reflect the realities of our times have great educational value and that plays which present historical figures and events don't have much. I don't agree. In my opinion, a great deal depends on the script. If a modern play is not well constructed, it cannot be highly instructive. An illustration of this is a modern drama that was presented not long ago. It is true to reality, but strictly speaking, it is not up to a high standard either artistically or in terms of its ideological implications. Some plays lose their initial fascination after a lapse of time because they don't have enduring artistic appeal. It is important to revise and enrich the original scripts. The opera *Fifteen Strings of Coins* can still be improved, but by and large it has reached a high standard. The success of this opera lies in its pungent mockery of the bureaucratic, subjective style of work, which is not uncommon in present-day life either. No other Chinese play can match it in this regard. The opera has touched the hearts of many persons in the public security departments and enlightened a great number of Party and government cadres at all levels, as well as the masses.

Thirdly, *Fifteen Strings of Coins* has a distinctive national style, which has awakened people to the need to treasure the fine traditions of their national art. The music and the technique of the performers deserve to be imitated by other opera artists and by artists working in modern drama as well. In comparison with the country's traditional operas, many of our modern dramas do not have a characteristic national style. Friends from foreign countries attribute this to a failure to assimilate the special features of traditional Chinese operas. It's good news that some of our modern drama troupes are preparing to stage *Fifteen Strings of Coins* as a play. Our modern dramas carry a strong breath of present-day life. That is good. But they lack maturity. Often, the dialogue is much the same as people's casual conversation. Actors must be trained in the basics and also well

versed in theory. Good operas must appeal both to the ear and to the eye of the spectators. A successful performance depends on the actors' training. Effective guidance and the selection of talented artists are also important. A number of elderly actors have quit the stage, but they still deserve our respect. It is essential to have a certain number of "seeded" actors. In other words, every theatrical troupe should have a few outstanding actors who, while playing leading parts, can also teach those who perform the minor roles. This is what Chuansong and Chuanying have been doing.¹⁰⁴ We advocate a collective spirit and co-ordinated efforts under a unified management. Individuals should develop their talents by identifying themselves with the collective. In former times, many operas were designed as entertainments for the imperial courts and were mostly dominated by individual actors. That was too bad.

Fourthly, the presentation of *Fifteen Strings of Coins* is a good example of the implementation of the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new". The revised script can serve as a successful model for the adaptation of classical plays. The new script can be used not only by the Kunsu Theatrical Troupe but also, when conditions permit, by troupes presenting other types of performances. But that doesn't mean that all troupes should try to stage it whether or not it is suited to their own genres. If they did, nobody would want to see it. They can give some trial performances to see whether the script is suitable for them or requires rewriting. The playwright Lao She¹⁰⁵ has adapted it into Beijing opera. You might stage his version as an experiment. We cannot say the revised text prepared by the Kunsu Theatrical Troupe represents the master copy. There can be many different adaptations. The opera has produced certain repercussions abroad. Some foreign ambassadors and scholars in the fields of political science and law have requested copies of the script. It would be a good idea for theatrical troupes, especially the Kunsu Theatrical Troupe, to go on a tour of foreign countries to give performances.

In both ancient and modern times, both in China and in foreign countries, people have created many valuable works of art. The correct attitude is to study them instead of rejecting them. We must not think that the subject matter of ancient times is not worth presenting on the stage. There are a number of Kunqu operas that call for reassessment and improvement. Our nation has a wealth of cultural assets which are a heritage to be explored and preserved, not

buried in oblivion. The old works may have defects, but that's all right as long as they are basically good.

In evaluating works of art, we should first consider whether they appeal to the people, that is, whether their sympathy lies with the masses. Does the presentation of historical persons and events mean that we have turned our backs on current realities? That depends on the drama's ideological implications. Feudal systems are bad, but there were some good persons even among the feudal ruling classes. Although their sympathy for the masses had certain limitations, people in the old days praised them. Kuang Zhong was an official, but he showed sympathy for the people. That is really commendable. During the days when we were in Yan'an, a play recounting how Lin Chong was forced to become a rebel and went to the Liangshan Mountains was much applauded. People only make revolution when they are driven to it, and that is especially true of members of the ruling class. When they defect to the revolutionary camp, there's a clear reason for it. When writing on historical themes, we don't have to confine ourselves to stories of working people.

In historical plays the important thing is to create characters, not to present them exactly as they were in real life. There was indeed a person known as Kuang Zhong. But the character Kuang Zhong, as presented in the opera, is a fictional creation who is not necessarily true to life. Historical records refer to Zhou Chen as a good man. But the opera presents him somewhat differently. It's all right to remodel this figure according to folklore and legend. The opera is critical of Zhou Chen. Not every detail has to be true to historical fact, the author can be creative. This is also the case with Song Jingshi.¹⁰⁶ The popular image of him today is somewhat different from the historical figure. Anyway, there is no need to stick to every detail of historical records; if you did that, it would be impossible to create characters. If you confined yourself to the facts, you would find it hard to write a successful play. Likewise, it is unnecessary and impractical for the stage and screen to present all the revolutionary struggles of our era in exactly the way they happened. The essential thing is to create characters. The script of *Fifteen Strings of Coins* is not handicapped by historical facts.

In artistic creation we must avoid monotony and make a point of drawing cultural nourishment from both Chinese and foreign sources. Every people, every country has its particular strong points; otherwise it couldn't survive. The people outlive all the changes that have

taken place in social systems. In all times every nation, every people has its own particular achievements that are worth studying and imitating. Of course, we shouldn't try to assimilate everything indiscriminately. By assimilation we mean gaining a good mastery of what we study. In addition to maintaining and furthering their own artistic strengths, artists of Kunqu opera and other operatic genres should strive to assimilate valuable elements in the work of their counterparts at home and abroad. We must try to assimilate fine things from other cultures so successfully that nothing can be identified as alien in our own artistic creations. Going on tour in foreign countries can provide good opportunities for us to learn. It is usually Beijing opera troupes that have gone on tour abroad. From now on, other theatrical troupes should be encouraged to do so, provided they have made progress after hard work. And when they go abroad they shouldn't stage the same few plays over and over again. Several dozen countries have invited us to send our performing artists. Moreover, we need to develop our foreign relations through an expansion of cultural exchange and trade. This should be considered an important task.

Fifthly, *Fifteen Strings of Coins* is rich in ideological content, because it stigmatizes subjectivism and bureaucratism. In feudal times, bureaucratism wrought great havoc and subjectivism caused the death of many innocent people. Nowadays, the subjective style of work of some of our cadres also makes trouble, as it is similar in nature to the subjectivism of the past and is based on the same way of thinking. Subjectivism needs bureaucratism to provide shelter or protection; otherwise it can't operate freely. Governor Zhou Chen's bureaucratic way of handling matters is characteristic of the feudal imperial court. By making sharp contrasts, the opera extols those who are conscientious and uphold justice. The necessity of seeking truth from facts is the central theme in the play.

This opera also strongly condemns the five evils of the old days: gambling, visiting brothels, theft, murder and fraud. In the opera we can see that Lou Ashu is a wicked character. There is no need to look into his family background and class origin. Persons of his sort are found mostly in bankrupt families of the landlord class. Although the five evils mentioned are prevalent mostly among the exploiting classes, they can also be found among some of the working people, who come under the ideological influence of the exploiting classes. Not all scoundrels are from the exploiting, feudal class. So

it is unnecessary to specify Lou Ashu's family background. The opera also pays tribute to the role played by public opinion and social sympathy. The people are basically realistic, but there are times when they get swept up in the tide. So we have to make sober judgements at all times. Bad habits like alcoholism are also the targets of public censure in the opera. The character You Hulu is portrayed realistically as a man who is so fond of cracking jokes that he eventually causes trouble.

The people have always been the incarnation of justice. In the old society the working people displayed many fine qualities, but even among the ruling class there were persons of integrity. Despite our condemnation of the system of exploitation in feudal society, we must recognize that there was some value in the measures adopted by the feudal ruling classes to restrict the behaviour of their officials. Take, for example, Kuang Zhong's visit to the governor, Zhou Chen. When he is denied an interview, Kuang beats the court drum and the governor no longer dares to refuse him. Sometimes, people today may have difficulties too, if they want to see a leading member of our State Council. In another episode, when Kuang Zhong brings out a gold seal which is the symbol of his office and hands it to Governor Zhou Chen to show his determination to resign, the governor becomes nervous and refuses to take the seal. The beating of the court drum and the return of the official seal are Kuang Zhong's ways of dealing with Zhou Chen.

Nowadays the common practice is to address your superiors with their official titles; otherwise they will feel offended. Also, the protective measures we have taken for the safety of leading cadres have certain drawbacks, in that they cause difficulties for the ordinary people who want to see government officials. So we too have to take measures to restrict the behaviour of our officials. *Fifteen Strings of Coins* offers food for thought to all those who hold official posts, inviting them to turn over in their minds the question, am I really dedicated to the service of the people?

In conclusion, I want to express the hope that you artists who have been so successful in the recent performance will not rest on your laurels but, instead, continue your march forward under the guidance of Mao Zedong's views on literature and art. It is our hope that plays and operas of all types will flourish, so that they can contribute new blossoms to the world garden of art.

TAIWAN WILL BE LIBERATED

June 28, 1956

The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. This is the unshakable common will of the 600 million people of China.

The Chinese government has repeatedly pointed out that there are two possible ways to liberate Taiwan, namely, by military or by peaceful means, and that the Chinese people will seek to achieve their goal by peaceful means so far as it is possible. There is no doubt that the peaceful liberation of Taiwan would be most advantageous to our country, to all the Chinese people and to peace in Asia and throughout the world.

At present, the possibility of peacefully liberating Taiwan is increasing. This is primarily because international tensions are definitely easing. The United States' armed occupation of Taiwan and interference in China's internal affairs are opposed by more and more peace-loving countries and peoples. As for our internal situation, our great motherland has grown stronger and become more consolidated. It is inspiring more pride in patriotic Chinese than ever before. Our compatriots in Taiwan, who have a revolutionary tradition, are unwilling to suffer their bitter life of slavery any longer and want to return as soon as possible to the embrace of the motherland. Even among the Kuomintang military and government personnel who have fled to Taiwan from the mainland, more and more people have come to realize that their only future lies in the peaceful reunification of the motherland. Since we issued the call to strive for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan,¹⁰⁷ many Kuomintang military and government officials in Taiwan and abroad have expressed their patriotic aspirations. We believe that those who wish to work for the peaceful libera-

Third part of a report made at the Third Session of the First National People's Congress. The full text of the report was published in *People's Daily* on June 29, 1956.

tion of Taiwan and the complete unification of our motherland will grow in number from day to day. This is an irreversible trend.

The Taiwan authorities are dragging out a feeble existence in the shadow of the United States. This situation cannot last. The foreign powers they follow are by no means reliable. In fact, by inviting the wolf into the house, not only do they risk losing everything they have, but they are in constant danger of being treacherously bitten in the back or abandoned. An important lesson can be drawn from a comparison of the contrasting attitudes taken by China and the United States at the Geneva talks.¹⁰⁸ The Chinese government has consistently maintained that only the international dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area can be settled by the two parties to the dispute. The return of Taiwan to the motherland, on the other hand, regardless of the means by which it is accomplished, is *a* question that can only be settled by the Chinese people. No foreign interference will be tolerated. The United States, however, has adopted a totally different attitude in the talks. It regards Taiwan as its colony and uses it to bargain with China. Moreover, as everyone can see, the United States has not only occupied Taiwan and extended its control of the island into every sphere — political, military, economic and cultural — but is also engaging in its usual divisive tactics to create suspicion and feuds inside Taiwan, thus attempting to strengthen its control and to profit from it. However, these attempts by the American aggressive forces to make fools of the Chinese people, to interfere in China's internal affairs and to disrupt our national unity have aroused increasing resentment among the Kuomintang military and government officials in Taiwan. Many of them have indicated that they will no longer endure living in abject dependence, at the beck and call of others. They want to bolster national self-respect, defend national dignity, free themselves from American control and handle domestic matters independently. We welcome this patriotic stand of theirs.

We have always stood for national solidarity and united resistance against external enemies. In the interests of our great motherland and our people, the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang have twice fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism. After the War of Resistance Against Japan was over, we tried to bring about internal peace. During the War of Liberation, when the Chinese people were forced to take up arms, and even after the liberation of the mainland, we never gave up our efforts for peaceful negotiations. In

spite of the fact that over the past few years, owing to the American armed intervention, we and the Kuomintang military and government officials in Taiwan have taken different paths, so long as we all place the interests of the motherland above everything else, we can still link arms again. We are certain that through our own efforts our great nation, which has experienced long years of suffering, will be reunified.

Now, on behalf of the government, I formally declare: We are willing to negotiate with the Taiwan authorities about specific steps and terms for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and we hope that they will send their representatives to Beijing or elsewhere, at a time they consider appropriate, to open talks with us.

In order to unite all patriotic forces for the early reunification of our motherland, I wish to state once again that all patriots, no matter when they joined the patriotic ranks and no matter what crimes they may have committed, will be treated in accordance with the principle that “patriots belong to one family” and with the policy of forgiving past misdeeds. They are all welcome to work for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and they will be duly rewarded according to their merits and provided with appropriate jobs.

Our compatriots in Taiwan have always been an inseparable part of the Chinese people. We not only are constantly concerned for them and support them in their struggle against foreign rule, but also stand ready to welcome them at any time if they wish to participate in the socialist construction of the motherland and to share the glory of our nation.

We understand the situation of the Kuomintang military and government officials in Taiwan whose homes are on the mainland, and we hope that they will soon realize their desire to be reunited with their families. They can communicate with their relatives and friends on the mainland; they can also return to the mainland to visit them briefly. We are prepared to facilitate visits and assist them in every way.

We hope the leading members of the Kuomintang army and government in Taiwan will play an important role in the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. So long as they work in this direction, their future position is assured. If they still harbour doubts, they can obtain clarification through their relatives and friends on the mainland or send people to the mainland to find out what the situation is. We guarantee that such persons will be free to come and go.

We hope the Kuomintang military officers in Taiwan will actively expedite the peaceful liberation of the island. If they do, they will earn the trust and consideration of the motherland and the people. The treatment accorded to the Kuomintang officers and men who came over to us peacefully is a precedent.

We also hope that all Kuomintang military and government personnel who are abroad will work for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. Only thus can they escape the fate of exiles in foreign lands, looked down upon by others.

We attach great importance to the role played by the patriotic overseas Chinese in promoting the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. We hope that those few overseas Chinese who still maintain a hostile attitude towards the motherland will distinguish between right and wrong, see the direction in which events are moving, and, together with all the patriotic overseas Chinese, contribute to the peaceful liberation of Taiwan.

The gate of the motherland is always wide open to all patriots. Every Chinese has both the right and the duty to make his contribution to the sacred cause of reunification. There is no doubt that with the unity of the entire nation and the efforts of all our people, Taiwan will be liberated.

CONTINUE TO EXERCISE DICTATORSHIP AND AT THE SAME TIME TO BROADEN DEMOCRACY

July 21, 1956

Our state power is the people's democratic dictatorship and it is, in essence, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The people's democratic dictatorship includes both democracy and dictatorship. In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" Comrade Mao Zedong made it very clear among whom we should practise democracy and over whom we should enforce dictatorship.

After victory in the revolution, the primary task confronting the dictatorship was to eliminate counter-revolutionaries. With a view to rooting out the five different kinds of counter-revolutionaries, we launched first the struggle to suppress bandits and local tyrants in the rural areas¹⁰⁹ and then the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries in town and country.⁶⁴ As the domestic situation changes, there is less and less room for the counter-revolutionaries to carry on disruptive activities, which shows that the people's dictatorship has frustrated them. Although there are still some remaining counter-revolutionaries and new ones will emerge in future, things are quite different now from what they were in the early days of liberation. We must understand this and recognize that our people's democratic dictatorship has been consolidated.

Given these circumstances, our policies towards counter-revolutionaries will be more lenient. In the first movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries after liberation, we executed or imprisoned some, kept others under supervision and left still others at large. We sentenced to death only those who, having directly oppressed the people and been guilty of murder, aroused bitter indignation among the people and refused to confess their crimes. While severely suppress-

Excerpt from a speech at the First Municipal Congress of the Party Committee of Shanghai.

ing counter-revolutionaries, we also instituted the policy of remoulding them. Many more were sentenced to prison and reformed through forced labour than were executed. We set free those who were guilty of minor crimes and had made a clean breast of them and those who behaved themselves well during forced labour. In the movement launched last year to suppress the counter-revolutionaries in government organs and in society at large,¹¹⁰ our policies have been more lenient. The movement has been basically completed in government organs at the central and provincial levels and will now be extended to prefectures and counties, factories and mines. Having learned from our experience in eliminating counter-revolutionaries and examining government cadres in Yan'an during the War of Resistance Against Japan¹¹¹ and in suppressing counter-revolutionaries in society at large soon after liberation, we have done a better job this time than before. We should confirm our achievements and at the same time admit our shortcomings and mistakes in this regard. Since in this work we follow the mass line under the Party's leadership, we can correct our mistakes soon after we have discovered them. Comrade Mao Zedong has told us to sharpen our vigilance so as to weed out all special agents and also to guard against mistakes so that no innocent person is wronged. That is to say, at the initial stage of the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries we should maintain high vigilance, but when the movement becomes broader, mistakes may be made and we should see to it that they are rectified as soon as possible. We have followed the principle of killing none and arresting few, thus ensuring the sound development of the movement.

As far as the society at large is concerned, the current movement is different from the previous one. Last time, our targets were the five kinds of counter-revolutionaries who had committed serious crimes and were still openly engaged in criminal activities. This time, our main targets are the counter-revolutionaries who have eluded our search, or who have covered up their crimes, and the hidden counter-revolutionaries who have recently sneaked into the people's ranks. Judging from the situation prevailing since last year, we can say that things have improved: there are fewer counter-revolutionaries and more of them are giving themselves up. This shows that our dictatorship has become better consolidated. Now we are in the upsurge of socialist transformation, a period which provides more favourable conditions for this movement. We should try hard to proceed in an orderly way and make it a success. In dealing with

the counter-revolutionaries we should decide correctly whom to treat severely and whom to treat leniently. Severity and leniency are two aspects of one and the same thing and neither can be dispensed with. However, we should incline more towards leniency. That way, more counter-revolutionaries will be ready to accept remoulding; the incorrigible are only a tiny number. This will contribute to the transformation of society as a whole. Moreover, we are gradually going to introduce lenient measures for dealing with war criminals who are in custody, including Japanese war criminals, high-ranking Kuomintang officers and even the puppet “Manchukuo” Emperor Pu Yi. If we are lenient with them, that will help us to advance our socialist construction, reunify the motherland and win the friendship of the Japanese people.

Another function of our dictatorship is to deal with the exploiting classes. This involves two classes. One is the landlord class. We exercise dictatorship over members of this class by directly confiscating their land and distributing it to the peasants. This was accomplished in the stage of the democratic revolution. Having undergone transformation through forced labour, landlords can be admitted into co-operatives or put on probation for a time or kept working in production under supervision. The other is the national bourgeoisie. But this class is a different case, because during the period of the democratic revolution, especially during the anti-Japanese war and the liberation war, the national bourgeoisie took a neutral, sympathetic or even co-operative attitude towards revolution, an attitude quite different from that of the landlord and bureaucrat-capitalist classes. Since liberation the national bourgeoisie has continued to co-operate with us. In view of all this, we shall transform the national bourgeoisie by co-operating with it. That is to say, we shall abolish this class by utilizing, restricting and transforming the capitalist sector of the economy and by remoulding the bourgeois elements. The transformation of the bourgeoisie therefore has two meanings in terms of the exercise of the people’s democratic dictatorship. On the one hand, we shall abolish this class, which means that we shall exercise dictatorship over it; on the other, we shall use democratic methods to transform enterprises, change their ownership, remould bourgeois elements and arrange jobs for them. Now the national bourgeoisie participates in the people’s political power and has its representatives in the committees of the people’s political consultative conferences, the people’s congresses and government departments.

We are co-operating with it in economic, cultural, educational and other organizations. All this falls under the scope of democracy. We have recourse to both dictatorship and democracy in dealing with the national bourgeoisie. This is a very complicated undertaking, and it is a distinguishing feature of our people's democratic dictatorship. As for the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie in urban and rural areas, that is another matter. We can only remould the petty bourgeoisie by democratic means, because it is not an exploiting class but a labouring class.

With regard to the people's democratic dictatorship, we should continue to exercise dictatorship and at the same time to broaden democracy. We should continue to exercise dictatorship, because domestically, remaining counter-revolutionaries have not yet been completely wiped out and internationally, the imperialists are still hostile to us. But we should at the same time broaden democracy, because our dictatorship has been better consolidated and the working class has become stronger than before. In other words, the situation now makes it possible for us to expand democracy, and the experience we have gained in the course of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that we should do so. The aim of the people's democratic dictatorship is to ensure socialist construction and the elimination of the exploiting classes. The power of the dictatorship is strong and centralized, though it is based on democracy. So if we fail to exercise it properly, we are liable to ignore the development of democracy. We can learn something from the historical experience of the Soviet Union in this regard. We should always be vigilant and work hard to broaden democracy, because that is of vital importance.

To broaden democracy we should make some changes in the state systems. Take the election of deputies to the people's congresses as an example. So far we have not introduced direct elections by the secret ballot throughout the country because our economy and culture are not sufficiently developed. But there are other measures we can take to broaden democracy.

First, the deputies to the people's congresses should keep close contact with the people. They and members of the political consultative conferences should go among the masses twice a year to inspect our work at first hand. In this way they can see, from an angle different from that of the government, how well our work is going and whether we have made mistakes; in other words, they can look for our faults. There is nothing to be afraid of. We should have the

confidence and courage to let not only Party members but also non-Party people, prominent democratic figures and representatives of the bourgeoisie discover the shortcomings in our work. It doesn't matter if their views are wrong or are at variance with reality, provided their intentions are good. We have been using this method for the last year and a half, and we should continue with it.

Second, the National People's Congress held this year created a precedent by publishing all speeches by deputies, including those who criticized government work, no matter whether their criticism was correct, partially correct or wrong. This is a way to expose the shortcomings of government work before the people. We are not afraid of exposure, even if the criticism is not completely correct. Our attitude is that we should correct mistakes if we have made them and guard against them if we have not. And this is the right attitude. Our government should let the people's deputies criticize it, and it should admit its mistakes. We are going to allow more debates next year. As a matter of fact, there are already vigorous debates at group meetings. In future we shall make it possible for deputies to debate at general meetings. This means that representatives of the government should come out to answer questions raised by the people's deputies. If they can give satisfactory answers, the deputies will be pleased; if not, the deputies will debate with them. We cannot copy the system of the capitalist countries, because it is a system of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes. However, we can borrow certain forms and methods from their parliaments and use them to discover problems in our work. In other words, we should allow people to challenge us with opposing views. Of course, those views must not go against socialism. We Communists believe that through debate people will come to have a better understanding of truth. We should have the courage to face facts and acknowledge our shortcomings. When we have made mistakes we should be strong enough to admit them and correct them, instead of being afraid to have them exposed.

Third, we shall let people's deputies check up on more of our government work, including the areas of public security and justice. Generally speaking, the work we have done has been in the interest of the people. In the past 20 years, under the correct leadership of the Central Committee, we have won a series of victories for our cause. But we have made some mistakes too. So our work needs to be examined regularly, and we should rectify our mistakes when-

ever they are discovered. In the course of examining our work, certain persons may express views that are not totally correct and that reflect some bourgeois ideology, but they may help us discover problems we haven't yet identified.

In addition, the central and local authorities should influence each other. Being in the position of leadership, the central authorities, including the Central Committee and the State Council, have a better, overall view of the general situation, but they are liable to overlook certain specific problems, local interests and the immediate interests of the masses. In this respect, the local authorities have the advantage: they can easily keep in touch with the masses and reality and know more about specific problems, local concerns and the immediate interests of the people. These strong points of the local authorities can make up for the weaknesses of the central authorities. To provide good leadership the two must co-operate and influence each other. For this very reason, they should challenge each other with opposing views when necessary, even though the lower level is subordinate to the higher. People like us have stayed in Beijing for too long, so we only know the Beijing dialect, by which I mean we only know the situation in Beijing, not in other places. Now we are in Shanghai and have learned a little of the Shanghai dialect, that is, we have learned some things that were already known to the local authorities. I have been in Shanghai for only two days, yet, I have learned a great deal, which would have been impossible if I had confined myself to Beijing. The Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong urge us to pay regular visits to other places. We in Beijing should take a couple of months out every year for such visits or spread them out over the course of the year. More contacts between the central and local authorities will enable us to get a fuller picture of the situation as a whole. People who have worked in the central organs for a long time without getting in touch with the masses and reality are more likely to succumb to bureaucratism than the local comrades. To tackle this problem the central and local authorities should influence and supervise each other. It is wrong to think that the central authorities should supervise the local authorities, but not vice versa. The local authorities should also keep the central authorities in check. To challenge each other with opposing views means to see the situation from two sides. That way we are in a better position to advance the great cause of socialism. The comrades in the central organs should not only make frequent tours of other

places to see what is going on there, but also invite local comrades to come to meetings in Beijing, and they should try to find good examples for others to follow. This is the way to advance our work and reduce bureaucratism. To enforce the people's democratic dictatorship we must conduct an unceasing struggle against bureaucratism. This is very important. We urge comrades in the central organs and leading personnel in provinces, prefectures, counties and districts to guard against bureaucratism, maintain regular contact with the masses and acquire a deeper understanding of reality. Bureaucratism cannot be eliminated once for all; if you eliminate it today, it will reappear tomorrow. It exists as long as you are in power and it breeds with the overcentralization of power. Because we are building socialism, working for the supreme interests of the great majority of people and centralizing the greatest power to do the things that will most benefit them, the people are satisfied with us. Under these circumstances, if we make some mistakes, people are ready to excuse us, and this makes it easier for us to neglect the development of democracy and to be bureaucratic and subjective. You comrades present here are all leaders, even if some of you are only in charge of a district or of a Party branch. You should be always on the alert for such mistakes.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

September 16, 1956

I

Before turning to the Proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan [1958-62 — *Tr.*], I want to discuss the implementation of the First Five Year Plan [1953-57 — *Tr.*].

In the course of implementing the First Five-Year Plan, thanks to the efforts of the people, and especially the working people throughout the country, greater and earlier victories than expected have been won in both socialist construction and socialist transformation. Our achievements have been impressive, but there have also been some shortcomings and errors in our work that we must strive to correct.

With regard to capital construction. It is estimated that by the end of 1957 our investments in capital construction will exceed the planned total by more than 10 per cent. We expect that with a few exceptions, all the above-norm construction projects¹¹² in the Plan will be completed on or ahead of schedule. A number of new construction projects have been started each year. It is estimated that by the end of 1957 some 500 newly built or reconstructed above-norm industrial enterprises will have been completed. This will increase productive capacity, help establish new branches of industry and partially renovate some older ones, thus beginning to alter the extremely backward state of industry in our country. Thanks to con-

First two parts of the Report on the Proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development made at the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. The full text of this report was published in *People's Daily* on September 19, 1956.

struction work under the First Five-Year Plan, our industrial base in the Northeast, with the Anshan Integrated Iron and Steel Works as its core, will have been greatly strengthened. In Inner Mongolia, northwest China and north China, many new industrial cities will have taken shape.

Five thousand five hundred kilometres of railways will have been newly built or restored within these five years. Important trunk lines such as the Jining-Erlian and Baoji-Chengdu lines are already finished. The Yingtian-Xiamen Railway is nearing completion. The Lanzhou-Xinjiang Railway has already been built west of Yumen. Important highways such as the Xikang-Tibet and Qinghai-Tibet roads have been completed and opened to traffic. Completion of these railways and highways has strengthened the links between the vast areas of the Northwest and Southwest and other parts of the country.

In the field of water conservancy, the work to bring the Huaihe River under permanent control is still under way. Construction has begun on the pivotal water conservancy and hydroelectric engineering project at Sanmen Gorge on the Huanghe River. A number of other large water-conservancy projects have been started, along with many small and medium-sized ones. The many completed projects have already contributed to preventing floods and irrigating farmland.

In the past few years great strides have also been made in geological prospecting to meet the needs of capital construction.

As I have said, in terms of investment and of progress on most of the major projects, capital construction under the First Five-Year Plan will probably reach our original goals. But I should also point out that some branches of our economy may fail to fulfil their investment plans and that construction work on a few key projects may fall behind schedule. In the time remaining, these branches and construction units should step up their work and strive to fulfil the original plans as far as possible. It should also be pointed out that some construction units have concentrated on speed to the neglect of quality and safety, which has resulted in poor quality, many accidents and waste. This should be a lesson to us.

With regard to industrial production. The total value of industrial output (including both modern industries and handicrafts, and calculated in constant 1952 prices) has every year exceeded the figure set in the annual plan. In 1956 it will reach the level set for 1957. By the end of 1957 it may exceed the total target originally set in the Five-Year Plan by as much as 15 per cent. As for the output

of major industrial products, in 1957 the overwhelming majority of them will surpass the planned targets. For example, the output of steel will reach 5.5 million tons; electricity, 18,000 million kwh; coal, 120 million tons; metal-cutting machine tools, 30,000 units; power-generating equipment, 340,000 kw; lumber, 24 million cubic metres; cotton yarn, 5.6 million bales; machine-processed sugar, 800,000 tons; and machine-made paper, 800,000 tons. As for important new industrial products, we are now able to manufacture power-generating, metallurgical and mining equipment and new types of metal-cutting machine tools that we could not make in the past. We are also able to produce motor vehicles and jet planes for the first time. And we have begun producing a certain amount of large steel products and high-grade alloy steels that we were unable to produce before. But due to the shortage of raw materials, low demand, or technical difficulties, the original targets set for the output of several kinds of products may not be fulfilled — for instance, petroleum, sulphur black, edible vegetable oils, cigarettes and matches.

With regard to agricultural production. In 1953 and 1954, many areas of our country suffered severe natural disasters. Consequently, the agricultural production plans for those two years were not fulfilled. Nevertheless, the output of grain surpassed that of 1952, which was a year of bumper harvests. The year 1955 was one of good harvests. The output of grain (not including soybeans) reached 174.8 million tons, the output of cotton reached 1,518,000 tons and that of other farm products also increased. This year many areas have suffered severely from floods, waterlogging, typhoons or drought, which have damaged certain crops, especially cotton. But because the whole countryside is in the high tide of the co-operative movement, production will increase in the areas untouched by natural disasters, and in 1956 total grain output in the country as a whole will still reach the level set for 1957. In the coming year, so long as there are no particularly severe natural disasters, it should be possible for the major grain crops and certain cash crops to exceed the targets set in the Plan. But the output of soybeans, peanuts, rapeseed, jute, amaryllis hemp and certain kinds of livestock will probably not reach the original targets. We have to take measures to strengthen these weak points.

With regard to transport, post and telecommunications. Alongside the growth of industrial and agricultural production and the expansion of capital construction, there has been an annual increase in the volume of transport and of business handled by our post and

telecommunications services. It is estimated that in 1957 the target for freight handled by all major transport departments will be exceeded. But because the plan for the technical renovation of certain existing lines and equipment has not been fulfilled, some lines and transportation centres are overburdened and congested with traffic. Attempts are being made to remedy this situation.

With regard to commerce. As socialist commerce is growing steadily, a well-planned and well-organized domestic market has already taken shape, and the dominance of socialist commerce is being consolidated. By the end of 1956 the total volume of retail sales will have increased by 66.3 per cent as compared with 1952, and the total value of imports and exports by 65 per cent. It is estimated that by 1957 plans for the total volume of retail sales and for the sales of most commodities on the home market, as well as plans for exports and imports, will be fulfilled, and some even overfulfilled. In the past few years, the volume of commodity circulation in the country has been expanded on the basis of increased production, and the policy of state monopoly for the purchase and marketing of the most essential items has ensured supplies of the people's daily necessities. This has largely guaranteed price stability, promoted industrial and agricultural production and raised the people's standard of living. At present, the chief defects in commercial work are that the supply of commodities is not well organized and that business management is unsatisfactory. This means that certain goods are sometimes overstocked and at other times in short supply.

With regard to culture, education, scientific research and public health. Considerable advances have been made in all these fields in the past few years. It is estimated that by the end of 1957, except for a few branches, we shall be able to exceed all the targets, including those for higher, secondary and primary education, scientific research, the press, publishing, broadcasting, literature, the arts, the cinema, physical culture and medical service. For example, the 1957 enrolment in institutions of higher learning will be about 470,000, surpassing the planned figure by about 9 per cent. And there will be 68 research institutes under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, 17 more than in the plan.

With regard to the co-operative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts. By the end of June 1956, a total of 992,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives⁷⁶ had been organized throughout the country. Their members made up 91.7 per cent of all peasant households. Those

belonging to co-operatives of the advanced type constituted 62.6 per cent of peasant households. Approximately 90 per cent of all handicraftsmen have been organized. We expect that by the end of 1957, after another year's work, agricultural and handicraft co-operatives will be virtually universal throughout the country, except for a few border areas.

With regard to the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce. By the end of June 1956, 99 per cent of capitalist industrial enterprises, in terms of output value, and 98 per cent, in terms of the number of workers and office staff, had come under joint state-private operation. Of the private businesses, including establishments selling food and drink, 68 per cent in terms of the number of enterprises, and 74 per cent in terms of the number of personnel, had been transformed into joint state-private businesses or businesses run co-operatively by a larger or smaller group. The conversion of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises by whole trades and the introduction of the system of fixed interest rates on shares¹¹³ have prepared the way for the nationalization of capitalist means of production.

Now I wish to speak briefly about improvements in the people's material well-being.

On the whole, in the past few years the rate of increase in the wages of manual and mental workers has corresponded to the increase in labour productivity. However, at one period wages were lagging far behind productivity. In 1955, for instance, labour productivity in industrial enterprises (excluding private ones) was about 10 per cent higher than in 1954, while average wages had increased by only 0.6 per cent. A similar situation was found in other branches of the national economy. Immediately after we discovered this mistake in our work at the end of 1955, we set about correcting it. Starting in April 1956, we carried out a nationwide reform of the wage system, fixing the average wages of manual and mental workers for 1956 at about 13 per cent above the 1955 level. Thus average wages in 1956 are 33.5 per cent higher than in 1952, surpassing the 33 per cent increase in five years laid down in the First Five-Year Plan. The increase in labour productivity will also exceed the planned target. In state-owned industrial enterprises, for instance, labour productivity, according to the 1956 statistics, will be 70.4 per cent higher than in 1952, surpassing the 64 per cent increase in five years stipulated in the Plan.

During the past few years, we have stabilized agricultural taxes for the benefit of the peasants and raised the price of grain purchased by the state, thus gradually improving the life of the peasants on the basis of expanded production. But we have also made some mistakes. In 1954, because we were not clear about the exact amount of grain output in the whole country, we purchased a little more grain from the peasants than we should have, and this aroused discontent among some of them. In 1955, we adopted a policy of fixed quotas for grain production, purchase and marketing,¹¹⁴ which set the peasants' minds at ease and raised their enthusiasm for production. It is now estimated that the total income of the peasants can be increased by about 30 per cent in these five years.

From the situation I have described, it can be seen that our First Five-Year Plan can without question be successfully fulfilled. If we make strenuous efforts and if there are no extraordinary natural disasters or unexpected accidents, most of the targets can be surpassed. The execution of the First Five-Year Plan has brought about profound changes in our economy, and its overfulfilment will bring about further changes. The major changes are the following: Industrial and agricultural production has been raised greatly, so that the total output value of industry (including handicrafts) and agriculture is expected to be more than 60 per cent higher in 1957 than it was in 1952. Of that total output value, about 50 per cent will be contributed by industry (including handicrafts), and of total industrial output, more than 40 per cent will consist of the means of production — a fact that will strengthen the leading role of industry in the economy. Furthermore, as a decisive victory has been won in socialist transformation, the socialist sector has assumed a predominant position in all fields — industry, agriculture, transport and commerce. Now all branches of our national economy are prospering, and culture, education and scientific research are beginning to flourish. This has created conditions for the continued raising of the people's standard of living.

It should be pointed out that the unity of all our nationalities, all democratic parties and all patriots under the leadership of the Communist Party, and the initiative and enthusiasm they have shown for socialist transformation and construction have provided the foundation for the great achievements I have enumerated.

We must also point out that the great Soviet Union and the people's democracies have given us tremendous assistance in carrying out our First Five-Year Plan. During this period the Soviet Union has

granted us loans on favourable terms, helped us to design 205 industrial enterprises and supplied the bulk of the equipment for them, sent large numbers of outstanding experts to China and given us much technical aid in other ways. The people's democracies, too, have given us much help in equipment, materials, technical personnel and so on. Experts from these countries have been making outstanding contributions to the cause of socialist construction in our country. We wish to take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the Soviet Union and the people's democracies for their generous, fraternal assistance.

In carrying out the First Five-Year Plan we have acquired considerable experience and learned many lessons. By drawing on these, we shall be able to do better work in socialist construction. Here I only wish to put forward some views on certain outstanding lessons we have learned in guiding economic work over the past few years.

First, in accordance with needs and possibilities, we should set a reasonable rate for economic growth and place the Plan on an ambitious yet realistic basis, so as to ensure relatively balanced development. Since, when we are drawing up a long-term plan, it is difficult for us to foresee all the new circumstances and problems that may arise in the course of its implementation, we should set long-term targets as realistically as possible and leave it for the annual plans to make any necessary adjustments. For the most part, the targets set in the First Five-Year Plan were correct; the last four annual plans were, by and large, suited to the specific conditions of the time. That ensured the overfulfilment of the Plan. But it should be noted that in certain parts of the annual plans for 1955 and 1956, we set some targets too high and some too low, which caused difficulties in our work.

Because of the crop failures in 1953 and 1954, when we drew up the 1955 plan we cut back on capital construction a little too much. And in the campaign to practise economy in that year, we made excessive cuts in investments for certain non-productive capital construction projects. Also, because the plans for capital construction were changed frequently and issued to the departments concerned very late, they were not satisfactorily fulfilled. The result was not only an excessive financial surplus, but also a temporary false surplus of important building materials such as rolled steel, cement and lumber. If we had earlier prepared a number of reserve projects and had expanded construction in time, or if we had had a plan for increased

state reserves of certain materials, the surplus would not have presented a problem. However, since we underestimated the future growth and mistook temporary surpluses of materials for a relatively permanent phenomenon, we resorted to exports to reduce our surpluses of rolled steel, and cement. This was clearly not the right thing to do.

When we drew up the plan for 1956, owing to last year's bumper harvest and to our tremendous achievements in socialist transformation, it was both necessary and feasible to set a fairly rapid pace for national economic development. But we failed to strike a proper balance between the scale of capital construction and the capacity for supplying materials, and the plans for capital construction were therefore somewhat more ambitious than they should have been. At the same time, there appeared in certain branches of the economy a tendency to do too many things at once and to do them too hastily. This not only put a strain on our national finances but also created a serious shortage of building materials such as rolled steel, cement and lumber. The state reserve of materials was too heavily drawn upon and various sectors of the economy felt the strain.

Experience shows that in drawing up a long-term plan we should set the targets realistically, in accordance with the basic requirements of socialist industrialization and with the country's material and financial resources and available manpower. At the same time, reserves should be built up to put the plan on a sounder basis. In drawing up annual plans, we should make best use of our potential according to the conditions that may develop in the current year and subsequent years, so as to make sure that the long-term plan is fulfilled or overfulfilled. Experience further shows that in drawing up the annual plans we should guard against two different tendencies: When conditions are generally favourable, we must be aware of both existing and potential unfavourable factors and guard against impatience and rashness. When conditions are generally unfavourable, we must be aware of the many existing and potential favourable factors and guard against timidity and hesitancy. That is to say, we should make an overall analysis of the objective conditions and try to devise a well-coordinated plan for the main targets of the current year and the next, so that each of the annual plans dovetails with the next and progress is made at an even pace.

Second, we should co-ordinate plans for key projects with overall planning, so that the various branches of the economy develop pro-

portionately. During the past few years, while giving priority to the development of heavy industry, we have also speeded up the co-operative transformation of agriculture so as to increase agricultural production, and correspondingly developed light industry. In this way we have avoided the danger of dislocation among the major branches of the economy.

In dealing with the relationship between plans for key projects and overall planning, however, we have also made some mistakes. For instance, in 1953 some departments and localities engaged in construction work developed a tendency to do everything at once and everywhere, plunging ahead without any consideration of actual conditions. The same adversely affected the state's priority construction projects and gave rise to financial difficulties and waste of manpower and materials. The same tendency reappeared in the beginning of 1956, following publication of the Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967).⁹⁴ Some departments and localities, impatient for success, attempted to accomplish within three or five years, or even one or two years, tasks that required seven or twelve years to complete. These mistakes were all discovered and corrected by the Central Committee in good time.

In the same period, another tendency appeared: the tendency to overemphasize certain important tasks so that they were not coordinated with other related tasks. For example, in the beginning of 1956, in our effort to speed up agricultural development, we overestimated the need for two-wheeled, double-shared ploughs and portable steam engines, and drew up excessive production plans for them. Although the plans were repeatedly revised downward, output was still too high. As a result, too much rolled steel was consumed, which entailed more strain on the supply of rolled steel in 1956. Some machine-building factories producing these machines were obliged to speed up production at one time and slow down at another. To take one more example: in the course of construction certain industrial enterprises advanced too rapidly so that the raw materials needed were not all available. The result was that these enterprises could not operate at full capacity. At the start of our industrial construction, these sorts of things were perhaps inevitable. But we might have foreseen them and made more judicious preparations to prevent them.

In our construction work during the past few years, the arrangements we have made regarding the relationships between central and

local authorities and between coastal regions and the interior have been appropriate on the whole. But there have still been some shortcomings. For some time, we emphasized construction work by the central authorities but neglected the development of local construction work. And we emphasized construction work in the interior but neglected that in the coastal regions. Henceforth, we should pay constant attention to readjusting these relationships in such a way as to avoid one-sidedness.

The foregoing shows that while we must emphasize key projects, they cannot be developed in isolation, independent of an overall plan, and that while we must have an overall plan, we cannot place equal importance on all things without giving priority to key projects. In drawing up plans and arranging our work, we must neatly co-ordinate key projects with overall plans.

Third, we should build up our reserves and improve our system of stockpiling materials. As our economy develops, imbalances are bound to occur frequently. Hence we must lay aside necessary reserves of materials, financial resources, mineral resources, productive capacity, etc., increasing in particular state-held stocks of materials, so as to ensure even growth of the economy and smooth execution of annual plans and to be prepared to handle any unexpected difficulties that may arise. During the next few years, our agricultural production will still be very much subject to natural disasters. To provide for possible crop failures, we must have stocks of grain and of major cash crops. To meet the needs of constantly expanding construction and production, we must also have stocks of equipment and raw materials. Furthermore, we are still inexperienced in planning, and our plans are often incomplete and inaccurate. Even if they are fairly accurate at the moment they are drawn up, they may be thrown out of balance by unforeseeable factors. For instance, in 1956 when the utilization ratio of open-hearth and blast furnaces rose as a result of the introduction of new techniques, the supply of iron ore and coke failed to catch up. To eliminate or mitigate imbalances that may occur as the plan is carried out, we must hold necessary reserves.

Although the state's stocks of materials were not very large in the past few years, they helped to meet the demands of production and capital construction and to ease the difficult shortages of 1956. It should be pointed out, however, that in those days we did not fully appreciate the importance of keeping reserves of materials. As I have said before, in 1955 when there was a small surplus of certain

materials, we unwisely exported part of them. So when we expanded the scale of capital construction in 1956, we felt an acute shortage of those materials.

We must understand that in a country like ours, where the economy is backward and the population large, shortages of materials will occur frequently for a long time to come, whereas any surplus will be transient. We therefore need to pay even greater attention to increasing our reserves and instituting a state storage system for necessary materials, and especially for critical materials that are in short supply. All state enterprises should also keep proper material reserves. Of course, storage of materials, whether by the state or by state enterprises, should be carried out in a well-planned way, and quantities should be fixed within reasonable limits and increased gradually. We cannot expect to make big increases at once, because that would hinder our current production and construction. Furthermore, we must combat the misconception that overstocking of products that results from thoughtless overproduction constitutes storage of materials by the state. That notion would inevitably cause state funds to be wasted or lie idle, which would also be harmful to production and construction.

Fourth, the relationship between economy and finance should be correctly handled. Years of experience tell us that our state revenues must be based on economic development, and that our state expenditures must in turn, and above all, ensure that development. Thus, we should first of all consider the plan for economic development, particularly for industrial and agricultural production. Then we should draw up a budget that will ensure its successful implementation. If instead of enlarging our financial resources in accordance with the conditions of our economic development, we set our revenue targets too low, or if we only worry about cutting expenditures and keep too much in reserve, we shall hold back full development of the economy. That would be wrong.

In drawing up our plan for state revenues, we must take into account the prospects for economic development and the correct ratio between accumulation and consumption and avoid setting the figures too high. In drawing up our plan for state expenditures, we must distribute funds correctly so as to ensure the construction of key projects and the proportionate development of the economy. In addition, we must keep a balance between the scale of construction and the supply of materials, maintain a certain amount of reserve funds

for contingencies and — again — avoid setting the figures too high. It would obviously be wrong to take only the demands of construction into account, without considering whether sufficient funds are available and whether there are adequate supplies of equipment, materials and technical personnel: we must not put forward over-ambitious plans for appropriations and investment.

Comrades often like to argue whether or not there should be “financial limitations”. In our view, it is of course wrong to ignore the demands of economic development and to set subjective limitations that hamper economic development. We should oppose such limitations. But if a budget conforms to the actual conditions of economic development and embodies the correct relations between accumulation and consumption and between plans for priority construction projects and overall plans, then that budget must be strictly executed and not challenged on the ground that it introduces “financial limitations”.

It should also be noted here that many of the shortcomings and mistakes in our work are inseparable from subjectivism and bureaucratism among the leadership. Some leading comrades sit on high, never approaching the masses and remaining ignorant of actual conditions, and are subjective in dealing with questions and making arrangements for work. Consequently, they can hardly expect their decisions to be correct. Bureaucratism at higher levels, in turn, fosters commandism at lower levels.

The various departments of the State Council are overstaffed and divided into too many levels, with the result that the lower organizations are inundated with official documents, telegrams and forms. In certain cases leading cadres are even ignorant of what directives and regulations have been issued by their departments. We must put an end to such manifestations of bureaucratism as soon as possible.

Although we have achieved much in our governmental work, we must never allow ourselves the slightest feeling of complacency or conceit. We should also be aware that while the economy is developing rapidly, the situation changes often and quickly. New problems can appear anywhere at any moment and many of these problems are interrelated and highly complex. Therefore, we must constantly maintain close contact with the masses, go deep into the realities of life, intensify investigation and study, deal effectively with changes in the situation, make concrete analysis of conditions, both

favourable and unfavourable, and correctly assess both advantages and difficulties. In this way, decisions can be made in time to regulate the activities of all departments and aspects of the economy and thus to avoid conflicts and dislocations. In this vast country of ours, where situations are complicated and radical reforms in the economy are taking place, any negligence may result in major mistakes and great losses. Therefore, it is especially important to overcome subjectivism and bureaucratism.

II

The Central Committee of the Party considers that in drawing up the Second Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development, we should start from the anticipated achievements in the period of the First Five-Year Plan. We should bear in mind the basic requirement that by about the end of the third five-year plan we must have fulfilled the fundamental tasks of the state in the transition period. And we should make a practical appraisal of conditions that may prevail inside and outside the country during the second five-year period to ensure a comprehensive plan. Only in this way can we make a plan that is both ambitious and sound.

The Central Committee suggests that the fundamental tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development should be as follows:

(1) to continue industrial construction with major emphasis on heavy industry, promote technical reform of the economy and build a solid foundation for socialist industrialization;

(2) to complete socialist transformation and to consolidate and expand collective ownership and ownership by the whole people;

(3) on the basis of capital construction and socialist transformation, to further increase the production of industry, agriculture and handicrafts and correspondingly develop transport and commerce;

(4) to train personnel for construction work and to strengthen scientific research to meet the needs of a developing socialist economy and culture; and

(5) on the basis of increased industrial and agricultural production, to strengthen national defence and improve the material and cultural life of the people.

The main purpose of the socialist industrialization of our country is to build up a comprehensive industrial system within the period of three five-year plans. This industrial system will enable us to produce all kinds of major machinery, equipment and raw materials needed for expanded reproduction and for technical reform of the economy. It will also enable us to produce all kinds of consumer goods to satisfy the demands born of an ever-rising standard of living.

Some people may ask: Given the constant growth of the economies of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and given the possibilities of economic and technological co-operation among socialist countries, is it still necessary for our country to set up a comprehensive industrial system? It is true that China's situation today is quite different from that of the Soviet Union in the early years of its establishment, when it was economically isolated and could get no assistance from other countries, and it is true that the existence and development of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies are very favourable conditions for our socialist construction. However, we think a populous country like ours, which has rich resources and great needs, must still build its own comprehensive industrial system. This is because our domestic requirements demand that we quickly change the long-standing backwardness of our economy, and because international requirements demand that we establish a powerful industry that can promote a common economic upsurge in the socialist countries and add to the forces in defence of world peace. The parasitic view that we can rely wholly on international assistance and need not build our own comprehensive industrial system is therefore wrong.

Another view is wrong too: the view that we can close our doors and carry on construction on our own. Needless to say, the establishment of a comprehensive industrial system in our country will require assistance from the Soviet Union and the people's democracies for a long time to come. At the same time it is also necessary for us to develop economic, technological and cultural exchanges with other countries. Even when we have built a socialist industrial state, it will still be inconceivable that we should close our doors and seek no assistance from others. Facts show not only that economic and technological co-operation among the socialist countries will constantly expand, but also that — as the forces of the peoples of various countries grow daily stronger in the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence and as the international situation tends more

and more towards detente — economic, technological and cultural relations between China and non-socialist countries will expand steadily as well. Therefore, the isolationist view of socialist construction is also wrong.

To lay a solid foundation for the socialist industrialization of our country, during the Second Five-Year Plan period we must continue to expand our metallurgical industry; make vigorous efforts to build up the machine-building industry; strengthen the electric-power, coal and building-material industries; and energetically develop the backward branches of industry — the petroleum, chemicals and radio industries. At the same time, we should also press ahead with the technological renovation of the economy, and first of all of industry.

Experience shows that industrial development, with emphasis on heavy industry, cannot and should not be carried on in isolation, but must be co-ordinated with other branches of the economy, especially agriculture. The development of agriculture is a necessary condition for the development of industry and of the entire national economy. To delay the development of agriculture would not only have a direct adverse effect on the development of light industry and the improvement of the people's standard of living, but would seriously affect the development of heavy industry and the economy as a whole. It would also interfere with the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. In the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, therefore, we should continue to make great efforts to expand agriculture, so that its development may be co-ordinated with that of industry. To ensure a well-proportioned, co-ordinated development of all branches and aspects of the economy, we should arrange proper relations between heavy industry and light industry, between industrial and agricultural production on the one hand and transport and circulation of commodities on the other, between economic construction and cultural development, and between national construction and people's standard of living. At the same time, we should make further adjustments in the relations between the central and local authorities, between coastal regions and the interior, and among the various nationalities. These things are essential if we want to enlist all positive factors and useful forces in the great cause of building socialism.

In the period of the Second Five-Year Plan we shall be able to continue expanding capital construction and industrial and agricultural production at a relatively rapid rate. The Central Committee believes that in this period, on the basis of increased state revenues,

state investment in capital construction can be increased from about 35 per cent of total revenues in the first five-year period to about 40 per cent. Hence investment in capital construction in the second five-year period will be about double that in the first. As for industrial and agricultural production, according to preliminary calculations, the total value of industrial output in 1962 will be about 100 per cent more than in 1957. The output value of the means of production and the means of subsistence will both increase considerably, but the growth rate of the means of production will still be greater. The value of agricultural output will increase by about 35 per cent. By 1962, the total value of industrial and agricultural output will be about 75 per cent higher than the figure set for 1957 in the First Five-Year Plan.

It should be explained here that the increased percentages as enumerated in the proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan are calculated from the base of the targets set in the First Five-Year Plan and do not take account of the possibility that these targets may be surpassed. They therefore seem relatively high. If, after the conclusion of the First Five-Year Plan, the figures actually achieved in 1957 are used as the basis for calculation, the percentage increases set in the proposals may turn out to be somewhat lower. For instance, China's steel output for 1962 as suggested in the proposals is to be 10.5 to 12 million tons. This represents an increase of 150 to 190 per cent, as compared with the 1957 target set in the First Five-Year Plan (4.12 million tons). But when compared with the anticipated 1957 output (5.5 million tons), the increase will be only 100 to 120 per cent.

We consider that the rates of expansion of capital construction and industrial and agricultural production that I have mentioned are appropriate; it is a plan that is at once ambitious and realistic. We are convinced that if only we rely on the masses and bring their initiative and creativity into play, we can mobilize great strength, surmount all difficulties in our path and accomplish our tasks in the Second Five-Year Plan period just as we have in the First.

PROBLEMS OF POLICY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

November 10, 1956

On several occasions since the Eighth Party Congress¹¹⁵ we have made alterations in the figures for next year's economic plan, a plan that has been difficult to draw up. Our present task is to work out without delay some policy decisions regarding next year's economic development, so that they can be submitted to the current Plenary Session for approval. Today, I should like to talk about some policy problems.

First, as mentioned in the political report just delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi, a study of the recent international events suggests that we need to pay attention to the following two points in our country's economic development.

1. There is the possibility that socialist states may commit chauvinistic errors — in fact, some have already done so. In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, these errors include the practice of great-power chauvinism towards foreign countries, the domestic practice of big-nationality chauvinism towards the minority nationalities and the adoption of autocratic policies towards the people. Chauvinistic errors have been made in some of the other socialist countries: now the question is whether they will also be made in ours. Of course, the answer is that we are able to avoid them and should try our best to do so. Still, there is the possibility that we may make such errors. As a matter of fact, some incipient forms of chauvinism have already been discovered in our work. Let me cite some examples. Occasionally some of our government personnel have assumed a great-power attitude towards our fraternal neighbouring countries.

Excerpt from a report on the Plan for National Economic Development for 1957, delivered at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Domestically, some of our cadres have displayed a certain degree of Han chauvinism towards the minority nationalities. Some of our leading cadres have divorced themselves from the masses, caring very little about the people's well-being. And there are some rules and regulations that provide special treatment for leading cadres in their everyday life and work, treatment that will facilitate the growth of bureaucratism. All of the above calls for constant attention in our drive to build the country.

2. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi has just noted, it is all right for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to give priority to heavy industry. However, in the course of developing heavy industry, they have neglected the people's immediate interests. Light industry and agriculture are two economic sectors that have a direct, vital bearing on the people's standard of living. Neglecting them brings about unfavourable results and causes serious imbalances in the economy. Recently Comrade Mao Zedong has emphasized again and again that we need not only to develop heavy industry but also to improve the people's life. Only by so doing can we lay a solid foundation for the growth of heavy industry. The purpose of developing heavy industry and achieving socialist industrialization is to serve the people's long-term interests. Moreover, to safeguard the people's well-being and the fruits of socialist endeavour, we must rely on the people. If we ignore their immediate interests and instead ask them to tighten their belts to an unreasonable extent, their living standards will decline. This, together with a shortage of consumer goods, will make it hard for them to display full enthusiasm and initiative in production. The result will be an insufficient accumulation of funds, which will bring the development of heavy industry to a halt. This is something we should always bear in mind as we proceed with our economic undertakings. We need to draw the lessons from the events that have occurred in a number of other socialist countries.

In addition, we must be aware that China is special in that it is a country where feudalism still exerts a strong influence. Although we have overthrown the feudal ruling system, there still exist social customs and conventions that smack of feudal bureaucratism. Divorcing themselves from the people, standing high above the masses, seeking special favourable treatment and indulging in extravagances — this was the behaviour of China's ruling class in bygone days. But our cadres also are liable to behave this way. Anyone who heads a Party or government office at any level is regarded as a person of special

status. All this explains why even after the socialist system has been established in China, we have to be constantly on guard against old customs and conventions; because they have an eroding effect on our minds.

We should both develop heavy industry and improve the people's life. Among the problems relating to the people, the most important is our large population. While a big population has its advantages, it also poses a difficult problem: the vast amounts of materials that are needed for consumption. People must have clothing, food, shelter and means of transport. Among these, food ranks first in importance. China's population is now growing at an average annual rate of 2 per cent, an increase of more than 10 million people a year. That is really a sizeable figure. By contrast, the country's grain production registers an annual increase of only about 3 per cent. That cannot be considered a fast rate of growth. Now that the co-operative transformation of agriculture has been completed, we are able to raise the per-unit yield and to expand the area that is planted to several crops a year. Despite this year's serious natural disasters, we have gathered in a bigger harvest than last year. This can be attributed to the advantages of co-operativization and of the socialist system. But we must recognize that it is no easy thing to expand the area of cultivated land and increase grain production. Normally we can expect only gradual progress in this regard. At yesterday's meeting of the Political Bureau I talked about the need to encourage the practice of birth control. Comrade Deng Xiaoping was the first to bring up this matter for discussion some time ago. Later on, Mr. Shao Lizi¹¹⁶ raised it during a session of the National People's Congress. As I see it, both the Party and the Communist Youth League should try to spread the idea of family planning. In fact, many people, especially urban residents, want to know about it. It is now quite clear that for the time being we are unable to provide jobs for all who want employment. Furthermore, the current rate of wage increase is not high enough to enable workers and other employees to feed big families. So I even think it's advisable to encourage late marriage.

Secondly, Comrade Mao Zedong's theory concerning the "ten major relationships"¹¹⁷ was adopted at the Eighth Party Congress as our guiding principle. Ever since the high tide in the campaign for socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, there has been an unprecedented burst of enthusiasm for socialist construction throughout the country. Thus

encouraged, a number of departments and also the authorities of many provinces and municipalities have submitted suggestions and proposals to the Central Committee. To have direct contact with local authorities, Comrade Mao Zedong personally went on an inspection tour of a number of provinces and cities. Here in Beijing, Comrade Liu Shaoqi got in touch with comrades in many departments. Later, after he had talked with comrades from various departments, Comrade Mao Zedong once again emphasized that in order to carry out the country's socialist construction in the right way it is essential to handle these relationships correctly. It is true that many problems regarding these relationships were outlined in the reports delivered at the Eighth Party Congress. But that doesn't mean they have all been properly solved. We can actually solve them only through our future efforts, by taking concrete measures and in the course of constantly combating erroneous ideas and practices. Of the ten major relationships, the first five are directly concerned with economic development. For example, what are the desirable proportions of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry? Right now, we are still unable to find a satisfactory answer. Only after making a series of experiments and investigations will we be able to determine the correct ratio between the three sectors. And even when the ratio is right at one time, it may not be right at another and will have to be re-adjusted.

Thirdly, our objective in economic construction, as defined by the Party during its Eighth Congress, is to build a basically comprehensive system of industry in a period covered by three five-year plans or a little more, and thereby to transform China, a backward agricultural country, into an advanced, industrialized socialist country. This objective is more concrete than the one previously defined, which was simply to work for socialist industrialization. By industrialization, we mean the country must have an independent and comprehensive system of industry. Any country that wants to build socialism, and especially such a large country as ours, must have the ability to develop on its own. Of course, countries that are very small have to depend on others, because they don't have enough raw materials. But in a vast country like China, there is every reason for us to build a comprehensive system of industry, because in case of emergency, no other countries will be able to assist us in solving all our difficulties. Building a basically comprehensive system of industry means primarily making it possible for China to produce sufficient quantities of major

raw and semi-finished materials and to manufacture independently not only ordinary types of machines but also heavy and precision machinery as well as the new weapons necessary for self-defence, including atomic bombs, missiles and long-range aircraft. China must also strive to achieve a corresponding development in such areas as the chemical industry, the power and energy industry, the transport industry, light industry and agriculture. It should be noted, however, that building a basically comprehensive system of industry does not mean that the country will be fully self-sufficient. That is impossible even for the large developed countries. Take the United States for example. It is a big country with a very comprehensive industrial structure, but it lacks certain essential things, such as rubber. The Soviet Union also suffers from a shortage of some necessary things. Now, there is another question: Is a comprehensive system of industry sure to yield a high output? Of course, its output will probably be relatively high, but not necessarily very high. The decisive importance of a comprehensive industrial system lies not in its high output but in its capacity to produce the major items that are needed. From this point of view, we consider that the Party was right to adopt the resolution at its Eighth Congress calling for the building of a comprehensive industrial system in a period of three five-year plans or perhaps longer. Judging by present circumstances, this task may require an even longer period of time.

Now let's turn to our earlier ideas about the country's long-term programme. Would it be advisable for us to slow down the pace of development somewhat? The studies we undertook before and after the Party's Eighth Congress have convinced us that heavy industry should grow at a slower pace than originally planned. For example, our previous estimate was that the country's steel output should reach 30 million tons by the last year of the Third Five-Year Plan. Judging by the current rate of economic development, however, we can now say for certain that that target is impossible to reach. So we have altered it in accordance with the proposals put forth by the Party during its Eighth Congress. We believe that an annual output of 20 to 25 million tons of steel would be a realistic target for the Third Five-Year Plan. Of course, there is a possibility that this target will be overfulfilled if the Plan is carried out well. Nevertheless, it is still inadvisable to set the target at 30 million tons, because if we did that, all other branches of the economy would have to develop at a correspondingly rapid rate. And then we would find that, as we often

say, it's hard to stand firm or make balanced progress when the ground beneath your feet begins to sink. Agriculture and light industry would also be affected, with the result that steel production would have to be cut back. It will definitely take much longer to attain the production targets envisaged in our long-term programme; we will reach them, say, only at the end of four five-year plans, or at best during the course of the fourth. Speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee's Political Bureau, Comrade Chen Yun⁷⁰ stressed that if the production targets cannot be attained in the proposed period of three five-year plans, it would be better to lengthen the time limit by two more years. In my opinion, still another two years should be allowed if necessary. In a big country like ours, slowing down the increase in production a little will not hinder the nation's industrialization, that is the building of a basically comprehensive system of industry. If we readjust the production targets, it will be easier to plan a more realistic programme. If we don't, we shall find ourselves held back by a few figures set in the long-term programme.

There are two more points I want to bring up for your consideration in this connection.

1. About the figures for economic development proposed at the Eighth Party Congress. Since these are all suggested figures, may we make alterations when we consider some of the targets unattainable? I think we may. It used to be that a plan, once drawn up, became a law. Practice has shown that things don't work that way. On the other hand, it would be wrong to regard a plan as a mere scrap of paper. Plans that do not conform to realities have to be revised, and realities that outstrip plans have to be recognized. No plan should be considered inalterable. Some of the suggested targets appeared quite reasonable at the time. Now that we have found out they involve some inconsistencies, I think it is quite permissible for us to revise them.

2. About the 40-article Programme for Agricultural Development. This is another proposal in the form of a draft programme. When it was first submitted for discussion, Comrade Mao Zedong said changes could be made during its implementation. In fact, some of the planned figures have been crossed out. It is now almost a year since the draft programme was put into practice, and facts have shown that it is necessary to reexamine and revise some of the proposed figures. For example, the expansion of cultivated land. It would be very difficult to reclaim as much as 140 million *mu* (9,333,333 hectares)

in 12 years. You see, reclaiming even 10 million *mu* (666,667 hectares) per year would require an annual investment of 500 million yuan. That is a huge sum which it is impossible for us to provide during the next fiscal year. And it is not certain that we shall be able to provide it in the years to come. Meanwhile, we have to consider that in addition to the financial investment, the proposed reclamation will also demand a series of other efforts, such as making administrative arrangements, mobilizing the masses and providing supporting materials.

The annual figures for economic development have been set in the resolution of the Eighth Party Congress and in the 40-article Programme for Agricultural Development. A careful study of these proposed figures, however, has convinced us that some alterations are necessary. We must not make futile attempts to achieve the impossible, or we will jeopardize other economic undertakings, waste money and be obliged to beat a retreat in the end. We should modify all unattainable targets. This will lift a burden from our minds. If we don't make modifications, we shall find ourselves bound hand and foot.

Fourthly, I want to talk about the evaluation of the First Five-Year Plan. We already made a rough evaluation of it at the Eighth Party Congress, but now that we are discussing next year's economic plan, the question naturally comes up again. The Standing Committee of the State Council has held several meetings to discuss it. The consensus is that on the whole, the First Five-Year Plan is realistic and has proved highly successful. However, it also contains not a few mistakes. This evaluation may sound like a cliché, but it has been justified by actual practice. Consider the following:

1. Most of the production targets that we are aiming at this year are very close to the ones set in the First Five-Year Plan. We expect that next year 39 of the 46 industrial targets will definitely be overfulfilled; of the remaining seven, which will be difficult to reach, only the target for petroleum is considered really unattainable. Aren't we justified in calling it a success if we are able to fulfil the production targets set in the First Five-Year Plan? Of course, it must be admitted that we are not doing so well in agriculture as in industry. This requires particular attention. Anyway, we can surely fulfil the targets for grain and cotton production set in the Plan, even though there have been two consecutive years of unusual natural disasters. Of the eight major items of agricultural produce, it is most likely that

hemp, soybeans and oil-yielding crops will fall short of the targets set by the Plan. This is attributable to poor planning and inefficient management. Indeed, we have failed to attach enough importance to the management of agriculture, as compared with industry. Agricultural production involves a wide range of problems, and it is sometimes not easy to take them all into account.

2. In the field of capital construction, the actual totals of investment have exceeded the planned figures. Most of the major construction projects, both the ones designed by the Soviet experts and those designed by ourselves, have been completed. Some Soviet-designed projects have not yet been completed, and they are primarily the national defence projects, which we felt it necessary to postpone. As for the projects of our own design, the problem is that we have launched too many of them. This should be viewed as mistake in our planning. But in most cases our capital construction has proved basically successful.

3. We have been careful about carrying out the budgetary plans, so there have been no great excesses in expenditure.

These facts show that on the whole, the First Five-Year Plan is realistic and has been highly successful. I am not going to elaborate on that now.

On the other hand, however, we must admit that there are some mistakes in the Plan. I want to say something more about this. It was the first time we ever drew up a five-year plan, so we couldn't expect to produce an ideal programme all at once. The First Five-Year Plan, which was formulated in 1952, proved to be only a rough outline which had to be revised in 1953, 1954 and 1955, and we also modified the annual plan for each of those years. It is quite natural that some errors were found both in the First Five-Year Plan and in the annual plans. This is because we lacked necessary experience and knowledge. As a matter of fact, we have been learning things in the course of discovering our mistakes and trying to eliminate them. In 1953 we undertook a little too much capital construction. And we did the same thing this year on a larger scale. Last year, on the contrary, we didn't do enough capital construction, with the result that certain materials were left unused. The surplus materials and equipment had to be sold at reduced prices. The surplus rolled steel was exported to other countries. Meanwhile, the cement factories had to cut back production and the sawmills had to sell their lumber cheap. All this was unfortunate, and reflected a serious mistake in our plann-

ing. Minor mistakes were also found in various departments. Planning is a problem we have to study. Even at this moment, when the proposed economic plan for the next fiscal year is being submitted for approval, we are still not certain we have discovered all the defects in it. I hope that when this Plenary Session breaks down into groups for discussion, you will try to ferret out more mistakes and flaws in the plan. Your efforts in this connection will help to improve not only next year's plan but also our construction work in the years to come. Some defects will doubtless be found in next year's plan when it is being put into effect, so they will have to be corrected from time to time, in the course of practice. When the First Five-Year Plan is completed and we come to review the way in which it was implemented, we shall profit by our experience, both positive and negative, and have a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the work of planning than we had during the Eighth Party Congress.

As we now see it, some of the alterations we made in the First Five-Year Plan were necessitated by changes in the world situation and some by planning mistakes that were due to inexperience and ignorance on our part. I think these two points require some discussion.

First of all, the changes in the world situation. When we began to formulate the First Five-Year Plan, the Korean war²⁶ was still in progress. At that time we thought not only that heavy industry needed to be stepped up but also that there should be a corresponding development of the national defence industry. The war ended in 1953, but in 1954 and 1955 a tense situation arose across the Taiwan Straits, and we had to find out how the world situation was going to develop. It was not until after the Geneva Conference⁸⁷ and the Bandung Conference⁸⁶ and even later, at the end of last year or the beginning of this year, that we began to perceive that the world situation was relaxing. This prompted us to think about slowing down our national defence industry and cutting back its production in some areas. That was quite logical. At a meeting of the Political Bureau, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the need to slow down development of the defence industry and concentrate on the metallurgical, machine-building and chemical industries so as to lay a solid foundation for future development. At the same time, he said that it was better for us to prepare for the manufacture of atomic bombs, missiles, remote-control

devices and long-range aircraft and to produce other weapons only in small quantities for the time being. Take artillery for example — one cannon factory would be enough. His idea is to give first priority to building an industrial base, leaving mass production to some future date. Our assumption is that there will be a peaceful period, which will make it possible for us to build a comprehensive system of industry in our country. A peaceful period is most welcome. Right now we may base our guiding principle on this assumption. Nevertheless, we must also prepare for another probability, that is, the outbreak of war, which depends on whether our enemies want to take risks. What should we do if war breaks out in the next 12 years? Would that mean that we have made a wrong estimate of the situation? There would be widespread complaints if we had to fight a war and didn't have enough weapons and ammunition for the reserve forces. Still, one thing we can say for certain is that even if the enemy should impose a war on us, he could not win a quick victory. Although we would suffer some losses in the beginning, the enemy would have to fight a protracted war once he set foot on our mainland. In that case, our worst mistake would be that we had made a wrong judgement. At a meeting of the Political Bureau, Comrade Mao Zedong has raised this question of whether there could be a peaceful period. Following his lead, I now bring it up for all of you to discuss at the current Plenary Session of the Central Committee. If our assumption turns out to be a miscalculation, all of us should hold ourselves collectively responsible for it and determine to atone for it by performing meritorious deeds. At present we have no other choice but to presume that there will be a period of peace; otherwise we would be like a man pacing back and forth at a crossroads, not knowing which direction to take. If we concentrated materials, equipment and financial resources too heavily in the national defence industry, it would be difficult to produce other goods in sufficient quantities. The result would be a severe shortage of a great variety of goods, and it would be out of the question to raise the people's living standards. Weapons would be of no use in the absence of warfare, because you can't eat cannon and rifles. Nor is there any point in producing huge amounts of bullets and cartridges. Therefore, it is crucial for us to cut back defence production. In fact, the Political Bureau, during a discussion of next year's plan and the Second Five-Year Plan, has already decided to do just that. It has done so because of the changes

in the world situation, which prompt us to quicken our pace in some areas while slowing down in others.

The second factor contributing to the alterations in the Second Five-Year Plan is the mistakes we made in planning some projects owing to lack of experience and knowledge. In retrospect, some of the mistakes seem rather absurd. But the fact is that we weren't very clear about what we were doing at the time. For example, the projects designed by Soviet experts. We thought it would be better to complete those projects one or two years ahead of schedule, if the Soviet Union could provide the necessary equipment and facilities at an early date. But we failed to distinguish between projects that it was advantageous to complete quickly and ones whose rapid construction would instead place a burden on us. At the time, whenever a central ministry asked the State Council or the Central Committee to approve the acceleration of a given project, we felt that we should approve it. One example is the construction of an automobile factory at such an accelerated pace that next year it will have an annual production capacity of 18,000-20,000 vehicles. But to produce and run those vehicles we would have to import great quantities of materials and equipment as well as huge amounts of oil, which would require a lot of foreign exchange. Since there is not much gasoline available at present, we will have to cut back the production of automobiles. And that will throw a certain proportion of the labour force out of work temporarily. When some friends from foreign countries visited the Changchun Automobile Factory, they expressed the view that our production capacities, which exceeded our present needs, would soon lie idle. Experienced people can tell at a glance. We had intended to start building a second automobile factory, but now we have decided to postpone it. Now, take the example of factories designed for aluminium processing and machine building. As the military industries have built a certain number of these factories, there is no urgent need for civilian industries to follow suit. The existing factories can serve both purposes, military and civilian. During the current period of peace some of these factories can be geared to the production of ordinary machines for civilian use. In the past we didn't give enough thought to this matter, and consequently certain funds have been lying idle.

For this reason we must admit that although the First Five-Year Plan has proved highly successful, it nevertheless has quite a few

shortcomings and contains a number of mistakes. Of course, many of these have been discovered, but there are probably some which have not yet come to light. I hope you comrades present at this Plenary Session will make more comments about that.

REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN CHINA AND BURMA

July 9, 1957

Fellow deputies,

The question of the boundary line between China and Burma is an important one in the foreign relations of our country and one about which our people are greatly concerned. The government therefore deems it necessary to make a special report on this matter to the National People's Congress.

We have inherited from the past many questions of undefined boundary lines with neighbouring countries, and the question of the one between China and Burma has attracted particular public attention. This is because Britain stirred up prolonged dispute over the boundary line when Burma was under its rule, and because in recent years the forces of imperialism have repeatedly used the question to sow discord and create tension between China and Burma.

Our government has consistently held that a fair and reasonable settlement of all outstanding questions between China and other countries should be sought through peaceful negotiation. The question of the boundary between China and Burma is a long-standing and complicated one. So from the beginning we have taken a careful

Report made at the Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress. It was carried in *People's Daily* on July 10, 1957. According to the proposal described in this report and through unremitting efforts made by the governments of China and Burma, the two sides signed the Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries on January 28, 1960 when the Burmese Prime Minister Ne Win paid a visit to China. Later, when the Burmese Prime Minister U Nu and Chief of Staff Ne Win came to China for a visit, the two sides signed the Boundary Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma on October 1 of the same year.

approach, seeking to reach a settlement step by step and through adequate preparatory work.

During the years immediately after the founding of our state, the government was preoccupied with a series of urgent, major tasks at home and in its relations with foreign countries and was therefore unable to make comprehensive and systematic preparations for the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. However, since December 12, 1954, when the premiers of China and Burma issued a communique on their talks proposing that the question of the undefined boundary line be settled “at an appropriate time through normal diplomatic channels”, our government has proceeded to make the necessary preparations in that regard. The government departments concerned, acting jointly with the provincial authorities of Yunnan, have undertaken a systematic study of relevant historical documents and detailed investigation of actual conditions.

In November 1955, just as both the Chinese and the Burmese sides were making active preparations for the settlement of the boundary question, an armed clash unfortunately occurred in the border region, owing to a misunderstanding between the outpost units of the two countries. This incident was properly dealt with through the joint efforts of both sides, but at the same time it impressed on the governments of both countries the need for an early settlement of the boundary question.

Since the beginning of 1956, the Chinese and Burmese governments have entered into frequent contacts on the matter. In November of the same year, Chairman U Nu of the Burmese Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League came to Beijing at our invitation to hold consultations with our government. In line with our foreign policy of peace, and on the basis of the results of our investigation and study of the boundary question, our government put forward to the Burmese government, through Chairman U Nu, certain principles for a settlement. A formal proposal was approved by the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress at its 50th meeting, on November 5, 1956.

The greater part of the boundary line between China and Burma is fixed, but there are three sections where the line remains to be determined. Our government proposed principles for drawing the boundary in these three sections, suggesting that the three parts of the proposal be considered as an integral whole. Let me now explain the contents of that proposal.

The first point concerns the section in the Awa mountainous area. This section was explicitly provided for in the two treaties on the Sino-Burmese boundary line signed by China and Britain in 1894 and 1897. But as the relevant provisions were mutually contradictory, this section was not demarcated for a long time. To create a *fait accompli*, in early 1934 Britain sent troops to attack the territory of the Panhung and Panlao tribes of the Wa people and were met with heroic resistance. This was the well-known "Panhung Incident". On June 18, 1941, taking advantage of the critical situation in which China was placed during the War of Resistance Against Japan, and closing the Yunnan-Burma Road as a pressure tactic, Britain, in an exchange of notes with the Kuomintang government, effected a demarcation in the Awa area to her advantage. This was the so-called "1941 line". But since the war in the Pacific¹¹⁸ broke out soon afterwards, no markers were erected along the line. In 1956, during the discussion between the Chinese and Burmese governments on the boundary question, Burmese leaders indicated that they could understand the Chinese people's dissatisfaction with the 1941 line. However, in view of the fact that this section of the boundary had been determined by an exchange of notes between the Chinese and British governments in power at that time, they asked us to recognize the line and to withdraw the Chinese troops who had entered the area west of it in 1952 when pursuing remaining Kuomintang troops. It was the opinion of our government that on the question of boundary lines, demands made on the basis of formal treaties should be respected according to general international practice, but that this should in no way prevent the governments of two friendly countries from seeking a settlement that was fair and reasonable for both sides through peaceful negotiation. In order to promote such a settlement and to create a favourable atmosphere for it, we expressed in our proposal of principles to the Burmese government our readiness to withdraw our troops from the area west of the 1941 line. At the same time, we asked that, pending a final agreement on the question of the 1941 line and the setting up of boundary markers, Burmese troops should refrain from entering the area west of the 1941 line evacuated by the Chinese troops. Working personnel of the Burmese government could, however, enter the area.

The second point concerns the Meng-Mao Triangular Area, also known as the Namwan Assigned Tract, situated at the junction of the Namwan River and the Shweli River and measuring about 250

square kilometres. This is Chinese territory, a fact that Britain too explicitly recognized in a treaty signed earlier. But before the Sino-British treaty on the Sino-Burmese boundary line was signed in 1894, Britain, without obtaining China's consent, built a highway through the area to join Bhamo with Namhkan. When China and Britain signed the treaty of 1897 on the same issue, Britain, claiming a "perpetual lease", further secured jurisdiction over this piece of Chinese territory. When Burma became independent, it inherited the "perpetual lease". In our proposal to the Burmese government, we pointed out that it would be inconsistent with the relations of equality and friendship now existing between the two countries for Burma to maintain the "perpetual lease" on a piece of Chinese territory. We expressed our readiness to negotiate with the Burmese government to determine concrete steps to abrogate the "perpetual lease" of the Meng-Mao Triangular Area.

The third point concerns the section north of the High Conical Peak. This section of the boundary line was never fixed in the past. Britain continually stirred up conflicts in this area, taking advantage of them to expand its colonial territory. The most serious incident was the armed occupation of the Hpimaw area by the British in early 1911. The "Hpimaw Incident" aroused the indignation of the entire Chinese people, and protest movements spread with gathering force through all parts of the country. Under these circumstances, the British government was obliged to acknowledge formally in its note dated April 10, 1911, to the then Chinese government that the villages in the Hpimaw-Kangfang-Gawlum area belonged to China, but it nevertheless continued its unreasonable occupation of that area. After studying the historical facts and investigating the actual conditions, our government made the following proposal to the Burmese government concerning the demarcation of this section of the boundary line: the section from the Isurazi Pass northward to the Dephu Pass can be drawn along the traditional boundary line. The section from the Isurazi Pass to the High Conical Peak can in principle be drawn along the watershed between the Nu River, the Shweli River (also known as the Lungchuan River) and the Taiping River on the one side and the Nmai Hka River on the other, with the exception of the Hpimaw-Kangfang-Kawlum area, which should be returned to China. We also asked that at the same time as Chinese troops were withdrawing from the area west of the 1941 line, the Burmese government should withdraw its troops from Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum. Pending

the final demarcation of this section, the Burmese government could retain its administration over the Hpimaw-Kangfang-Gawlum area, and the Chinese government would refrain from sending troops there.

After our government made this proposal, Chairman U Nu expressed the view that it was a fair and reasonable one that took into account the interests of both sides. The joint press communique issued after the talks between Chairman U Nu and the Chinese leaders declared that the governments of China and Burma had arrived at the following understanding: that between the end of November and the end of December 1956, Chinese troops would withdraw from the area west of the 1941 line and Burmese troops would withdraw from Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum. By the end of 1956, the two governments had completed the troop withdrawals. Thus a good start was made for the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. Leading personnel of the two governments resumed their friendly talks on the subject in Rangoon in December 1956 and again in Kunming in March 1957. During these talks the standpoints of the two sides were further clarified and a general agreement was reached.

People of all walks of life in our country are concerned about the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. In order to obtain views from various sectors, on behalf of the government I made a report on this question in mid-March this year to the Third Plenary Session of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Also present at the meeting were deputies to the National People's Congress who were in Beijing at the time, members of the government and specially invited experts. At the end of March, in Kunming, I made another report on the question to a meeting called by the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference and attended by representatives of people from all walks of life and representatives of various nationalities in Yunnan Province. Earnest discussions took place at these two broadly based meetings, which gave the government an opportunity to listen to opinions from different sectors and reply to questions raised, thus bringing into closer agreement the views of the people throughout the country.

This, in brief, is the history of the Sino-Burmese boundary question up to the present. I should now like to say a few words on the basic policy followed by the government in dealing with this question.

Ever since the founding of the People's Republic, the policy consistently followed by our country in international affairs has been to

strive for the easing of world tensions and for peaceful coexistence with all countries, particularly with our neighbours. This policy is beneficial to our own socialist construction, and it also conforms to the interests of the people of all countries in the world. It is precisely this basic foreign policy of peace that our government has followed in handling the Sino-Burmese boundary question.

Like so many outstanding issues among Asian and African countries, the question of the boundary line between China and Burma is the result of aggression carried on over the years by the imperialist powers. China and Burma have now achieved independence and are trying to secure a peaceful international environment so that they can engage in peaceful construction at home. Together with India, China and Burma were the first to articulate the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.⁹³ We all treasure our national independence and national interest and know full well that they can be safeguarded only through peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation. However, the imperialists have never ceased exploiting the differences among Asian and African countries to create tension and discord among them and are still trying hard to carry out their aggressive policy of "divide and rule". In view of all this, our government, in discussing the boundary question with the Burmese government, has always stressed that both sides should act in a spirit of sincerity and conduct friendly negotiations in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, so as to arrive at a fair and reasonable settlement. Now this settlement will not only further consolidate and develop the friendly relations between China and Burma, but also help increase solidarity among Asian and African countries. Our government's approach to this question is based on a desire to protect our national interests and also to promote Sino-Burmese friendship and solidarity among Asian and African countries.

The question of the boundary between China and Burma has a complicated historical background. So in dealing with this question, the treatment of historical data has become an important problem. In the days when China was under feudal rule, its boundaries, like those of many other countries in the feudal era, were not too well defined. Relations between the feudal dynasties and the nationalities in the border areas varied throughout the ages, so it is almost impossible to define the boundaries that existed under Chinese feudal empires. Furthermore, during the past 60 years there have been many vastly different ways of drawing the undefined boundary between

China and Burma in the maps published at home and abroad. All this cannot but cause widespread confusion. Our government holds that in dealing with the Sino-Burmese boundary question we must adopt a serious attitude towards historical data. We must take a correct stand and viewpoint so as to make a scientific analysis of such data and to distinguish between those which can be used as a legal and reasonable basis for settlement and those which, as a result of changed conditions, have only reference value. At the same time we must bear in mind the fundamental, historic changes that have taken place both in China and in Burma: China has cast off its semi-colonial status and Burma its colonial status, and they have become independent countries friendly with each other. The Burmese government has succeeded to the territory formerly ruled by Britain, and the Union of Burma has been established by combining various national autonomous states and Burma proper. Meanwhile, our government has taken over territory under the jurisdiction of the Kuomintang government. In dealing with the boundary question, we must pay attention to these historic changes, and treaties signed in the past much be treated in accordance with general international practice. Only when we take all these points into account can we use historical data correctly and secure a fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question.

That question has a direct bearing on the interests of the nationalities living on the Sino-Burmese border. So in approaching this question we must especially take into account the interests of those nationalities. We know that boundary lines between countries often divide into two parts a nationality living along the border. This is the result of historical development. On the sections of the boundary between China and Burma that have already been defined, and on the borders between China and other countries, we find people of the same nationality living on both sides of the boundary line. So when we resolve the question of the boundary between China and Burma, we must realize beforehand that it will be hard to avoid splitting the the nationalities concerned. It is therefore all the more necessary for us to take measures, in consultation with the Burmese government, to make the future boundary one of peace and friendship and to further cement the close ties of the people of the two countries living on either side of the border.

Fellow deputies,

After repeated contacts and consultations, the Chinese and Burmese governments have arrived at a general agreement on the boundary question in a spirit of friendship and according to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We believe that when the views of both sides on specific problems are brought into accord through continued negotiations, the question of the boundary between our two countries will be settled in a comprehensive, fair and reasonable way.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO OUR POLICIES TOWARDS CHINA'S NATIONALITIES

August 4, 1957

Comrades,

I understand that this working conference on nationalities affairs is progressing very well. There has been a wide-ranging exchange of opinions, and many problems have been raised at the conference. Solutions have been found to some of them. Right now I should like to discuss with you some questions of principle relating to our policies towards the nationalities in our country: first, the question of combating two types of chauvinism — Han chauvinism and local chauvinism; second, the question of regional autonomy for the nationalities; third, the question of promoting prosperity and social reforms among all our nationalities; and fourth, the question of the right of the nationalities to self-government and national identity.

I. TWO TYPES OF CHAUVINISM

There are two types of chauvinism we should oppose: big-nationality (Han) chauvinism and minority nationality (local) chauvinism. It is particularly important to combat the former. Both types of chauvinism are a reflection of bourgeois nationalism. If people of the Han nationality maintain an attitude of Han chauvinism, it can develop into a tendency towards discrimination. On the other hand, if the fraternal minority nationalities in our country maintain an attitude of local chauvinism, it can develop into a tendency towards separatism. In short, if these two attitudes or tendencies are allowed to grow

Speech at a working conference held by the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the National People's Congress.

unchecked, they will not only undermine the unity of our fraternal nationalities but may lead to antagonism among them and even a break-up. What approach should we take in dealing with problems of this kind? We believe that, with very few exceptions, problems arising from the two wrong attitudes or tendencies fall within the category of contradictions among the people and should therefore be resolved according to the principles applied to the settlement of such contradictions. In other words, they should be resolved according to the formula, set forth by Chairman Mao, of proceeding from the desire for national unity and striving, through criticism or struggle, to build a closer national unity on a new basis.

What is that new basis on which we are to develop a closer unity among our nationalities?

I should like to spend some time discussing this question.

As I see it, the new basis is the common desire of all nationalities to transform China into a modern socialist state. That common desire is the basis for the unity of our nationalities. In opposing the two kinds of chauvinism — Han chauvinism and local chauvinism — we must keep in mind our common objective, that is, to turn the motherland into a great socialist country that has both modern industry and modern agriculture. This socialist country now under construction is not to be monopolized by any one nationality. It belongs to all the more than 50 nationalities in our country, to the entire people of the People's Republic of China.

Thanks to our hard work during the eight years since liberation, we have succeeded in uniting all the nationalities. All of them now have a constitution to go by, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, which was adopted by the First National People's Congress at its First Session. The Constitution calls upon us to transform China — a huge country which has just regained independence and which has more than 50 nationalities with a total population of 600 million — into a powerful socialist state. As a great charter, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China represents the will of our 600 million people. We should bend every effort in a common endeavour to achieve the goal it sets forth. All nationalities should regard the building of a powerful socialist motherland as our common objective and on this basis strive to raise national solidarity to a higher level. We must therefore oppose the two kinds of chauvinism, both of which hamper our efforts to build a new basis for unity among the nationalities.

To combat the two kinds of chauvinism, we must start from the common objective of turning China into a powerful socialist country. Without this common objective we cannot overcome them. Let's take an example. If you, as a member of the majority Han nationality, criticize some instances of local chauvinism among the fraternal minority nationalities but forget about our common objective, you are likely to make the mistake of discriminating against them. Most of our fraternal nationalities are still relatively backward in terms of economic and cultural development. When expressing critical views, many comrades of Han nationality tend to blame the fraternal nationalities for backward phenomena which are, in fact, a historical legacy, and unjustified blame of that sort tends to develop into discrimination. But if you direct your attention to our common objective of building a powerful socialist state, you will realize that those backward phenomena are the objective reflection of the underdeveloped economy and culture of the minority peoples, rather than manifestations of wrong tendencies on their part. We should help fraternal nationalities with their economic and cultural development and not look on their backward aspects as expressions of local chauvinism. Even when there really have been instances of local chauvinism, what we have to do is inquire into their sources. Many such instances are attributable to objective causes. Once these objective causes are removed, similar instances will no longer occur. For example, take the fraternal nationalities that live in outlying regions. These people know very little about what is going on in the interior and do not have a correct understanding of the advances that have been made there. So they have some misgivings, not being sure what attitude the Han people will eventually take towards them. We must particularly remember that the minority nationalities used to be oppressed and exploited by the reactionary rulers of Han nationality, so it is quite natural that they should still be rather suspicious of the Han. There are historical, social and economic reasons behind their scepticism and distrust, which must therefore not be dismissed as a manifestation of local chauvinism. We must avoid simplistic criticism of local chauvinism. To allay their suspicion, we should sincerely help minority nationalities to understand the root causes of local chauvinism. Of course, all the historical, social and economic factors responsible for local chauvinism cannot be eliminated overnight. That will take a long period of hard work, inspired by the common goal of building the socialist motherland, to reach the point where all the

nationalities are flourishing economically and culturally. It will take both time and effort. We must avoid indiscriminate or simplistic criticism of local chauvinism; that would only result in misunderstandings and errors. What I have been talking about so far is one aspect of the problem. The other aspect is that if the minority nationalities forget our common objective when they, for their part, criticize Han chauvinism, their criticism is likely to stir up national antagonism. This is because the economic and cultural inequalities left over by history and the effects of past oppression by reactionary rulers still linger on. If the minority peoples stress only these inequalities, feelings of national antagonism can easily arise. Some minority people might say, "We don't trust you Han people because you outnumber us, you are the majority of the population — which is always unfavourable to us — and since you are ahead of us in economic and cultural development, you may take advantage of this superiority and go on discriminating against us and oppressing us." Well, if that is really what they think of the Han people, their distrust may grow to the point where they can see little difference between the new society and the old. And it could easily give rise to disunity and a desire for national separation. We therefore hope that when comrades from minority nationalities criticize Han chauvinism, they too will proceed from the desire to achieve our common objective. In other words, all nationalities must unite and proceed from the desire for unity whenever they criticize each other, in order to eliminate the economic and cultural inequalities among them and to build a strong socialist motherland. When there are real instances of Han chauvinism or of discrimination by Han comrades, the minority peoples need only direct their criticism to the particular incidents and the particular individuals involved. They should not be simplistic and make indiscriminate accusations or have doubts about the Han people as a whole. If they do, it will make it difficult for us to forge close unity among our nationalities and will breed separatist sentiment instead.

Historically, China has been a multi-national country. But in ancient times the country was not always united, and the different nationalities often fought each other. Historical records are full of encroachments of one nationality upon another. Generally speaking, it was the Han people who encroached upon the others more frequently and for longer periods. Of course, the Han were also encroached upon by minority nationalities and even subjected to their rule for

considerable periods, such as during the Northern Dynasty and the Liao, Jin, Yuan and Qing dynasties. Nevertheless, a review of all historical periods shows that it was the Han people who encroached upon the minority nationalities more often than the other way round. Memories of past events still linger among the fraternal nationalities. As the economy and culture of the Han people were more advanced than those of others, they were in a position to extend their influence in all directions. One result was that the other nationalities were forced to migrate to outlying areas or to frigid regions, where living conditions were harder and their economic and cultural development was held back. Such events have left a profound impression on the memories of the minority peoples. Unless they cherish our common goal of building the socialist motherland, local chauvinism will arise, to the detriment of national solidarity and the unity and development of the country. It is therefore imperative for the fraternal minority nationalities to view all those historical events as things of bygone days, things that could occur only in the years before the birth of New China. Now in the post-liberation years, thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party, the Constitution of New China proclaims the equality of all nationalities as state policy. Our country is now one great community in which all nationalities enjoy equality and amity, all rallying to the common goal of building a strong socialist motherland. To reach this goal we must try to eliminate all the undesirable things left over from the past, including the inequalities that still exist in the economic and cultural spheres. Of course, we cannot expect to eliminate these things in a short period of time, but we have to make concerted efforts in that direction.

The world being what it is today, we must grow strong and build a modern socialist state, or we shall once again be bullied by the imperialist powers. It is true that on the day they won liberation the Chinese people stood up, and that they are no longer subject to humiliation by others. But this does not ensure that we shall never again suffer at the hands of others. Our only safeguard is to transform our country into a really powerful socialist state. Imperialists still exist in the contemporary world, and while our socialist cause is progressing, they will not give up their evil attempts. They are waiting for opportunities to make trouble by one means or another. This means we must sharpen our vigilance and strengthen the unity of our nationalities so that we can all work better together to build a strong socialist state. Unless we do this, our multi-national coun-

try, even though it has stood up, will trip and fall once again, relapse into backwardness and poverty and eventually be trampled underfoot.

We must be fully aware that unless we succeed in making China a modern socialist country, there is no way for us to shake off poverty and backwardness. And only when our 50-odd nationalities work closely together to achieve common progress will it be possible for us to cast off poverty and backwardness and build a modern, powerful socialist state. That is a task which the Han people are incapable of accomplishing alone. True, the Han nationality has a large population and has attained a higher level of economic and cultural growth than the others. But in the Han-inhabited regions there is not enough land available for reclamation, and underground natural resources are not so abundant as elsewhere. Development of the natural resources in areas populated by the fraternal minority nationalities provides powerful support for the nation's industrialization. However, these natural resources have remained untapped for lack of labour power and technological expertise. Without mutual assistance, especially assistance from the Han people, the minority peoples will find it difficult to make significant progress on their own. So all the nationalities must help and support each other in order to march towards common prosperity as they build the socialist motherland. That is the only way to combat the two types of chauvinism and thus to weaken the two tendencies towards national discrimination and national separatism.

Let's take an example. In order to turn the city of Baotou in Inner Mongolia into one of China's industrial centres, we have to make combined use of the iron ore of Baotou and the coal of Datong in Shanxi Province. Work has already begun on the construction of the Baotou Iron and Steel Complex, a project which will certainly help transform Baotou into an industrial centre. All nationalities, the Mongol and Han in particular, should join efforts to achieve this goal. Even if instances of Han chauvinism or of local chauvinism may occur sometimes, we can steadily reduce them, so long as we are all inspired by a common goal and are all working hard to attain it. Striving for such a goal will help us to overcome negative things like mutual resentment or antagonism between nationalities. Of course, I don't mean that so long as we are all working for a common goal we need no longer bother about the negative things. No, we still have to make an effort to combat them. What I mean is that

when all of us are dedicated to a common, positive goal, negative elements will be readily replaced by positive ones.

Here's another example: the construction of an industrial centre in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. This project, which includes opening up the Karamay oilfield and turning Urumqi into an industrial city, will end in failure unless the various nationalities in Xinjiang and the Han people from other areas pool their efforts for the purpose. Unless they all co-operate, it will be out of the question to build the necessary railway to begin with. And even if the railway could be built, shortages of labour and of funds would handicap efforts to develop the area further. Nationwide support is essential for this construction project.

These two examples I have cited are enough to make my point. In the interest of achieving common progress, we must try to reduce mutual prejudice among the nationalities.

To transform our motherland into a powerful state, we must stress unity of all nationalities and their common effort to build socialism. We must criticize the two types of chauvinism, which weaken national unity and hamper our common endeavour. We should start from the desire for unity, so that our criticisms will help to stem the two wrong tendencies of national discrimination and national separatism. We must raise our understanding of these two tendencies to a new plane, face them squarely and not be afraid to repudiate them, since they stand in the way of our socialist construction. In the interest of the great cause of building up the motherland, we should work conscientiously to overcome both Han chauvinism and local chauvinism.

II. REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE NATIONALITIES

Since liberation, our basic policy for the nationalities has been regional autonomy. This is spelled out in the Constitution of our country. Why, in China, did we choose the system of autonomous areas, rather than the system of autonomous republics? In China self-government takes the form of autonomous regions, prefectures, counties or townships, whereas in the Soviet Union there are autonomous republics and smaller administrative units, such as oblasts and so on. The forms of autonomy in the two countries differ not only in name but also in structure, that is, in substance. The dif-

ferences do not lie in the presence or absence of self-government: nationalities in the Soviet autonomous republics have the right to self-government, and so do the nationalities in China's autonomous areas. The differences lie in the way administrative lines are drawn in the two countries and in the particular rights and powers delegated to the autonomous areas. These differences are attributable partly to differences in the historical backgrounds of the two countries and partly to differences between the situation of China today and that of Russia in the days of the October Revolution.

Already during the 19th century Russia had developed into a capitalist country, even though it retained a considerable degree of feudalism. Although it still lagged behind some Western capitalist countries, Russia had become an imperialist power which had a number of colonies. At that time, the nationalities living in areas around the Russian-populated regions were under the rule of tsarist Russia, a rule which was essentially colonialist. Also, many of the nationalities in Russia were geographically separated, each living in its own area.

The historical background in China was quite different. In China there was mutual interpenetration among the nationalities, especially in the interior. For long periods the Han nationality dominated the heartland of China and extended its rule to areas inhabited by other nationalities. But there were also times when minority nationalities moved into the interior and even established their rule over the heartland. This resulted in multi-national settlements, and this is why today there are few, if any, areas in China inhabited by a single nationality. We often speak of Xinjiang as a region with a considerable concentration of minority people. But even in Xinjiang there is not just one minority nationality but 13. By comparison, the population in Tibet is fairly homogeneous. But this is true only of the area now under the administration of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. In other areas, many Tibetan people live in mixed communities with other nationalities. Historical development in China created conditions favourable for many nationalities to intermingle and live together. There were long periods during which they crossed over to each other's territory, creating many opportunities for mutual influence and mutual assimilation. The Han nationality has so large a population because it has assimilated other ethnic groups.

Another example of mutual assimilation is provided by the Manchu people, a nationality which originated in the Changbai Mountains in northeast China. When they first entered the heartland of China, they numbered only a few hundred thousand. But during the years when the Qing Dynasty was at its height, their population rose to between four and five million. After the downfall of the Qing Dynasty, the Manchu people continued to exist, but they adopted the Han culture — first the Hans' written language and then their spoken language. They have gradually forgotten their own language, both written and oral. So there seemed to be nothing to distinguish the Manchu people from the Han, although in reality they were still two different nationalities. Even during the Qing Dynasty there were no absolute prohibitions against intermarriage between them, and after the 1911 Revolution⁶⁶ intermarriage became more frequent, indicating that ethnic differences no longer posed an insuperable barrier. After liberation the Manchu people were formally recognized as a nationality. When census forms were filled out before a general election, only 2.4 million people stated that they were of Manchu nationality. This seemed to indicate that the Manchu population was on the decline, but actually it was not. Many Manchus who had married Hans registered themselves and their children as Hans, although they had been given the right to choose between the two nationalities. The size of the Manchu population therefore depended on the way they preferred to register. So this is a case of mutual assimilation. If assimilation is the result of the violent oppression of one nationality by another, it is reactionary in nature. If, on the other hand, it is the result of voluntary intermingling among two nationalities for the sake of achieving common prosperity, it is progressive, for it plays a significant role in social progress. Nowadays, co-operation between Manchus and Hans has become much easier, because they share the same written and spoken language. Do the Manchu people favour the idea of reviving the Manchu language? I don't think so, because it would mean that some three to four million Manchus would have to start learning their language all over again, and that would be a laborious undertaking. Isn't it true that some of the Manchu vocabulary has already been assimilated into the Han language? I think that is the case. The absorption of Manchu words has enriched the Han language. It's the same with styles of dress. After the 1911 Revolution, many Han women liked to wear the cheongsam, which is characteristic of Manchu attire. The

Han people have introduced into their culture many other things that are of Manchu origin. All these things are also a kind of mutual assimilation.

Now let's take a look at the Hui nationality. Originally, the Hui people came from Arabia and Asia Minor. It is said that they arrived in China a little over 1,000 years ago, that is, at a relatively recent date. Yet their population has grown to more than 3.5 million. They migrated to China along two different routes: one was by sea, the other was overland to southern Xinjiang via Afghanistan. These routes made it impossible for them to travel to China in large numbers. Nevertheless, they have now spread so widely throughout the country that there is not a single province, and probably not even a single county, where Hui people cannot be found. According to reliable statistics, there are Huis living in more than two-thirds of all counties. Their number has grown because they have absorbed other ethnic groups. What's wrong with that? Isn't this too a case of assimilation? In Gansu Province the Hui people live in communities in Wuzhong, Longdong, Yinchuan, Longxi and other places. Wuzhong, Yinchuan and Guyuan will be incorporated into the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region soon to be established. But the majority of Hui people are scattered in other parts of the country.

The Han people assimilate other nationalities and are assimilated by them. This is the case with the Hui nationality, with the Manchu nationality and with all other nationalities. The deeper we go into the interior, the more instances of national assimilation we shall discover. Owing to historical circumstances, many of our nationalities live in mixed communities, with mutual assimilation and mutual influence. Since China has so many nationalities that are widely distributed and mostly living in mixed communities, we cannot consider adopting the Soviet Union's system of autonomous republics. Such a system presupposes that the overwhelming majority of each of the country's nationalities is concentrated in a certain region and capable of functioning as a separate economic unit.

Historical development has determined that in China, a vast country of many nationalities, autonomy should assume a form different from the one in the Soviet Union. Every country has its own historical characteristics and must not mechanically copy another country's experience. Regional autonomy is the most suitable pattern of self-government for our nationalities. This system enables a nationality to establish not only an autonomous region in a certain part of the

country, but also autonomous prefectures, counties and townships in other parts of the country. Take, for example, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Although it covers a vast area, only a little more than two-thirds of China's Mongolian population — that is, about 1,000,000 people out of a total of 1,400,000 — now live in this region. The rest of the Mongols are distributed in other parts of the country, such as northeast China, Qinghai and Xinjiang, where they have established autonomous prefectures or counties. The Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region will soon be established. In this region the Hui people number only 570,000; they represent only one-third of the region's total population of 1.72 million, and only a small fraction of China's total Hui population of more than 3.5 million. The problem arises now as to how to take care of the remaining three million Hui people scattered in other areas all over the country. The solution, of course, is to establish Hui autonomous prefectures, counties or townships in areas outside the Ningxia region. The case is the same with the Tibetan nationality. The areas now under the administration of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region have a Tibetan population of only slightly over one million. About an equal number of Tibetans live in the Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties located in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces. These prefectures and counties maintain closer ties for economic and other types of co-operation with the provinces in which they are situated than they do with Tibet.

We cited these examples to convince the Han people on the issue of the establishment of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. After all, which was more beneficial: to establish a West Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region or a Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region? It was impossible to establish an autonomous region populated exclusively by people of Zhuang nationality. Even if all the areas in Guangxi, Yunnan and Guizhou provinces having a high concentration of people of Zhuang nationality were combined to form a Zhuang autonomous region, they would have included more than one million inhabitants of Han nationality and more than 400,000 of Yao nationality who are now living in two autonomous counties. In short, there would have been between one and two million Han and Yao people in addition to the Zhuang people, and so the proposed autonomous region would have been by no means homogeneous. And with its boundaries drawn that way, the region would have been isolated, which would have greatly hampered its economic develop-

ment. In that case, the railways in the region and those in the Han areas of Guangxi would have been placed under separate administrations, and agriculture in eastern Guangxi would have been cut off from the mining and other industrial enterprises in the western part of the region. Separation of that sort would not have helped to promote common progress. On the other hand, integration of western and eastern Guangxi into a single administrative region will contribute to that goal. Therefore, the present Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region is an integrated administrative region in which the nationalities can benefit each other through mutual co-operation.

Judging by the examples I have cited of some of the country's major autonomous regions, we come to the conclusion that a system of regional autonomy is well adapted to conditions in China and that a system of autonomous republics would be neither suitable nor practicable. We cannot follow the latter pattern because our historical development has not created the conditions required for it. The situation bequeathed to us by history is one in which many nationalities live together in an area. In this situation, which favours co-operation between nationalities, the desirable pattern is regional autonomy. This pattern allows a nationality to exercise self-government not only in an autonomous region in a given area, but also in autonomous prefectures, counties and townships in other parts of the country. People of the Hui nationality provide a typical example in this respect. Is there anything wrong with this? No, it is a good example to follow. The realities in our country call for the practice of regional autonomy, a system that allows the nationalities to govern themselves either in large regions or in smaller areas, depending on both economic and political factors. Such a system grants autonomy not only to minority peoples living separately in homogeneous communities, but also to those living together in mixed communities. In our country almost every nationality, whatever the number of its population and the degree of its concentration, has set up its own autonomous area, corresponding to its size, and thus enjoys a full measure of autonomy. This system is a new creation never before seen in history.

During the October Revolution the Russian proletariat rose and seized political power, first in the cities and then in the rural areas, including the regions inhabited by minority nationalities. To turn Russia into the first socialist country was by no means an easy task. Moreover, the revolution was carried out in an imperialist country

and therefore all kinds of colonialist relations had to be smashed. Considering it necessary to integrate the struggle of the nationalities against tsarist oppression with the struggle of the proletariat and peasantry against the capitalist and landlord classes, Lenin stressed the nationalities' right to self-determination and recognized their right to separation. This meant that a nationality might choose either to be a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or to form an independent republic. At that time, if the first socialist state was to get a firm foothold politically, it had to stress the right of nationalities to self-determination, leaving them the option of separation. That was the only way to break with all the old political relationships characteristic of imperialism and to make the new socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, secure. The specific circumstances demanded that the Russian proletariat take this approach.

In China the historical background was quite different. In the days of old China, although the northern warlords,⁶ and later the Kuomintang, imposed a reactionary, oppressive rule on the working people and on all the fraternal nationalities, the entire Chinese nation was suffering under imperialist aggression. The country had been reduced to the status of a semi-colony, and in some parts of its territory that of a colony. It was under these circumstances that the Chinese people won their liberation. Moreover, the revolution in our country followed a different course from the Russian revolution. We seized political power not by launching uprisings first in major cities or in industrialized areas, but by establishing revolutionary bases in the rural areas so as to be able to wage a protracted struggle. It was not until after 22 years of revolutionary wars that we finally won emancipation. And during these wars the various nationalities in our country formed close ties with one another. The following facts bear witness to this: some of our revolutionary bases were set up in Inner Mongolia; in Xinjiang people launched revolutionary movements against the Kuomintang; in southwest China many people of the minority nationalities carried on guerrilla warfare under the leadership of our Party; in the interior many people of various nationalities joined the People's Liberation Army; during the Long March, when the Red Army passed through the southwest areas inhabited by minority peoples, it left seeds of revolution; and lastly, the Red Army recruited a certain number of minority people as cadres. In short, so far as external relations are concerned, for long periods the whole Chinese nation suffered oppression at the hands of foreign

imperialists; domestically, through sharing weal and woe in the revolutionary wars and finally winning liberation, all our nationalities developed the friendship of comrades-in-arms. These external and internal relations made it unnecessary for us to adopt the policy of granting self-determination with the option of separation, as the Soviet Union had done during the October Revolution.

Historical development has provided the necessary conditions for co-operation among our nationalities, while revolutionary movements have furnished the necessary foundations for it. The system of self-government through regional autonomy which we have adopted since liberation is one which suits the country's social conditions and will help promote that co-operation. We didn't emphasize the option of separation, lest the imperialists attempt to take advantage of it. Although their attempts might have ended in failure, they could still have disrupted co-operation among the nationalities. In the pre-liberation years, for example, certain reactionaries in Xinjiang, serving as cat's-paw for imperialists, tried to split the region from the rest of China by calling for the establishment of "Eastern Turkestan".¹¹⁹ Remembering this lesson, we didn't use the designation "Uygurstan" when we were establishing the autonomous region there. In addition to the Uygur people, there are 12 other ethnic groups in Xinjiang. But it would have been unrealistic to establish 13 "Somethingstans" for the 13 nationalities. The final decision of the Party and the government on the designation of the region won general approval from the comrades in Xinjiang. It is now called the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, and the word "Uygur" is used because the Uygur people represent more than 70 per cent of the total population. As for the word "Xinjiang", it means only "new land". Unlike the place name Suiyuan,² it does not carry any implications of invasion. "Tibet" and "Inner Mongolia" have a double meaning, both standing for a place name as well as a nationality's name. Place names may seem unimportant, but they are very meaningful when it comes to designating autonomous areas, because the designation implies the co-operative relations between nationalities. We must have a clear understanding of this point.

From what I have said, you can see that it is because of the historical, social and revolutionary background of China's nationalities that we have decided upon autonomous regions and areas as the most appropriate system, instead of autonomous republics. The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national country. It is not a

federal state — given our particular conditions, federation would not be practicable. Since local conditions in China vary, the autonomy of the nationalities should assume different forms in different places, being exercised sometimes in an entire region, sometimes in a prefecture, county or township. Under such a system all minority nationalities without exception, big or small, living in homogeneous or in mixed communities, will exercise true and full self-government, which in turn will facilitate mutual assistance and co-operation among them. For historical reasons, social progress achieved by the different nationalities has been uneven. This is true with regard to both the economic base and the superstructure. In order for all nationalities to attain parallel development, they must all co-operate and help each other, instead of working alone in isolation. Again, let's take Xinjiang as an example. Xinjiang is a region rich in petroleum and nonferrous metals, and it has plenty of reclaimable land suitable for the cultivation of cotton. These are its advantages. But we must not forget that there are also difficulties. One is the shortage of water resources; a large-scale improvement of water conservancy systems is essential for Xinjiang's future development. Transport facilities also pose a difficult problem; to solve it we need to build not only a railway starting from Lanzhou in Gansu Province to Xinjiang but also another that will traverse the whole region from north to south. Of course, machines are useful for the mining industries and for the reclamation of land. But, the two essential things are funds and manpower. Even if machinery is available, without funds and manpower economic development is impossible. With a population of only five million, the Xinjiang autonomous region will find it hard to raise the necessary amounts of capital and manpower by itself. It has to depend on nationwide support and on assistance from both the state and the central government departments. A proportion of the revenues obtained from fulfilment of state economic plans should be allocated to Xinjiang to increase its financial capabilities, and the required number of people should be mobilized to build up the labour force there. In a word, if Xinjiang is to develop rapidly, a certain number of people in the interior will have to be mobilized to join in and help. We cannot expect Xinjiang to solve all its problems alone, by relying solely on its own human and material resources.

In China, a great community of nationalities, our policy of regional autonomy is designed to promote common progress and prosperity through co-operation and mutual assistance between national-

ities. All China's nationalities should be united, not divided. We should emphasize the need for co-operation and mutual assistance and oppose any tendency towards separatism or going it alone. The system of regional autonomy will help all our nationalities to exercise self-government, and it will also promote co-operation and mutual assistance. We don't want the nationalities to be separate, with each one trying to go it alone. Only by pursuing our policy will we be able to achieve common progress and prosperity and to establish relations of real equality and amity among all members of our great community of nationalities, a task that is laid upon us by the Constitution of our country.

III. PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL REFORMS AMONG ALL OUR NATIONALITIES

To build this great community of nationalities and turn it into a powerful socialist state, we must strive for the common prosperity of all our nationalities. The socialist system is superior to both capitalism and feudalism because it enables all nationalities to achieve prosperity. Historical evidence shows that in the past many fraternal nationalities were heading not for prosperity but for decline or extinction. Why? Because the reactionary rulers of the past discriminated against the minority nationalities, adopting policies that were designed to weaken or exterminate them. A number of the nationalities whose history can be traced in records of the past 2,000 years, have completely disappeared. Perhaps they migrated to distant regions outside China; perhaps they were assimilated into the Han or other ethnic groups. The evolution of these nationalities remains a subject of research for our historians.

As I mentioned a little while ago, the Manchu people have grown from several hundred thousand to several million, and they have absorbed the Han culture. The Qing Dynasty, which was established by the Manchus, ruled China for nearly 300 years [1644-1911]. Never in all the preceding periods, including the Ming, Song, Tang and Han dynasties, was China so united as during the Qing Dynasty. That dynasty played an important role in the country's unification. Moreover, China's population increased considerably during that period. These facts speak for the outstanding contributions of the Qing

Dynasty. It should be noted, however, that not all nationalities grew in population during its rule. Although the Han population increased, that of other ethnic groups did not. This was because the Qing regime adopted policies designed to reduce the population of certain minority nationalities. For example, the Mongol and Tibetan peoples both dwindled during those years. In its heyday the Mongol nationality is said to have numbered four or five million, but it declined under the Qing regime. During the Tang Dynasty the Tibetan nationality was quite powerful and once extended its territory to areas as distant as Chang'an [now Xi'an], and the northern part of the central Shaanxi plain, the southern part of Gansu Province and Sichuan and Yunnan. Records tell us that they numbered four or five million. Yet the Tibetan people now total less than three million. Obviously, both the Mongol and Tibetan populations were reduced during the Qing regime. This fact tells us that the policies of the feudal rulers were intended to weaken certain nationalities.

This was also and particularly true of the policies of the imperialists. Imperialist domination often reduced aboriginal peoples to poverty and privation and then to decline. As you all know, imperialism originated in the West, first in Britain and France and then in the United States. These imperialist powers adopted policies designed to weaken all the indigenous peoples in their colonies. For example, the colonialists from Spain, Portugal and Britain reduced the native American Indians from a majority to a minority. Similarly, in Africa the British, French and Belgian colonialists did everything they could to weaken the black people there. Only those peoples who were unwilling to remain colonial slaves and who put up tough, successful resistance were able to change their destiny for the better — for example, the people of Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. As can be seen from a review of world history, the policies followed by the feudal, capitalist and imperialist rulers were invariably intended to weaken the nations under their domination. Reactionary rulers not only oppressed the working people of their own countries, but also tried to sap the vitality of all the other nations they had subjugated. Some Eastern nations, being economically and culturally backward compared to Western countries, were oppressed and exploited for long periods. Only by winning national independence could they escape from that condition.

Our socialist policies with regard to the nationalities differ fundamentally from those of the feudal, capitalist and imperialist rulers.

Our government wants to help all fraternal nationalities in the country to achieve prosperity, and it is even ready to offer assistance, if necessary, to peoples outside the socialist countries. We want all nationalities to enjoy equality and achieve prosperity. Seeking common prosperity is the position on which is based the policies of our socialist state with regard to the nationalities. It is absolutely impermissible to look upon some nationalities as superior and others as inferior, because that is a wrong, racist view. The German fascists considered the German nation superior, alleging that it represented the best blood strain. That was an extremely reactionary notion. We believe that all peoples are good, industrious and intelligent so long as they have opportunities to develop, and that all of them will prove capable and courageous so long as they have opportunities to temper themselves. Some nations in the world are relatively backward, but this is because of unfavourable social circumstances and the lack of opportunities for them to develop and temper themselves. Our socialist policies are intended to allow all nationalities to develop and prosper; that is our objective. All nationalities in our country should be treated as equals, and none should be discriminated against.

Let me state it once again: our fundamental policy towards the nationalities is to enable all of them to attain prosperity. The reactionary oppression of the past has left some of them in a state of backwardness, with a reduced population and a low standard of living. The Qing Dynasty's policies towards the Tibetans, which I've just mentioned, are an example. But it was the northern warlords and the Kuomintang who pursued the most reactionary policies towards the nationalities. Despite the fact that Dr. Sun Yat-sen had called for the founding of a republic composed primarily of the country's five major nationalities,¹²⁰ Chiang Kai-shek, soon after he came to power, refused to recognize the Hui nationality, describing them as a people whose way of life was very peculiar. Since the Kuomintang refused even to recognize the existence of various nationalities,¹²¹ how could it help them to make progress? We have always opposed such reactionary regimes and policies.

We must try to remove all the historical obstacles that prevent the nationalities from thriving and prospering. But how are we to do that? Through social reforms. Under the oppression of reactionary rulers many fraternal nationalities were unable to develop their economy, increase their population, improve their well-being and achieve progress. Today in New China, our state policy is to help

all nationalities to advance. A decisive step towards this goal is to carry out social reforms. This is a matter of common concern to all nationalities. The further development of the Han people too depends on reforms. By social reforms we mean primarily economic reforms. But why do we need them? Because we want to build socialism and enable the people to live a comfortable life. That means we have to develop our industry. No nation in the world can expect to achieve prosperity unless it develops its own industry. We must therefore strive to industrialize the country, because that is the only way to raise production. But to industrialize we must first of all abolish the feudal and slave systems by reforming agriculture. Once free from the shackles of feudalism and slavery, the peasants can push agricultural development forward, thus laying the foundation for industrial growth. Increased farm production can not only provide industry with necessary funds and raw materials, but can also release a certain number of peasants for industrial production.

Every nationality must build up its own industrial base, if it wants to embark on development. And it cannot build that base without carrying out economic reforms. Many of the fraternal nationalities have already completed the agrarian reform¹⁰ in their areas, and quite a number of them have gone a step further and completed the socialist transformation of agriculture by setting up agricultural producers' co-operatives.⁷⁶ These reforms will liberate the rural productive forces, making it possible for farm production to grow more rapidly under the socialist collective economy, which in turn will give great impetus to industrial development. But there are still quite a few fraternal nationalities that have not yet started or completed economic reform. This involves two steps: first, a democratic reform, which means an agrarian reform; and second, a socialist transformation. Unless these reforms are carried out, the slave and feudal systems will remain in place, many peasants will continue to be slaves or serfs toiling under the yoke, and there will be no hope of liberating their capacity for production. Labourers can have no incentive to increase production when they are impoverished and deprived of the greater part of the fruits of their toil.

In most parts of our new socialist country, not only has the feudal system been abolished, but the individual economy has also been transformed into a socialist collective economy. However, the slave and feudal systems still prevail in a few areas inhabited by minority peoples. Certainly these systems cannot last long, because they will

be subject to the influence of the surrounding areas. For example, the social reforms now under way in the Yi nationality areas of Liangshan in Sichuan Province are the result of the influence of nearby localities. The Yi peasant slaves are rising and demanding social reforms. Even some of the tribal chiefs of Yi nationality now say they are willing to accept these reforms and to abandon their exploitative practices. They know that after the reforms, they will still live secure lives and will be well treated by the government, whereas if they oppose the reforms they will be overthrown by the slaves and thus lose everything. Changes in the surrounding areas can have great impact. The agrarian reform going on in the rural plain areas of Xichang district cannot but have repercussions in the Liangshan area. Since all our nationalities live in one great community, once agrarian reform and other socialist transformation campaigns have started and gained momentum in certain areas, they will inevitably affect others. It is inconceivable that a locality should be able to live in isolation and go its own way indefinitely.

There are some people in the upper strata of certain minority nationalities who are still living the lives of exploiters. We must explain to these persons very clearly that it is greatly in their interest to give up exploitation, but that if they resist the social reforms they will gain little or nothing when the masses rise up to topple them. So long as they support social reforms, the state and government will take good care of them and the masses will treat them leniently. This is just one aspect of the matter. The other is that all exploiters in our socialist country, if they stubbornly go their own way, trying to preserve the system of exploitation, will in the long run be defeated, and the longer they try to maintain that system, the greater their losses will be. In our socialist society it is absolutely impossible for anyone to realize the pipe dream of perpetuating the system of exploitation and continuing to lead a life of luxury and extravagance. Considering that a high standard of living is still beyond the reach of the Chinese people as a whole, we cannot tolerate the spectacle of a few persons wallowing in luxury.

We are in favour of postponing social reforms among the fraternal nationalities until all the minority people, including those in the upper strata, have become fully aware of the necessity for such reforms. In some localities postponement will allow time to prepare favourable conditions so that the reforms can be carried out peacefully and successfully. But social reforms there must be. We are determined to

transform the slave and feudal systems, and also the individual economy, into a socialist economic system. So there is no question about the necessity for social reforms; the only question is whether they should be carried out immediately or a little later. Without them there will be no way for the Chinese nation to extricate itself from poverty. In this country of many nationalities our objective is to provide a happy life for all the people, including those in the upper strata of the fraternal ethnic groups. Social reforms mean a happy life for all, not just for the few. Of course, we must admit that for a time after the reforms some members of the upper strata of the minority peoples will not find life so carefree as before. With their regular incomes limited to a certain amount, they will no longer be able to spend money as freely as they used to. But they may rest assured that there are bright prospects ahead for them. The steady development of the nation's industry is bound to bring corresponding improvements in their living standards. We should explain this clearly to the members of the élite in all the fraternal nationalities.

As I have said, socialist industrialization must extend to all regions and areas, no matter which nationalities inhabit them. It is unthinkable that industry should become highly developed in the Han areas while remaining for a long time very backward in Tibet, in the Uygur Autonomous Region or in the pastoral areas of Inner Mongolia. If that were the case, how could we call ourselves a socialist country? Modernization must be put into effect in all autonomous regions and areas inhabited by any of the minority nationalities. A modernization drive must be launched nationwide. This testifies to our lofty spirit, the spirit of friendship and amity among our great community of nationalities. We cannot allow the underdeveloped areas to remain backward forever; that would mean inequality among the nationalities. It would be a great mistake.

The reforms will involve not only economic structures but also other areas. Changes in the economic base are sure to have an impact on the superstructure, creating repercussions in the political and ideological spheres. In order to be compatible with the socialist economic base, the political structure also needs to be reformed. A system of democratic centralism must be established, a system under which there will be both democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, individual initiative and unity of will. We must also adapt our thinking to the requirements of the socialist system, and all of us must study Marxism and protect the socialist system.

Seeing that reforms in the economic base are sure to have an impact in the ideological sphere, our friends in religious circles are worried whether they will affect religion. True, economic reforms are bound to bring about changes in ideology, but unlike political changes, ideological changes will be only very gradual. There are people in the socialist countries who do hold religious beliefs. In the future communist society will there be no such people at all? Well, we cannot be that positive. All we can say for certain now is that religious questions only concern people's ideology and beliefs and should therefore not be confused with political questions. Different sorts of people can all support socialism, whether they are atheists or believers, materialists or idealists. Many Chinese peasants support the socialist system and have joined the Communist Party. They work with great enthusiasm for the agricultural co-operatives, which belong to the socialist collective sector of the economy and which operate according to the regulations for co-operatives, and quite a number of them have also served as rural government cadres. Yet although they are politically and ideologically devoted to the development of a socialist economy, some of them are afraid of ghosts at night. You may say that no Communist is afraid of ghosts, but I can't agree with you. People have a wide range of views and beliefs, and so long as they don't hamper political or economic activities, we must not interfere in them. Religious beliefs will persist for a long time to come. As for their future, it will depend on the changing circumstances. Religious beliefs will inevitably continue to exist as long as there are phenomena which people are unable to explain. Not all religious beliefs involve ceremony — some do and some don't. Religious people need not worry whether religion will be allowed to exist. According to the materialist viewpoint, religious beliefs will persist until society has reached such a high level of development that the necessary conditions for their survival have altogether disappeared. Right now, the question that demands our attention is not whether religion should continue to exist but how our entire nation can achieve prosperity.

Prosperity is the common objective of all our nationalities, an objective we must never lose sight of. To reach this objective it is imperative to carry out reforms. All nationalities must embark on economic reforms if they want to accomplish the country's programme of industrialization and modernization, a programme which represents the surest road to a thriving economy, prosperity for all nationalities

and a better and happier life for all the people. By the way, there is one other point I want to draw to your attention, and that is the need for some of the fraternal nationalities to increase their population. But we should encourage birth control among the Han people, whose population has been increasing too fast.

IV . THE RIGHT OF THE NATIONALITIES TO SELF-GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

There is no doubt that the right of the nationalities to self-government must be respected. All provisions in the Constitution concerning this right must be honoured, and so must all related statutes and decrees that are drawn up in accordance with the Constitution. There have been cases, however, in which government authorities at various levels, from the central level down to the grass roots, have been negligent about this. We think it is necessary to make regular check-ups and examine such cases critically. We must also recognize that the Han people, being in the majority, tend to neglect the right of minority nationalities to self-government and to display chauvinism. The neglect generally stems from chauvinism, which should therefore be repudiated.

There is also the problem of national identity. Since China is a multi-national country, we have to recognize the existence of various nationalities and to preserve the unique identity of each. This is the only way to ensure that their right to self-government is protected. For instance, we should respect the nationalities' use of their own languages. Some ethnic groups do not have their own written language; we should help them to create one if they wish. In all the autonomous areas the language of the most populous nationality should be regarded as the first language. To enable all minority nationalities to exercise the right to self-government we should train cadres from among all of them. Naturally, recognition of different nationalities also implies respect for their different habits and customs. All this is what we mean by national identity. To neglect these questions is inconsistent with our state policy of building a great socialist community in which all nationalities thrive and prosper.

Precisely because they are liable to ignore these problems, the state, the government departments and the Han people should as-

sume greater responsibility for handling them successfully. So far as the selection of cadres is concerned, preserving national identity means that in each autonomous area a certain percentage of cadres should be chosen from among the native ethnic groups. This matter has often been overlooked in areas where the Han people are in the majority. We must see to it that even those nationalities with a very small population have a certain number of cadres trained from among their own members. To sum up, government departments should pay more attention to the minority nationalities' right to self-government in the autonomous areas and to their national identity.

Whether the administrative structure should be the same in the autonomous regions, prefectures and counties as in their non-autonomous counterparts remains a subject for further research. We used to emphasize the need for uniform administrative structure, but now we no longer consider that necessary. Since differences in administrative structure are allowed between provinces, even greater differences should be allowed between autonomous areas and non-autonomous areas. Everything depends on the specific conditions in a given area.

In all autonomous areas cadres chosen from among the minority nationalities should assume leading administrative posts. This does not imply that no cadres of Han nationality should be among the leading authorities there. The point is that cadres of local nationalities should take on most of the responsibilities in their autonomous areas. It is therefore necessary to train cadres from among various nationalities in a planned, systematic way. A good approach is to offer promising cadres from minority peoples opportunities for training in Beijing or provincial capitals and then send them back to work in their native localities. Central and provincial authorities should give increasing attention to this matter. On the other hand, Han nationality cadres should be assigned to the autonomous regions, prefectures and counties to help with the work there. And needless to say, Han nationality cadres should not be excluded in autonomous areas where the Hans make up a large part of the population. Since there are large numbers of Han people in Inner Mongolia, it is quite natural for Han cadres to participate in the people's congress, government departments and various enterprises there. This principle also applies to Guangxi and to the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region soon to be established. Han nationality cadres are indispensable even in autonomous areas where the minority peoples constitute the majority of the population, as in Xinjiang and Tibet. But in assigning Han

cadres to work in such areas, we must make sure that only those of outstanding ability and integrity are chosen. In this connection, quality, not quantity, must be stressed. In the autonomous areas the choice of leading cadres is of vital importance, and we must recognize the need for both Han and minority nationality cadres, whether in the Party or in government departments, and they should try to co-operate with each other closely. Unless we have the right people to serve as cadres, policies cannot be implemented successfully. If a cadre sets himself against other cadres, monopolizes everything in his own hands, acting independently and refusing to co-operate, holds other nationalities in contempt or sows dissension among them, he can achieve nothing.

People in China enjoy freedom of religion. In our country there are both believers and non-believers, in other words, both theists and atheists. The two kinds of people should get along very well with each other. In China there have never been fierce disputes over religious issues, although in other countries, at the instigation of imperialists, such disputes have sometimes resulted in wars. People of different faiths have every reason to co-operate with each other. In China Buddhism ranks first in number of adherents, Islam second, Catholicism third and Protestantism fourth. There has always been good co-operation among Chinese people of all these religions. Believers and non-believers should respect each other and co-operate with each other, and so should people of different faiths. Following these principles will help to strengthen solidarity and mutual assistance among all members of our great community of nationalities.

Social customs are sometimes even more distinctive than religious beliefs, because people of a given nationality don't necessarily all adhere to the same religion, and in many cases they have quite a variety of religions. On the other hand, several nationalities may share the same faith, as do the Hui people and several others in Xinjiang, for example, or the Mongols and the Tibetans. But social customs are often peculiar to a particular nationality. That is why they should be respected; otherwise, the people of that nationality will be offended. For example, the Moslems, who include the Hui people and several other ethnic groups in Xinjiang, do not eat pork, and this custom of theirs should be respected. We must take care not to make arbitrary changes in local customs and traditions in the cultural field. Some performing art troupes have visited areas of fraternal minority nationalities to study the indigenous art forms. It

is said that they often tried to revise the local music and dances in the light of the Han people's tastes, which made the minority peoples very unhappy. That is an example of imposing one's own will on other people, disregarding their traditional ways. Some Han people regard themselves as superior in many respects and look upon other fraternal nationalities as backward. That attitude is a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism. It is the conditions of life of a given nationality that determine the evolution of its habits and customs, which can therefore be transformed only as its economy develops.

These four questions that I have touched on require further study. Today I have only talked about some matters of principle, but I hope my remarks will be of some value to you.

LETTER TO CHENG YANQIU¹²²

November 13, 1957

Comrade Yanqiu,

I have written the following on your application for Party membership:

It is highly commendable that in the old society Comrade Cheng Yanqiu achieved great artistic success through his own efforts and upheld national integrity. Since liberation, he has been following the leadership of the Party, working hard to serve the people and to advance politically. This means that he is basically qualified to join the Party. If the Party organization accepts his application, it should place even stricter demands on him in the days ahead. I once told Cheng that when he was accepted, he should study hard during the probationary period, take an active part in collective activities and try his best to integrate himself with the working people so as to continue overcoming his individualistic way of thinking. In addition, I said, he should generously pass on his artistic skills and add to his achievements, and so raise his class consciousness and develop his dedication to the working people.

As your sponsor, I am sending you this copy of my comments so that you should know my evaluation of you and my expectations.

Zhou Enlai

IMPROVE THE POLITICAL QUALITY OF THE ARMY

December 24, 1957

Since its founding, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has greatly improved in many respects over long years of tempering in revolutionary wars. But things have changed in the four and a half years since the end of the Korean war in 1953.²⁶ We are no longer being steeled in war but in peace, trying to maintain peace, protect construction and defend the borders of our motherland. This is something new for an army which for more than 20 years has been fighting enemies. It is true that we have made much preparation for this change through political work and the Party's organizational work. Nevertheless, it takes direct experience and a period of experimentation to understand a new situation and adapt to it. In the last four years we have undertaken some new work in army building, such as introducing the systems of military service and military ranks and promulgating various regulations, all of which has helped to regularize the army. At the same time, since the Korean war our military equipment has been gradually modernized and the military quality of the troops has been raised. That being the case, we must now improve the other, most important aspect of the army — that is, its political quality — and further strengthen political and ideological work. In the last four years I have not concerned myself so much with the army's work as I did before, but I have read some reports and am aware that some things have improved and others have deteriorated. So today I wish to talk about the question of enhancing the army's political quality.

First, sharpening our alertness to the presence of the enemy. Since we are an army and shall have to fight, we should prepare for

Speech at a meeting of army, naval and air force officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Shanghai.

war during peace-time, keep our eyes fixed on the enemy and stay on the alert to be ready for war. After fully 30 years of tempering under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong, the PLA, starting from nothing and growing from a handful to a multitude, has become a powerful, socialist people's army. It can be said that we were fighting for more than 25 years out of the 30. Although things are different now, we should still constantly sharpen our alertness to the presence of the enemy. If that alertness is lost, we shall no longer be soldiers, especially not revolutionary ones. Today we are still in the era of antagonism between socialism and capitalism and of struggle between the two social systems. When Comrade Mao Zedong says, "The East Wind prevails over the West Wind",¹²³ he doesn't mean that we can sit and wait for the victory of communism all over the world. Victory must be won through struggle. Imperialism will fight to survive and not wait resignedly for death. So long as imperialism exists there will be cause for war, and there will always be some mad men ready to take the risk. Therefore we revolutionary soldiers should always be vigilant. It would be a grave mistake for us to let down our guard.

We are for peace, but peace can only be won through struggle. Our diplomatic work, for instance, is peaceful struggle, while military work is armed struggle, and they supplement each other. Diplomatic work needs backing, chiefly the backing of military might. Without that backing, we could not have played the role we did either at the Geneva Conference⁸⁷ or at the Bandung Conference.⁸⁶ Naturally, the source of strength lies in the people, and in the final analysis, we have won all our victories by relying on the strength of the people. The PLA, an armed force composed of some of the outstanding elements of the people under the leadership of the Communist Party, is of vital importance. No slackness whatsoever should be allowed in this force; that is essential if we want to keep the enemy from having his way. The series of victories won by socialism since the end of World War II can all be attributed to the expansion, unity and consolidation of the forces of socialism. The Korean war and the Indo-Chinese war⁸⁸ came to an end not because the enemy was willing to give up fighting, but because he could not or dared not fight any longer. So strength is an important factor. It is only when we are powerful enough to stand up to any threat that the enemy will restrain himself and the peace movement will surge forward. For this reason, we soldiers must always remain on the alert. So long as the

state exists it will need the protection of the army, and so long as imperialism exists the task of the army will remain as heavy as ever. It is especially important for troops like you, who are stationed on the southeastern front, to be constantly on the watch for the enemy.

Recently, I made some investigations and found out that our army has some weaknesses in this respect. Some comrades are not very alert to the presence of the enemy and have relaxed in the performance of their duties. This is not the right thing to do. Naturally, we don't want to create unnecessary tension or to be frightened by the tension created by the enemy. But we should work hard whenever it is necessary. As you all know, an enemy plane intruded into our airspace recently, circled a long time and even approached the capital. I have also learned from the comrades at General Staff that in some units discipline is lax, which is totally unacceptable. We are protecting peaceful construction with arms, and we must have strict discipline.

In recent years changes have taken place in the army's grass-roots units. Since the introduction of obligatory military service, all rank-and-file soldiers are new recruits, and so are many of the cadres in the basic units. They are young, vigorous and high-spirited, but they have not been tempered in war. They are like hothouse flowers never exposed to wind and frost. They have had no experience of the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation or even the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. If the commanders and political workers don't educate them, they will grow slack. And we can't afford to let that happen, because imperialism still exists and we must be prepared for emergencies. If imperialism no longer existed, it would be a different matter. But that will not be the case in our lifetime, so we must be ready at any moment. Although the general situation is one in which "the East Wind prevails over the West Wind" and the possibilities for peace and the postponement of war are increasing, we must not lower our guard against emergencies. This is your chief and primary mission. No matter how small the likelihood of an emergency, whether it's a 30 per cent, 20 per cent or only 10 per cent chance, you must remain vigilant and be prepared for the worst. Even in time of peace you must guard against serious trouble. This should always be kept in mind, for it is of paramount importance. And this is the primary lesson which it is the duty of our political workers to teach.

Our military cadres at the grass roots have not had enough combat experience either. Most of the officers from the rank of battalion commander down were promoted since our victory in the War of Liberation. Some took part in the Korean war, others not. Time passes quickly, and there has already been a long period of peace — eight years since 1949, or four and a half years since the end of the Korean war. It will be even longer if another five to ten years of peace can be secured. The longer the time of peace, the more we tend to relax our vigilance. Having been engaged in construction and become accustomed to a peaceful life, we may grow lazy. During the war years we used to get restless after a few months without fighting. At that time many of the officers and men who had been sent to hospitals in the rear would be eager to get back to the front after a short stay. Now things are different. Every place is like the rear, and the atmosphere has changed too. There are adverse influences from both inside and outside the army, so it is even more necessary to enhance our combat readiness. Political workers, political commissars and directors of political departments should constantly draw attention to this and to the need to be alert to the presence of the enemy, so that the soldiers will be on the watch for enemy provocations at all times and ready to fight. This is a matter of paramount importance for the protection of peace.

Second, strengthening the Party's leadership over the army. Our army is led by the Party. Under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong over the past 30 years, we have built this valiant and victorious force. After winning victory in the revolution, the army has taken up the historic mission of defending the motherland and safeguarding peace. In the past few years our Party has been paying more attention to construction and class struggle than to the work of the army, which is a failing on our part. You can criticize us on this point. The Party must supervise the work of the army. Of course, I mean it should concern itself with major issues, not minor ones. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that power should be centralized on major issues while it should be decentralized on minor ones. If the Political Bureau dealt with everything, it would end up doing things that should be done by others, and centralizing power over minor matters while abandoning power over major ones. Local Party committees too should concentrate on the major matters concerning the troops stationed in their region instead of the minor ones. By the same token, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee

should discuss the important issues relating to the armed forces in Shanghai, and comrades in the army, for their part, should join the committee and attend its important meetings. Since the army is led by the Party, it should understand the Party's major policies. If you don't understand Party policies, how can you understand the development of the nation as a whole? So a requirement should be set for both sides: the Party committee should be concerned with major issues in the army, and the leaders of the army should participate in making important decisions of the committee. This doesn't go just for Shanghai but for other localities as well. We shall work out some concrete rules for this. But you shouldn't wait. As consolidation and rectification will soon begin, you should lose no time in rectifying what can be put right.

Without the leadership of the Party it would be impossible to build a revolutionary army that is highly competent professionally and highly conscious politically. Therefore, we must strengthen the Party's leadership over the army.

Third, cementing the ties between the army and the government. Since our army is a people's army protecting the country's socialist construction, it should be concerned with the nation's construction and the various measures taken by the people's government. In certain cases it should be directly involved. I am not going to elaborate on the socialist construction of our country, because I talked about it at the Shanghai Municipal Party Congress and I think your leading comrades have probably communicated to you what I said. We have now done a substantial amount of industrial construction. It would be worthwhile for you to go and have a look, and arrangements should be made for this purpose.

No clear-cut line should be drawn between the army and the local government, because a sharp division between the two would keep them apart, and that would greatly hinder construction.

The army should concern itself with national construction. It hasn't done that very much in the past. Take construction for national defence for example. I doubt that officers at the rank of major and above understand much about it. Probably the comrades in the Military Engineering College know a little, but the others don't. How many of you comrades know how an airplane or a tank is made? I'm afraid you don't know much. We are striving for modernization, so we should know not only how to use modern equipment but also how it works. Especially the middle-ranking officers present here, who

are all very young, should understand and master the new equipment, so that in time of war you will be able to take command. As for high-ranking officers, like senior generals, generals and lieutenant generals, it is even more necessary for them to know about modern weapons. Arrangements can be made for you to inspect different places, with necessary conveniences provided by the local governments. Of course, cementing the ties between the army and the government doesn't just mean the army should take an interest in socialist construction. I only cited that example to clarify my point. The two sides need to co-operate in many areas — in recruiting soldiers, resettling demobilized officers and men, undertaking engineering projects, organizing volunteer labour and so on. In the past the army has done a lot to help local governments develop production. It should promote this spirit by doing more in that line.

Fourth, improving relations within the army. This refers to relations between the higher and lower levels, between units of the same level and between officers and men. There should be no stiffness between people within the army just because we have introduced the ranking system and rules of protocol. Ours is a revolutionary army and, as such, it should carry on the fine tradition of unity between the higher and lower levels and between officers and men. Subordination according to rank must be stressed in work and fighting, but in daily contacts comradesly affection and brotherhood should be encouraged rather than rigid observance of formalities. In our army discipline is observed on a voluntary basis; Comrade Mao Zedong has emphasized the need for that ever since the days of the Jinggang Mountains. In recent years life in the army has become rigid and formal, and that should be remedied through discussions. Military democracy is one of our strong points, and this fine tradition should be preserved so as to strengthen unity within the army.

Fifth, maintaining close relations between the army and the people. In recent years relations between the army and the people have become somewhat distant. We still remember that during the years of revolutionary wars the people regarded us as an army composed of their own sons. When the War of Liberation was won, the people of the country supported the Liberation Army wholeheartedly, in the true sense of the word, and they were on intimate terms with us. But since we now have our own barracks and strict military rules and regulations, the army has become somewhat estranged from the people, and this should be remedied. We come from the people and we owe

our past victories to their support. We must never forget this fundamental fact. We must see to it that the ties between the army and the people are strengthened by rectifying the style of our work.

The army should also be tempered through physical labour. No doubt army work is hard and involves much physical labour, but it is nevertheless different from the productive labour in factories and in the rural areas. Before joining the army most of the officers and men were working people, some were intellectuals. Even those of the first group will be out of practice after a few years of not engaging in productive labour. They too need to do physical labour so as to enhance their sense of labour and their sense of the people. So more volunteer labour should be arranged, to help the people in production and to prove to them that today's PLA is still their own army, as in the old days, and that the men of the PLA are still their most beloved, as in the time of the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. Our army should always preserve the glorious title of people's army and their most beloved, and maintain its flesh-and-blood ties with the people.

The five problems I have mentioned must be solved in the course of rectification, in accordance with the present situation and the army's tasks.

Lastly, I should like to mention one more thing: in answer to the call for diligence and frugality, many officers have sent their families back to the countryside to take part in production. This is commendable. I understand that a large number of officers' families in Beijing have gone back to the countryside, and I believe the same thing will happen in other places.

CURRENT TASKS FOR THE REFORM OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

January 10, 1958

I

The current tasks for the reform of the Chinese language are: first, simplification of the Chinese characters; second, popularization of *putonghua* [A common speech with pronunciation based on the Beijing dialect — *Tr.*]; and third, finalization and propagation of the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet (*pinyin*).

First comes the simplification of the Chinese characters. The Scheme for Simplified Chinese Characters, promulgated by the State Council in January 1956, consists of three parts. The first part is the first list of simplified characters, 230 in all, which have been in use since the release of the scheme. The second part is the second list of 285 simplified characters, 95 of which have been in trial use since June 1956. And the third part is the list of 54 simplified radicals [the basic structural parts of Chinese ideograms — *Tr.*]. Thirty simplified characters derived from the third list have been in trial use since the promulgation of the scheme. Altogether 355 simplified characters from the three lists are now in use in newspapers and magazines.¹²⁴ In the last two years simplified characters have been widely used in newspapers, magazines, textbooks and other books, and they have been accepted by the masses, because they have made things much easier, especially for children and adults who are just beginning to learn to read and write. When a teacher in Henan Province introduced simplified characters to his pupils, he told them that from then on the Chinese character 豐 in 豐收 (bumper harvest) could

Address to a meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was published in *People's Daily* on January 13, 1958.

be written as 丰 with only three horizontal strokes and one vertical stroke. All the children applauded and cheered. A worker in Tianjin said that although he had spent half a year trying to learn the three characters 盡, 邊 and 辦, he still couldn't remember how to write them correctly. Now he had memorized their simplified forms 尽, 边 and 办 without any difficulty. The brother of Comrade Li Fenglian,¹²⁵ a farmer in his home village, once wrote to her complaining that some Chinese characters were too complicated for peasants to write. He cited for example such commonly used ones as 農 in 農民 (peasant), 穀 in 穀子 (millet), 麵 in 麵粉 (flour), 麥 in 麥子 (wheat) and 雜糧 (grain other than rice and wheat). He was very glad to get a copy of the List of Simplified Chinese Characters from his sister and wrote to her, "These new characters are much easier to write." He even asked why she had not sent it to him earlier. Being much easier to master and write than the original complex forms, the simplified characters are naturally well accepted by the workers, peasants, primary school pupils and teachers.

Intellectuals like us have been using Chinese characters for scores of years and have only a dim memory of being scolded or perhaps struck on the palm by our teachers for having written them incorrectly. So we may feel that it makes no difference to us whether the complex characters or their simplified forms are used. We may be indifferent to simplified characters or even resent them as offensive to the eye. I quite agree with Mr. Li Zhuchen on this.¹²⁶ In an article in the monthly *Language Reform* Mr. Li wrote, "There are always people who give one reason or another for disapproving of the language reform or even for strongly opposing it. For instance, some say that complex Chinese characters are not difficult at all. It seems to me that these people are like those who forget the pain once the wound is healed: they have forgotten how bitterly they suffered when they began to study *The Trimetrical Classic* and *The Thousand-Character Classic*. I think if they could recall what they themselves went through when they began learning characters and give more thought to children and illiterates, trying to see the problem from their point of view, they would not be so hostile to the language reform." In his article our revered Mr. Li further criticized people who oppose the simplification of Chinese characters. He said that after the Scheme for Simplified Chinese Characters was promulgated some people complained that they were going to "become illiterate". He thought all their sighing and worrying was unnecessary. Since many of the

simplified characters have been familiar to the public for a long time, how can these people become illiterate? True, some of the simplified characters may be new to them, but they can learn them without much difficulty if they use their heads a little. They cannot possibly become illiterate. Intellectuals should be willing to make that effort in the interest of the masses of labouring people and the millions of children. So Mr. Li Zhuchen is in favour not only of simplifying 燭 into 烛 (candle), but also of simplifying 塵 into 尘 (dust) [燭 and 塵 (zhu and chen) happen to be the two Chinese characters in his name — *Tr.*]. I agree with him. As the simplification of Chinese characters is in the interest of the masses, we intellectuals should not just passively accept it but should actively support it. We should look at the problem of language reform not in the light of our individual habits and temporary convenience but from the point of view of 600 million people. First of all, we should support the simplification of Chinese characters from the standpoint of the masses. It is a good thing, one that is in the interest of the masses and is well accepted by them. The trial use of the simplified characters in the past two years has been successful, and we should firmly support this work.

Well, does that mean there are no shortcomings in the work of simplifying characters? Does it mean all the characters in the Scheme for Simplified Chinese Characters are perfect? No, it doesn't. The experience of the last two years has proved that the policy of gradually introducing the system of simplified characters through common use is correct. Nevertheless, there are still some lapses in our work. In actual use, a few simplified characters have proved to be inappropriate or ambiguous. For these few characters new simplified forms should be worked out, or their original complex forms should be retained. The first list of 230 simplified characters has already been published for use. But opinions are still being solicited regarding the 285 characters in the second list and the 54 simplified radicals in the third, and no final decisions have been made yet. Even some of the 230 characters in the first list can still be revised if they are found wanting. Gathering opinions from all sides, the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language is now systematizing and revising the simplified characters. If you have any suggestions, you can offer them forward to the Committee for its consideration. Final decisions will be made later.

There are still some differences in the forms of simplified characters in use at present. Some people have coined simplified char-

acters at random, characters which nobody except themselves can recognize. This is certainly not a good practice, and it should be checked. When you write your diary or private letters, you can use whatever forms of characters you like and no one can interfere. But when you prepare a public notice for everyone to read, you have to adhere to the standard forms. Particularly in publications and typed documents, arbitrary coinage of simplified characters must be prevented. I hope people engaged in journalism, publishing and secretarial work will pay attention to this. People often criticize the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language for the differences in the simplified characters used. Well, we can criticize the Committee for not doing enough publicity and for failing to keep differences to a minimum. But we have to recognize that people have been coining simplified characters ever since ancient times. Some simplified characters which have now been universally accepted were also made up by just a few people at the beginning, and this process cannot be stopped; indeed, it is bound to spread.

Historically speaking, ever since the time when Chinese characters were inscribed on oracle-bones there have always been some characters which had several forms. If this is confusing, it is a confusion that has existed since ancient times and has only become more serious nowadays. This is chiefly because the masses are beginning to learn the written language and are eagerly asking for its reform. This is something without precedent in any dynasty in history. The general trend in the evolution of Chinese characters is simplification. As they are difficult to write, throughout the dynasties people have constantly created simplified forms, which have spread and been accepted by the public, although they were rejected by the rulers as “wrongly written characters” or “vulgar characters”. We can therefore say that long before the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language was established, the people were already reforming characters, and the work of the Committee is simply to collect and systematize their creations and to propagate them after discussion by all sides. At the same time, we have also adopted certain characters simplified in Japanese. It is clear that the differences in the form of simplified characters are not due to the Scheme for Simplified Chinese Characters; on the contrary, the purpose of the scheme is precisely to standardize them. Only by taking measures to standardize the characters can we gradually eradicate these differences.

There is another question to be considered as well: will the simplification of Chinese characters hamper the spread of Chinese calligraphy so that people's interest in it will diminish? I don't think so. Calligraphy is an art which should be in no way restricted by the simplification of characters. By and large, simplified characters are intended for use in printing, and it would be impossible for us to force everyone to adopt them in calligraphy. So simplification of characters will not have any adverse effect on the art of calligraphy. All the same, we hope calligraphers will write the simplified characters so as to raise the artistic level of those forms.

II

The second task is to spread the use of *putonghua*. There are still profound differences among dialects of the Han people, chiefly differences of pronunciation. If people from different regions speak their own dialects, they will find it hard to understand one another. Even people from the same province — from northern and southern Fujian, for example, or from northern and southern Jiangsu — have difficulty communicating. Differences in dialects have had a bad effect on the political, economic and cultural life of our people. Cadres from north China are sometimes transferred to south China, students from south China are sometimes assigned to north China and workers from the coastal cities may go to the interior to help with industrial development there. To some extent, the lack of a common spoken language hampers our construction work. It often happens that an important report or lecture is not accurately understood by the listeners because the speaker uses a different dialect. Radio and film are our major media of communication. However, their effect in regions where dialects are spoken is inevitably limited because *putonghua* has not been widely introduced there. Liberation has brought unprecedented unification to our country, and our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the people's government, are working for the common cause of socialism. Increasingly, they feel the urgent necessity of using a common speech. It is therefore an important political task to encourage all the Han people to speak *putonghua*.

Since the National Conference on the Reform of the Written Chinese Language, held in October 1955, the effort to spread the use

of *putonghua* nationwide has yielded some results. By the end of 1957, 721,000 Chinese language teachers in primary, secondary and normal schools all over the country had received training in the pronunciation of *putonghua*. *Putonghua* has become the teaching medium in a fairly large number of primary and secondary schools. There are more than two million listeners throughout the country to the series of radio lectures on the pronunciation of *putonghua* sponsored by the Central People's Broadcasting Station. Education Minister Zhang Xiruo says that when he was on an inspection tour in Xi'an he found some pupils there speaking perfect *putonghua*. This tells us that so long as we attach great importance to the work and make conscientious efforts to popularize *putonghua*, we shall achieve success. We hope that local education departments will complete the training of all Chinese language teachers within a comparatively short period, so that all primary and secondary schools can start teaching *putonghua*.

The wide use of *putonghua* (the pronunciation of which is based on the Beijing dialect) doesn't mean that all the Han people have to speak it as perfect as the Beijingers. That is neither possible nor necessary. With Beijing pronunciation as the standard, people will have a model to follow. However, in popularizing and teaching *putonghua* we should set different requirements for different people. For instance, strict requirements should be set for radio announcers, film and stage actors and Chinese language teachers in normal schools. For ordinary people, the requirements should be less strict. For people beyond middle age it is not even necessary to have any general requirements. In this way resistance to *putonghua* will be reduced, and confidence and interest in learning it will be increased. In what circles, then, should we encourage its use? I think it should be encouraged first of all in schools and among children and young people.

Our goal is to remove the barrier created by different dialects, not to ban or suppress them. But doesn't pushing *putonghua* everywhere mean banning or suppressing other dialects? Certainly not. Dialects will exist for a long time to come. They cannot be banned through administrative orders, nor can they be suppressed arbitrarily. In spreading *putonghua*, we should make distinctions between the old and the young, between national activities and regional ones and between the present and the future. We can't just do it in a sweeping manner. Conversely, people who can only speak *putonghua*

should learn other dialects so they will be better able to mingle with the labouring people in various regions.

It is a difficult task to gradually unify the dialects of the 600 million Han people. It can be accomplished only through prolonged efforts. How long will it actually take? That will depend not just on the work we do but also on the development of communications, the economy and culture. But provided we work hard and persistently, we shall accomplish the task. We should be confident of this. I hope that every one of you will do more propaganda so as to create a social atmosphere favourable for the popularization of *putonghua*. Also, from time to time we should hold speech contests in *putonghua* and give prizes to students who speak it well and teachers who teach it well. In short, we should use more methods to publicize *putonghua*, to encourage people to speak it and to promote a social atmosphere favourable for its widespread use.

III

The third task is to finalize and propagate the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet (*pinyin*). First of all, it should be made clear that this scheme is intended not to replace Chinese characters but to provide a phonetic transcription for them and to promote the wide use of *putonghua*. The first function of the scheme is to provide a phonetic transcription of Chinese characters. Is it difficult to learn Chinese characters? Is it necessary to have the help of a phonetic alphabet? There are still differing views on these questions. Some people say that since alphabetical foreign languages are hard to learn, a phonetic alphabet is hard to learn. In this regard, a nation can only make comparisons with itself. Obviously it is easier for us to learn Chinese characters when they are transcribed phonetically. As for foreign languages, when we start to learn them after having studied Chinese characters for dozens of years, we naturally feel that they are harder to learn than characters. It is always harder to learn an alien language than one's mother tongue. Russian is a comparatively difficult language to learn, but Russians feel that it is easier than English or German. Whether it is hard to learn a phonetic alphabet and whether it is hard for Chinese to learn foreign languages are two separate questions that should not be confused with each other. I

think we should admit that Chinese characters are hard to read and write and therefore to remember. Even adults who have studied characters for years still find quite a few that they don't know or can't pronounce correctly, to say nothing of children who are just beginning to learn characters. After simplifying the strokes of characters, we are now giving them a phonetic transcription so as to make them easier to read and write and easier for the people to master. That using a phonetic alphabet is a quick way of teaching people to read has been demonstrated by our experience in using a quick method in the past and in teaching the Phonetic Symbols¹²⁷ before the characters, as we are doing in primary schools at present. I hope that after the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet is ratified by the National People's Congress, it will be used to give the phonetic transcription of characters in the language textbooks of primary schools and in the literacy textbooks for areas where the northern dialect is spoken. I'm sure that this will make it much easier to teach children to read and write and to eliminate illiteracy among adults.

Second, the *pinyin* scheme can also be used to transcribe the spoken language (*putonghua*), and is thus an effective tool for teaching it. In learning *putonghua*, you can't just rely on your ears and tongue, because it is easy to forget what you have learned. For more efficient learning, there must be books printed in a phonetic alphabet and dictionaries giving the phonetic transcription of each character, so that students can consult them to correct their pronunciation. The lack of a satisfactory phonetic instrument in general use has greatly hampered the spread of *putonghua*. At present, the Chinese Phonetic Symbols are still being used, because the *pinyin* scheme has not yet been finalized. Although the Phonetic Symbols were introduced more than 40 years ago and the previous government once put them into use in primary schools, most people have never used them since graduation and only a few still remember them today. From now on, we shall use *pinyin*, the Chinese phonetic alphabet based on the Latin alphabet. The Latin alphabet is already widely used in the fields of science and technology, and once learned it will not be easily forgotten, because we shall have many opportunities to use or come across it. The adoption of this alphabet will therefore greatly facilitate the propagation of *putonghua*.

Third, *pinyin* can serve as a common basis for different minority nationalities in creating or reforming their written languages. There

are more than 50 nationalities in our country, only a few of them have their own written languages and these languages need to be improved. Moreover, while the Han nationality uses the Chinese characters, some of the minority peoples use the Tibetan alphabet, some the Mongolian, others Arabic, Korean or still other kinds of letters. What kind of letters should be taken as the common basis when these fraternal nationalities create or reform their written languages? Can Chinese characters be used for the purpose? People have tried to do that and have failed. So the use of characters is not the solution. Yet if each of the nationalities used its own alphabet, this would not only make it difficult for people of different nationalities to exchange experience and learn from each other, but would also impede the development of culture, education and so forth within each nationality, since different equipment would have to be used for printing, typing and telegraphing each language. Many fraternal nationalities have expressed the desire to conform their alphabet with the Han nationality's so as to make it easier to exchange culture, learn the Han language and absorb Han terminology. A few years ago we hesitated about what kind of alphabet to use for Chinese, and this has affected the work of creating or reforming the written languages of some fraternal nationalities. About a dozen nationalities in southwest China have now created their written languages with the Latin alphabet, but they are not quite sure of them because our Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet is not yet finalized. So the completion of the scheme should not be delayed any longer, lest we hold up the work of other nationalities. Now that the Latin alphabet has been adopted for phonetic transcription of the Chinese language, we should make it a principle that all nationalities should take that alphabet as the basis for creating or reforming their written languages and that, so far as pronunciation and usage are concerned, they should conform as much as possible to the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet. It can be predicted that the finalization of this scheme will make it much easier for the fraternal nationalities to create and reform their written languages and for the people of all our nationalities to share their experience and learn from each other.

Fourth, *pinyin* can help foreigners to learn Chinese and thus promote international cultural exchange. Since the status of our country in international affairs is rising daily, more and more people in many countries, especially in the fraternal socialist countries and the friendly countries of Asia and Africa, are interested in learning Chi-

nese. But the biggest problem they encounter is the Chinese characters, and in the face of that difficulty they often throw up their hands. Now that we have drawn up the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet, we can use this set of letters to compile textbooks, dictionaries and reading materials to help them. Teachers of the special class for foreign students in Beijing University have adopted the first draft of the scheme and have found it effective. This shows that *pinyin* is vastly superior in this regard both to the Chinese characters and to the Phonetic Symbols. When they have mastered spoken Chinese, our foreign friends can still use this phonetic alphabet as a tool for the study of Chinese characters and Chinese works, and they will surely find the characters easier to learn with the help of the phonetic transcriptions. This is the way in which the scheme will promote international cultural exchange.

Pinyin will be useful in other ways, too. For example, in Chinese works it can be used to indicate the pronunciation of names of foreign people and places and also of scientific and technical terms; in documents, books and newspapers published for foreign readers it can be used to transcribe phonetically names of Chinese people and places; and it can be used for compiling indexes, etc.

In view of all these functions that will be served by the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet, we can say without exaggeration that its formulation is an important event in the cultural life of the Chinese people.

The history of the Chinese written language goes back 3,400 to 3,500 years, to the time of oracle-bone inscriptions. In the past 3,000 years Chinese characters have gone through many changes, including simplification of the forms, addition of new characters and elimination of obsolete ones. In the beginning the characters were pictographs. Later, a large number of pictophonetic characters were created, one part indicating meaning and the other sound — most of the characters we use today are of this kind. But because of the evolution of Chinese pronunciation since ancient times, the phonetic part in many of the pictophonetic characters has already lost the function of representing the sound. For instance, the characters (jiang) and (he) are no longer pronounced (gong) and (ke) as their phonetic elements would indicate. So as Lu Xun put it, Chinese characters had changed so much that “pictographs no longer resemble pictures and the phonograms are differently pronounced”.¹²⁸ Since people could not pronounce the characters on sight, some re-

medy had to be found. One method that was devised was *zhiyin*, according to which the pronunciation of a character was indicated by citing another character with the same pronunciation, in other words, by giving a homonym. But very often people met with difficulties in using this method. A given character might have no homonym, or only one that was rarely used and so served no purpose. Another method invented was *fanqie*. With this method the pronunciation of a character was indicated by using two other characters, the first having the same initial consonant as the given character and the second having the same vowel (with or without final nasal) and tone. *Fanqie* can be regarded as a rudimentary phonetic alphabet. But because pronunciation varies greatly in different parts of China — *i. e.*, two characters that are pronounced the same in one place may very often be pronounced differently in another — the chances were great that both *zhiyin* and *fanqie* would be used differently or incorrectly. Furthermore, to use either system, first of all you had to know a good number of characters. So neither one was much help to children or to adults who had just started learning characters. The Phonetic Symbols emerged after the Revolution of 1911.⁶⁶ It was the first phonetic alphabet formally promulgated by the state and used in all primary and secondary schools, and it played its part in the promotion of literacy and in the unification of pronunciation. Although from our present point of view the Phonetic Symbols have many shortcomings (it is obvious, for example, that as a common basis for the written languages of different minority nationalities and as a tool for the promotion of international cultural exchange, they are much inferior to the Latin alphabet), we should recognize that they were useful for a period of time. Moreover, their invention represented a pioneering effort in the past 40 years' movement for a phonetic alphabet. One chief function of the present Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet is to provide a phonetic transcription for Chinese characters. In this sense, *pinyin* is a successor to *zhiyin*, *fanqie* and the Phonetic Symbols and has been developed on the basis of those earlier systems.

There is another aspect to the development of the Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet, namely, the use of the Latin alphabet to transcribe the sounds of Chinese characters. This has a history of more than 350 years. In 1605, Matteo Ricci, an Italian missionary to China, started using the Latin letters for this purpose. In 1625, Nicolas Trigault, a French missionary, wrote a book *Xi Ru*

Er Mu Zi (The Ear and Eye Assistant to Foreign Scholars) based on the same method. Their purpose was to help foreigners study the Chinese language and literature. After the Opium War,¹²⁹ the number of merchants and missionaries sent to China by the imperialist powers greatly increased. To make it easier for them to learn Chinese and to disseminate their religious beliefs, some of these foreigners drew up schemes for a Chinese phonetic alphabet; the most influential of these were the so-called Postal System¹³⁰ and the Wade System.¹³¹ In addition, they used the Latin letters to make phonetic alphabets for different Chinese dialects, including one for the Xiamen dialect spoken in southern Fujian Province, which had a tremendous impact and in which many books were printed. It is said that many people in Xiamen still know this system and that quite a few still use it to correspond with relatives abroad. In 1892 Lu Gangzhang¹³² worked out a new system called *qieyin* and from then on many patriots advocated reform of the characters and created various phonetic alphabets. In 1926 Qian Xuantong, Li Jinxi, Zhao Yuanren and others drew up the System of Romanized Chinese,¹³³ which was published in 1928 by the Higher Education Ministry of the Nanjing government. Soon after that, in 1931, Qu Qiubai, Wu Yuzhang and others worked out a system, which they called the New Latinized Written Language.¹³⁴ Of all the schemes created by our own people for a Chinese phonetic alphabet based on the Latin alphabet, the New Latinized Written Language and the Method of Spelling Chinese with Roman Letters are the best. When we talk about the present Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet, we must acknowledge their merits.

The Draft Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet published now has evolved from earlier schemes such as *zhiyin*, *fanqie* and others. As far as the adoption of the Latin alphabet is concerned, the history of that decision can be traced back more than 350 years, as I have said, and it is the result of summarizing the experience of our own people in this field over the past 60 years. Compared with other systems based on the Latin alphabet that existed in the past or are still in use now, *pinyin* is distinctly superior. Since February 1956, when the first draft was published by the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language, it has been extensively discussed by people in different fields, at meetings organized by the national and local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and it has been repeatedly examined and revised by the Examination Committee established by the State Council.

Last October, after further deliberation by an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the CPPCC, the plan was submitted to the 60th plenary session of the State Council, which approved it on November 1. The State Council also decided to release it to the public and submit it to the next session of the National People's Congress for consideration and ratification. It is easy to see that the government has been responsible and prudent on this matter and that the scheme was not drawn up by a few people behind closed doors.

Will the new system offend the patriotic feelings of our people because it is based on the Latin alphabet? Why can't we create a new set of letters or just use the Phonetic Symbols as we did before? Starting in 1952, the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language spent nearly three years trying to create an alphabet (including revision of the Phonetic Symbols) but without satisfactory results. Finally, it decided to give it up and adopt the Latin alphabet. At present, more than 60 countries use the Latin letters as symbols for their written languages. They are used, for example, by Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Albania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Viet Nam, Indonesia and three republics of the Soviet Union — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. After accepting the Latin alphabet, they adapted it to the needs of their national languages. As a result, it has become the nation's own alphabet. On the other hand, we can also say that the Latin alphabet has thus become a set of international symbols which no longer belong to any particular country. We cannot say that the French are using English letters or vice versa. We can only say that the French use French letters and the British use English letters. Likewise, after it has been adapted to suit the needs of the Chinese language, the Latin alphabet we use is no longer the ancient Latin alphabet or the alphabet of any foreign country but the phonetic alphabet of China. Letters are tools for spelling words. We make them serve our purpose just as we did with the train, the steamship, the automobile and the airplane (all of which came originally from foreign countries), or with the Arabic numerals for counting, the Gregorian calendar for numbering the years, the kilometre for measuring distance and the kilogramme for measuring weight. So this won't hurt our patriotic feelings at all.

There is one other question that concerns us all, and that is the future of Chinese characters. The system of Chinese characters has

played an invaluable role in our history, and we all agree on that. What about its future? Will it remain eternally the same or will it change? If the latter, will it change within the framework of its forms or be replaced by a phonetic alphabet? And if it is replaced, will it be by a system using Latin letters or some other kind? We are in no hurry to answer these questions. After all, the written form of a language will change sooner or later, as has been demonstrated by the changes in Chinese characters that have taken place in the past. They will surely change in the future. It can be predicated that the different forms of written language used by different peoples in the world will one day be unified and that even spoken languages will gradually be unified. The final trend of development for spoken and written languages is to become increasingly similar until there is little distinction among them. This conformity is a desirable goal. As to how it is to be achieved, there is no hurry to decide now. In regard to the future of Chinese characters, people have different opinions and they can argue about them. Since this matter falls outside the range of the current tasks for language reform, I shall not go into it in detail.

These, then, are the three current tasks for the language reform advocated by the government. We hope that you will support this work. Since language reform is a matter of great concern to everyone in our country, the government has proceeded very cautiously. We are ready to solicit opinions from different circles and to draw on collective wisdom, so as to do a good job through concerted efforts. If there are shortcomings in our work, we shall correct them. That is the policy for all our Party and government work, and it also applies to the work of language reform. Because we have not given sufficient publicity to language reform, quite a few people still know little about it, and some even misunderstand it. I hope that everyone will do some propaganda to clear up this misunderstanding. I also hope that everyone will actively support this work, and not hold it back, so that Chinese characters will be steadily reformed in such a way as to help our 600 million people to overcome their cultural backwardness and to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

PASS ON KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE TO FUTURE GENERATIONS

April 29, 1959

This is an entirely new type of meeting, attended only by members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference who are 60 or older. There are only two exceptions, vice-chairmen Chen Yi and Peng Zhen, who can be considered "alternate elders". Only this year did I dare call such a meeting, because I have just reached 60. Comrade Chen Yi likes to quote a line from the Beijing opera *Autumn River*, which says that a new cycle of 60 years begins at the age of 60. This is a fine new interpretation of that age.

I have taken part in the group discussions of the CPPCC in the past few days, and I have noted that everyone is in high spirits and has started a new life in New China. Now there are 383 members who are over 60 constituting more than one-third of the total. The large proportion of old people shows that the people's democratic united front has been expanded. It is gratifying to see that the elderly people have gained a new life, but the matter should be viewed dialectically. According to the laws of nature, people over 60 inevitably have fewer days ahead of them than young and middle-aged people. Some people refuse to give in to old age and I'm one of them, but sometimes I suffer from minor illnesses when I work late into the night too often. Our revered Chen Shutong¹³⁵ also refused to give in to his age but has become reconciled to it after a recent bout of the flu. Elderly people are no match for younger people who are full of vigour and vitality, but they should not feel old in spirit. It is said that the average life expectancy of the Chinese people used to be less than 40. Nowadays, thanks to improvement in their

Speech at a tea party given by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

material conditions, better medical treatment and health care than in the old society and peace of mind, more and more people are enjoying longer life. I hope that everyone will live longer in our new society and do more things; it is good to live longer even if only to watch our country develop.

After listening to the speeches made by several respected people in the group discussions, I have some thoughts I'd like to share with you about your work arrangements. I hope that members who are over 60 will pass on their knowledge and experience as their contribution to society. This is a thought that came to my mind when I was remembering our late Comrade Cheng Yanqiu.¹²² A highly accomplished artist, Comrade Cheng Yanqiu made great progress both in his political consciousness and in his style of work after liberation, but he was still rather uncommunicative and eccentric. Being a self-made man in the old society, he kept aloof from others and was reluctant to take on apprentices, so his style of singing never spread far. After liberation I tried to persuade him to accept some apprentices. But a count made this year on the occasion of commemorating the first anniversary of his death showed that he had only a dozen or so students. Cheng's singing style is difficult to learn, but before his students had mastered it he died, leaving behind only a few of his operas recorded. This has made me think that the more things old people with professional skills leave to society, the better.

The members present here fall into two categories. The first group have specific jobs in the fields of science, medicine, engineering, education and so on. These comrades are very busy; some of them don't even have time to write. Comrade Lao She¹⁰⁵ once put me on the spot at a session of the National People's Congress by asking me to give him time to do his professional work. We should take care of these comrades and not keep them always in a state of tension. If the elderly members of the National Committee are allowed to concentrate on their work, they may be able to work more years. It is the right and obligation of the members of the National Committee of the CPPCC to make inspections in various parts of the country, but they should do so according to their capability. Some of them can be exempted from inspection tours, or go only to nearby places. Mr. Zhang Wenbai¹³⁶ proposed that he should make his inspections near Beijing, and we have agreed to that. We can organize the elderly people to make inspections together in future. They should have more rest and fewer inspections, because they should not

be treated the same as the younger people. The other group are those who are advanced in age and are in poor health, without fixed jobs but with certain knowledge and experience. In the past, we neglected some necessary work, which prevented them from displaying their capabilities. Many are well versed in history, science and technology, culture, art and other fields, and if they cannot write themselves, they can train students who can write on their behalf.

We are all over 60, born at the latest in 1898. Chinese society has undergone great changes since then. Historical materials concerning this period must be recorded in all fields. All members present here have gone through four dynasties: the Qing Dynasty, the northern warlords government,⁶ the Kuomintang government and New China. Historical materials relating to the time before the founding of New China are worth collecting. Time goes by very fast, and 10 years have already elapsed since New China was founded. Some historical materials will be lost if we don't attend to this work right away. It is only 40 years since the May 4th Movement took place,³⁷ but our young people today are already unfamiliar with the events of that period, let alone with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95³² or the Reform Movement of 1898.¹³⁷ Of course, we must first of all study immediate problems that reflect new conditions, but we must also study things of the past, because new things grow out of old. The prefectural annals and county annals compiled in the past have preserved many useful historical materials. It is also worthwhile to collect typical cases from the old society, such as representative personages, families and clans in the last century, to see how they arose, developed and declined. Although the society represented by those typical personages has declined and some of them have died, their deeds can be recorded as historical data. There used to be a semi-slave system in the Daliang and Xiaoliang Mountains, where democratic reform has now been carried out. The serf system that still remains in Tibet will also be reformed in a few years' time. Things will vanish if they are not recorded in time. Everything, from the most backward to the most advanced, should be recorded. We should not hesitate to expose the obsolete. We have advocated the spirit of rebellion ever since the May 4th Movement of 1919. Man doesn't change accidentally. If I had time, I should be glad to write something to expose my feudal family. I don't know much about Yuan Shikai,⁴¹ but I could provide some materials for anyone who wishes to write the biography of Chiang Kai-shek, since I had many contacts with him during the

two periods of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. We must lay bare the old and let future generations know about the past, so that they will not be cut off from history. People praise our country's ancient culture, which includes rich historical records, both official and unofficial, personal notes and so on. The Han language has played a great role in this respect. We should add to our historical legacy by setting down all we know.

Mr. Gu Jiegang¹³⁸ says that he planned to do some textual research, but that political movements, although he has learned from them, have taken up too much of his time so that he hasn't made much progress in his work. It may not be a good idea to do textual research all by oneself; people like him should be organized for research work, and they should train some apprentices as well.

We should not confine our writings to cultural history. Those present here who are engaged in military affairs can write military history, from the time of the Eight Banners,¹³⁹ the Green Battalions,¹⁴⁰ the Xiang Army,¹⁴¹ the Huai Army¹⁴² and the New Army¹⁴³ to the development of the Kuomintang army. Quite a number of you here today are industrialists and businessmen, who can write the history of the growth of capitalism in our country, or of a particular trade like banking, the textile industry and so on. You can also write histories of politics, economics and diplomacy.

The CPPCC maintains extensive contacts with people in all walks of life, and it should organize this work. I suggest that a meeting of the Standing Committee be held to set up work teams, including a team for the collection of historical data. When you go home, you can make use of both the local people's political consultative conferences and cultural and historical archives to carry out this work. But the work should proceed in an unhurried way. I hope you will not act like the young people, who are fond of "launching satellites",¹⁴⁴ or set yourself a quota for each month. You can write more at times when you feel energetic. The work of collecting historical data must be done in a leisurely way.

Yesterday two friends from the former Whampoa Military Academy¹⁴⁵ talked about the March 20th Incident¹⁴⁶ and the Southern Anhui Incident.¹⁴⁷ I was very much interested in what they had to say, but I had to leave after an hour and a half because of other engagements. The views of some friends may not be correct. We can discuss them together, but first of all, historical data must be recorded. For example, the remarks made by the two friends yesterday

about the March 20th Incident can supplement our inadequate historical data. They said that a week before the incident Chiang Kai-shek had intended to go away. It was hard to understand this on first hearing. How could he have intended to go away, since he launched the incident himself as an attack on the Communist Party? Young people would never believe this when they heard it. But judging by Chiang Kai-shek's customary behaviour, it was likely that he would do that. When he served under Chen Jiongm¹⁴⁸ and Sun Yat-sen, he went away in a huff. When he fell out with the Soviet advisor at the Whampoa Military Academy, again he went away and was invited back. He did the same on three occasions after he came to power. When he was forced to relinquish power in 1927, he went to Japan. On the eve of the Wusong-Shanghai War of Resistance that broke out on January 28, 1932, he went into hiding in Fenghua. During the peace negotiations in 1949 he asked Li Zongren to assume the post of acting president while he pulled the strings behind the scenes. He always advanced by way of retreat. So it is likely that he did intend to go away before the March 20th Incident, but launched large-scale attacks against us once he found out that we were totally unprepared. History is full of twists and turns. I said long ago that Chiang Kai-shek had been our best teacher, by negative example. Many things can be written about the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and many of you present here are familiar with them.

Mr. Liang Sicheng¹⁴⁹ is not present today, but Madam Kang Tongbi¹⁵⁰ is here. If you two are interested in the Reformist,¹⁵¹ you could write about it. Some evaluations of the Reform Movement of 1898 were made in academic circles last year,¹⁵² but you could make reevaluations. There are scholars in foreign countries who specialize in the study of that movement, but not many people in our country are studying it.

This is what I wanted to say on the matter so that you could set about making the necessary arrangements. The actual organizational work can be co-ordinated with different circles by the Secretariat of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC.

I have taken so much of your time because I thought what I had to say might be useful to people over 60.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

July 14 and 15, 1960

I have been asked by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to speak on international relations, particularly the relations between the Communist International¹⁵³ and the Chinese Communist Party.

I wish to make six brief points:

1. It was necessary to establish the Communist International and it was also necessary to dissolve it. From its inception to its dissolution, the Communist International existed for 24 years (1919-43), which can be divided into three eight-year periods. Comrade Mao Zedong once commented that the Communist International functioned well during the first and third periods, but not very well during the second. By that, he did not mean that everything was good during the first and third periods and nothing was good during the second. There is no question that it was necessary to establish the Communist International, which played an important role in helping to form Communist Parties in various countries and in stimulating their growth. But by the time these Parties grew up and matured, there was no longer any need for the Communist International to exist.

During its initial days, the Communist International succeeded in expounding the theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism and in promoting worldwide development of the communist movement. Although Lenin enjoyed great authority at that time, the International made its decisions on the basis of democratic centralism, and there was a lively atmosphere in which the representatives of various Parties voiced their opinions freely. The International drew a clear line be-

Excerpt from a report at a conference of secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees convened by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Beidaihe, Hebei Province.

tween the Communist Parties and the social-democratic parties, and at the same time it criticized the “Left-wing” infantile disorder. In the spirit of internationalism, it mobilized the revolutionary people of different countries to support the Soviet Union and promoted the revolutionary struggles and national revolutionary movements of various peoples.

Nevertheless, the dissolution of the Communist International also came at an appropriate moment. In 1935 it adopted a resolution to the effect that it should not interfere with the internal affairs of the various Parties, and after that it did give them a freer hand. But at the time, there was still reason for its existence, because it was playing an active role in the struggle to fight fascism and establish the united front. In June 1943, with the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, the Communist International was dissolved.

The weaknesses and mistakes of the Communist International, particularly during the second period, can be summarized as follows: it failed to conform its general calls with the realities of different countries, and it gave specific instructions to individual Parties instead of providing them with guidance in principle, thus interfering in their internal affairs and hindering them from acting independently and bringing their own initiative and creativity into play.

This is only a rough evaluation of the International.

2. A country’s revolution and construction depend on the practice of the people of that country. Only by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the country can one enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism. It is essential to sum up one’s experience, both positive and negative, in the course of practice. The Chinese Communist Party has gained rich experience. In spite of the errors it has made by following “Left” or Right lines on different occasions, it has acquired important positive experience.

3. Each Party must think independently with regard to revolution and construction in its own country. Only independent thinking will prevent it from repeating the negative experience of other countries and enable it to draw on their positive experience. I understand that there are many people who do not think independently and who merely follow others blindly; it is not easy to change this mentality. Of course, independent thinking does not mean arrogance or arbitrariness and it does not mean refusal to accept the Communist International’s good ideas. Chen Duxiu³⁸ was arrogant and arbitrary. So was Comrade Li Lisan,¹⁵⁴ who held that we should try to take Wuhan

and win victory first in one province or several provinces; that one or more victories of this kind would herald nationwide victory; that we should argue it out with the Communist International after we had taken Wuhan; that the Soviet Union should send troops to help when there was an upsurge in the Chinese revolution; and that with the success of the Chinese revolution, the capitalist class in Britain, the United States, France and other countries would be doomed and world revolution would begin. Comrade Li Lisan would certainly laugh at those ideas if he reviewed them now.

4. In revolution and construction, a country should act independently and rely on its own efforts. Comrade Mao Zedong once observed that both revolutions in the two big countries, the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese revolution, succeeded when the Communist International was not in existence. Under the present circumstances, if a new international organization should be established, it would be difficult to achieve political and economic equality among its members.

5. When examining the experience of the Communist International, we should take an all-round view. Stalin was in charge for a long time, and there were many shortcomings and mistakes. But not everything during his period was wrong. Even in the second period of the International during Stalin's late years, he did more to encourage than to discourage revolutionary movements. When we held our ground, he could still accept our views and implicitly acknowledge his mistakes. Once his doubts proved to be misplaced, he was willing to change his mind. For instance, he doubted if we were genuine Marxists and if we wanted to oppose the imperialists, but he changed his views at the time of the Korean war.²⁶ So Stalin was reasonable. It is true that he erred on the question of the Chinese revolution, but the Chinese comrades should take greater responsibility for the mistakes made in that revolution, because we were the decisive factor. Moreover, we have already realized and corrected our mistakes, and our revolution has already succeeded.

6. Unity is paramount, and long live internationalism. This is a matter of principle now, just as it was in the past. By unity, we mean unity based on principle. If there are differences, we should try to proceed from the desire for unity and resolve them by means of appropriate criticism and struggle so as to achieve unity on a new basis. At the same time, criticism should be made on the right occasion and in a friendly way, and it should be based on facts and

reasoning. If this approach doesn't work right away, one must be patient, because it takes time. The Chinese Party has had much experience in this regard. The Party committed "Left" errors three times in a period of eight years during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37),¹⁵⁵ and it took us ten years, from the Zunyi Meeting in 1935⁸³ to the Seventh Party Congress in 1945,¹⁵ to correct them. If this is the case with a single Party, it is all the more so with the Communist International. We must hold high the banner of unity. That means unity with millions of Party members and 200 million other people in the Soviet Union, with members of other fraternal Parties and with the more than 90 per cent of the people throughout the world who want to make revolution.

Now I should like to deal with the relations between the Communist International and our Party in different periods.

1. *The First Period of the Communist International (March 1919-July 1927).*

In this period the Communist International was helpful to the Chinese revolution, although it made mistakes on a few questions of principle.

After its inception in March 1919, the International sent missions to different countries to visit prominent public figures and work on them. In China they approached not only Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao⁴⁶ but also Jiang Kanghu,¹⁵⁶ Huang Jiemin¹⁵⁷ and Dai Jitao;¹⁵⁸ they called on Wu Peifu¹⁵⁹ in the north and on Sun Yat-sen in the south. With the help of the International, the Chinese Communist Party was founded in a very short time, because the May 4th Movement³⁷ had already laid the foundation for it. The Chinese Party soon identified itself with the struggle of the masses. By that time the International had begun to devote more time to China issues in its discussions. The question of revolution in the East was discussed at both its Second Congress in 1920 and its Third Congress in 1921. During its Fourth Congress the International held a serious debate on the Chinese revolution, and after that it recruited many Chinese intellectuals to study in Moscow. In 1923 it adopted a resolution on co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, which allowed Party members to join the Kuomintang but stipulated that the Party should maintain its independence. It also discussed the possibility of launching an agrarian revolution in China and sent us instructions on the matter. When the Chinese Communist Party convened its Third Congress in June 1923,¹⁶⁰ there were two dominant

views, the “Left” and the Right. The Right view, represented by Chen Duxiu, was that the Chinese revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution and should therefore be led by the bourgeoisie, with the proletariat only playing a supporting role; and there was no mention at all of the question of leadership to be exercised by the proletariat. The “Left” view, represented by Zhang Guotao,¹⁶¹ was that only a few Communist Party members, and none from the working class, should join the Kuomintang. In fact, both views denied leadership by the proletariat. Although at its Fourth Congress the Party adopted resolutions criticizing these views, the problem still remained. As we see it now, the criticism was not directed at the real issue. The mass movement was already in full swing at the time, but wrong decisions were made on major issues because the opportunism represented by Chen Duxiu still held sway. During the Second Congress of the Kuomintang, its right-wingers, such as the Western Hills Clique,¹⁶² became much more aggressive than before. But prior to that there had been a rapid increase in the strength of the left-wing forces in the Kuomintang, after its defeat of the Merchants’ Corps¹⁶³ in Guangdong and its Eastern Expeditions against Chen Jiongming.¹⁴⁸ The policy of the period, which could have been successful, should have been to support the left wing while excluding the right wing. But Chen Duxiu insisted on the right-wingers’ returning to the Kuomintang and being elected at its Second Congress. As a result, the right-wingers became more arrogant. We also made concessions on military matters. Our Party was caught off guard when Chiang Kai-shek attacked us by launching the *Zhongshan* Warship Incident¹⁴⁶ and destroyed part of our power base in the military. We were by no means weak and should have fought back, but we failed to do so. As a result, we only had the Independent Regiment¹⁶⁴ in the National Revolutionary Army, which expanded into two divisions when it reached Wuhan. At the time of the Northern Expedition, we should have tried to gain the support of the masses and the military. But while the Northern Expedition was going on, our Party organ, *The Guide*, which was based in Shanghai and expressed Chen Duxiu’s views, opposed the Expedition, arguing that as it was a time of wars between the warlords, our people in Guangdong should not have started the Expedition, but should have defended themselves and engaged in mass struggle. Thus, our Party gave up its leadership in the Expedition. When the agrarian revolution was in full swing and Comrade Mao Zedong’s article¹⁶⁵ was published, the Central

Committee gave them no support. At that time, Chen Duxiu was really afraid of the revolution and the masses. The Executive Committee of the Communist International likewise made an inaccurate analysis of the China question, and its Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Plenums made mistakes in their analysis of the strength of various classes in China. In particular, the Eighth Plenum, held in May 1927, concluded that the bourgeoisie as a whole had turned traitor. Furthermore, the International maintained that after the betrayal by the Wuhan Government,¹⁶⁶ the petty bourgeoisie had also given up the revolution. As for the question of leadership, proletarian leadership was already in embryonic form during the period of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation in 1924, and by the time of the First Congress of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party had already assumed a leading role. As a matter of course, our Party should have taken hold of the army, and it was entirely possible for us to have done so during the time of the revolutionary regime in Guangdong, but the Central Committee gave up the leadership. Then Lenin died, and Stalin, preoccupied with his fierce struggle with the opposition in the Party, was entirely unable to formulate a precise policy because he was not well informed about the Chinese revolution. As the centre of the Chinese revolution was in Guangdong, the centre of the Party — its headquarters — should also have been moved there. But the Party was still headquartered in Shanghai, and Chen Duxiu simply refused to go to Guangdong when he was asked to. Thus, the two centres often came into conflict. It was long after Wuhan was taken that the Party's headquarters were finally moved to Wuhan. In view of all this, our Party's leaders should assume greater responsibility for the mistakes in the first period. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong had not yet established his authority; it was impossible for him to do so. Moreover, the leaders of the Party had not yet acquired a deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and there was factionalism among them, which was aggravated by Chen Duxiu's patriarchal style of work. All this hindered the political and ideological development of the Party.

2. *The Second Period of the Communist International (July 1927-July 1935).*

During this period the line of the Communist International was basically wrong, and its influence on our Party was most serious. In July 1927 the Wuhan Government betrayed the revolution, exposing the bankruptcy of Chen Duxiu's capitulationist line. At this critical

moment, the Executive Committee of the International sent a letter to our Central Committee. In this letter the Executive Committee expressed optimism about the future of the revolution but failed to make a correct analysis of its motive power and of the relations among classes, asserting that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had all betrayed the revolution. It proposed seven tasks for the revolution: 1) to withdraw from the Wuhan Government; 2) to issue a declaration; 3) to stay in the Kuomintang and organize a left wing within it; 4) to organize workers' struggles; 5) to arm the workers and the peasants; 6) to prepare for the possibility of going underground; and 7) to oppose opportunism. These tasks did not include organizing armed forces, setting up local governments or deepening the agrarian revolution, which were precisely the things we should have been concentrating on.

The question of opposing Chen's opportunism must be related to the question of organization. The International sent Borodin¹⁶⁷ to our Party, and at a meeting of the Political Bureau he directly interfered with our internal affairs by setting up a provisional standing committee. This decision was approved in haste. A declaration issued by the Central Committee on July 13 only mentioned withdrawing from the Wuhan Government. At that time our Party still had some armed forces, such as those commanded by Ye Ting,¹⁶⁸ so we decided to start the Nanchang Uprising.¹⁶⁹ The aim of the uprising was to march south to Shantou, occupy the port there and then proceed to Guangzhou. It was a correct move, but the leadership did not understand the uprising correctly. They conceived of it as a purely military action, based on the view that the cities were of primary importance, without any notion of integrating with the local peasants to establish base areas in the countryside. The International sent a few representatives to China, and under the direction of B. Lominadze,¹⁷⁰ a meeting of the Party was held in Hankou on August 7.¹⁷¹ At this meeting the Party took a clear-cut stand against opportunism, but it failed to make a correct summary, give correct instructions or set forth definite tasks in connection with such important questions as how to integrate our struggle with the agrarian revolution, how to push forward the mass movement and how to organize armed forces, governments and base areas. When Zhang Tailei¹⁷² came to Shantou to brief us on the meeting, he only criticized opportunism and didn't tell us how to do our work. As I still held the view that cities were of primary importance and had not drawn any lessons from the Shang-

hai Uprisings and the Nanchang Uprising, I did not see the need to go up into the mountains and engage in rural struggles.

The failure of the Chinese revolution made the opposition faction attack Stalin more fiercely. In 1927 Stalin wrote a series of articles¹⁷³ in an attempt to refute their views, but his theoretical analysis of the Chinese revolution and his appraisal of the situation were in large part incorrect. He maintained that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had left the revolutionary camp one after the other, that the revolution would soon reach high tide and that it was rapidly turning into a socialist revolution. Influenced by the theoretical analyses and estimate of the situation made by Stalin and by the Communist International, the enlarged meeting of the Provisional Political Bureau of the Central Committee held in November 1927 adopted a putschist line, calling for insurrection everywhere and insisting that the revolution was already at high tide. Organizationally, many people in the Party were given disciplinary punishment, one of the outstanding cases being the expulsion of Tan Pingshan.¹⁷⁴ Comrade Mao Zedong and people like myself were all disciplined. At the November Meeting the Central Committee decided to stage the Guangzhou Uprising,¹⁷⁵ but without setting forth any definite aims. A German and a man from the Soviet Union helped to direct the insurrection. After the failure of the uprising and the death of Comrade Zhang Tailei, the Central Committee sent Comrade Li Lisan to Hong Kong to direct the work in Guangdong Province. This was the zenith of putschism. Guangdong suffered from it most, and the number of cadres killed there was the largest. Because the Party failed to draw the lesson of the uprisings in Shanghai, Nanchang and Guangzhou, the political line still called for insurrection everywhere, which resulted in a great loss of revolutionary strength, especially in the White areas. Another mistake that was made, organizationally, was to replace the Party leaders with people from the working class, which caused more confusion in the leading body and aggravated factionalism. The root cause of this too lay in the instructions of the Communist International.

Now a few words about the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.¹⁷⁶ The Sixth Congress was convened in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. A delegation from the Chinese Communist Party, including Xiang Zhongfa¹⁷⁷ and others had taken part in that Plenum. With regard to the Sixth Con-

gress, there was first of all a problem concerning the delegates who attended it. Because of the emphasis on working-class origin, there were 41 workers among the 75 delegates. Fourteen of the 16 delegates who later turned traitor were workers. The persons who directed the work of the Sixth Congress on behalf of the Communist International] included Bukharin,¹⁷⁸ a French comrade and Togliatti,¹⁷⁹ but the practical work was under the charge of Mif.¹⁸⁰ When members of the Central Committee were elected, too much emphasis was placed on working-class origin. Many of the 20-odd members elected were workers, while some comrades who really had high prestige in the Party were left out. After the Congress, Qu Qiubai¹⁸¹ and Zhang Guotao stayed in Moscow to serve as executive members of the Communist International. In its resolutions the Sixth Congress made a correct analysis of the nature of the Chinese revolution (a bourgeois-democratic revolution) and its tasks (to oppose imperialism and feudalism), but an incorrect analysis of class relations and so on, alleging that the entire bourgeoisie and the whole upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie had betrayed the revolution. On the land question, the resolutions stated only that the land of the landlord class should be confiscated and handed over to a peasants' conference for redistribution, and the military question was given no special mention. After the Sixth Congress, the faction in Sun Yat-sen University headed by Wang Ming¹⁸² mustered its forces to oppose the Chinese delegation to the Communist International. Sun Yat-sen University, which was founded in Moscow in 1925 with Mif as its Vice-President, had enrolled some of our Party cadres from the period of the Great Revolution and also some young people, including ones like Wang Ming and some left-wingers from the Kuomintang. Factional strife was rife at the University, and it continued after the Sixth Congress. In opposing the Chinese delegation, the Wang Ming faction was in fact opposing the Central Committee of the Chinese Party, asserting that it was no longer competent and its members must be changed. Under the influence of the purge carried out by the C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks), things had gone from bad to worse in 1929 and 1930; people were expelled from the Party on the merest suspicion and some were even banished.

After the Sixth Congress, the Communist International sent a Polish comrade and a German comrade to China. In 1929 four letters came from the International. In the first letter it enjoined us to oppose the Right tendency, in the second to oppose alliance with the

rich peasants, in the third to make the Red trade unions public and in the fourth to oppose the Reorganization Clique (Wang Jingwei and Chen Gongbo)¹⁸³ and the third force. All these letters had an influence on Li Lisan's line. The fourth letter claimed that the situation was growing ripe for direct revolution and called for political strikes to prepare for it.

I went to the Communist International in March 1930. In July I saw Stalin, who was closely following the military struggles in China. A resolution about the China question was adopted by the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, with the six resolutions of the Far Eastern Bureau attached to it as an appendix.¹⁸⁴ Stalin said that there were too many resolutions for China to implement, that it would be better for us to consider them as mere drafts. In China, on June 11, the Li Lisan line was adopted. According to this line, the Party should win victory first in one or more provinces, and such a victory would mark the beginning of the revolution in the whole of China. At the same time, plans were made to stage insurrections throughout the country and to seize Wuhan, Nanchang, Changsha and other big cities. Later, Changsha was taken, and two enlarged meetings of the Political Bureau were held in succession on August 1 and 3. Li Lisan said that he would argue it out with the Communist International after seizing Wuhan. Although the Li Lisan line was followed for only three or four months, it brought great losses to Party organizations in many places. The Central Committee therefore convened its Third Plenary Session in September. There were still "Left" influences because the seven resolutions of the Communist International were relayed to the Session. Xiang Zhongfa and I made reports, Qu Qiubai delivered a concluding speech, and Li Lisan gave a talk. Li Lisan was sharply criticized at the Session, but the wording in the final resolution was not so sharp. The Third Plenary Session also made some mistakes. For example, He Mengxiong¹⁸⁵ was criticized and so was Chen Shaoyu (Wang Ming). Some of the criticisms were correct but others were not. At the Session a number of people were added to the Central Committee, but He Mengxiong was not among them. In fact, however, many of He's opinions were correct. The practice of sending inspectors to local areas like imperial envoys also started with the Third Plenary Session. At that time, the Communist International complained that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was not paying enough attention to the Soviet areas. Accord-

ingly, the Central Committee sent quite a few people to those areas, adversely affecting the work there.

In October 1930 a letter came from the International saying that the Central Committee was wrong and was following a “line of conciliation”. Wang Ming and others began to make trouble. Furthermore, the coming of Mif threw the Party into crisis. Wang Ming wrote a pamphlet¹⁸⁶ asking the Central Committee to hold an emergency meeting and change its leadership. Hence the Fourth Plenary Session. The Session rejected the draft resolutions we had prepared and Mif himself drafted new ones. The Third Plenary Session had followed the resolution on China adopted by the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the International. The Fourth Plenary Session did likewise and, backed by the letter from the International, took an ultra-“Left” approach opposing Li Lisan’s “Left” line and adopted a resolution condemning it. After the Fourth Plenary Session, Wang Ming’s pamphlet became increasingly influential. Taking an even more “Left” stand, he opposed Li Lisan’s so-called Right tendency and the “line of conciliation” of the Third Plenary Session and formulated an even more “Left” line. This, together with the betrayal of some leading members of the Central Committee, caused great losses to our Party.

In August 1931 Mif returned to the Soviet Union. In August the Communist International adopted a resolution that criticized the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, asserting that the Chinese Party was much strengthened after the Fourth Plenary Session when, in fact, it was in greater disarray. The Fourth Plenary Session retained me in the Political Bureau but expelled Qu Qiubai. Later, Wang Ming went to the International, Zhang Guotao and Chen Changhao¹⁸⁷ to the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Soviet Area and I to the Central Soviet Area. At that time, only a few people were left in the central organ, most of the members having been sent to different places to seize power. A provisional central leadership of the Party was formed in Shanghai with the approval of the International. It adopted a resolution on the September 18th Incident of 1931, and in January 1932 it adopted another which called for winning victory first in one or more provinces and seizing major cities. Some comrades who held correct views, like Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi, were accused of being guilty of “Right deviation”. After the Ningdu Meeting,¹⁸⁸ Comrade Mao Zedong was removed from the leadership of the army. In 1933 there was another struggle against the Luo Ming

line¹⁸⁹ and against Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zetan, Xie Weijun and Gu Bai¹⁹⁰ — all the comrades who held correct views were attacked. Jiangxi Province suffered the most, because in early 1933 the provisional central leadership was moved there to carry out the line of the Communist International. As a result, the Party lost almost 100 per cent of its strength in the White areas and 90 per cent in the Soviet areas. On military matters, Li Teh,¹⁹¹ though just an advisor, acted like an overlord and had the final say. He agreed with the military line of Bo Gu,¹⁹² and his line prevailed until the Zunyi Meeting. The implementation of that line ended in the withdrawal from Jiangxi Province and the forced Long March. Looking back, we must admit that there was no alternative. It was at the Zunyi Meeting that Comrade Mao Zedong corrected the erroneous line on military matters and saved the Chinese revolution. But for the Zunyi Meeting, the success of the Chinese revolution would have been delayed indefinitely. After the Meeting, although the Party suffered losses during the Long March and was shaken by Zhang Guotao's attempt to split it by setting up a separate "central committee", it weathered storms and difficulties under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and surmounted the crisis it was in.

So in its second period the Communist International made serious mistakes in directing of the Chinese Party. During this period the Chinese Party too made many mistakes that brought great losses to the revolution. Surely we Chinese should bear the responsibility for our mistakes, but the Communist International also had much to do with them.

3. *The Third Period of the Communist International (1935-43).*

In this period the Chinese Party maintained fewer contacts with the Communist International. The International held its Seventh Congress in July-August 1935. Stalin was more concerned with domestic problems, and Dimitrov was in charge of the International.¹⁹³ A resolution was passed to the effect that the Executive Committee should shift the focus of its work to formulating the basic political and tactical lines for the international workers' movement and that in general it should not interfere in the internal affairs of the Parties in various countries. At that time the International developed the Anti-Fascist United Front, which coincided with the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front in China. When Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng arrested Chiang Kai-shek in the Xi'an Incident,⁴⁹⁴ the International openly declared that Zhang was a run-

ning dog of the Japanese imperialists and that the arrest of Chiang Kai-shek suited the needs of Japan. This judgement was completely wrong. Our own approach to the Xi'an Incident was, on the whole, correct.

Although Comrade Mao Zedong was in charge of the Chinese Party during this period, the Communist International still had its influence. The main problem was the reappearance of the Wang Ming line.¹⁹⁵ Wang Ming came back from the International at the end of 1937 and said that he had talked with Stalin. Claiming to speak for the International, he proposed that "everything should go through the united front" and declared that the Kuomintang, like the Communist Party, had rallied excellent young people around it. After his return Wang Ming was placed in charge of the Changjiang Bureau. He deceived a number of people and pushed through his line a second time. Though this line was implemented for only a short time, it had an influence on the north, on the New Fourth Army and on Shanghai. It cannot be denied that the reappearance of the Wang Ming line had something to do with the Communist International. Stalin trusted Wang Ming, and Dimitrov was on friendly terms with him. Later, when I went to Moscow to talk about Wang Ming's errors, Dimitrov was surprised by what I had to say. After the Zunyi Meeting a new situation appeared in our Party under the leadership of Mao Zedong. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee Wang Ming was criticized, and as many cadres began to know him better, he gradually became isolated. Even Chiang Kai-shek rejected him, refusing to make him a minister. Comrade Mao Zedong said that things would have been worse if Wang Ming had been given a ministerial post.

In 1939 Hitler's Germany launched the Second World War. The mutual non-aggression pact signed by the Soviet Union and Germany placed the Parties in the capitalist countries in a difficult position and caused much ideological confusion. On September 1 Comrade Mao Zedong gave his "Interview with a *New China Daily* Correspondent on the New International Situation",¹⁹⁶ a transcript of which I brought to the Communist International to be distributed to the other fraternal Parties. The International thought very highly of it, saying that the leaders of the Chinese Party were right and giving them great support.

During this period the Communist International still interfered to some extent in the internal affairs of our Party, even on organizational matters. But it interfered less than in the first period and

much less than in the second period. After the war broke out it interfered very little. Also, by that time our Party had become mature and maintained little contact with the International. In 1943 the Communist International was dissolved.

ON INVESTIGATION AND STUDY

March, May 1961

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONDUCTING INVESTIGATION AND STUDY AND SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS*

March 19, 1961

In this article on investigation¹⁹⁷ Comrade Mao Zedong deals with world outlook as well as methodology. We should approach it from the viewpoint of dialectical and historical materialism. When you read it today you will find that it still hits the nail on the head. Comrade Mao Zedong has always advocated conducting investigation and study and seeking truth from facts. From the time of the Rectification Movement in Yan'an¹⁴ through the Seventh Party Congress¹⁵ to liberation, this was our guiding principle, and with it we achieved nationwide victory. But since we moved into the cities, and especially in recent years, we have not done much investigation and study or paid enough attention to seeking truth from facts. So it is not easy to stop the "five winds"¹⁹⁸ once they are blowing hard.

Recently, on several occasions Comrade Mao Zedong has recommended that we make a vigorous effort to carry out investigation and study and seek truth from facts. He has also said that both Right mistakes and "Left" mistakes must be combated whenever they are made. To judge right from wrong, we should proceed from objective facts rather than subjective imagination. In making an investigation and study, we must seek truth from facts. We must analyse, sum up and compare facts in point. All things have internal contradictions, and in each case we must distinguish between the

* Excerpt from a speech at a meeting of the North and Central-South China groups held during a working conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

principal contradiction and secondary ones. There are always several aspects to a matter, so we must make a close analysis. The environment in which we find ourselves invariably has limitations, so we should examine things from different angles. A person's knowledge is always limited, so he should pay attention to different views. This method will help him make a comprehensive analysis. Things are constantly developing, and there is always a difference between the advanced and the backward, the general and the particular, the genuine and the false. A comparison will enable us to obtain a thorough understanding. When we make an investigation at the grass-roots level, we must have the courage to face difficulties squarely and try to solve them. When one problem is solved, a new one will crop up. Communists exist for no other purpose than to constantly overcome difficulties and continue to advance. It is not the nature of a Communist to fear the difficult and seek the easy.

When we make an investigation at the grass roots, we must adhere to the three principles advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong: from the masses to the masses; take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through; and uphold truth and correct mistakes. This is what democratic centralism means. It is not only an organizational principle but also a principle guiding our work. Wisdom comes from the masses, but the views expressed by the masses have to be processed by the leaders, then put to the test among the masses, then processed again. If we become divorced from the masses, we shall lose the base of our Party. And if we only tail after the masses, we shall abandon leadership. Our shortcoming at present is that we issue too many orders instead of practising the mass line.

REPORT ON AN INVESTIGATION IN HANDAN PREFECTURE, HEBEI PROVINCE*

May 7, 1961

It was on the morning of the 6th that I saw the Chairman's letter addressed to Comrades Li Jingquan and Chen Zhengren.¹⁹⁹ After

* Record of an interim report telephoned to Mao Zedong.

I arrived in Handan, I spent three days listening to briefings before heading for Boyan Commune in Wu'an County, where I have stayed for the last five days. During these five days I have called meetings and talked with cadres at the commune, brigade and team levels as well as with commune members. Now I wish to make a brief report on the following four problems.

1. Communal dining halls. The overwhelming majority of the commune members and in some cases all of them, including women and single men, want to eat at home. I am making an experiment in one place right now in order to find a suitable way to dissolve the dining hall system and arrange for the commune members to eat at home.

2. The commune members don't like the supply system and are only in favour of taking care of those households that enjoy the "five-guarantees"²⁰⁰ and of households that are in difficulty. They are now discussing this matter.

3. The commune members are eager to restore the system of evaluating work and allotting workpoints that was previously employed by the advanced co-operatives.⁷⁶ They are even asking for a more developed version, that is, a system under which output quotas are fixed for production teams, workpoints are based on output and farm work is contracted out to production groups. Such a system will make it possible to truly implement the principle of more pay for more work. Its adoption, therefore, is inevitable. It is the only way we can raise people's enthusiasm for production.

4. Handan Prefecture is experiencing a severe drought. It appears that the wheat harvest will be very small, and some fields will yield nothing at all. But there is still some hope for cotton and the autumn crops. The acute problem right now is to enable the commune members to regain their strength and the draught animals to recover.

I am going to see one more dining hall tomorrow and will return to Beijing on the 8th to help Comrade Chen Yi²⁰¹ with some matters concerning the Geneva Conference.²⁰² After that I shall write the Chairman a report. When I get these things done, I shall return to Handan.

Before I came to Handan, I had sent a work team here, headed by Comrade Xu Ming,²⁰³ and they have been working in the prefecture for 20 days now.

REMARKS AT A RECEPTION FOR HIRO SAGA,²⁰⁴
PU JIE,²⁰⁵ PU YI²⁰⁶ AND OTHERS

June 10, 1961

I have heard that Mrs. Hisako Saga²⁰⁷ and Mr. Akihiro Miyashita²⁰⁸ are leaving the day after tomorrow. So I must meet you today instead of at a later date as I had planned.

Welcome to China! In Japan you may have heard that life in China is very hard. Actually, things here are not that bad. It's true that the natural disasters in the past two years have created some difficulties: we had less grain than before and a smaller supply of commodities that are based on farm produce as raw materials. But thanks to our efforts of the past two years, a considerable recovery has been made.

I have been told that during her stay here Kosei²⁰⁹ noticed that the Chinese have dark complexions. It is true that the complexions of Mr. Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi and Mr. Aisin-Gioro Pu Jie are somewhat darker than before, but they have stronger constitutions now. Their dark complexions are a sign of good health. Anyway, we all belong to the "yellow" race and cannot turn into whites. There are the black race, yellow race, white race and brown race in the world. All races without exception should treat each other as equals. But today there are still differences; there is still racial discrimination. In a sense, the darkest people are the worst oppressed but have the broadest prospects and hopes. Africa, with a population of more than 200 million, is a continent of rich resources and vast stretches of virgin land yet to be exploited. At present it lags behind Europe in economic development. But latecomers will surpass old-timers, and Africa will catch up with Europe. Europe started to develop earlier than the rest of the world, and many of its resources are on the verge of exhaustion. Africa is the least developed area, and it has abundant reserves of coal, iron ore, oil and rare metals. In North

America, Canada is also highly developed, and the United States started to exploit its oil early but is wasteful in its use of it. Asia and Latin America are semi-developed areas. All the semi- or under-developed countries are bound to develop when they gain independence, are free from foreign intervention and begin to administer their own affairs. That's why I say latecomers will surpass old-timers. When that day comes, we shall all treat each other as equals and help supply each other's needs. All people, regardless of geographic location or skin colour, are brothers. When that time comes, imperialism will have vanished, and harmony will prevail in the world. But that probably won't come about until the 21st century. I shan't live to see it. I presume you won't either, Mr. Zai Tao,²¹⁰ and neither will Mr. Lao She,¹⁰⁵ who is of my age. Yet our younger generation will probably see it. The goal of our Communist Party is, precisely, to make our world a better place where all people can live a decent life.

We have here today a former emperor and former members of the imperial family. All of us now live together; we can do this only on one condition — equality among all. In the past, Japan also had nobles. For example, Saionji²¹¹ is the descendant of a duke, but he doesn't want that title. Mrs. Hisako, Mrs. Hiro and Mrs. Mikiko²¹² are all descendants of marquis. Mr. Zai Tao, a Beile,²¹³ is the younger brother of Emperor Guang Xu and the uncle of Emperor Xuan Tong. Mr. Pu Yi used to be an emperor. Although we didn't recognize the Manchukuo regime,²¹⁴ we recognized Emperor Xuan Tong. Pu Jie is the Emperor's younger brother, and Kosei is the niece of a Japanese noble as well as a daughter of the Chinese imperial family. The brothers and sisters of Pu Yi and Pu Jie are former members of the imperial house, but they have all changed. Mr. Pu Yi, you are studying tropical plants and are willing and able to take part in labour, and interested in doing so. Mr. Pu Jie, you are engaged in horticulture in Jingshan Park, where you spend half of your time; you have to take care of your family. As for your brothers and sisters, you know what they are doing. Your third younger sister is a member of the Political Consultative Conference in Beijing's Dongcheng District. Since I am the Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, she and I are colleagues. Your fifth younger sister once worked at a restaurant and is now an accountant. She worked hard and got a job for herself; we did not know that before. Your sixth younger sister is a painter and a good calligrapher; she

has become an artist now. Your seventh younger sister is dean of pupils at a primary school and a model worker. Who can tell when you walk down the street that you are former members of the imperial house? Your brothers-in-law have all changed too. These former members of the imperial family, bureaucrats and nobles have become workers, office staff or teachers.

Now let me introduce Mr. Lao She, an outstanding figure of the Manchu nationality. He is a famous writer. After the 1911 Revolution,⁶⁶ Manchus used to be bullied and discriminated against, so he didn't let it be known that he was a Manchu. He has written many well-known works, such as *Rickshaw Boy* and *The Dragon Beard Ditch*. His wife is a painter. She started painting in middle age and had Qi Baishi²¹⁵ as her teacher. She is now working on a huge traditional Chinese painting in co-operation with the painters Chen Banding²¹⁶ and Yu Fei'an.²¹⁷

Let me introduce another person, the wife of Cheng Yanqiu.¹²² Cheng Yanqiu was a famous Beijing opera performer and also a Manchu. After liberation, he worked hard at his art and asked to join the Communist Party. In 1957 Marshal He Long²¹⁸ and I introduced him into the Party, but unfortunately he passed away the following year. Do you like listening to records, Mrs. Hiro? (Hiro: Yes, very much.) I can give you some records made by Cheng Yanqiu. I enjoy his records very much. When I can't sleep well, I listen to them for a while. In the old society Beijing opera performers were looked down upon. Now we call them performing artists, and we are all on an equal footing.

I'd also like to introduce the nurse who looks after my wife and me. She is also a Manchu. She didn't tell me that, but I guessed it. There are many Han comrades here, and I shall not introduce them one by one. Old China was rigidly stratified, cursed by inequality. In the Qing Dynasty, if people like us happened to see Pu Yi, they would have to salute him on their knees. Actually, they would never have had access to him. Things changed after the 1911 Revolution, but not much. The oppressive Qing government was overthrown, only to be replaced by a handful of Han people, and that regime was even worse. The northern warlords⁶ went on fighting year after year, and war never stopped under the rule of the Kuomintang, so that the people were reduced to abject poverty. It was only after the victory of the Chinese revolution that the society began to change and the people across the land became equal. The present social

system in China was chosen by the Chinese people themselves and established through their own hard struggle, not imposed upon them by outside forces. That is very gratifying to us.

Now please think it over: has there ever been a country in the world where a republic was established after a feudal regime was overthrown, and yet the ex-emperor remained alive and was given equal status? Think of Charles I of England, Louis XVI of France, William II of Germany and King Farouk of Egypt. What happened to them? Well, you can make the comparison.

(Pu Yi: This has no precedent in recorded history.)

This is our state policy. Of course, it requires co-operation: the person concerned has to make an effort too. Please don't worry, Mrs. Hiro Saga, we shall not discriminate against you. Mrs. Hisako Saga and Mr. Miyashita, after you go back, please tell our Japanese friends that Mrs. Hiro Sage will not be discriminated against.

(Saga: It was with the help of the Premier that Hiro was able to come to China, and I am very grateful.)

It was not because of my personal help but because of our state policy. (Turning to Hiro Saga) Your late daughter Keisei wrote to me, and I agreed to her corresponding with her father. She was a very courageous girl. Do you have a picture of her that I could keep as a memento?

Now let's turn to the question of the Manchu nationality. The Manchu ruling class came down south of the Great Wall from the Northeast to rule China for nearly 300 years. It enslaved the people of other nationalities. Although at one point it made China strong and prosperous, it eventually declined. The blame should be placed on the Qing emperors and the small number of nobles, rather than on the Manchu people, who were also victims of the catastrophe. Dr. Sun Yat-sen did the right thing when he led the 1911 Revolution that toppled the Qing government. Mr. Pu Yi was only a few years old at the time and was not to blame either. Mr. Zai Tao, who was a high-ranking official, should take part of the blame. As for the period of the Manchukuo regime, both Pu Yi and Pu Jie are to blame for what took place then, but the major responsibility certainly rests with the Japanese militarists. This is made clear in the book Pu Yi wrote in collaboration with Pu Jie.²¹⁹ You should revise your manuscript before having it published. There is too much self-criticism in it. Those things are past. Eleven years have elapsed since the founding of New China. The impression made by the cruel rule and oppres-

sion of the Qing Dynasty has faded in the minds of the Chinese people. Not many people can remember it now. Still, historical events should be recorded as they actually happened. Now that the Qing Dynasty has perished, its bad aspects stand revealed in the judgement of history.

The problem at present is to restore the Manchus to their proper status. After the 1911 Revolution, the northern warlords and the reactionary Kuomintang government discriminated against them. Consequently, they were afraid to admit their identity, and they were almost entirely assimilated by the Han people. In future the nationalities will assimilate one another, but that will come about through a natural development instead of discrimination or compulsion. That's why we want to restore the status of the Manchus, which we actually started to do immediately after 1949.

The Qing Dynasty, the last feudal dynasty in China, did many bad things, only to meet its downfall. But it did a few good things as well. First, it brought together the many fraternal nationalities in China and delimited the boundaries of the country, establishing its territory as more than nine million square kilometres. Second, in order to perpetuate its rule the Qing Dynasty reduced the feudal land tax, enabling the peasants to recuperate from years of oppression and build up their strength. As a result, the population grew to 400 million, which laid the foundation for its expansion to 650 million today. And third, the Qing Dynasty adopted the Manchu language and the Han language simultaneously, thus gradually bringing the two cultures together and promoting the development of the Chinese culture. So the Qing Dynasty did three good things — delimiting the territory, increasing the population and developing the culture. Emperor Kang Xi was well versed in astronomy, geography and mathematics. Peter the Great of Russia was his contemporary. As Russia was in Europe and had a relatively advanced handicraft industry, Peter drew upon the experience of West Europe to develop his country's industry and commerce. But in China at that time, while the prevailing feudal economy was quite solid and stable, industry and commerce were not developed. Kang Xi was preoccupied only with developing feudal culture. As for the bad things the Qing Dynasty did, history has already passed judgement upon them, so there is no need for me to elaborate. But the good things it did are worth mentioning. As a big nationality, the Han also did many good things, but there is no need to bring them up here. This view has

not been put forward by me but by Chairman Mao, on many occasions. I am mentioning all this to explain that one ought not to feel inferior if married to a Manchu. Neither should one feel conceited, hearing me praise the good things accomplished by the Qing Dynasty.

Mrs. Hiro Saga is a Japanese married to a Chinese and has now become a Chinese citizen. We are glad to have you join us, and you are welcome to take part in social activities in China.

I have talked a great deal, but Mrs. Hiro Saga will have to examine what I have said and see whether it is true or not. It may take you a year, three years, five or even ten years to do that. You can go back to Japan any time you feel out of place. When you are back in Japan, you can make a comparison, and if you think China is better, you can return again. You are free to come and go. I can guarantee that and put my signature to it. But I don't think you'll want my signature. If Kosei wants to go back to Japan, you can let her go; don't force her to stay here. Young people are prone to change. If she wishes to come back to China in the future, she can apply for a visa at any time. If she doesn't come back to China but marries a Japanese, what's wrong with that? Emperor Tai Zong of the Tang Dynasty married his daughter to the King of Tibet, initiating intermarriage between the Hans and the Tibetans. The Sagas married their daughter to the Aisin-Gioro family, and the Aisin-Gioros can marry their daughter to a Japanese. There's nothing wrong with that, is there?

Now let's look at the question of Japan. Mrs. Hiro Saga wishes to work for friendship between China and Japan. Well, you are married to a Chinese and have come to China now — that in itself is a symbol of Sino-Japanese friendship. Japanese militarism wreaked havoc on the Chinese people between 1894 and 1945. Through the Meiji Restoration of 1868,⁵⁴ Japan had taken a step forward, from a feudal society to a capitalist one. The reformers deserve some credit. But although Japan was a step ahead of China, its bourgeoisie retained feudal vestiges, which later developed into militarism, so that Japan expanded outward and carried out aggression against Korea and China. So these were bad things it did. The incidents of 1894,²²⁰ September 18th, 1931,²²¹ and July 7th, 1937,³³ and the Manchukuo regime brought great damage and losses to the Chinese people. Not long ago a Japanese delegation headed by Eijun Otani²²² presented us with a list of Chinese martyrs who had died in Japan, and we were very grateful for that. Over the last 10 years since the

liberation of China, almost 10,000 Japanese friends who have been received by Chairman Mao, President Liu and me have apologized for the crimes of the past. We told them to let bygones be bygones. We said that ties had existed between China and Japan and economic and cultural exchanges had been increasing over nearly 2,000 years. So compared with those 2,000 years, the period of 50 years was very brief, and in any case it is now past history. We should look ahead and work to promote friendly relations between the two countries, to bring about the normalization of diplomatic relations and to increase economic and cultural intercourse. We don't keep our eyes fixed on the past. Chairman Mao once said that the invasion of China by the Japanese militarists was certainly a bad thing, but that it had served to arouse the Chinese people. The Japanese militarists regarded the Chinese as fools whom they could easily bully. But facts proved them wrong. Once aroused, the Chinese people waged a war of resistance against Japanese aggression. Thus the loose sand became cohesive and the sleeping lion awakened. That is to say, Japanese militarist aggression obliged the Chinese people to unite and organize. Neither Kenji Dohihara,²²³ Yasuji Okamura,²²⁴ Hideki Tojo,²²⁵ Seishiro Itagako²²⁶ nor anyone else could undermine the unity of the Chinese people. Such unity had never been seen before. We bear no resentment against the Japanese people, who were likewise the victims of militarism. We shall be friendly to all Japanese, whether they belong to the imperial household or to the nobility, to the bourgeoisie or the working people, so long as they are friendly to China. As for people who once worked in the Japanese governments responsible for aggression, so long as they are in favour of Sino-Japanese friendship, we still welcome them to China. For example, we have welcomed Mr. Saburo Endo,²²⁷ Mr. Masanobu Tsuji,²²⁸ Mr. Tatsunosuke Takasaki²²⁹ and Mr. Fusanosuke Kuhara.²³⁰ Our Japanese friends who have been to China include people of Left, Middle and Right political backgrounds. Our door is open to our Japanese friends. We not only welcome people from the Communist and Socialist Parties but even allow people who are involved in intelligence work for the Japanese government to come.

Mrs. Hiro Saga is now back, prepared to be a Chinese citizen and to work for Sino-Japanese friendship and the normalization of relations. I do appreciate it very much. About your return, your husband and Pu Yi were somewhat hesitant, because they were worried that owing to our present difficulties, the standard of living is lower

here than in Japan. Nevertheless, it is no problem to take special care of a small number of people. You have just come from Japan, where the standard of living is higher, and are not yet accustomed to life here, so you need some special assistance. When you get used to it, you won't need it any more. Mr. Saionji is a nobleman, yet he doesn't want to lead an aristocratic life but wishes to come to China where the standard of living is lower. Why else should he want to come here if not to work for peace?

TALK AT A JOINT MEETING OF PARTICIPANTS IN A FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART AND PARTICIPANTS IN A CONFERENCE ON FILM SCENARIOS

June 19, 1961

INTRODUCTION

There is an unfortunate tendency these days towards an undemocratic style of work. We have asked people to emancipate their minds, break with blind faith and dare to think, speak and act. But many people don't do that. Of course, they still think, but they do not dare to speak or act. So there are two things they dare not do. Why is this so? At the Nanning Meeting in 1958, Chairman Mao declared that people should dare to think, speak and act, and later, at the Second Session of the Eighth Party Congress, he raised the issue officially, saying that daring to think, speak and act must be combined with seeking truth from facts and be based on scientific foresight. Actually, not everyone can achieve this: people will inevitably err a little in thought, speech and action. But that doesn't matter, so long as we allow free criticism, which can help correct the errors.

If only one person is allowed to speak and all others are forbidden to do so, isn't that "What one man says goes"? How did this practice come about? It has something to do with the leadership. We must create a democratic atmosphere. Let me state now that what I say today can be thought over, discussed, criticized, negated or affirmed. No one under the sun says the right thing 100 per cent of the time. When people's ideas are mistaken, they say things that are wrong. But even when their ideas are right, they can still say something inap-

propriate or go a little too far. That's why we need criticism. No one can guarantee that everything he says or does is perfectly right. So a good piece of advice for comrades who are writers is that they'd better not presume they can produce a successful work with just a few strokes of the pen. Distinguished statesmen and renowned artists always take great care to polish their manuscripts. As Chairman Mao has often remarked, Marx and Lenin were particularly careful in this regard. The same is true of the Chairman himself. He often goes through his manuscripts over and over again and makes many revisions. From what I have said it follows that we need to create an atmosphere in which all our opinions and ideas can be discussed and questioned by others.

In 1959 I gave a talk on the need to pursue "a policy of walking on two legs" in the sphere of literature and art.²³¹ As I now see it, not everything I said then was necessarily right. Perhaps I went a bit too far on one point, or failed to make myself clear on another. After that talk I felt rather uneasy, because there was no response. It seemed that it was soon consigned to limbo. I could not but be disturbed about that. Now you have invited me to come to this meeting and give a talk. And I do have some ideas that I shall be very glad to share with you. But I hope you won't expect me to be correct on every point; I want you to discuss and criticize my views on some of the questions I'm going to deal with. My purpose in giving this talk is to stimulate your interest in discussion.

In order to create a democratic atmosphere and change the style of work in literature and art, we must change the style of work of our cadres. And to do that, we must first of all change the style of our leading cadres, starting with those of us who are here today. We constantly meet with friends in literary and art circles, and if they are not allowed to doubt or discuss the views we express, then what is the point of having consultations? Besides, what we say is not something the Party has officially approved. And even if it has been examined and approved by the Party, criticisms should still be allowed. Everything that is officially adopted by a working conference of the Central Committee can be discussed, criticized and revised. So I don't see why my personal views can't be discussed and revised. We should create an atmosphere in which everybody can discuss questions from a socialist standpoint, so that we can do a good job in literature and art and satisfactorily carry out the policy in this field. We each have our own views on these questions, so why can't

they be discussed? I hope you will jot down the main points of my talk, discuss them when you return to your own units and send me your comments. But I shall be reluctant to read your reports if they contain nothing but the usual comments: “we fully agree with what you said in your talk”, “your ideas meet our wholehearted approval”, “your instructions are correct”, and so on. I don’t mean that you wouldn’t be telling me the truth. What I mean is that such reports would be worthless. Please write and let me know your differing views or raise questions you want to consult me about.

All of us who are present at this meeting should take the lead in creating a democratic atmosphere, allowing people to express critical views or disagreement. I spent only two days preparing this talk, so my ideas may prove to be not quite mature. Part of it will, of course, deal with Party policies and problems of class struggle. But the bulk of it will be devoted to the problems you have raised. You might liken the talk I’m now giving to a baby that was born prematurely. Whether it will grow up remains to be seen. Your comments will help me to prepare a better talk next time.

We should learn from Chairman Mao, who always reiterates his views. We have often heard him repeat his ideas on a question, and each time refinements have been added. He asks us to make comments, absorbing them and revising his views. It is precisely this practice of Chairman Mao’s — upholding truth and correcting errors — that we should learn from. If we want to foster a sound common practice in our work, we must allow others to express their differing opinions. In short, we should allow people to hold different opinions based on different conditions. That’s the only way for there to be socialist freedom and for people to feel easy in their minds. That’s the only way to create a favourable political atmosphere in which, as Chairman Mao once put it, there will be both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. I hope that this meeting will help create such an atmosphere.

For three years we have been urging people to emancipate their minds and dare to think, speak and act. But the result has been just the opposite. No doubt people have been turning things over in their minds, but the point is they are not yet bold enough to speak out and act. A human being is not a stone. Naturally, he thinks. Now we want to enable people to say what they are thinking and put their thoughts into action. In recent years there has been another way of

doing things. Whatever a person says is judged by prescribed patterns, and if it doesn't fit them, it is held against him, his past is dug up, he is labelled and attacked. The patterns come first. People are expected to speak and act according to a given criterion. To do otherwise is unacceptable. Once someone subjectively decides on the criterion, he begins finding fault with anyone who deviates from it. He assesses everything in a subjective, one-sided, metaphysical way. He makes no investigation. When he subjectively regards something as "Right deviationist", he concludes that it is "Right deviationist".

Here is an example: some trouble has arisen over the novel *Daji and Her Fathers*. That is because some people dismissed the novel as "sentimental". Then they decided to attack the author for petty-bourgeois sentimentalism. Here, I should like to express my thanks to comrades from Shanghai for advising me to have a look at the film *Daji and Her Fathers*. At their suggestion, I have seen the film and read the novel as well. In my opinion, it's a wonderful work. Unfortunately, however, it has been judged according to some people's arbitrary criterion. In the novel there is a moving scene in which an elderly man of Han nationality bursts into tears when he eventually finds his long-lost daughter. But some people say that this scene is intended to preach the "theory of human nature". It is said that tears welled in the eyes of Comrades Zhao Dan and Huang Zongying [two famous film-stars husband and wife — *Tr.*] as they were watching the film. When I saw it last night I also felt like weeping. But I didn't. Why? Because the director employed some methods that restrained the audience's feelings, preventing them from breaking into tears even though they really wanted to. For instance, there is a scene of parting in which Daji bids a reluctant farewell to her foster-father, a man of Yi nationality. At the very moment when this touching scene is about to draw tears from the audience, the girl suddenly turns around, with both hands covering her face, so that the audience cannot see the tears coursing down her cheeks. The people in the audience are ready to shed sympathetic tears, but the director has tried this means to make them hold back. This indicates that there are ideological shackles that place severe constraints on film makers. Obviously, this scene of parting is not a truthful portrayal of the innermost feelings of the proletariat. I was told that the director had a lot of anxiety over the way the film should be shot. It was not until some comrades expressed their approval of the film

that he began to feel relieved. But it's a pity that he wasn't bold enough to work out a better design for the farewell scene. I'm not criticizing Comrade Wang Jiayi, the director. I am criticizing the formula in the minds of some individuals who, when they see a father and daughter meeting with tears after a long separation, call it a manifestation of the "theory of human nature". It is because of this formula that the film director didn't dare let the audience see the father and daughter with tears streaming down their faces. It is wrong to say that everything smacks of the "theory of human nature". As a matter of fact, problems concerning the "theory of human nature" were resolved as far back as twenty years ago. In his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art", Chairman Mao stated explicitly that in a class society there can be no such thing as human nature in the abstract, but only the human nature of a particular class. But some people are still devising their formulas and applying them everywhere. They attach all sorts of labels to anyone whose words or deeds depart from their formulas, calling him an exponent of the "theory of human nature", of "love of humanity" and of "sentimentalism". Once they have found something wrong in someone's remarks or writings, they attach ideological or political labels to him and invoke organizational sanctions as a punishment. And all this springs from their subjective formulas and erroneous definitions that have nothing at all to do with Marxism-Leninism.

Then they go on to have the person in question make a self-examination and link whatever he says or writes to his past and family background. What is he to do? We hold that motive and effect constitute a unity of opposites. We cannot judge the motive behind a person's action without considering the effect. It is all right to look into a person's class origin and his past, but what really counts is his own current behaviour. It is all right, too, to look into a person's family background and social connections, but what really counts is the person himself. To have a better understanding of a person, we sometimes need to refer to his past record and family background. That is because we all come from the old society, which has left some outmoded, unhealthy ideas in our minds. This is a fact that cannot be denied. But we must not assess a person simply by a casual reference to his past and family background. On the contrary, the most important thing is to look at his present behaviour. It is wrong to fix a formula and use it as a measure of all things, to find fault with

people, to trace their past records and family backgrounds, to label and attack them.

Marxism has formulas, and we are not against formulas in general. We have our general formula, which is devised to help us attain magnificent goals — to transform the old society, build socialism and communism and transform nature. The proletarian world outlook is the grandest and most scientific of all world outlooks. That is why only the proletarians, ourselves included, are capable of transforming the entire society and the world and why only they can chart the future. This formula of ours is aimed at magnificent goals. So it is absolutely wrong to reduce it to metaphysical, subjective narrow-minded concepts. In general, we do not deny the necessity of finding people's faults. However, we want to find gross faults, politically reactionary ones, monstrous errors. For instance, in 1957 the bourgeois Rightists launched fierce attacks, as devastating as a tornado, on the Party and socialism. We promptly mounted a counter-attack.²³² As I have said, it is sometimes necessary to examine a person's past record and family background. But what's more important is to judge the person himself, to be exact, his present behaviour. If those who have been labelled Rightists are indeed Rightists, why, they should be so labelled. But no one must be labelled a Rightist arbitrarily. And that is precisely what is happening now. It is not right to term poisonous and evil an occasional mistake in what a person says or an erroneous idea, let alone a statement or idea that is quite permissible. And we must be even more careful about taking action against anyone. Even if a person is wrong, so long as he is willing to mend his ways, we must allow him to do so. If he can't do it at once, we should give him time and not expel him from the Party offhand. There is no wisdom in that. With people who have made mistakes, we should not only see how they behave but give them help.

So I'm not advocating that the proletariat should abandon all formulas, pay no attention to a person's conduct, give no consideration to his past record and family background, attach no labels whatsoever to him and never punish him even if he really deserves it. No, that's not my view. I mean to call your attention to certain wrong, unreasonable practices that are quite common nowadays, primarily the five following: 1) judging a person according to a fixed criterion, 2) finding fault with him, 3) digging up his past record and family background, 4) attaching political labels to him, and 5) attacking him. It's time to put a stop to these practices. But that doesn't mean

we should throw away our formulas altogether and pay no attention to serious mistakes. Everyone should let the proper authorities know his record and family background, so that they can help him remedy his mistakes. Without help from others, it is hard for a person to recognize that his ideas are wrong simply by turning them over and over in his mind and to correct them. So we should adhere to our major principles and try to get rid of the bad practices. That is the only way to develop healthy practices and bring about a favourable atmosphere and a political environment in which there will be both centralism and democracy, both freedom and discipline, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. I hope that this meeting will contribute to the creation of such an atmosphere, a task which calls for all of us, as leading cadres, to set an example.

What I've said so far is by way of introduction. Now I'm going to talk about six specific questions. If time allows, I also want to say something about modern drama.

I. MATERIAL AND MENTAL PRODUCTION

Certain laws governing material production also hold good for mental production. When there is too much pressure, mental production suffers, perhaps even more seriously than material production. Once in 1959 I said that it was wrong to push writers to turn out manuscripts in a hurry. There are exceptions, of course, such as newspaper editorials which, since the world situation changes so rapidly, must be finished in good time so that our diplomatic efforts are co-ordinated. Traditionally, our newspapers prefer to delay for a day, rather than have their editorials written in haste, so that there will be no mistakes. Small wonder that foreigners often say the Chinese are slow to express their views. Since we can allow some delay in voicing our opinions about world events, why can't we allow our writers some delay in their writing schedules? It causes them much anxiety if you ask them to draw up their writing plans and then keep pressing them to fulfil their planned quotas exactly according to the original schedules.

One of our mistakes in the field of literature and art, as I have pointed out in the past, has been to overemphasize the need for production of increasing numbers of artistic documentary films. Indeed,

we need such films. But the problem is overproduction. Take, for example, our film production plan for 1958. In spite of the planned total of 80 documentary films, 103 were produced that year. Because of shoddy work and careless design, quite a number of those films were of poor quality, which meant a waste of energy and materials. Of course, there were a few that were up to desired standards. Anyway, being too eager to produce large numbers of films violates our dialectical guideline, which is to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Whether we have obtained such results can be judged only by making an overall, nationwide assessment of our successes as against our failures. It can't be judged by assessing the successes and failures of particular individuals. I should like to cite Comrade Zhang Shuihua, for example. You prefer to take your time in producing a film. I think you should be allowed to work the way you like. Or take the writing of poetry. Among our leading cadres, Comrade Chen Yi is one who likes to write poems.²⁰¹ He composes very quickly and is a prolific writer. He is a genius in this respect. But it is different with Chairman Mao. He writes only after much deliberation. Though he writes less, his poems are beautiful and inspiring. Of course, Comrade Chen Yi's poems are admirable, too. We should not demand a poem a day from Chairman Mao, nor should we interfere with Comrade Chen Yi and ask him to write less.

Mental work cannot be uniform. When we consider the mental production of the whole country, we find that our socialist culture is rich and colourful. A good example is the recent exhibition of traditional Chinese paintings by artists from Jiangsu Province, entitled "Our Fresh Rivers and Mountains". I'm a native of Jiangsu, but I don't agree with people who maintain that only Jiangsu artists can produce wonderful paintings in the traditional Chinese style. As a matter of fact, beautiful works in that style have been created in all parts of the country. It is no good to press artists to fulfil certain quotas within a time limit. We should give overall consideration to work in this field. To create better works of art, it is necessary to concentrate the efforts of the artists. All this must be explained very clearly to the people concerned. I want to stress once again that placing excessive demands on mental workers in terms of output and quality can be counterproductive.

Some comrades have expressed the opinion that in certain cases apologies and compensation should be offered not only to manual

workers but also to mental workers. I agree. Of course, the departments concerned have to consider what is the proper way to do that. Let me cite an example in support of this view. Suppose someone expressed a correct idea but you misjudged it; accordingly, you criticized him and made him feel bad. If that had happened, shouldn't you apologize to him and make a self-criticism? Now let's turn to the problem of levying contributions on a writer's earnings. According to state regulations, authors are entitled to a specified percentage of their earnings. But certain people have drawn up a different set of regulations, under which authors are required to turn over at least 10 per cent of their earnings to them. These regulations have not been approved by the competent authorities, and even if they had been, they still might not be entirely justifiable. There is a similar problem with the peasants' grain harvests. In addition to turning over a certain proportion of their harvests to their communes and production brigades as grain reserves, part of their grain can be sold to the state. But the proceeds from these sales must be registered as work-points and be returned to the individual peasants, because this money is income from their labour.

Of course, different cases should be treated differently. For example, there are people who spend much of their time in the office working on their own writing projects, so that they don't perform their public duties efficiently. But earnings from books or articles written in a person's spare time should not be confiscated. Some people argue that it's very difficult to identify writers whose earnings have been confiscated and that it is therefore out of the question to compensate them. This sounds exactly like an excuse produced by responsible officials for refusing to make any compensation at all. But nobody's going to swallow that, so compensation they must make. The exact amount of money that should be offered can be discussed later at proper meetings. For another example, some of the writers' housing was wrongly taken from them and converted to other uses. I don't see why it shouldn't be returned to them.

The policy of readjusting, consolidating, filling in gaps and raising standards must also be carried out in the departments in charge of literature and art. Too many literary and art institutions and performing troupes have been established in recent years; this is at variance with the policy just mentioned. The same thing has happened in the departments in charge of culture and education, where the number of personnel and undertakings has grown to undue pro-

portions. So these departments should implement the policy, too. We have urged such departments at the central level to draw up a general programme, which after discussion by local authorities will be binding.

It is reported that leading authorities in some localities and institutions are reluctant to curtail the number and size of their performing troupes. I think on this question we have to be realistic and distinguish between different cases. Some performing troupes are organized by the local people themselves and financed by voluntary donations because they have a special liking for them, but others are established at the proposal of leading officials. The former should be allowed to operate, because they often tour rural people's communes and production brigades, are very popular among the country folk and are financed by them. Since collective ownership, as opposed to ownership by the whole people, is permissible for economic undertakings, why shouldn't it be so for theatrical troupes? Of course, in troupes operating on the basis of collective ownership, we should prevent the revival of old forces. Specifically, no head or master of a troupe should be allowed to get extraordinarily high pay. Theatrical performance comes under the category of mental labour. So the prominent, highly skilled actors should be paid more than the others, because they make a greater contribution. They should be allowed to set up theatrical troupes of a co-operative nature that should be placed under the guidance of local Party committees and government departments in charge of culture. Such troupes are established to serve the needs of the masses.

But there is another kind of theatrical troupe that must not be allowed to continue. I'm referring to troupes that are intended to entertain only a small number of people in the ministries and commissions at the central level and in leading organs of prefectures and counties. The reason is that the existence of such troupes tends to foster among our cadres the desire for personal privileges. Although the chief aim of theatrical troupes is to serve the masses, a department in charge of culture may ask its troupe to give a performance exclusively for its own staff members, but this should not be done too often. In planning their development programmes, such departments should seek the advice of the members of Party committees at corresponding levels who are in charge of propaganda. The purpose is to make sure that not too many people will be required to leave their posts in material production to engage exclusively in mental produc-

tion. Theatrical troupes that are sponsored by the masses and that rehearse and perform mainly in the off-hours should be allowed to exist, because they affect neither material production nor other work. The propagation of culture should be achieved primarily by promoting spare-time activities among the people.

In short, there have been some shortcomings in this field of our work during the past three years and so it should be readjusted, consolidated, filled out and improved. We should draw up a general programme for all our endeavours, and mental production is no exception.

II. CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE UNITED FRONT

I want to explain a little about the complex nature of class struggle in the period of socialist revolution and construction. The Party stated at the Second Plenary Session of its Seventh Central Committee³ that during socialist revolution and construction a struggle goes on between socialism and capitalism. The movements against the “three evils”⁶⁹ and the “five evils”,⁶⁷ both launched in the post-liberation years, demonstrated the correctness of this conclusion. In the wake of agricultural collectivization came widespread excitement and rejoicing among the people, who cheered the advent of the socialist era amidst the beating of drums and gongs. Seeing that we had scored remarkable achievements in the transformation of the old society, some people began to neglect class struggle. Chairman Mao had anticipated this, so in 1956 he published his speech “On the Ten Major Relationships”, in which he discussed the relationship between revolution and counter-revolution as well as problems concerning the united front. Later on, in 1957, he spelled out his ideas more clearly in his speech “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People”. Chairman Mao’s predictions were soon proved true by the bourgeois Rightists who launched a vicious attack on the Party. This convincingly demonstrated that in the period of socialist revolution and construction, while the scope of class struggle may have diminished, it can still be very acute at times. Class enemies may unleash fierce attacks when we have difficulties, shortcomings or weaknesses. However, the existence of class struggle should not lead us to neglect the united front, to deal with the bourgeoisie without analysis or to

be biased or wavering when dealing with contradictions among the people.

There are class struggles that are political and ideological, and there are others that stem from the force of habit of the old society.

Politically, we must resolutely oppose anyone who is hostile to socialism and attempts to restore capitalism, like the Rightists who attacked the Party in 1957 and the counter-revolutionaries who tried to stage a come-back and usurp power in a few rural areas. Sometimes these people lay low to wait for an opportune moment, sometimes, they conducted overt and covert activities alternately, and when the time came they put up a desperate fight to restore the old order. Of course, this happened only in a small number of places: with the nationwide consolidation of the people's regime, such groups were unable to create major trouble. These class struggles belong to the category of contradictions between the people and the enemy, and we must remain on the watch for them and not be caught off guard. Such problems can be found in all parts of the country but are nevertheless very few in number. We must stand with the people and be vigilant at all times, particularly when we have difficulties, shortcomings or when we make mistakes.

Ideological struggle is a long-term task. Writers and artists must pay special attention to their ideological problems and style of work. It takes a long time to eliminate outmoded thinking and styles of work. We come from the old society and were educated in old schools. Even young people today are influenced by remnants of the old ideology in their families and society. So old ways of thinking and old styles of work survive in people's minds to varying extents. Although man's ideas lead the way, it is impossible to truly eliminate the remaining outmoded ideas until an entirely new base has been founded. The remoulding of a person's ideology and world outlook takes time and cannot be done in a hurry. This is especially the case with people working in the natural sciences.

I once made the acquaintance of a doctor noted for his outstanding professional skills. Although he believed in God, his belief was not in conflict with his desire to serve socialism. Perhaps in your own families there are some elderly members who believe in ghosts or gods. Nevertheless, they can remain loyal citizens of our socialist society. Their beliefs are permissible, and we must not try to force them to abandon them. Throughout their lives, some people may find it hard to change their superstitious beliefs, which will most

probably accompany them to the grave. But they can serve socialism very well all the same while they live. Religious beliefs may have an influence on people's way of life. It is the belief in God that causes some people to go to church and to say prayers before meals. But some comrades disapprove of such practices and have subjected these believers to severe censure. This has caused unnecessary tension and trouble in society. Of course, it is not good for teachers and writers to promote religious beliefs among young people or for artists to do so through theatrical performances. In any event, it is not easy for believers to thoroughly transform their thinking.

Let's take a look at ourselves. Can we say with assurance that we have acquired a profound understanding of dialectical materialism and have cleared our minds of all sorts of old ideas? We can't be sure of that. What we can say for certain is that we need to continue remoulding our thinking. It is the influence of idealistic and metaphysical views that is responsible for the shortcomings in our work that I've been talking about. But can anyone conclude from this that ours is not a Marxist Party and that our cadres are not dedicated to Marxism?

Everybody has his shortcomings. Our Party is a great, glorious and correct Party. But as individuals, we are still not mature, not completely Marxist. If this is true of Communists, how can one blame ordinary non-Party friends? We should be more modest; then we can be of more help to others. Ideological remoulding is a long-term task. How can a new society, born out of the old, become perfect overnight?

By our habits I mean the feudal and bourgeois habits people have carried over from the old society. They have been accustomed to them from childhood and never think of them as wrong. For example, wherever we leading comrades go, people are held back to make way for us. You want to treat others as equals, but it seems you can't: some people want to put you on a pedestal. I am not against necessary security measures. But since we have sat together here, why must we be separated afterwards? I think it is simply the force of habit. It is feudal and sometimes just comes out without your knowing it. There are a lot of old customs in China. Some country people beat others when they get angry. That's force of habit. It is a habit left over from the old society, and there are still some people who like to use it against the masses. In opera sometimes you can still see flogging. It's very nice that in the Kunqu opera *Fifteen Strings of*

*Coins*¹⁰⁰ the flogging takes place off-stage. But in our handling of counter-revolutionaries, Chairman Mao has consistently opposed the use of torture. Even with counter-revolutionaries we use education, so shouldn't that apply all the more within the ranks of the people? Nevertheless, the force of habit is stubborn, so the habit of beating others will still persist.

I heard recently that many operas have been banned. This is also the result of force of habit. For example, some people even consider the opera *Qin Xianglian* unfit to be performed. That's absolute nonsense! The opera condemned the villainous Chen Shimei for trying to murder his wife and children. Why shouldn't it be staged? What has that got to do with divorce and remarriage? Obviously, the opera was banned because of the influence of feudal ideas. Many operas used to condemn the woman and forgive the man whenever there was trouble between them. That is unfair. We still haven't done away with the social conventions which regard the male as the centre of society. Don't take it for granted that our cadres have no feudal ideas. Facts show that they do, don't they? People all agree when talking about principles. But when it comes to concrete matters, old habits reassert themselves. Don't think that they can be weeded out in our generation. Perhaps new habits will be developed in the 21st century. Anyway, we must not expect the complete eradication of all old habits within this century. This is related to the question of class struggle.

Sometimes we say something that is not quite right, or say something wrong in jest. That's quite common. If those remarks were taken as a serious political problem and dealt with as such, life would be impossible. That's why we should make a concrete analysis of class struggle, distinguishing among political problems, ideological problems and the force of habit, and not wage struggles over everything. It takes a long time to discard established habits; the force of old habits will remain unless new practices are adopted and prevail. In short, we should make a concrete analysis of class struggle and avoid confounding vigilance against counter-revolution with the ideological remoulding of the people. Otherwise, it would be impossible to create the political situation Chairman Mao was talking about, in which there will be both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Ideological remoulding takes a long time. This remoulding will proceed from the desire for unity and reach a new unity on a new basis. Don't be afraid of the term remoulding. It includes remoulding non-Marxist ideas and overcoming the force of habit. If a Communist Party member thinks that he has completed his ideological remoulding and there is no need to go on with it, then he is not a good Party member. Remoulding, I have often said, is an endless process that will last until one dies. Up to the last moment, one never completes one's ideological remoulding. It can only be said that one is just a little bit better than before. Remoulding is a good thing: it helps to bring about unity and facilitates the struggle against counter-revolutionaries. The great unity of the people of the whole country excludes class enemies. Whether certain persons have a tendency towards idealism or are prisoners of old habits is a question that falls within the ranks of the people. We should unite with them all. Socialist society is the period of transition from capitalism to communism. It will last for a considerably long time. Someone once went to the length of estimating that it would take only four years and 80 days. Well, 13 years have passed since 1949. In my view, even several times 13 years will not suffice: it may take much longer. There's no telling now.

The purpose of ideological remoulding is to further our cause, to enable us to do a better job in literature and art and to create greater unity among literary and art workers, not to keep them on tenterhooks. The work should be carried out in the manner of a gentle breeze and mild rain. As Chairman Mao once pointed out, a friendly, carefree atmosphere is essential for ideological remoulding. During the current meetings we shall discuss a wide variety of problems concerning, among other things, methods of leadership, the building of a corps of literary and art workers and implementation of the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling in gaps and raising standards. We cannot expect all problems to be resolved at one meeting. You will have to hold further discussions after you return to your own departments. Ideological remoulding cannot be done in a hurry. It should be done patiently over a long period. And no new formulas should be created to restrict people's thinking again. Only thus can people feel comfortable.

On the one hand we must wage class struggle; on the other we must consolidate the united front. The Communist Party together with the democratic patries and unaffiliated democrats form a united

front. This was true during the period of the democratic revolution and it is also true during the period of socialist revolution and construction. Comrade Li Weihai²³³ has published an article about the united front, so I don't want to dwell on it now.

Recently some people have begun wondering whether we have abandoned the policies adopted in 1956 with regard to intellectuals. No! Those policies remain valid. Being preoccupied with other matters in the past three years, we have not given them enough publicity. The campaign against bourgeois Rightists and the experience of the three years of the Great Leap Forward²³⁴ have promoted a better understanding between our Party and the intellectuals. In those three years we achieved some successes and also ran into some difficulties. Our task now is to unite still more closely and march forward with still greater confidence. The united front should be broadened, not narrowed, and the work should be done more thoroughly, not less. There should be no doubt about this. In order to develop our economy and culture, we must heighten our political vigilance against class enemies at home and abroad and at the same time expand and strengthen internal unity.

III. WHOM TO SERVE?

The political way to judge a work of art is to ask whom it serves. This applies to all literary and art forms. Chairman Mao has declared that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. That is our political criterion. But to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers — to serve the labouring people and the masses under the dictatorship of the proletariat — is only the political criterion for literature and art. There are others too. There must also be the artistic criterion and the criterion of how well they serve the people. The people should be served by a variety of literary and art forms and not by one stereotyped form. Literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers as well as serving proletarian politics. There can be no doubt about that. But literature and art take various forms of expression. As Comrade Zhou Yang²²⁵ said earlier, they include at the least literature, opera, drama, music, the fine arts, dance, film, folk art and photography. All these can be further divided. Opera, for example, can be divided into different

types. Literature and art serve politics through images, for only through images can ideas be expressed. Both music and painting depict typical images. Without images, there can be no literature and art. Then how can one speak of their serving politics? Sloganeering is not art. My talk today can be regarded only as an informal chat, not as a work of art. If our writers and artists are to serve the people well, their works must be tested in practice by the masses. Whether the images they have created are successful and whether they are appreciated by the people is not decided by the approval of the leadership. Whether a work of art is good must be decided by the people and not by the leadership. Nowadays, however, more decisions are made by the leadership than by the masses. Of course, we must speak out if a work errs politically or is anti-socialist: then we cannot allow it to be freely disseminated. But after all, there are very few works of that kind.

I have read a report about how a Vice-Minister of Culture, who was visiting Sichuan Province, offended the people there by describing Sichuan opera as a backward theatrical form. A comrade disagreed then and there, saying that it was primarily up to the 70 million people of Sichuan to judge whether it was backward. I think this comrade was brave and his point well made. When the people like something but you don't, how can you expect your own opinion to count for much? *Pingtan* [storytelling and ballad singing in Suzhou dialect — *Tr.*], Huai opera and Shaoxing opera are very popular with the people of Shanghai. Surely, their popularity doesn't need to be approved by the residents of Beijing — don't you agree? We leading comrades may have different tastes. Some like to go to the theatre, others are particularly interested in paintings or antiques. What's wrong with that? Whether a play is really to be recommended doesn't depend on our individual assessment. Our personal liking for something cannot be used as a criterion for evaluating a work of art. Art must be approved by the people. So long as the people like it, it has its value. So long as it is not anti-Party and anti-socialist, it should be allowed; no one has the right to ban it. Artists must have the people in mind and not only the leadership. Does this mean I am advocating opposition to the leadership? Not at all. Leaders have the right to state their views on political questions. Politics must be in command. That means that the leaders must determine whether a given work is a fragrant flower or a poisonous weed, anti-Party and anti-socialist. Political acumen should be

brought to bear on this aspect of the work. But as far as artistic aspects are concerned, we know very little.

Since we know very little, we have little right to speak. Therefore we should not interfere unnecessarily. All comrades present are leaders. I hope you will interfere less. Of course, I do not mean that you should be irresponsible. You should assume responsibility, but you should interfere less. By responsibility, I mean mainly political responsibility. We should not let poisonous weeds and revisionism run riot. However, we must make clear distinction; we should not label everything revisionist.

Someone has asked me if the educational function of literature and art is compatible with its recreational function. Dialectically speaking, yes. The masses who go to see plays or films want to be entertained and to relax, and you can educate them through the role models you present. Education can be conducted through entertainment. Of course, there should be a wide diversity of subjects; the scripts should not always be about war. Comrade Zhu De once said: "I've been fighting all my life. I want to see some films that are not about fighting." If you show war films every day, people will get fed up and will turn to Hong Kong films. That would show that the Film Administration Bureau had failed to do a good job. On the other hand, it would not be good either if there were not a single war film and young people were to lose their militancy. In general, there should be proper ratio between films on contemporary themes and films on historical themes.

Writers should be allowed a free choice as to subject matter. In ancient times there was no socialism but there were fine traditions among the Chinese people. The people created many ideal characters, such as Wu Song fa hero of the Song Dynasty — *Tr.*] and Mu Guiying [a heroine of the same dynasty — *Tr.*]. There were also many fairy tales. All these are suitable subjects. Yes, there should be different proportions of different themes for different places and genres of operas. Some types of opera are only suitable for lyrical themes and can present war themes only occasionally. For instance, in Shaoxing opera all the performers are women, and when they present the *Dream of the Red Chamber* the performance is apt and fine. They are excellent in *Pursuing a Beautiful Mermaid*, but *Sizhou City*, which requires a lot of acrobatic fighting, is beyond them. Shaoxing opera first evolved from a kind of ballad singing accompanied by the beating of drums with bamboo sticks, which was originally popular

in Chengxian County of Zhejiang Province. In the years that followed, it absorbed the local performing techniques of Shaoxing County. In the beginning the performers included men as well as women; sometimes all the performers were men. In later years they were all women. In present-day Shaoxing opera sometimes you see men and women acting together on the stage, sometimes only women. Every type of opera has its own distinctive features. We have to keep that in mind when we start promoting a particular type in a particular locality. In selecting programmes we should consider what the masses most enjoy watching. In the cinema, for example, we need to make different arrangements for rural areas and for factories, and give them different films particularly suited to their audiences. But in general, we must give people something to enrich their lives. On the one hand, we should praise the glory of labour; on the other hand, we need films that are lyrical and entertaining. We should tell young people about the hardships of making revolution and show them that it was not easy to achieve socialism. More plays and operas about the trials and hardships of revolutionary struggle should be performed, so they will not forget the miserable past.

The Ministry of Culture should do more to work out a general balance as far as subject matter is concerned, but it should not impose its views by compulsion or commandism and should not interfere too much with the wishes of writers. Some comrades from Shanghai told me that a certain group of writers had been urged to produce something portraying the way a Party committee functions, a subject they knew next to nothing about. Someone had spent several days haranguing them about how important it is for a Party committee to exercise overall leadership, but nothing had come of it. It would have been much better if they had been assigned to write on a subject suited to their interests and talents. Contrary to our policy of encouraging everyone to display his strong points and of letting a hundred flowers blossom, some people insist on having one single flower blossom, using a stereotyped political formula to shackle the writers' minds. Comrade Chen Yun's comment on folk art forms was right.²³⁶ Fatigued from work and not feeling up to par, he wants to relax in a genial environment so that he can recover quickly and contribute more to the Party's cause.

Pingtán is also very instructive. It is a unique art form with a number of distinctive characteristics. A *Pingtán* performer can play many different roles. I used to find *Pingtán* hard to understand, but

now I consider it better than the drum-opera of north China. In fact, each type of opera has its own attractions. Nevertheless, I still have a keen interest in the folk operas and ballads that are popular in north China and am not so fond of *Pingtán* as Comrade Chen Yun is. That's because I am baffled by the Suzhou dialect. You can't oblige me to like *Pingtán* as much as Comrade Chen Yun does, nor can you say that I dislike it. People have different tastes. Audiences are free to choose whatever play or film they like best. I like to read prose and short stories, but I can't afford the time for novels. Sometimes it occurs to me that I might give my brain a rest by watching a play or film. Actually, however, every time I see one, I keep thinking about it afterwards and want to make comments. But my comments might not be useful; I should leave it to our many knowledgeable critics to do the commenting.

Can theatrical performances touch people's hearts? I think so, of course. As I said, I have read the story *Daji and Her Fathers*, and I have seen the film with the same title. Each has its strong points. The novel is less restrained and does bring out the true character of the Yi people, although it is a bit on the crude side. The film's treatment is better, but towards the end, when the characters should be weeping, they aren't. They are inhibited. Maybe the director was afraid of being labelled too tenderhearted. But we proletarians have our proletarian human nature. Why should we be afraid of showing it? Of course, one cannot but feel a kind of pressure when one is confused about the meaning of the "theory of human nature", "love of humanity", "humanitarianism" and "utilitarianism". Chairman Mao has already expressed his views about those concepts very clearly at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art. We are not against utilitarianism in general; we have our proletarian utilitarianism, human nature, friendship and humanitarianism. Today, people are not looking at things from a proletarian stand or from a class point of view but from an idealist point of view. There can be no more literature and art if they are replaced by politics. Then there will be nothing left to attract anyone.

Another thing. People engaged in cultural work should study the economic base. Comrade Zhou Yang was right when he said that ideas lead the way, but the upsurge of cultural development can come only after the upsurge of economic development. The number of cultural undertakings should not be increased indefinitely. If there are too many of them, too many universities and colleges, and

they exceeded the level of economic development, the economic base and production will be impaired. Culture is supposed to serve production, but the result would be just the opposite. Production in the service of culture and culture for the sake of culture would destroy culture in the end. The masses should be encouraged to engage in cultural pursuits in their spare time in order to lay the groundwork for advancement of the nation's culture. The problem at the moment is that we have gone too far in this respect, that we have established too many cultural institutions and recruited too many people. This has drained away much labour power and hampered production. We have to cut back in this sphere in accordance with the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling in gaps and raising standards. And only in this way can our cultural work better serve socialist construction, the workers, peasants and soldiers, and our proletarian politics.

IV. LAWS GOVERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE AND ART

Like industry and agriculture, literature and art have their own objective laws of development. Of course, being products of the intellect, literature and art are more complex and more difficult to master. As Comrade Zhou Yang said, literature and art portray life by means of images. And Chairman Mao has reminded us that life as reflected in literature and art ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer to the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life. To serve political purposes, revolutionary literature and art should create characters from real life and help the masses to push history forward.

I think that at present the following problems have to be solved:

1) *The problem of quantity and quality.* Over the past few years many works of literature and art have been produced, but few of them are of satisfactory quality. We have a large contingent of writers and artists today, but their products are not of a high standard. The same theatrical work is performed and imitated everywhere, so the choice becomes very narrow. The same subject matter is written up everywhere, so works differ very little from each other. When a thing is praised in the same words everywhere, there is no raising of standards to speak of. Although we don't have nearly enough literary and art works, the chief problem confronting us to-

day is not quantity but quality. Improving quality calls for painstaking work, and it cannot be done overnight. Not everybody is capable of creating a successful work, and such works do not appear every day. There were not many eminent writers or fine works in the feudal and capitalist societies; of course, we shall have to do better than they. But it is just not possible to have everybody become a writer or a painter, or to have every county produce a Guo Moruo. These slogans are wrong. We must take a dialectical view of the relationship between quantity and quality. In most cases, the increase in quantity predominates over the improvement in quality. Works that can be rated as excellent are always small in number. Still, the number of excellent works is far too small today. In literary and art works, ideological content must be dialectically combined with artistic form. It takes long preparation to produce a fine work. *Socialism is Good* is a very nice song, but its words are too simple. During the years of the Great Revolution many people liked to sing a song called *Down With the Imperialist Powers!* The words to that song are even simpler and sound much like posters and slogans. There are four repeated lines, like this: "Down with the imperialist powers, overthrow the warlords; when the national revolution triumphs, we shall sing to our hearts' content!" This song was composed in 1924. Thirty-seven years have elapsed since then. It would be too bad if our present-day songs remained that simple. The writer who composed the words to *Socialism is Good* need not be upset, for I'm not blaming him. Because of the pressing demand of some leading comrades, he was obliged to finish the words in haste. By contrast, the new song *Surging Waves on Honghu Lake* is now very popular among the people, because it is of better quality, combining revolutionary content with lyricism. People judge things from a critical point of view and make their choices accordingly. We should not press writers too hard for their works. They should be given more time. Theatrical troupes should avoid giving performances too frequently so that the actors will not be overworked but have time to rest.

2) *The problem of raw materials and how to refine them.* Only after a process of refinement can everyday scenes of actual life become works of art. Having gathered the raw material, a writer should do some processing before he turns out a finished product. Writers should pay more attention to refining their material, and so they need more time to do it. If Comrade Mei Lanfang²³⁷ had polish-

ed the opera *Women Generals of the Yang Family*, it could have been even better.

3) *The problem of ideology and professional skill.* Ideology is very important. It is the guide. Our writers and artists should put more effort into ideological study: since you are “engineers of the soul”, your ideological level has to be higher than other people’s. If you don’t raise it, you will not be able to produce fine works. But in addition, you need a thorough grasp of what you are doing. Otherwise, how can you express your ideas? If all you know is politics and you never master your profession, whatever you write is bound to sound like posters and slogans and to lack all appeal. People who only know about politics and are not professionally competent should be transferred to other jobs — in propaganda, for instance. In any event, they should not pass themselves off as artists. Of course, a propagandist too must learn to use clear and vivid language. It is impossible to have a good mastery of professional skills without basic training. An artist must have talent and experience and be highly tempered and trained. Otherwise, he can’t be an artist or a critic. My talk to you today should be regarded as impromptu remarks, not a formal commentary. It’s important for artists to accumulate experience and develop their talents through constant practice and to subject their works to testing by the masses. In our country the state has always paid particular attention to the training and development of artists, and for this reason Chinese artists on tour abroad are often looked upon with envy. Under the superior socialist system, they do have plenty of room to develop their talents. The acclaim they receive from different social circles should spur them on to greater achievements. They must recognize the importance of gaining experience and improving their skills. But these days people don’t dare to talk about talent, experience and skill. The mere mention of skill is liable to be regarded as an expression of bourgeois ideas. This is obviously wrong.

Everyone should strive to be both “red and expert”. Historical research must be combined with theoretical research. Good writers should try to bring truths home to the people. All these things deserve equal attention. Comrade Zhou Yang explained this in detail during a conference held to discuss the editing of textbooks for university students in the liberal arts.

The slogan decrying the “white and expert road” is quite in vogue at the moment, but we aren’t the ones who launched it. Comrade

Nie Rongzhen²³⁸ has insisted that I make some comments about that. What does “white” mean? A person who works heart and soul for socialism on socialist soil but who doesn’t spend much time studying politics should not be called “white”. Only those who declare themselves against socialism are “white”. Take a surgeon for example. He is a good surgeon; he has cured many patients. But he is not very active politically. It is preposterous to castigate him for “taking the white and expert road”. Another example: a man works wholeheartedly for socialism but doesn’t know much about politics, and he has made a big contribution to his country by designing a missile in two years. Another person spouts politics every day, but he has failed to produce a missile after five years. Who’s going to get your vote? Mine would go to the first. The second man can only be asked to go and teach politics. He shouldn’t stay on to work in the institute for weapons research, because he wouldn’t be of any help there, he would only make trouble.

Chairman Mao has made it clear that we do not oppose utilitarianism in general; only, we stand for proletarian utilitarianism. Of the two persons just mentioned, the first is performing a real service for our country. In a sense, he is also contributing to the victorious advance of socialism in the world. It is not good to reject revolutionary utilitarianism in favour of empty talk about politics. Naturally, I consider political study a necessity. The problem is that we must not let it occupy the time needed for upgrading professional skills.

4) *The problem of criticism and discussion.* Criticism of literary and art works must be allowed. Since there is freedom to publish works, there should also be freedom to criticize them and discuss them. Neither criticism nor free discussion should monopolize the literary arena. We encourage criticism and we also encourage free discussion — the contention of a hundred schools of thought. You may pronounce something good and I may say it is not. Both views should be allowed, so long as the debate is carried on within the framework of socialism. If criticism is allowed but not free discussion, people will say it is very easy to be a critic.

V. PRESERVING AND CREATING

Chairman Mao has said we should place more stress on the present than on the past. We believe that each generation surpasses the pre-

ceding one. Historically, the contemporary always surpasses the ancient. However, there are invariably some things from the past that are worth preserving. That is why Chairman Mao urges us to take over the fine things in our cultural legacy and to assimilate whatever is beneficial, “discarding the dross and selecting the essential,” so that our culture will be enriched by each succeeding generation and come into full flower in the future communist society.

In dealing with the relationship between Chinese and foreign things, we should always lay stress on Chinese things because we are Chinese. But we must not close our doors and reject everything foreign. That would be following the doctrine of “back to the ancients”. We should assimilate good foreign things and incorporate them into the culture of our nation. The Chinese nation has always been good at absorbing the best in other cultures. We have taken over ideas from the cultures of India, Korea, Viet Nam, Mongolia, Japan and Western Europe. But we must emphasize our own traditions and, first of all, thoroughly understand our own national heritage before we adopt ideas from abroad. They must be merged with ours and not superimposed.

The Small Dagger Society is a wonderful dance-drama. When it was first staged in Shanghai, none of the women dancers rode on their male partners’ knees when they brandished their bows. But this happened during a later performance in Beijing. Female dancers balancing themselves on the knees of their male counterparts — that would have been inconceivable in the days of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom,²³⁹ it’s not in keeping with the historical setting. A similar case is the recent staging of the opera *The Magic Lotus Lantern*. How can a fairy tale of ancient times be presented that way? Perhaps the choreographers have discovered some historical records to justify their ideas. The same sort of anachronism appears nowadays in the instrumental performance of traditional Chinese music, in which Western tunes are often introduced that are out of keeping with the dominant rhythm and theme. Maybe my ideas on this subject are a bit too conservative. But I am for acquiring a thorough understanding of our national heritage before drawing on foreign ideas and gradually incorporating them into our own. This process should be a chemical combination and not just a physical mixing; we should not simply weld foreign elements onto Chinese things.

In studying ancient Chinese culture and foreign cultures, our purpose should be to assimilate them into our creative work so as to

produce something new. Writers and artists must dare to be original. Maybe the notion of having the female dancers balance on the knees of their male partners is a creative idea on the part of the choreographers. This is something we can debate. My own opinion is that when you try to incorporate in your creative works elements of the culture of old China and of foreign countries, you have to make them fit in with the historical period in question. When writing about people in ancient China, you must not presume that in those days women could have stood on the knees of men. But it is quite different when it comes to portraying contemporary life. It is said that in *Floral Drums and Lanterns*, a dance popular in Anhui Province, female dancers often perform standing on the shoulders of their partners. But I remember that when I was young all the female dancers in this dance were played by men. In the old days, social conventions absolutely prohibited female dancers from standing on men's shoulders. Of course, you are welcome to argue with me about this. I only want to stimulate your interest in discussion.

VI. LEADERSHIP

In the past three years we have scored great achievements, achievements that far outweigh our shortcomings and errors. But how can we correct shortcomings and errors? The answer is by better leadership, by education and by close contact with the masses. To put it briefly, what is needed is investigation and study. Chairman Mao's work method is to investigate and to study. All leaders should apply the same method and be ready to make self-criticisms rather than to blame their subordinates.

A recent statement by Comrade Zhou Yang pleased me very much. He was quite right when he said that the Party's united front work was a responsibility that didn't rest solely with the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee but must also be shared by its Propaganda Department. The Propaganda Department is supposed to keep its door wide open to welcome visitors from all social circles. But it hasn't done that. The proof is that very few people outside the Party come to visit. It is true that united front work is not the exclusive responsibility of the United Front Work Department but the responsibility of the entire Party. Not only the Central

Committee's Propoaganda and Organization departments, but also the State Council's cultural and other ministries must join efforts to build a strong united front. An example in this connection is offered by Chairman Mao, who every year without fail invites Mr. Zhang Shizhao²⁴⁰ to join him in a discussion of educational work. As for myself, I really want to have more talks with Pu Yi.²⁰⁶ Now that he has been set free, we should offer him some kind of job so that he can play a useful role in society. If we can transform the last emperor of feudal China, that will be further testimony to the superiority of the socialist system. Otherwise, why should we have released him?

The correction of shortcomings and errors should begin with the leaders. They should be the first to acknowledge their responsibility and to criticize themselves, because problems generally lie with people in the upper ranks. I hope you will remember to do this on your return. Leaders in literary and art organizations should do some self-criticism. Self-criticism by the leadership will take the burden off people's minds, because they will come to realize that from now on they need only follow the major formulas, not the minor ones. They won't worry any longer that someone is going to find fault with them for no reason, dig up their past records, pin labels on them or attack them unjustly. Thus, all the writers and artists will feel easy in their minds and be active and enterprising in their work, and that will help socialist literature and art to flourish.

But self-criticism alone is not enough: you must also go among the masses. Only when you do that can you find out whether your opinions are correct. What should we do in this regard? Conduct social surveys and investigations. I want to make it clear that we, the leading authorities at the central level, are ready to make self-criticisms. But you, for your part, must not keep us from making investigations. Don't think that no one has the right to inquire about the work you are responsible for. An ancient admonition says that you must kick out anyone who attempts to sleep by your bedside. That would make co-operation impossible. Whatever the problems are, they should be put before the public. In this way, we can get everyone to help: so what's wrong about that? Not everyone should be plunged into investigation and study; that would be disastrous. Preparation should be made and an outline worked out beforehand. People who go to a place to make an investigation should take their grain coupons with them and try to save money. They should seek

truth from facts, instead of going about it aimlessly. Other people's achievements should be affirmed, and problems should be accurately assessed. The situation varies from place to place and from department to department. In some places the entire leadership is wrong; in others a few of the leaders are wrong; and in still others the leadership is entirely correct. We must therefore make our evaluations on the basis of facts and deal with each case on its merits.

What is the purpose of all this? To educate the cadres. Chairman Mao has said that in the past 11 years we were busy with construction and didn't pay enough attention to educating cadres. I have spoken at such length today because I want to explain this question clearly, to create the kind of atmosphere in which everyone dares to speak out. Even if you are not in agreement with others on some questions, you should speak your mind, as long as your words are beneficial to socialism. Say all you know and say it without reserve; do not blame the speaker but be warned by his words; correct mistakes if you have made them and guard against them if you have not. In this way, our cadres will be educated, a healthy atmosphere will prevail, socialist literature and art will flourish and there will be broad scope for creativity.

VII . MODERN DRAMA

Before concluding my remarks I'd like to say a few words about modern drama.

In recent years we have made some headway in the sphere of modern drama, but it still lags behind other art forms. Why? Because we have failed to recognize the basic laws and to pay enough attention to basic training. We used to think modern drama was such a simple, easy affair that anyone could tackle it so long as he was able to speak. In reality, modern drama is a comprehensive art that involves a wide variety of activities, such as writing, acting, stage design, lighting and the use of stage properties. Modern drama stirs people's emotions mainly by means of language, so artistic language is of utmost importance. Some comrades who stage modern drama wanted me to persuade Chairman Mao to come and see their play. I replied that when the lines they spoke in modern drama were no longer like the casual speech of common folk, the Chairman would naturally be very glad to come and enjoy their performance.

The mere ability to speak cannot qualify one as an actor in modern drama. One must also undergo basic training in order to master a wide variety of techniques, including singing and acting. These days, basic training and the fundamental laws of modern drama are universally neglected. Many of our troupes give close to 365 performances a year. Exhausted from such a heavy schedule, the actors and actresses have no time for advanced studies of their art. That is why only a few people are interested in modern drama. To be a good actor one should cultivate a wide range of hobbies, including among other things an interest in instrumental music, chess, calligraphy and painting. In short, one should strive to be versatile. Take the play *Thunderstorm*, for example. If the actors are unfamiliar with life in feudal society, the feudal family they are presenting will look like a family in capitalist society.

Basic training and good mastery of the relevant laws and necessary skills are indispensable for all branches of art. I think that hard study is important not only for actors of modern drama but also for other artists. It requires a lot of time. The Ministry of Culture should work out regulations concerning the proper amount of time to be devoted to it.

Since liberation, we have trained a good number of promising actors, but not enough to meet the demands of future development. Actress Yang Qiuling has impressed the people of Hong Kong so favourably that they call her a young Mei Lanfang. Actually, she still has a long way to go before she will be a match for Mei Lanfang. And unless we grant her sufficient time for study, she will most probably fall back into obscurity in just a few years. We must make sure that the actors we have trained do not stumble and collapse one after the other in mid-career. We should bear in mind that it costs the state a good deal to train such people. Of course, I'm not saying that the principles of economic accounting should be applied to the training of actors. I only want to draw your attention to this problem.

To put it briefly, we must work hard to grasp the fundamental laws of modern drama and devote more effort to basic training. That is the first point I want to make.

Second, a modern drama actor must imagine that there is nobody around when he is performing on the stage. At the same time, however, he must be aware that the audience is seated in front of him. He has to imagine there is no audience, when actually there is. If

an actor is obsessed by the thought that there are a thousand pairs of eyes staring at him, he may get stage fright and fail to do justice to his talents. So he has to ignore the audience. The blackout of the audience in the theatre today is intended to help him do that. However, the actor may go so far as to forget the audience completely. An indication of this is that we sometimes cannot hear what an actor is saying, no matter how hard we strain our ears, because he turns his back to the spectators. He has no idea that he is performing for them and that his voice must be audible. So the actor has to keep the audience in mind.

Third, an actor has to take his work lightly and at the same time seriously. By taking it lightly I mean he should be bold enough to play various roles, both heroes and villains. An adult may play the part of a boy. For example, in *In the Name of the Revolution*, two adult actresses gave wonderfully convincing performances in the two juvenile roles. But to take acting lightly isn't enough; it also has to be taken seriously. The stage occupies only a small space, but it is the focus of attention of several hundred, perhaps several thousand people who are watching your performance. They won't overlook even a slight carelessness on your part. Strategically, make little of a difficulty, but tactically, take it very seriously — this teaching of Chairman Mao's is applicable to work in the theatre.

Fourth, an actor must pay close attention to the character he is playing and try his best to make it lifelike. It is impossible for the actor to turn himself, in every detail, into the very character he is portraying, as the Soviet Stanislavsky recommended. The best you can do is to give a convincing performance. In any event, a serious approach is very important. You must create a vivid likeness of the character you're playing, whether it is the legendary hero Wu Song, or the historical figure Cao Cao. In reality, acting represents the dialectical unity of likeness and unlikeness.

In short, like everything else, art has its objective laws, which need to be studied and explored. It is also important to carefully sum up our experience. I hope that the current meetings will stimulate your interest in studying those laws. But you must be on the alert that you don't just create new patterns that also become stereotypes in their turn.

I am not sure whether everything I've said today is correct. In expressing my opinions, I have only meant to raise some important points for you to focus on in your discussions.

SPEAK THE TRUTH, MAKE GENUINE EFFORTS,
DO REAL WORK AND STRIVE FOR
PRACTICAL RESULTS

February 3, 1962

The purpose of making self-criticisms is to strengthen unity. To this end, it is very important for us to follow Chairman Mao's instructions on the necessity to seek truth from facts, or in other words, to speak the truth, make genuine efforts, do real work and strive for practical results.

In the past few years some bad practices have appeared in our Party's style of conduct. For instance, there has been a tendency to boast and tell lies. It's time we encouraged people to speak the truth. How do we go about it? First of all, the leading authorities themselves must be ready to listen to honest remarks and oppose false statements. As some comrades attending this conference have pointed out, if leading authorities at higher levels impose on subordinate departments and localities tasks that are too heavy for them, the responsible personnel at lower levels will prepare two different versions of a work report and choose the one they think their superiors would prefer to hear. That sort of attitude is indeed a problem in the Party's style of work. If many of our comrades have developed the habit of making false statements and saying only what will please their superiors, how are we any different from the decadent officials of the old society? I was dismayed to learn about the actual situation in some localities as you described it at this conference. Of course, it was wrong of you to send in false reports. But it is we, the central authorities, who should be the first to blame, because we put

Part IV , entitled "The Purpose of Self-Criticism", of a talk given to a discussion group composed of comrades from Fujian Province attending an enlarged working conference held by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

you under heavy pressure. From now on we must stop imposing irrational assignments on subordinate departments and localities and putting labels on them. We must encourage people to speak the truth, and we should listen patiently to what they have to say even if it goes too far. Emperor Li Shimin of the Tang Dynasty was a man who listened willingly to an official by the name of Wei Zheng²⁴¹ who dared to disagree with him. By following the advice of Wei, who told him, "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened," the Emperor succeeded in building the country into a powerful, thriving state. If a feudal emperor could willingly listen to what his subject officials had to say, there is all the more reason for us to listen to the truth, because we are all comrades.

Now let's turn to the question of making genuine efforts. Sometimes seemingly energetic effort is in fact only a pretence. Take the two factories you were talking about. One of them was described as idle and inactive, when in fact the workers there were concentrating on their jobs and working hard. The other factory was described as a bustling enterprise operating in high gear, while actually the people there were only putting on a show of energetic activity. Such misjudgements are due to a vulgar interpretation of Chairman Mao's instructions. It is true that Chairman Mao called on us to go all out and aim high. This is because there are attainable heights, and we must try our utmost to scale them. But we need to tailor our subjective endeavours to the objective possibilities. We welcome genuine efforts, but not phony ones. When you say you are putting out all your strength, your statement should be true to fact. In some cases the efforts are spurious. For instance, in certain enterprises and localities the leading members called on the rank and file to work around the clock for days on end, even without a rest on New Year's Day. However, the fact was that people applied themselves to their jobs only when their superiors were around urging them on. As soon as the leaders left, the workers relaxed and went home, as usual, for rest and New Year's festivities.

We should do real work — that's the way to achieve practical results. On the other hand, compulsion produces nothing of real value. In recent years *People's Daily* has publicized quite a few inappropriate slogans, such as "haul down the white flag".²⁴² Now, it has made a self-criticism in this respect. When attending meetings over the past few years, I have personally announced the award of quite a number of certificates of merit. If any of you have received

awards you didn't deserve, I suggest you just throw the certificates away. For the good of the people, we must do real work to achieve practical results.

Speak the truth, make genuine efforts, do real work and strive for practical results — all these can be boiled down to one precept: seek truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong has made a new interpretation of this old saying, which has come to represent one of his principal tenets. Although it is very terse phrase, it is rich in meaning. What is the best way to put it into practice? The first thing is to conduct detailed investigations and studies. But it's not easy to make social investigations, because the tendency towards boasting and exaggeration has prevailed for four consecutive years, and it's hard to reverse it all at once. Last year Comrade Shaoqi took a trip to his hometown in Hunan Province. During the first days of his stay there, the country folk didn't dare to tell him the truth about the local situation, because some officials wanted them to cover up the real state of affairs. I myself also went to a place to make a social survey. Before going there myself I sent some comrades from my office. Later on we found out that the information and data that had been provided to us were still at variance with the actual situation there.

If you want the masses to tell you what is really going on, you must treat them as your equals. During the war years we had a very close relationship with them, because we lived together and mingled with them. But things are different today. Take my participation in your group discussions, for instance. The moment I entered your meeting room, you all stood up to applaud me. Although that made me rather uncomfortable, I thought it would be embarrassing to stop you. It pleased me very much that you didn't clap when I arrived here yesterday afternoon. With such formalities as applause, you and I are no longer close to each other, and we are not colleagues on the same footing but are separated by a kind of barrier. Even though the barrier is not so thick as a wall but as thin as a piece of paper, it is a barrier all the same. You are all veteran fighters, having joined the revolution at least a dozen or 20 years ago. So why is there this estrangement between us? I am afraid it may be because — a far cry from the days of the revolutionary base areas — we have now gained control of the whole vast country and become high officials. And it is this consideration that made me uneasy when you greeted me with applause. We must make up our minds to change

this state of affairs. To sum up, to make successful social investigations we have to maintain close contacts with the masses.

We should carry forward our democratic traditions, that is, restore and promote the tradition of normal, democratic life throughout the Party. The reason we won many victories in the war years was that a democratic atmosphere prevailed in our army. This was particularly true during the War of Liberation (1946-49), when our armed forces were engaged in military campaigns of an unprecedented scale. At that time army units at the company level were encouraged to discuss the tactics planned for a battle and express their opinions about the military operations. This democratic discussion of military affairs by the rank and file was initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong, and it was also a summation of the experience of our army units as a whole. If democracy can be widely practised among army units, why can't it be so in our Party organizations? I think we should act according to the provisions of the Party Constitution.

During the Seventh National Party Congress Comrade Shaoqi delivered a report on the revision of the Party Constitution. Comrade Xiaoping made a similar report at the Eighth National Congress. Both reports called attention to problems concerning the democratic life of the Party. But in the past few years some comrades have simply ignored those problems. Of course, sometimes it was the central departments which gave the wrong lead. A case in point is the holding of meetings by means of telephone conference calls. This practice was imitated by departments at lower levels, one after another down to the grass roots. Since it's not possible to have democratic discussion during a telephone conference, it turned out that authorities at a higher level just imposed orders on those at a lower level. Obviously this is an unsound practice. Inner-Party democracy has been stressed by Comrades Shaoqi and Xiaoping in their reports on the revision of the Party Constitution. Can we castigate people at will and without justification? No! Nor can we allow people to be dismissed from office or expelled from the Party without good reason, or to be arrested arbitrarily or beaten up. Of course, there are cases of violations of law and breaches of discipline which fall outside the purview of inner-Party democracy and which must be dealt with according to the laws of the state.

We should take immediate measures to ensure the rapid restoration of democratic procedure in the Party and a wider dissemination of Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas on Party building. Furthermore,

we must see to it that the Party's fine traditions and good style of work, which seem to have been forgotten, are fully restored. There must be regular democratic activities in our Party, and we should always seek truth from facts and act according to the requirements of the Party Constitution.

ON THE QUESTION OF INTELLECTUALS

March 2, 1962

In recent years, particularly the last two, you comrades who are engaged in scientific research and in play writing have been very industrious and hardworking. Although there are shortages of daily necessities, your working conditions are far from perfect and you may sometimes feel discouraged, you have still achieved remarkable successes, for which you deserve to be congratulated. I, in particular, should like to salute you all.

It is a great pleasure for me to have this chance today to meet and talk with you — the senior and most accomplished scientists and playwrights of our country. Since time is limited, I shall only discuss one question: intellectuals. This is a question that involves me personally, because I too come from an intellectual background. And talking about it, I shall feel closer to you.

I. DEFINITION AND ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS

Party cadres often give different explanations of this subject, and the intellectuals themselves feel perplexed. I'm going to try to give you an initial explanation, but I can't promise that everything I'm going to say is valid. I shall correct my opinions if they are inappropriate.

Speech to the delegates to the National Conference on Science and the National Conference of Playwrights held in Guangzhou. In his Report on the Work of the Government delivered at the Third Session of the Second National People's Congress on March 27 and 28, 1962, Comrade Zhou Enlai further elucidated the role of Chinese intellectuals in the socialist period and explicitly affirmed that the overwhelming majority of them were "part of the working people".

Intellectuals are not an independent class but a social stratum composed of mental workers. Generally speaking, under given social conditions, most members of this stratum have been subordinated to the ruling class in the society and have served that class. In the slave society they served the slave-owners, in feudal society the landlord class, and in capitalist society the bourgeoisie. When the exploiting class occupied the ruling position, most of the intellectuals came from families of that class, and only a few came from families of working people, because only the members of the exploiting class could afford to acquire general knowledge and higher learning. Usually, most intellectuals at that time readily accepted and spread the concepts of the exploiting class and the dominant ideology. In the slave, feudal and capitalist societies, although naive materialism existed, idealism always prevailed. In the old society there were a small number of intellectuals who could see the truth before others, dared to resist the dark rule and oppression by the reactionary class, spoke for the rising, progressive class and became revolutionaries. Marx, Engels and Lenin all lived in capitalist society and were all intellectuals who dared to oppose the ruling class, joined the ranks of the new class and spoke for this class. They forsook their original class and became members of the progressive class. In Europe during the Renaissance and in China during the period from the Opium War¹²⁹ to the 1911 Revolution,⁶⁶ there were some progressive intellectuals who spread new ideas and new schools of thought, but they were all persecuted by the reactionary ruling classes and discriminated against and oppressed by reactionary intellectuals. Only under the socialist system, in which the working people hold the dominant position, can intellectuals change over and serve the people. On the one hand, the old intellectuals have been remoulded, and on the other, new intellectuals are being trained; together these two groups constitute the socialist intelligentsia. At present there is still a three-way disparity among the workers, peasants and intellectuals. In the future communist society, when classes and parties are abolished and the difference between mental and manual workers eliminated, this disparity will disappear.

What I have said so far is general remarks that apply to all stages in the history of social development.

The later period of capitalism saw the emergence of colonialism and the dominance of imperialism, and many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were reduced to the status of colonies or semi-

colonies. The intellectuals in this vast area had very different characteristics from the intellectuals in the imperialist countries. Taking the stand of their respective nations, the majority of them opposed the colonialists and the native traitors, the renegades and the lackeys nurtured directly or indirectly by the imperialists, and became patriotic or revolutionary intellectuals. Even the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie, who were subjected to bullying and oppression by the imperialists, eventually came over to the anti-imperialist, patriotic side. So Chairman Mao said time and again that we should unite with over 90 per cent of the people throughout the world to fight imperialism. Specifically, these people are workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, progressive members of the national bourgeoisie and progressive democrats (some of whom even have a feudal class background). The intellectuals in contemporary China are part of this particular category.

II. THE PROCESS OF GROWTH OF INTELLECTUALS IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

When did intellectuals first appear in China? This question, which takes us back to remote antiquity, to the slave society, is one that should be examined by our revered Guo Moruo,²⁴³ Fan Wenlan²⁴⁴ and other historians. I shall only talk about the growth of intellectuals in contemporary China.

1. There is no doubt that the intellectuals from the old society have been influenced in various ways by the imperialists and the reactionary ruling class. I am one of them. I come from a feudal family, and when I was a child I wore my hair in a braid. Man's social being determines his thinking. How could we avoid such influences?

2. Although we didn't work directly for the northern warlords⁶ or for the Kuomintang, we did serve the old society. So we cannot say we were not influenced by the old society.

3. We all received a bourgeois education, and some of us were even nurtured on feudal culture. For example, some of us studied in old-style private schools, prostrated ourselves before the memorial tablet honouring "Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestor and Teacher",²⁴⁵ made kowtows and were punished by being beaten on the palms or

forced to kneel. That was feudal education. However, we did receive a little benefit from it: we still remember some of the ancient poems and words of Confucius that we learned then. After liberation I went back to Tianjin and visited the Nankai Middle School where I had studied. The first thing I said was, "I received a bourgeois education here but I'm still grateful for it, because I gained some enlightenment from it at the time." It would not be right to say that there was absolutely nothing good about bourgeois education; it did throw some light on my thinking. That is a more comprehensive way of looking at things.

The three points just mentioned constitute the "roots" of the intellectuals from the old society, roots which cannot be denied.

Again, take me for example. Someone once asked me where I came from. I said that my ancestral home was in Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, but that I was born in Huai'an. Why did I give such a long answer? Because my brothers and cousins (on the paternal side) are all natives of Shaoxing. So I must say my original home is in Shaoxing. Otherwise, I should be suspected of trying to break off this relation. I was born in Huai'an. My paternal grandfather had served as a magistrate of that county and my maternal grandfather as a magistrate of Huaiyin County. I still have relatives in Huai'an now. If I hadn't said I was born in Huai'an, I could not have clearly explained my historical relations with them. One should explain clearly his historical relations, and there is no harm in doing so. No matter who you are now, your past record cannot be erased. Having been tempered in the revolution, I am of course no longer a bourgeois intellectual but a revolutionary one. Nevertheless, when I write down my past record, I cannot suppress the fact that I used to be a bourgeois intellectual. Chairman Mao is very displeased about some biographies of him, which say that when he was a child he was a prodigy and knew everything. He said that when he was very young he used to burn joss sticks before idols. When I was a child I worshipped Buddha, and later I believed in anarchism.²⁴⁶ During the May 4th Movement of 1919³⁷ we organized the Awakening Society.²⁴⁷ Many years later someone asked Deng Yingchao²⁴⁸ if the Society had been a communist group. She replied that it could not be called a communist group, that it was simply an organization for the study of new trends of thought. Some members of our Society studied anarchism, others worked on guild socialism²⁴⁹ and still others explored communism. Later, many of them joined the Communist Youth

League or the Communist Party. As young people today don't know these things, they think we are too modest on the subject. As a matter of fact, history keeps developing, and so does a person. When I was in France in 1920 I was interested in Fabian socialism.²⁵⁰ But soon I got over it. I have to thank Liu Qingyang²⁵¹ and Zhang Shenfu,²⁵² both of whom recommended that I be admitted into the Communist Party. Zhang Shenfu had an eclectic turn of mind and was fascinated by the philosophy of Bertrand Russell.²⁵³ He wanted to combine the thinking of Confucius, Russell, Marx, Freud and Einstein into one system.

In short, there is a fact we must admit, namely, that all of us come from the old society and that no matter who we are now, we were all bourgeois intellectuals in the past.

On the other hand — and this is much more important — we should recognize that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals in old China suffered under the oppressive rule of the imperialists, feudalists and bureaucrat-capitalists. That is why some of them joined the ranks of the revolution and others were sympathetic towards it. Most of them, in the beginning, stood aside to watch the revolution and took a neutral position, and later gradually inclined to the cause. There were only a few counter-revolutionary intellectuals. Those who directly served the Qing Court, the northern warlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries in their oppression of the people were in a tiny minority. This was true both in the period from the Opium War to the Revolution of 1911 and in the period from the old-democratic revolution to the new-democratic revolution. In the 120 years since the Opium War facts have shown that the intellectuals who worked for the imperialists and the feudal and bureaucrat-capitalist classes got nowhere. Pu Jie²⁰⁵ used to study in Japan. What did he accomplish? It is in New China that he has been reformed and become useful to the people and the society. His uncle Zai Tao²¹⁰ had served as a minister advising on military affairs. He is much more useful as a deputy to the National People's Congress, because he can work for the people now. Among us here, there are people who passed the imperial examination at different levels. Our revered Shen Hengshan²⁵⁴ was a *jinshi* [a successful candidate in the highest imperial examination — *Tr.*], our revered Huang Renzhi⁷¹ was a *juren* [a successful candidate in the imperial examination at the provincial level — *Tr.*], our revered Dong Biwu²⁵⁵ a *xiucai* [a successful candidate at the county level — *Tr.*], and our revered Chen

Shutong¹³⁵ was a *hanlin* [member of the Imperial Academy — *Tr.*]. They all wanted to make contributions to the country, but that was impossible. What could they do? Li Genyuan²⁵⁶ was my “counterpart” — he was Prime Minister in the northern warlord period. What useful things did he do for the country? Weng Wenhao,⁵⁷ President of the Executive Yuan in the Kuomintang regime, has come back from abroad. He is a senior intellectual, but did he accomplish anything by following the Kuomintang? Hu Shi,²⁵⁷ who was dead set on working for the U.S. imperialists, accomplished nothing to the last minute of his life. On the contrary, history proves that the only solution for intellectuals is to advance with the proletariat, the working people and the Communist Party. This truth is also borne out by the facts in the periods of revolution and socialist construction.

Whether before or after liberation, we have always regarded intellectuals as members of the revolutionary alliance and a part of the people. Before liberation this attitude was elucidated by Chairman Mao in his essay “On Coalition Government”. After liberation it was again explained by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in his speech at the First Session of the Party’s Eighth National Congress in 1956. He said: “The proletariat can establish the dictatorship of the great majority over the reactionary classes only by entering into an alliance with the masses of people who are capable of embracing socialism.” We unite with the overwhelming majority of the people, practise centralism on the basis of democracy and enforce a dictatorship of the majority over the minority. The people’s democratic dictatorship differs from the dictatorship of the minority over the majority, of the exploiting class over the working people, enforced in capitalist, feudal and slave societies. In his speech Comrade Liu Shaoqi quoted Lenin, who said: “The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata, ... an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism.”²³⁸ In explaining the term “non-proletarian strata of the working people”, Lenin included the intellectuals. The alliance he referred to is an alliance of the proletariat with other working people. In China we expand the alliance to include the national bourgeoisie. Since China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, and since its task was to struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, it was necessary to

establish a political alliance with the national bourgeoisie. This is an alliance of the proletariat with the non-working people. It is our strategic principle and long-term task to maintain these two kinds of alliances which will play a role in our united front for a long time to come. This is the key to our evaluation of intellectuals. Many cadres in our Party often overlook this point, and they are unable to explain it clearly. In accordance with the principle of allying with both other working people and non-working people, the proletariat sets itself a task of remoulding.

1. The proletariat must first remould itself. No one under the sun is perfect. A person's political awareness is gradually heightened and his understanding of the objective world keeps expanding. So everyone should keep remoulding himself. The proletariat has its own class nature — it is militant in the face of exploitation and oppression and advanced in ideas. But if it wants to be a class with high political consciousness, fighting capacity and a strong sense of organization, it still needs to remould itself. Living together with the bourgeoisie in the same society, the proletariat cannot escape the influence of bourgeois ideology and force of habit as well as feudal ideology. The proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, should therefore strive constantly to eliminate the influence of non-proletarian thinking and to get rid of old ideas. Only those who can remould themselves are able to help remould others. In the rectification movement in Yan'an,¹⁴ Chairman Mao first asked Party members to study and remould themselves first.

2. The principle of unity, education and remoulding adopted by the proletariat with regard to other working people applies mainly to the peasants and to the intellectuals from the old society. What should they remould? They should remould their non-proletarian ideology and force of habit, so that they will accept the proletarian ideology and viewpoint. The peasants should resist the influence of the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside, and the intellectuals should get rid of their bourgeois ideology and force of habit. Thus, they will be able to work with the proletariat for socialism, and for communism in the future.

3. The proletariat unites with the national bourgeoisie and at the same time struggles against it. Economically, we apply a policy of utilizing, restricting and remoulding capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises, in order to make use of their positive aspects, which are beneficial to the national economy and the people's life,

and at the same time to restrict their negative aspects, which are not. First we introduce a system of placing state orders with private enterprises for processing and manufacturing; then we institute a system for fixing both the value of their assets and the rate of interest¹¹³ for the assets; and finally we intend to abolish that interest and to eliminate the economic base of the bourgeoisie. Politically and ideologically, we shall help the members of the bourgeoisie to change their class stand and viewpoint, which is a long-term undertaking. Our aim is to help them become socialist-minded people of a new type. Of course, the national bourgeoisie is our ally too, but the alliance is of a different category.

To sum up, in remoulding the other working people and the non-working people, the proletariat aims ultimately to eliminate classes and strata. Only in this way can we realize communism. By that time, the difference between workers and peasants and between manual and mental work will have disappeared. But this will take a considerably long time, in which many stages will have to be gone through.

The nature of the contradictions in the two alliances differs: there is no antagonistic contradiction between the proletariat and the other working people, but there is an antagonistic side to the contradiction between the proletariat and the non-working people. The proletariat will overthrow the bourgeoisie, so the contradiction between them is necessarily antagonistic. Nevertheless, instead of confiscating property to change capitalist ownership, we have adopted a policy of redeeming it. So far as the peasants are concerned, we gradually guide them from private ownership to collective ownership, because the contradiction between us is not antagonistic. It will take a long time to resolve this kind of contradiction, and during the process we have to persuade and educate them, set them examples and raise their political consciousness. Similarly, it will also take a long time for manual workers and mental workers to learn from each other and draw closer and finally eliminate the disparity between them on the basis of economic growth. From this analysis it can be seen that our alliance with the intellectuals is essentially different from our alliance with the national bourgeoisie.

Since the Chinese intellectuals have gone through the growth process I have described, they also have a dual character. On the one hand, they are mental workers and can serve the people; on the other, they are tied to the old society in a hundred and one ways. It is

therefore both possible and necessary for the Party and the government to adopt a policy of uniting with them, educating them and remoulding them. It is likewise both possible and necessary for the intellectuals to cast off the influence of the old society and meet the requirements of the new. That is why we say that this fundamental policy of the Party and the government towards intellectuals is also a fundamental task of the intellectuals themselves.

In accordance with that policy and with that task of self-remoulding, the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals have been fundamentally converted, and they have made great progress over the past 12 years. In 1956 I made a report on the question of intellectuals, in which I made a preliminary analysis of their situation. At the First Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress held in 1956, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said that "the intellectuals, who have changed their outlook, are now organized as a force in the service of socialism". Chairman Mao's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" was made at a supreme state conference held on February 27, 1957, but it was not published until June of that year, by which time the Rightists had begun to attack the Party.²³² Still, that did not change his analysis. He said: "Most of our intellectuals have made marked progress during the last seven years. They have shown they are in favour of the socialist system. Many are diligently studying Marxism, and some have become Communists. The latter, though at present small in number, are steadily increasing. Of course, there are still some intellectuals who are sceptical about socialism or do not approve of it, but they are a minority." This estimate of intellectuals is very clear.

Since 1957 the intellectuals have been tempered and tested. Particularly in the last two years, with the exception of a small number of reactionaries, everyone throughout the country has passed the test. On the one hand, we have scored great achievements in construction; on the other, there have been some deviations and mistakes in our work. In addition, the natural disasters in the countryside over the past three years have caused a reduction in the output of grain and cash crops. Industrial production in the cities has also dropped a little, and the supply of goods on the market has been insufficient. This has led to price rises and a reduction of real wages. This state of affairs will continue for a period of time. Like workers and peasants, the majority of our intellectuals have stood the test. But we cannot say that there is anyone who has no complaints about this situa-

tion. Complaints are justifiable, and many people who make criticism proceed from concern, hoping that things will change for the better. There are only a few people who take pleasure in the difficulties we meet. The workers and peasants and most intellectuals love our motherland. I have read all the bulletins of the current conference on science, and I know from them that you have been working hard, overcoming difficulties in your daily life and showing great restraint even when you feel frustrated. We are deeply moved by your love for the country. That is the pride of Chinese intellectuals! The Chinese people went through years of suffering. Some people sitting here today experienced several regimes before liberation. They have seen the emancipation of the nation and the triumph of the people, they have taken part in socialist construction and weathered difficulties, and they have full confidence in the future.

From your bulletins I also know that you have offered us some well-meaning criticisms, which cannot but make me happy. Thanks to some 10 years' efforts, the contingent of intellectuals has expanded. The intellectuals of the old generation have trained a number of younger ones who have become a new force in the fields of culture, education, medicine and others. "When you drink water, think of its source." We own this achievement to the political and ideological work of the Party and to the joint efforts of the intellectuals themselves. The maturity of the young people is attributable to the training the old people have given them, and this truth should be made clear to the young. It is quite easy to find fault with old intellectuals, but we should see their principal aspect, recognizing that both the old and the young have their strong points. For example, I may not speak as fluently as young people do, but I have a deeper understanding and more experience than they have. While both old and young intellectuals are required to respect each other, the young should be taught to respect the old first. Many of the old intellectuals are diligently studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and some have joined the Party. This is very gratifying.

However, for the last 12 years, there have always been a small number of people who are sceptical about socialism or do not approve of it, and there will still be such people in future. They maintain the stand of bourgeois intellectuals and refuse to remould themselves, and some even carry on anti-socialist activities. Such people are bourgeois intellectuals or Rightists. Chairman Mao once said to the leaders of democratic parties that the economic base of capitalism had been

destroyed. "With the skin gone, to what can the hair attach itself?" So the bourgeois intellectuals should not hold aloof in mid-air, but come down to the side of the proletariat and recognize the leadership of the Communist Party. That was the only way out for them. All these remarks, which were intended for certain people, were made around May Day of 1957. But in June of that year the Rightists launched their attack on the Party. It was necessary to counter-attack, but that did not shake the Party's fundamental policy and strategy towards intellectuals during the entire historical period or change the alliance of the proletariat with other working people. Some people in our Party don't understand this clearly.

Just as in our Party, so also among intellectuals there is a Left, Middle and Right. The same is true of any other party or social organization. This is a law and an objective reality. The Left, the Middle and the Right — that is to say, the progressives, the middle-of-the-roaders and the conservatives — may change into one another: the conservatives may move to a progressive or middle position and vice versa. It is not right, however, to divide people into the Left, the Middle and the Right as is done in some departments and organizations. No one's ideology is immutable — people tend to change their political views and positions. Different views on certain questions, particularly in the fields of science and production should not be regarded as political or ideological deviation, still less be classified as Left, Middle or Right. In construction work, for instance, a high target was for some time regarded as correct and a low one as conservative. That was wrong. The present target for the output of steel is under 10 million tons, which is not conservative or Right-deviationist, because such a target will enable us to do solid work and serve construction better. We shall set a higher target if we can fulfil it; but if we can't, we shall set a lower one. The target, whether high or low, should not be taken as a political dividing line.

Even those few intellectuals who keep to the bourgeois stand will still be included in our political alliance, and we shall still try to educate them so long as they don't carry on activities against the Party and socialism. Those who take part in such activities will be treated in a different way, because they are counter-revolutionaries and violate the law. As for the Rightists, we shall assign jobs to them and let them stay in the united front. There are some Rightists who are still working in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. We shall unite the overwhelming majority of the peo-

ple, helping those who are willing to remould and isolating those who refuse to do so.

This is what we should understand about the growth process of Chinese intellectuals. The Party doesn't underestimate the role of the intellectuals, and its policies are clear. The intellectuals themselves should have a clear awareness of their role.

III. HOW TO UNITE WITH INTELLECTUALS

In his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" Chairman Mao said the following: "China needs the services of as many intellectuals as possible for the colossal task of building socialism. We should trust those who are really willing to serve the cause of socialism and should radically improve our relations with them and help them solve the problems requiring solution, so that they can give full play to their talents. Many of our comrades are not good at uniting with intellectuals. They are stiff in their attitude towards them, lack respect for their work and interfere in certain scientific and cultural matters where interference is unwarranted. We must do away with all such shortcomings." As things stand now, these words of Chairman Mao's still pinpoint the weaknesses of our work and still hold true. In uniting with the intellectuals, we should act in accordance with these words.

First of all, I want to discuss whether our Party can lead the work in all fields. Since 1957 the Party has further defined its leadership of scientific and cultural work. The intellectuals have recognized and accepted that leadership. This is a triumph of the Party and the people, and it does honour to the intellectuals themselves. It must be affirmed that the Party should and can lead everything. The questions now are: How is it to lead everything? And what does "everything" mean? These questions are being dealt with step by step. We have put forth Fourteen Suggestions on Scientific Work²⁵⁹ and formulated Sixty Articles on Work in Institutions of Higher Learning,²⁶⁰ and Seventy Articles on Industrial and Mining Enterprises.²⁶¹ We have also drafted several proposals on work in literature and art.²⁶² There are different ideas about how the Party should exercise leadership. To deal with this question we must work out a

set of measures, under the leadership of the Central Committee, and solicit opinions from our friends outside the Party.

Now I want to talk about some questions concerning the Party's leadership.

First, the range of activities within the Party's leadership. By the leadership of the Party over everything, we mean that the Party should be responsible for major principles, policies and plans, that it should give guidance to the general work of all departments, and not that it should be in charge of every detail. As for their specific work, the Party should not interfere in it. They are familiar with that work and therefore should be trusted. If they fail to do a good job of it, the Party committees in the units can conduct investigations or make criticisms, which however may not all be correct. If the Party committees take responsibility for everything, such as distributing theatre tickets or directing operas, they are bound to be too busy to pay attention to major issues. The more small powers they keep in their hands, the further removed they will be from overall authority, and the more likely they are to become bureaucratic organs bogged down in routine matters.

Second, the Party's leadership is not leadership by an individual Party member. The Party is a collective, an organization, and its leadership is organizational, not individual. How can an individual Party member exercise leadership? And how can a Party member in a particular unit claim that he represents the leadership of the Party? In the Party Constitution, Party members are granted no such right, and actually none of them has such ability. Young Party members in particular should learn from the experienced intellectuals. When we were making revolution in Guangzhou, we were young and arrogant. So we sometimes gave arbitrary orders. This bad style of work should not be imitated. Instead, we should master Chairman Mao's good style of work, that is, making investigations and studies and acting in the light of actual conditions. No individual, no matter who he is, is entitled to lead everything. If I were transferred to a theatrical troupe, I would be a poor actor, although I have acted in a few plays. So how could I lead the actors? What I should do is learn from them with an open mind. When we go to the lower-level units, the thing we are most afraid of is to be asked to give instructions. There are some Party members who, when they are asked to give "instructions", at once assume the posture of a superior and issue orders as if they were really the boss. These kinds of people are the

worst bureaucrats. Party members should treat people equally; only then do they deserve to be called true servants of the people, and not bureaucrats.

Third, the functions and powers of Party committees at higher levels should differ from those of Party committees at lower levels. In a school, for example, the Party's leadership means leadership by the Party committee of that school. However, there are some problems that the committee is unable to solve; it has to ask the higher committee for a decision. As for Party branches, such as branches in departments, troupes and workshops, their function is to guarantee the success of the work and to provide supervision, not to command. It is the heads of the administration who give orders.

Fourth, the leadership of a Party committee should be leadership by a collective, not by an individual Party secretary. The secretary has no right to decide anything without prior discussion by the committee. Administrative matters should be dealt with by the administrative departments, and there is no need for the secretary to interfere.

Fifth, laymen should lead experts only in a limited sphere. When we said before that laymen could lead experts, we meant that the secretary or the members of a Party committee could provide guidance on political, ideological and organizational aspects of the work. They do not have much professional knowledge, but they can transcend the limits of professional sphere, view the overall situation and, through collective discussions, make decisions to implement the principles and policies of the Party or the directives of the Party committees at a higher level. The leadership of experts by laymen does not mean that laymen should interfere in the professional work of experts, because they are really ignorant of that kind of work. Laymen can become knowledgeable through study. Even so, they must still respect the experts and value the opinions of the masses. Some comrades hold that in scientific research we must follow the mass line, not launch a mass movement. This is correct. Scientific research cannot be conducted on a crash basis or through a mass movement.

On the question of how to treat intellectuals, I think there are six things we have to do.

First, trust them. Our Party should trust intellectuals because they recognize and follow its leadership and are willing to serve socialism and remould themselves. If we have faith in them, they will

have faith in us. That's the only way we can work together on the basis of unity.

Second, help them. Our Party should assist intellectuals to improve their living conditions. It will be good for our work if we sincerely try to help them.

Third, improve our relations with them. If we have bad relations with intellectuals, we should make them better. It is the Party committees and members who should make the first move. They should not just blame intellectuals but should criticize themselves first, for self-criticism will arouse the sympathy of the intellectuals. People who have made mistakes in implementing the Party's specific policies should make self-criticisms. Party members and organizations must carry out the Party's policy of uniting with intellectuals.

Some terms are not used appropriately in the Party, and every time I see them I feel uneasy. For example, in some registers there are separate columns headed "Party members" and "masses". Actually, these two terms are not of the same order of ideas. The corresponding terms are "Party members" and "non-Party members", because Party members, including leading cadres, are part of the masses and can never place themselves above the masses. Classifying people as either "Party members" or "masses" makes the former separate from and higher than the latter. The reasons we lapse into bureaucratism are that on the one hand we are bogged down in routine work and are divorced from the masses, and that on the other hand other people try to cut us off from the people. We feel bad about this. We hope that the leading comrades will strengthen their political consciousness, not place themselves outside the masses and try to avoid being cut off.

Fourth, solve their problems. If we don't do that, intellectuals will feel that we are not sincere. The problems that can be solved we must solve. At present there are too many problems for us to deal with all at once. The conference on science has issued nearly 50 bulletins, and some problems raised in them cannot be solved right away. However, we should bear these problems in mind and try to find solutions for them step by step.

Fifth, admit that we have made mistakes in the past. During the conferences some correct criticisms have been made of the relations between Party members and non-Party people, between the leaders and the led and between superiors and subordinates and also of the poor co-operation between various departments. Leading cadres at

all levels should honestly acknowledge their errors and act in accordance with the principle of correcting mistakes if you have made any and guarding against them if you have not. Those who have criticized people wrongly, excessively or too often should apologize to the persons concerned. I have made an apology in the Party. And now I shall take this opportunity to make a general apology.

Sixth, put our errors right after acknowledging them. It is empty talk to acknowledge an error but never correct it. Real action must be taken to remedy all the mistakes made by the Party and the government.

We must do a good job in these six respects.

IV. SELF-REMOULDING OF INTELLECTUALS

1. Everyone, including Party members, should remould himself. But the remoulding varies in degree and nature. The remoulding of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and had elements is compulsory. This is different from the remoulding of the people which is carried out through work, production and study. The remoulding of the people varies from case to case only in degree, not in nature. Those who are tainted with more old ideas will need to devote more energy to the task. The purpose is to get rid of bad influences.

2. Ideological remoulding is a long-term task. It will take time for intellectuals to change their bourgeois world outlook into a proletarian one. First they love their country, then they are willing to serve socialist construction and last they accept the leadership of the Party and gradually change their old stand and ideology. Even those comrades who have long been tempered within the Party may not have a firm proletarian world outlook yet.

3. The remoulding should be voluntary. The degree of self-remoulding depends mainly on the degree of the person's willingness.

4. The remoulding must not be conducted roughly, but in the manner of "a gentle breeze and a mild rain". Only thus will the intellectuals be easy in their minds and willing to learn. To educate them we should not lecture at them in large classes, which they detest, but have heart-to-heart talks with them individually.

5. In the course of remoulding, we should help and learn from each other. There is no one whose job it is to remould others. Ac-

tually, those who consider themselves leaders or remoulders need to remould themselves first. We should loudly appeal to them: "Please remould yourselves first!" No Communist is perfect in every way and knows everything. There is a limit to one's life, but no limit to acquiring knowledge. One cannot complete the tasks of learning and self-remoulding in a lifetime. To help intellectuals, Party members should first learn from their strong points.

6. There has never been anyone in the world who had no shortcomings. And there never will be. Contradictions always exist in everything, and it is contradictions that promote the development of things. If things stop developing, they perish.

The aim of self-remoulding is to make progress, so it is an honourable thing. Now you feel aggrieved, and this is our fault because we haven't done our work well and given you enough help. We shall try to remedy this. Chairman Mao has said that our aim is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. In scientific, literary and artistic fields, it is the achievements that have been primary. I hope that our work in these fields will constantly improve so that we may score even greater successes.

READJUSTMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND OUR CURRENT TASKS

March 28, 1962

During the second half of 1960 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party advanced a fundamental policy for the development of the national economy. It is a policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling in gaps and raising standards, with emphasis on readjustment. Under present circumstances, this policy is the one best suited to implementing the Party's general line for socialist construction,²⁶³ which is to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. It is a forward-looking policy that takes into consideration not only the current specific circumstances but also the nation's long-term interests. It covers the readjustment of a wide range of relationships. Chief among these are the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, between production and capital construction, between economic growth and the development of culture, education and national defence, between accumulation and consumption, and between financial resources, credits and supplies of materials. This policy also calls upon economic, cultural and educational departments to carry out necessary readjustments within their own establishments.

After a period of enormous development, it is essential for us to make an all-round readjustment of our socialist construction. Imbalances have occurred in many areas during the rapid progress of the past few years. In order to correct these imbalances, consolidate our achievements and pave the way for further vigorous development, we need to spend a long time — several years, perhaps — making a wide-ranging readjustment of the economy by taking measures to

Section II of the part entitled "The Domestic Situation and Our Tasks" in Zhou Enlai's Report on the Work of the Government delivered at the Third Session of the Second National People's Congress.

achieve a balanced development in all fields and working out proper arrangements for all kinds of undertakings.

The central task in our current efforts to readjust the economy is to revitalize and expand agricultural production. The decline in agricultural production is the chief factor responsible for the imbalances in the economy. Unless we revitalize and develop agriculture, there can be no proportionate economic development. Experience over the years has fully demonstrated that in our country, the development of the economy must be based on agriculture, with industry playing the leading role. Vast areas of the country are devoted to agriculture and still the production level has remained very low. Under these circumstances, industrial development is sure to be held back by the weakness of agriculture. In other words, industry cannot develop beyond the possibilities provided by agriculture in terms of necessary supplies of marketable grain, industrial raw materials and other kinds of farm and sideline products. Nor can industrial enterprises recruit too much of the labour force that is needed by agriculture. Only when agricultural production has attained a high level will conditions be favourable for the development of industry. For this reason, we should fully arouse the peasants' enthusiasm for production, improve farming conditions, invest more funds in agriculture and call on various quarters, especially departments of heavy industry, to provide agricultural production with more effective aid. These measures will stimulate agricultural productivity, resulting in a steady increase in output. To this end, we must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, place agriculture at the top of the agenda in our drive to develop the economy and draw up economic programmes in the following order of priority: agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Heavy industry must provide agriculture with an increasing supply of farm implements, machinery, chemical fertilizers, lumber and fuel to enhance productivity. In this way, agriculture will be able to provide industrial enterprises and urban residents with more and more grain, raw materials and other farm and sideline products. Departments of light industry should do their best to provide increasing amounts of daily necessities to people in rural areas, thereby promoting economic exchange between town and country, improving the daily life of both urban and rural populations and helping increase the state's financial accumulation for construction purposes.

In the few years since 1958 we have made great strides in heavy industry. This is very encouraging to us all. However, there are significant imbalances between different sectors of heavy industry. During the current readjustment of the economy, efforts must be made to restore and boost agricultural production, to ensure a corresponding development of light industry and to achieve a desirable ratio between various sectors and enterprises in heavy industry. To this end, it is imperative to slow down the growth rate of heavy industry and to substantially reduce some of its production quotas.

This is a matter of plain necessity. The reasons are as follows. (1) If heavy industry continued to develop at the same high speed as in recent years, it would inevitably hinder the normal growth of both agriculture and light industry. Not only would the people's everyday life be affected, but heavy industry itself would have difficulty sustaining that rate of growth. (2) Huge efforts are needed to remedy the imbalances in heavy industry. Unless we lower the extraordinarily high production targets, we shall be unable to revitalize its weak sectors. (3) The output of some types of products must be reduced in order to improve quality and increase variety. Better quality and greater variety will be of more value, even though production quotas are cut back. The production of rolled steel is a case in point. (4) One of our major tasks right now is to repair facilities and equipment in various sectors of the economy that are badly in need of maintenance. To accomplish this, we have to reduce the output of certain products, so we can divert some materials and production capacity to the production of machine parts, fittings and spare parts. To sum up, by lowering the production targets in heavy industry for a certain period of time, we hope to make best use of the production capacity now available and thus to ensure the smooth long-term progress of the economy as a whole.

In the past few years we have launched a large number of construction projects. Some of them have been completed or partially completed, others are still under construction and still others have been suspended. Many of the completed or partially completed projects are uncoordinated or lack complete equipment and facilities or raw and semifinished materials. It will take a long time and an enormous amount of work before these projects can operate at full steam. With very few exceptions, therefore, no more projects should be launched at present. Furthermore, we need to re-examine, one by one, all the projects still under construction, stopping some and post-

poning others as necessary. In this way we hope to concentrate resources on the most essential projects and bring those that are already completed or partially completed into full operation by providing them with the indispensable equipment and facilities they still do not have. These are the guidelines we should follow in planning capital construction projects in the next few years. This represents an important part of our effort to readjust the economy.

Along with the readjustment of agricultural and industrial production and of capital construction, a series of corresponding readjustments must be made in the fields of commerce, finance, banking, culture and education.

The work we have done in readjusting the economy since 1960 may be summed up as follows.

In agriculture. In the second half of 1960, in addition to our great efforts to improve the work of rural people's communes, we adopted effective measures to strengthen farm production. In 1961 we continued our efforts in this direction and mobilized about 10 million urban residents to go to the rural areas. The great majority of these people were former villagers who had moved to the cities during the past few years. Their return to the countryside has helped reinforce the agricultural front. The implementation of the Sixty-Article Regulations on Work in the Rural People's Communes (Draft)²⁶⁴ and the designation of the production team as the basic accounting unit of the people's commune have greatly enhanced the peasants' enthusiasm for production, and things are beginning to pick up in the countryside. Despite a poor summer harvest due to natural disasters, total grain output in 1961 was still higher than in the previous year. In many localities the number of poultry and livestock is now increasing.

In industry, readjustment was started in 1961. That year we substantially reduced the production quotas of heavy industry and cut back on capital construction. In the meantime, we worked hard to increase production of daily necessities and to bring the handicraft co-operatives back to normal operation. The draft regulations drawn up by the Central Committee for state-owned industrial enterprises and for the handicraft industry²⁶⁵ are important for improving the management of industrial enterprises and raising handicraft production. The decline in industrial production has, on the whole, come to a halt. Some enterprises are beginning to have a stable output,

while others are starting to increase production, turning out products of greater variety and better quality.

In recent years the number of production workers and office staff has increased substantially. More opportunities for employment have brought higher incomes to many families. However, the increase in the number of workers and urban residents and in the total national payroll has been too rapid, and there has been a marked decrease in the output of agriculture and light industry. Consequently, for commercial goods there is a disparity between supply and demand, with shortages in both rural areas and cities. This has meant a decline in workers' real wages and created hardships for the people.

The state commercial establishments and other departments concerned have done much to relieve the scarcity of commercial goods. They have bought large quantities of farm and sideline products and manufactured items for daily use and have promoted the flow of some daily necessities into regions affected by natural disasters. To ensure the availability of certain commodities for the market, they have curtailed the group purchasing power of enterprises, institutions, government offices, public organizations, schools and army units. Thanks to these efforts, a certain amount of the most essential items, including grain, vegetables, edible oil, salt and coal, has been basically guaranteed to all residents of cities and towns on a rationed basis. As a whole, prices for the rationed goods have remained stable.

In view of the three consecutive years of natural disasters, we cut back the amounts of grain purchased in 1960 and 1961. In addition, in 1961 we imported five million tons of grain from world markets. We all know that until last year, we had never imported grain since liberation; indeed, we exported a certain amount every year. For the time being it is necessary for us to import some grain, but we should try our best to do without it as soon as possible.

Beginning in the winter of 1960, rural trade fairs were opened in many regions under proper planning and guidance. These fairs have played a positive role in stimulating farm and sideline production, thus enlivening the rural economy. The authorities of many regions are now analysing the recent experience with regard to rural trade fairs, with a view to improving their management. In 1961 supply-and-marketing co-operatives began to resume operation in many rural areas.

Also in 1961 state-owned stores in the cities in addition to offering goods at normal prices, began selling a few varieties of con-

fectionery and pastries at higher prices. This was a temporary measure due to the scarcity of supplies and the great disparity between the amount of goods available and the people's buying power.

While making these readjustments in different sectors of the economy, we have also made necessary readjustments in educational, cultural and scientific undertakings, including a reduction of their development targets. In the fields of scientific research and higher education we have put into effect, on a trial basis, a draft programme of 14 articles on the work of natural science research institutions,²⁵⁹ and also a set of provisional regulations for universities and colleges directly under the Ministry of Education.²⁶⁰ Work in these fields has begun to improve.

It should be noted that we have gradually come to have a better understanding of the process of readjustment. Since the Central Committee decided on the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling in gaps and raising standards, the government has done a great deal to implement it. However, in some cases, we have failed to carry out readjustment in all fields of endeavour. We have been slow to withdraw funds from projects that must be cut back and to provide adequate assistance to those that need to be strengthened. Now, after a period of practice, we have acquired a clearer understanding of the need for readjustment and of the steps that should be taken to accomplish it.

This year, 1962, we should take more effective action to readjust the entire economy and to rearrange our priorities in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. In this way we shall be able to concentrate on gradually solving the people's most urgent problems of food and clothing and to establish a new equilibrium between various sectors of the economy. Of course, this does not mean that all the work of readjustment can be completed this year — it should remain our chief task in the economic sphere for the next few years. But successful work done this year will lay a solid base for future readjustment, enabling us to complete the job in a relatively short time. In this sense, 1962 is a year of decisive importance for the readjustment of the economy.

As soon as the State Planning Commission learned that the production quotas for major industrial products set in the Second Five-Year Plan for fulfilment in 1962 had already been fulfilled in 1960, it started to revise the plans for the last two years of the period. But for several reasons — because of the natural disasters that struck over

wide areas in 1961, because many new problems cropped up as we went along and because we do not yet have a clear understanding of the new circumstances we are confronting and need to study them further — the readjustment of the annual plans for the last two years of the Second Five-Year Plan period has not yet been completed. The State Council therefore asks the National People's Congress if, when that work is finished, it may submit the two plans, along with proposed budgets, to the Standing Committee of the Congress, which the Congress would authorize to examine and approve the revised plans.

Now I should like to examine the tasks involved in the readjustment. They are to be undertaken this year, and some of them will be carried over to succeeding years.

To make a successful readjustment of the economy this year, the State Council calls on the cadres of all government offices and administrative departments to carry out intensive studies and investigations, to gain a clearer understanding of the current problems and circumstances and to work hard under the unified leadership of the central authorities and in conformity with the Central Committee's guidelines and policies. In particular, they should strive for increased production at lower cost, simpler and more efficient administration, a stabilized market and a greater supply of goods. To be specific, our 10 major tasks are as follows.

First, to increase agricultural production, especially production of grain, cotton and oil-yielding crops.

In 1961 agriculture began to recover, but the recovery has been uneven in different parts of the country. In some places production has been on the rise and in most areas it has remained steady, while in the areas hardest hit by natural disasters it is still very low. Judging by the present circumstances, it will take enormous effort to bring farm production in most parts of the country back to the highest level previously attained. We must do our utmost to ensure a reasonably good harvest in the current year.

In revitalizing and expanding agricultural production we should give first priority to grain. With plentiful grain supplies we shall be able to resume planting cash crops soon, to breed and feed more farm animals and to develop poultry raising and animal husbandry. Increased production of grain must be coupled with a corresponding increase in the acreage planted to cotton, oil-yielding crops and other

cash crops, so that with annual increases in production more and more supplies of daily necessities, including cotton cloth and edible oil, will be available for the urban and rural populations. It is very important to rationally allocate farmland for the cultivation of different crops and make the best use of manpower and farm animals. In planning these matters local governments at all levels and leading members of rural people's communes should consult the production teams for their opinions.

The rural communes and their subdivisions — the production brigades and teams — should continue to abide by the revised "Draft Regulations for Work in Rural People's Communes", including the provision that the production team is to be the basic accounting unit, so as to stimulate the peasants' enthusiasm for production. They should bring all arable land under cultivation, including the scattered strips and tiny plots, so as to ensure a larger harvest. To raise per-unit yield they should concentrate on building water conservancy projects, collecting farm manure, selecting fine seeds, repairing both small and medium-sized farm implements, improving field management, preventing plant diseases and eliminating pests. They must do a good job in livestock breeding and in the prevention and cure of animal diseases. Cadres of the people's communes, whatever their rank, should know how to guide production correctly. When adopting measures to increase production, they should first of all consider local conditions and draw on local people's experience.

The state farms should improve their management, practise strict economic accounting, work hard to achieve higher productivity and to make a greater percentage of their farm produce and livestock products available as commodities and strive to fulfil or overfulfil the quotas assigned to them under the state plan.

We should pay attention to the preservation of woods and forests and make great efforts to plant more trees and create more forests. We should also develop animal husbandry and fishery.

Governments at all levels should mobilize resources from different quarters to help agriculture. First and foremost, they should do everything possible to ensure an adequate supply of badly needed means of production, especially those that are essential for the manufacture and repair of small and medium-sized farm implements, for the manufacture and maintenance of trucks and boats and for the production of chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

All local governments should not only make arrangements for the purchase of farm produce, but should also adopt necessary measures to take good care of people's everyday life.

Second, to draw up appropriate plans for both light and heavy industry and produce the maximum possible of daily necessities.

In order to satisfy the everyday needs of urban and rural people, to expand commercial exchange between cities and the countryside and to increase market supplies, when drawing up plans for industrial production we need to give priority to daily necessities. It goes without saying that light industry and handicraft industry should turn out increasing quantities of daily necessities. But wherever conditions permit, departments of heavy industry should also do their best to increase production of those articles of daily use that are most in demand.

In view of the shortage of raw materials provided by agriculture for the production of daily necessities, we should encourage the use of materials provided by heavy industry. When it comes to the distribution of raw and semi-finished materials that are needed by both light and heavy industry, first consideration should be given to the needs of light industry. The administrative departments in charge of light industry and handicraft production must see to it that in distributing materials priority is given to enterprises that turn out a variety of products of good quality and with lower consumption of materials.

All enterprises — whether in light, heavy or handicraft industries — must practise economy and do everything possible to turn out more and better products, while consuming smaller amounts of raw and semi-finished materials. All waste gases and other residues that can still be utilized should be recycled.

The most important tasks now facing departments of heavy industry is to provide agriculture with a steady supply of the means of production and an increasing amount of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, small and medium-sized farm implements and machines of different sorts that perform well and are suited to local requirements. At the same time, the heavy industry departments should provide light industry with more and more raw and semi-finished materials. They should do everything in their power to increase the production of those raw materials, semi-finished materials and fuels that are currently in short supply. They should also take into consideration the need of various sectors of the economy to have, and to maintain, complete sets of facilities and equipment, and should plan accordingly

for the production of urgently needed items, such as reserve machine tools, accessories and spare parts, as well as the necessary principal and auxiliary machinery.

Departments of heavy industry should readjust production in accordance with the tasks just mentioned and with the practical possibilities. They should reduce the quotas of products which are not in urgent demand or for which there are not enough raw and semi-finished materials. Enterprises that are producing such products should be reduced in size or merged with others. On the other hand, the departments of heavy industry need to increase the output of products which are in short supply and for which there is great demand in various sectors of society. To ensure a steady and adequate supply of coal and lumber, they must make sure that the necessary materials, equipment and funds are available for their production. In carrying out readjustments, enterprises in heavy industry should try to fill gaps and make up deficiencies in their production capacity.

All industrial departments should organize the production of materials and equipment needed for national defence projects.

An important task in industry in 1962 is for the enterprises to improve their management by putting into effect the "Draft Regulations on Work in State-owned Enterprises". All industrial enterprises are required to improve the system of responsibility, technological control and business accounting and guarantee safety in the workplace so as to achieve better quality and greater variety of products, higher productivity and lower production costs.

The transport departments should make further efforts to ensure good order in all forms of transport and to improve short-distance transport services. They should also undertake the maintenance of all motor vehicles, ships, railways, highways and waterways.

Third, to make further cuts in capital construction.

At present we are still engaged in too much capital construction, and that hampers our efforts to readjust the economy. We are now planning to cancel some more of the capital construction projects that are not of immediate importance. This will enable us not only to save materials, facilities and manpower for use in other areas where they are badly needed, especially in agricultural production, but also to concentrate our resources on the most important projects, so as to place them in operation as soon as possible.

Our capital construction has become overextended because we have not kept tight control over planning and budgeting. This is a

lesson to remember. From now on, all such projects and the investment involved must be included in the state plans. All such projects must be examined and approved by government authorities at proper levels and according to the procedures prescribed by the state. Otherwise, they must not be undertaken. As for projects that have been included in the state plans, leading authorities of the various departments and localities should make a list of them according to the order of their importance and the availability of the necessary equipment and technicians, so as to make sure these projects are completed on schedule and are up to required standards.

During the past two years we have already stopped the building of a number of capital construction projects. This year we are going to suspend some more. Suspending projects that are already under construction will result in some losses; but the loss will be even greater if we don't bring them to a halt, and that will mean a wide dispersion of our financial and material resources and make it difficult for many major projects to go into early operation and provide good returns on the investment. All projects whose construction has been suspended must be placed under strict protection so as to prevent damage. As for the surplus materials and equipment that are left over from suspended projects, they must be allocated to other fields in accordance with uniform state plans.

Fourth, to reduce the population of cities and towns and to cut back the number of office and manual workers

An important aspect of readjusting the economy is to reduce the urban population and to cut back the number of office and manual workers. At present it is hard for agriculture to provide enough marketable grain and other farm produce to feed the residents of cities and towns, which are still somewhat overpopulated. Now that the targets for industrial production and for capital construction projects have been lowered, there is a surplus of both office and manual workers. Moreover, many government departments, enterprises and institutions are still overstaffed and have cumbersome administrative structures. To bring about a change, we are now drawing up plans for further reducing the urban population and for cutting back office and manual workers in 1962.

Encouraging city and town residents, including office and manual workers, especially those who are originally from the countryside, to return to rural areas and participate in agricultural production will not only reinforce the agricultural front and help urban enterprises

to improve labour productivity and government departments to enhance efficiency, but will also help to ease the difficulties of supply for cities and to reduce state expenditures. Leading authorities of departments and enterprises must make proper arrangements and conduct a successful mobilization drive. Cities, towns and villages should co-operate closely so as to ensure satisfactory employment opportunities for those who are returning to rural areas. It is our hope that these returning office and manual workers will take up their honourable posts in farm production and rural construction, thereby making new contributions to the country.

Because they have not put the interests of the nation above all else, leading members of certain enterprises and departments have not yet completely made up their minds to cut back office and manual workers. They want to hold onto all their personnel, who, they suppose, will be of use at some future date. This is not a correct way of thinking. Of course, they need to keep on those technicians who form the backbone of their enterprises. But they should persuade those for whom no suitable jobs are currently available to return to the countryside, where their services are badly needed. In the future, when enterprises may have a shortage of technical personnel, they can call back these workers to join once again in industrial production.

In cities and towns, and also in densely populated villages, efforts should be made to conduct propaganda for birth control.

Fifth, to make a detailed inventory of warehouse stocks and check up on unused materials and funds.

The current shortage of materials has caused a good deal of trouble in production, in construction and in people's everyday lives. On the other hand, many localities, departments, enterprises and institutions have long kept on hand large quantities of materials which, although they belong to the people as a whole, cannot be put to profitable uses under unified planning. To remedy this irrational situation, the State Council has called for a nationwide inventory of warehouse stocks and for redistribution of materials. All enterprises, institutions, government offices, schools and army units should make a detailed list of all materials they now have in storage. After being inventoried, the surplus materials are to be re-allocated by the responsible departments to new uses according to unified state regulations. As required by the current circumstances, the state financial departments should also check up on the working funds now in the possession of enterprises and ask them to hand in all their surplus funds

to the state treasury. With the adoption of these measures, idle funds and materials can be put to good use and allocated to places where they are badly needed in the current drive for readjustments. Preliminary statistics indicate that more than one million tons of rolled steel alone have long lain idle in warehouses. All kinds of materials that have been stockpiled for a long time can be of use if they are allocated under a unified plan.

Sixth, to improve market supplies

Government commercial departments and businesses have a very important role to play in maintaining a stable market. Their main task in 1962 is to improve market supplies by purchasing and distributing commodities and increasing the exchange of goods between urban and rural areas.

When buying farm and sideline products and materials that belong to the "third category",²⁶⁶ state commercial enterprises and co-operative stores must bear in mind the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, fix a proper ratio between the amount they purchase and the amount kept by the producer, and improve the purchase procedures. State firms should make prompt purchases of those manufactured products that are essential for people's daily lives and distribute them for sale according to state rules and regulations. To ensure a more plentiful supply of manufactured products, state firms may place orders with manufacturers for the production or processing of certain commodities, providing them with necessary materials, and co-operative stores may place orders with handicraft workshops for the same purpose.

With the present shortage of commodities, it is very important to distribute them rationally. State commercial departments should undertake to provide the rural areas with increasing amounts of manufactured goods suited to local needs. In the distribution of goods that are much wanted by the peasants for production and for daily use, preferential consideration should be given to the rural areas. This will help boost agricultural production, which, in turn, will provide the urban population with more farm and sideline products to satisfy their daily needs. The methods of commodity distribution in the cities also need to be improved. To provide the markets with more commodities, it is essential to cut back group purchases. This means that enterprises, institutions, government offices, public organizations, schools and army units should further reduce their administrative and other expenses.

To meet the needs of industrial enterprises for materials and to spare them the trouble of having to barter among themselves or to send out too many purchasing agents, the State Council has decided that some specialized companies should resume or improve their operations and take the overall charge of distributing particular types of materials and goods, including especially those in the "third category".

All state firms and all supply-and-marketing co-operatives, consumers' co-operatives and co-operative stores should accept the people's supervision and do their business conscientiously to improve the people's lives, both in town and country, and to promote agricultural and industrial production. Commodities must without exception be sold through normal channels. Resolute measures should be taken to prevent or stop commercial dealings conducted through the "back door".

State-owned businesses should take pains to improve their management and to exercise effective control over the markets, so that supply-and-marketing co-operatives in rural areas and consumers' co-operatives and co-operative stores in cities can play the part assigned to them. This year state firms will be required to transfer a certain number of their personnel, including those who were formerly small traders and peddlers, to the co-operative stores, making sure that they are properly placed.

Both commercial and tax departments have the duty to strengthen their administration of rural trade fairs and to combat speculation and profiteering.

Seventh, to strive to fulfil foreign trade quotas, repay foreign debts and honour our international obligations.

Soon after the founding of the People's Republic, the Soviet Union provided us with loans, which played a significant part in our socialist construction. The greater part of these loans have already been liquidated, only a small percentage remaining unpaid. In recent years, however, we have again run into debt in our trade with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of East Europe. We shall try to clear up these foreign debts in the next few years, and we shall continue to expand mutual assistance and co-operation with the fraternal countries. At the same time we shall promote trade with capitalist countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

When conditions permit, the Chinese people, who have fought a victorious revolution and are now working for socialist construc-

tion, should offer assistance to fraternal countries and countries striving for national liberation. This is an international obligation we cannot shirk. As a matter of fact, while we have been helping these countries, they have been helping us as well. Although the assistance we have given them has been rather inadequate, it has proved very welcome. And their success in building up their own countries and their strengthened capacity to resist the imperialist powers are of tremendous support to our socialist construction.

To be able to repay our foreign debts according to schedule, to honour international obligations which we must and can undertake and to import certain necessary goods, we must do our best to export a proportion of our industrial and farm products, even though they are in short supply at home. All localities and all departments concerned should do everything in their power to fulfil the state-assigned quotas for production and purchase of goods for export on time and with guaranteed quality and quantity.

Eighth, to improve our performance in culture, education, scientific research, public health and other fields.

To keep pace with economic development, institutions in the fields of culture, education, scientific research, public health and so forth should also put into effect the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling in gaps and raising standards, with emphasis on readjustment, and draw up their work plans accordingly.

In 1962 schools at all levels should work hard to improve the quality of instruction. Wherever conditions permit, all institutions of higher learning throughout the country must put into practice, on a trial basis, the "Draft Provisional Regulations for Universities and Colleges Directly Under the Ministry of Education".

Scientific research departments should readjust existing research institutes and their staff, reinforce key institutes and increase cooperation between institutes specializing in different subjects.

As for the departments of public health, their major tasks are to provide better medical service, to adopt more effective measures for the prevention of disease and to increase the production of both Western and traditional Chinese medicines so as to ensure an increased supply in cities and in the countryside.

Proper readjustments are also necessary in the fields of literature and art, the press, publishing, radio and sports to improve their quality so that they will be able to contribute more to the country's construction and to the people's well-being.

Ninth, to economize on expenditures and increase revenues, to keep control over the use of cash and to ensure a balance between income and outgo.

One of the major tasks now confronting the government is to ensure a balance between revenue and expenditure as well as a balance of credit. All economic departments and enterprises should exercise better management, improve their business accounting and financial administration, and cut costs of production and of commodity distribution so as to increase income and reduce expenditure as much as possible.

Drastic measures are required to stop the careless use of cash. Enterprises, institutions, government offices and public organizations must strictly observe state regulations regarding the use of cash and credit and the management of all financial matters. Enterprises should repay bank loans according to schedule. Their working funds should be used solely for production and commodity distribution, and not for capital construction, for making up deficits or for other purposes. Enterprises operating in the red should eliminate their deficits without delay. Financial and banking departments should intensify their supervision in all areas relating to the economy.

All departments and localities and all enterprises, institutions, government offices and public organizations should continue making determined efforts to build the country through thrift and hard work, opposing extravagance and waste and economizing on spending.

Tenth, to further improve planning.

To meet the needs of the current readjustment of the economy, the State Council has instructed government planning bodies at all levels to shift the focus of their attention from industry, transport and communications to agriculture and the market and to draw up economic plans in the light of the specific tasks of readjustment, giving priority to agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in that order.

When drawing up state plans, government planning bodies must first conduct systematic surveys, secure accurate data and collect the draft programmes worked out by different departments and localities. They should then make careful calculations, without leaving any gaps, and make sure there is an overall balance in the plans, so that targets are realistic, unforeseen circumstances are provided for and necessary resources are kept in reserve.

In formulating plans we should follow the mass line, which means listening to the opinions of the masses and consulting the experts, including scientists, for their views and proposals.

All departments and localities should promptly provide the State Planning Commission with truthful information and statistics. In addition, they should try to identify key problems and draw up plans on a reliable basis. In this way they will help the State Planning Commission to prepare workable plans. Once the state plans have been decided upon, steps should be taken to ensure that they are fulfilled. They are not to be altered without justification. The execution of state plans must be rigorously supervised.

Readjustment of the economy is a very difficult task. There are still quite a lot of problems in our economy. Supplies of food, clothing and other daily necessities are still insufficient for the people's consumption. It will take a period of hard work to bring about a fundamental change in this situation. Moreover, we may come across many fresh difficulties in the course of the current readjustment. We must take all this into full account. But the hard-working, courageous Chinese people have never been intimidated by difficulties of any kind. And today we have many advantages on our side. These advantages can be summed up as follows.

1. We have a strong worker-peasant alliance led by the Communist Party, and also a broad people's democratic united front based on that alliance. People of all nationalities throughout the country are co-operating closely with the Party and the government. This provides the greatest guarantee of success in our struggle against difficulties.

2. We have developed and perfected the Party's general line for socialist construction, which will help greatly to achieve unanimity of thinking and unity of action with regard to socialist construction.

3. The multitudes of our cadres and people have made great efforts during the past few years and have therefore accumulated a wealth of experience, both positive and negative. This experience will give us a deeper understanding of the objective laws governing the building of socialism, which will enable us to do our work better in future.

4. The increase in agricultural production is opening up good prospects in the rural areas. This upturn will make it much easier for us to overcome the current difficulties, to revitalize the entire economy and to further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

5. The past few years have witnessed an expansion of our industrial capacity and an increase in farmland construction and water conservancy projects, all of which are playing an ever-greater role in the development of production. This provides substantial material support for our efforts to overcome difficulties.

If we turn all these advantages to best account, rely on the masses, consult them in our work and arouse their enthusiasm and initiative in production, there is no doubt we can gradually surmount the difficulties now facing us and succeed in readjusting the economy.

NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNITED FRONT

April 18, 1962

Today I should like to talk about the development of our people's democratic united front and the new tasks confronting it. The united front has scored successes not only in the nationwide new-democratic revolution but also during the socialist transformation. Now it is facing a great mission of socialist construction. The new tasks confronting it will mean a new development of this organization, this force.

At a meeting of the current Session of the National People's Congress the day before yesterday, I said that a process of cognition was always required to grasp the development of a thing, and that the united front was no exception. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, the united front went through the stages of establishment, expansion, contraction and re-expansion, until the revolution succeeded. After the triumph of the revolution, it helped to mobilize all possible forces in society to participate in socialist transformation, which, as a result, was conducted smoothly and rapidly. Now that we are in the period of socialist construction, the work of the people's democratic united front becomes heavier. It has to undertake new tasks (in addition to socialist transformation, of course, which will bring about a new development. In other words, building on the significant achievements already scored in socialist transformation and construction, the united front should try to incorporate as many forces as possible and mobilize them to participate in further socialist construction, thus broadening our democratic life.

This is our new task. We must not think that the people's democratic united front is only called upon to conduct socialist transfor-

Speech at the Third Session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

mation. It also has work to do in socialist construction, and we should now undertake that work.

In order to improve democratic centralism, we should first of all broaden our democratic life. This is another task that the people's democratic united front should assume. It cannot be said that all the members of the united front and the forces they have mobilized will agree with the principles and policies of our Party and government; some of them will not. Such cases require separate analysis and different treatment. If someone's words and deeds run counter to the "six criteria" put forward by Chairman Mao,²⁶⁷ if he hates and undermines socialist construction and even engages in sabotage, he is alienating himself from the people. That alienation will not be a contradiction among the people and should not be handled as such.

The essence of the "six criteria" is that one should accept the leadership of the Communist Party, actively serve socialism and willingly remould one's thinking. Provided a person takes the attitude, if he has dissenting opinions regarding particular Party policies, they will be not merely tolerated but welcomed. Hearing opposing views among the people will help us advance. We must not imagine that the people's democratic united front is a monolithic bloc in which everyone thinks alike and has the same opinions on all matters. If that were true, the united front would not advance but stand still or even move backwards. It is never true in any organization, party or group of people or even in one person's mind. When everyday objective reality is reflected in a person's mind, he will often have different views about it at different times. He may negate a thing that he affirmed before, because approaching it from one point of view, he thinks it is right, but from another point of view he thinks it is wrong. Only after looking at it from all sides does he get a complete picture and come to know what he did not know before, so that eventually he achieves a more profound understanding. Only through this process can a man develop his thinking, a party formulate sound policies and an organization improve its work.

Our united front will advance through this process too. That's why we maintain that the two types of contradictions specified by Chairman Mao, especially contradictions among the people, will exist for a long time to come. It is a principle guiding democratic life in our united front to handle the contradictions of this type correctly. We should therefore recognize that the tasks of the united front really have become heavier and that the front itself really must develop

further. At the same time, we should encourage our members to express their different opinions, so long as they observe the “six criteria”, letting them discuss, study and exchange their views so as to reach a better understanding, closer to the truth, and to keep pushing our cause forward. From this point of view, we can say that our present Session has achieved a preliminary result, that it has made a start in the right direction.

This Session has been going on for 27 days, during which period more than 200 members of the National Committee have delivered speeches and more than 400 motions have been put forward. However, we can't say that all participants have expressed their views and said what they wanted to say. If we think they have, that conclusion would be too sweeping. Surely, some opinions have not been openly expressed. Some participants have said only a little at first, to see if the Party and the government departments would accept what they said. That is all right and quite natural. Because in the past they did not have the opportunity to say all they had to say or to make many criticisms. Now people are given plenty of opportunity to air their views. Will that get them into trouble? We should allow people who have such misgivings and who disagree with us to reserve their opinions and we should be patient with them.

We too need time to analyse all the suggestions and criticisms made by the participants; some may be clearly good, others have to be considered and still others may be groundless. Will the Party and government departments really accept the valid ones? Will the department involved carry out the decisions made by the Motions Examination Committee? I think we need time to see if they do. For example, right after Mr. Hu Xiansu²⁶⁸ spoke yesterday, I had the text of his speech sent to the State Science and Technology Commission and asked Vice-Premier Nie Rongzhen to study and deal with the problems raised in it. I need to refrain from expressing my views as well, waiting for a while to see if the people on the Commission really do what I asked them to do. So both speakers and people like me in responsible positions need time to observe. Of course, we can't expect people to solve all the problems raised right away, because some of them have to be studied and others can be solved only after we have created the necessary conditions. Nevertheless, all of them should be carefully discussed.

Our united front should mobilize all forces to promote democracy and take part in construction. This is not the responsibility of

the Political Consultative Conference alone; all democratic parties, all people's organizations, all our nationalities and people from all circles should encourage the persons they have contact with to contribute to this effort. Only when this is done can we say that all members of the united front have been mobilized. That's why we call this Session a beginning, and I hope it is a good one. On this understanding, I should like to discuss the following questions.

First, the Work of the Political Consultative Conference.

From now on, the responsibilities of the Political Consultative Conference will be much heavier. We should acknowledge that the Conference has done good work in the past. The report made by Vice-Chairman Chen Shutong this time has more content than before, which shows that the work in various areas has developed. But we think this is not enough; we hope it will develop further.

First of all, the Political Consultative Conference should make more arrangements for investigation and study. If we want to be successful in construction, we have to conduct on-the-spot investigations, because in that way we can become familiar with actual conditions and thus make accurate reports, providing specific materials and practical experience for discussion and study. Don't hold off making inspections of lower levels until a session of the Political Consultative Conference is approaching. Inspections can be staggered around the year. For instance, the members of the Conference can go to the grass-roots level separately; they don't all have to go at the same time. We are now in a period of readjustment, and we have to know more about the practical situation. The Political Consultative Conference should take part in this work. Its members should go and conduct investigations and studies in the cities and the countryside. And when they return to the Conference they will have views to exchange with other members. They should make their views known to each other, whether about central, national or local work, and share their experience. Thus, we shall have real cases to discuss at our forums and lectures and have proposals, opinions and suggestions to put forward, so as to mobilize the forces in all areas.

Secondly, so far the Political Consultative Conference has concentrated on political study, international activities and the collection of historical records. In future it should arrange more academic lectures and discussions and make a point of inviting more friends in academic circles to attend them. At this Session an increasing number of criticisms have been made on this point, and the speakers

have offered many valuable suggestions. And in view of the requirements of construction, we do need to expand this work. For a short time the National Committee of the CPPCC did hold meetings on academic matters, but it hasn't done much of that recently. From now on, in addition to arranging political studies and collecting historical accounts of past events, it should organize more academic lectures and forums. This is a political consultative organ, in which our members can express various opinions without having to reach unanimous conclusions on the questions debated. We can submit our different opinions to the departments concerned — government departments, scientific research institutes, educational institutions or other academic organizations. The expression of different opinions at this Session has demonstrated that the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend" has been applied here. The more views there are, the more approaches the executive organs will have to a problem, and the more appropriate their plans will be.

Second, the Responsibility of the Communist Party in the CPPCC.

Everyone acknowledges that the Communist Party is the leading party. Party leadership means leadership by a collective, that is, by the Central Committee and by the Party's leading organs at various levels (the provincial, municipal and county committees and so on). It is the Party's principles and policies, not individual persons, that play the leading role. Individual persons are all equal. In terms of work, they are all the servants of the people and should exchange views on an equal basis. No one of them can claim to be the leadership. Divorced from the collective, an individual person cannot exercise leadership. His personal views must not be taken as policies. And when his views are accepted and incorporated into policies, they become the views of the collective leadership. Therefore under normal circumstances, a person's views, including the ones I have expressed here today, are just his personal views. It cannot be said that every paragraph of this speech I am making has been discussed collectively by the Central Committee. Of course, some of these ideas have been discussed, but others are my own opinions, which should be taken only as my personal suggestions for you to consider. Party members are therefore required first to draw this line of demarcation clearly. In our personal contacts with members of the CPPCC, nobody is either the leader or the led, because it is only leading bodies and

Party policies that represent leadership. If we don't understand it this way, democratic life and a democratic atmosphere will be out of the question, and a barrier — a mental wall that has never existed before — will appear between us, blocking the implementation of democratic centralism.

Next, to ensure democratic practice, Party members are expected to make friends with non-Party people. Since we have expanded the united front led by the Party, we Party members should collect the opinions of non-Party people and submit them to the Party's leading bodies. To do this, we have to maintain contact with friends outside the Party and hear views different from our own. Party members themselves will differ on a given question, but because of our identical working environment and political life, our views tend to be fairly close and will not always reflect a variety of opinions. Only by soliciting opinions from various quarters can we get a whole picture. Likewise, only by hearing the opinions of Party members can our friends outside the Party see things in a more comprehensive way. For this reason, people inside and outside the Party should seek to make friends with each other, and Party members in particular should take the initiative. Every Party member is expected to have constant contact with a few non-Party friends. By this I mean that he should either make more friends or maintain regular contacts with old ones, friends who can let us know what other people are thinking and who are not afraid to criticize us. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said yesterday that we should have some friends who are severe with us, that is, who dare to disagree with us and to criticize our shortcomings. When we are accustomed to this, we shall no longer regard them as severe critics but as true friends. Only by asking for different opinions can we Communists find out what people in other sectors of society think. The various opinions may not all be correct, but you can't compare them unless you know what they are. It is even more important for us to pay heed to the valuable opinions of the masses, that is, of the people engaged in production in communes, factories and other grass-roots organizations and of the people working in schools.

Being members of the CPPCC, we Communists should pay particular attention to things and people we are not familiar with. It will be a weakness on our part if we don't know much about them. Only when we get in touch with them can we get to know them, understand them and learn useful things from them. Even if some opinions are wrong or opposed to our own, we can compare them

with ours. If we only confine ourselves in our own small circle, if we only like to hear views that are the same as ours and don't want to learn new things, we shall isolate ourselves and have less and less work to do. That's why we ask our Party members to take the initiative in making friends. I hope that when you Party members present here go home, you will convey what I have said to other Party members working in the local political consultative conferences in your own provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

At this Session some friends have asked that Party people have closer contact with non-Party people. I think this is a reasonable request and they have every right to make it, because the Conference meets only once a year, and since last Session we haven't seen each other for more than 12 months. So now that we have met again, these friends certainly have the right to ask for more opportunities to have heart-to-heart talks with Party members and exchange views with them.

In short, we Communists should admit that our knowledge is limited and that there are many things we don't know. And since there is no end to the remoulding process, we have to go on learning as long as we work. Unless we proceed in that spirit, we cannot make any progress. But, you might say, haven't we already remoulded ourselves sufficiently? That's impossible. There is always something that needs to be changed. When we are aware of this, we shall improve ourselves. Party members should set strict demands on themselves in this regard. As the saying goes, one should be severe in criticizing oneself and gentle in criticizing others; we Communists should be harder on ourselves. And I hope our non-Party comrades will criticize us severely if we are wrong. In my opinion, severe criticism is helpful, and I consider those who offer it our good friends in the united front. The purpose of making such criticism, of course, is not to attack individuals but to help us do a good job of administering the state and advancing the socialist cause.

Third, the Responsibility of the Democratic Parties.

The responsibility of the democratic parties in the united front has become heavier, not lighter. Many friends attended the recent Supreme State Conference, at which they pointed out the mistakes in our work. Chairman Liu Shaoqi said that it was the Communist Party, or more exactly the Central Committee, which should be held responsible for those mistakes and that the democratic parties had little or nothing to do with them. Chairman Mao expressed the same

opinion. Nevertheless, many friends in the democratic parties thought that they should be held partially responsible for them. I think that was a good approach — first taking responsibility on oneself. Well, what's done is done, and we have learned from our mistakes.

From now on, we should try to do our work better by taking responsibility jointly. We should act in accordance with the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision. Democratic parties should assume their responsibilities of supervision. We have reported what we have done and made a preliminary analysis of our experience. In the years to come we shall be applying the principles and fulfilling the tasks we have approved here. And while we are doing that, the democratic parties should supervise us by making suggestions and criticisms. That's why we say that in the period of socialist transformation and construction, the responsibility of the democratic parties has become heavier, not lighter. All the democratic parties are serving socialism, and in the process they can temper themselves and their members. In those parties, just as in ours, there are always the progressive members, the middle and the backward. All parties should therefore teach their members to serve socialism so that they will become loyal to socialism. Moreover, they should constantly encourage their members to improve themselves, so that the middle elements will change into the progressive and the backward overcome their backwardness. In addition to old members, there are always new comers in a party, because it needs to expand. Among the newcomers too there are the progressive, the middle and the backward, so the party itself serves to promote the constant remoulding and progress of its members.

As the conditions of the existing classes and social strata in our country are very complicated, we should not assume that socialist transformation will be an easy job. At one stage we did think it was going to be easy. We thought that through the three major socialist transformations, we would soon create a society with ownership by the whole people and by the collective. We also thought that people's communes should be established not only in the countryside but also in the cities, that we should transform the neighbourhood committees into people's communes and their members into commune members. Besides, some people believed that before long collective ownership could be changed into ownership by the whole people. As we see it now, these ideas were erroneous. Although the democratic revolution was thoroughly carried out and socialist transformation is going

smoothly, it is impossible for us to transform the entire society overnight in our poor country with its huge population, vast area and many nationalities. Given such a poor economic base, we cannot quickly change the entire superstructure, and there will always be a tendency towards unevenness. Socialist transformation will be completed with the advance of socialist construction. If it will take several decades to modernize China, it will take even longer to turn China into a completely socialist society. It is then that we shall be able to move towards the higher stage of communism. We must be mentally prepared to make long-term efforts, knowing that socialist transformation will take a long time.

Because in addition to the economic factors, we have to take into account many old political influences and the force of habit. Although the old things that used to dominate our society have been eliminated, the old political influences have remained, supported by the force of habit. As ideology and style of work present many more problems, it will take us even longer to transform them. The masses of the working people are by nature enthusiastic about building socialism, but they are still under the influence of old habits and old ways of thinking. So they need remoulding too. And in our society there are people of different strata and different circles who need it even more. Therefore, all parties should mobilize the people they represent to take part in socialist construction and at the same time to conscientiously remould themselves. The different parties represent different groups of people. If they do more work among the people they are close to, they will greatly help to advance socialist transformation and promote its healthy development. In short, in both construction and transformation, the various parties need to co-operate with each other and to do their work in accordance with the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision.

Fourth, the Role of the Trade Unions.

The trade unions are people's organizations, working-class organizations in the united front. As the leading class, the working class should not only educate its members but also influence other classes and strata. While strengthening its own organizations, it should help others to do the same. Now that we are faced with the task of readjustment, some workers will be assigned to other jobs before others. During this process, the trade unions should do ideological work among their members. They should operate in all departments of industry, transport and capital construction, as well as in enterprises

and institutions in other fields and in state farms, and should help them all to do a good job of increasing production and practising economy. The workers have difficulties in their daily lives now, and it is the duty of the trade unions to ensure the supply of daily necessities and to help them solve their problems.

As far as fulfilling the tasks set by the state is concerned, the trade unions' responsibilities have become much heavier and more complex, and their tasks are increasing, not decreasing. As important assistants to the Party and a main force in the united front, the trade unions should co-operate with the Party and government. They should not only try to solve the problems of the workers in their daily lives but should draw these problems to the attention of the government. Also, if the central or local authorities fail to do a good job of streamlining the administrative structure, the trade unions have the right to point this out; they should play a supervisory role. Of course, this doesn't mean that they may take a stand opposite to the government's. On the contrary, by exercising supervision they assist the government in its work, and if the government's work is unsatisfactory, they should offer criticism. Since all parties supervise each other, the trade unions and other organizations should do likewise. They should regard this as an obligation and make concerted efforts to fulfil it.

Fifth, the Role of the Youth League.

The tasks of the Youth League have also become heavier. We need only take the education of students for example. At the meeting of the National People's Congress held the day before yesterday, I said that since middle schools and institutions of higher learning are going to enrol fewer new students this year, some of the graduates from primary and secondary schools will be unable to enter schools of a higher level. Under these circumstances the Youth League can find plenty of work to do. It can help set up supplementary classes to expand continuing education, thus enabling teenagers in both urban and rural areas to study instead of wandering around. By helping them to study independently, we can train many capable people. It's not necessary for everyone to graduate from a regular college or university before finding a job in society. People who have not been to a college or university can also be employed. Among the Party members of my generation, there are many specialists who have never been to any regular college or university. If that's the case with our generation, why does the next generation have to be graduates of colleges or universities or of senior middle schools? In my opinion,

under our current economic conditions we can't demand that. In future everybody will be required to be a middle school graduate. But for the time being this can't be done, so the Youth League will be expected to explain things to teenagers. It should encourage them to study on their own and should do what it can to help them. Both local governments and individuals can offer supplementary classes. An individual may give a class at home for pay, to help a few young people continue their study. This will supplement undertakings run by the state and the collective. Even certain handicraftsmen, writers and artists who want to take in a few apprentices should be permitted to do so. We should give people the green light in this regard.

In addition, last year for the first time we drafted urban people into the army with satisfactory results. So we plan to continue this practice, especially in large and medium-sized cities. The Youth League should do good propaganda in this connection. We recommend the slogan, "A good lad should join the army and make his home wherever he is posted." We should create an atmosphere in our socialist society in which all youths who have gone to school and are old enough to vote should be encouraged to sign up for the army. In particular, children of leading cadres should be the first to join, serving as an example for others to follow. And when they become servicemen, they should not ask for preferential treatment just because of their family connections.

Sixth, the Role of Women's Organizations.

The Women's Federation too should assume responsibility for certain areas of work. For example, it should help conduct complementary education in urban neighbourhood committees and in rural areas. Moreover, it should encourage mothers to send to the army their sons who have reached the required age. The mother in a leading cadre's family is sometimes even more reluctant than the mother in an ordinary family to let her son join the army. Although only a few mothers are like that, it is worth pointing out. The day before yesterday I mentioned that we should encourage birth control in the cities and in densely populated rural areas, and I hope that the Women's Federation will again join in this work, as it has done in the past with effective results.

Seventh, the Work of the Association of Industry and Commerce.

The Association of Industry and Commerce now has greater responsibilities too. For one thing, we have extended for three more years the system of paying a fixed rate of interest for the assets of

industrialists and businessmen.¹¹³ Until that time we shall not re-examine the question. For another, industrialists and businessmen too are facing readjustment. Among them there are members of the national bourgeoisie and certain upper petty-bourgeois, such as small proprietors and small merchants and peddlers. Some of these people will return to collectively or individually owned commercial enterprises, others will remain in state enterprises and institutions and still others, who are old, will retire. The government will make appropriate arrangements for them, and the Association of Industry and Commerce can assist in this work by making investigations and providing the government with necessary information. In view of the current situation, I think that both the national and the provincial and municipal administrations of industry and commerce should keep in closer touch with the Association of Industry and Commerce. Industrialists and businessmen should be given appropriate assignments. For example, if some of them who live with their families in the cities are not suited to work in the countryside, we should not force them to move there but should reassign them to other jobs in the cities. There are many problems of this kind. Since some industrialists and businessmen have difficulties in their daily lives, the Association of Industry and Commerce should set aside a certain portion of the fixed-rate interest paid to them as a welfare fund. If this is not enough, the government can allocate some funds too. I have discussed this problem with our revered Chen Shutong,¹³⁵ and we agree that specific measures should be worked out. As there will be more work than before, the Association should do all it can to assist the government in remoulding the industrialists and businessmen, mobilizing them to take part in socialist construction and making proper arrangements for their daily lives.

Eighth, Cultural, Educational and Scientific Institutions.

At this Session most of your motions and speeches have focused on problems relating to work in these areas, and they are very important in terms of both number and content. In his speech yesterday, Comrade Chen Yi²⁰¹ responded to many of the questions you have raised, so I don't want to say any more about them now. To put it briefly, if we want to rely on our own forces in socialist construction, we must strengthen the contingent of workers in culture, education and science by increasing their numbers, raising their quality and improving the educational system. For some time now, this work has been neglected. Henceforth it should be given more attention not

only by government departments, departments of education, scientific research institutions and production units, but also by organs of the Political Consultative Conference. We should adapt the development of our cultural, educational and scientific undertakings to the needs of economic development, stop trying merely to increase the number of such undertakings and concentrate on improving their quality and raising our scientific and technological level. And we should make sure that in the fields of culture, education and science, the “hundred flowers” principle is truly followed not only with regard to form but also with regard to content. Take the Political Consultative Conference for example. Most of its vice-chairmen come from the fields of culture and education. Yesterday Comrade Chen Yi volunteered to deal with any criticisms and suggestions concerning the work in those fields. I hope all the comrades here who are in charge of scientific, cultural and educational work will pay attention to work in these fields.

As for the problem of “hauling down the white flag and planting a red one” in people’s minds,²⁴² Comrade Chen Yi explained it very well yesterday. How can you “haul down a white flag” in people’s minds and “plant a red flag” there? The only way a person’s ideological problems can be solved is for the person himself, through studying and thinking, to gradually raise his political consciousness and remould himself. Comrade Chen Yi said yesterday that the Central Committee of the Party had nothing to do with any such slogan as “hauling down the white flag and planting a red one” and that it was the lower levels that had coined it. I must correct him now, for he may have forgotten something. Yesterday Comrade Zhang Jichun²⁶⁹ from the Culture and Education Office under the State Council sent me a note in which he said that this slogan had appeared in a document issued by the Central Committee. Today I checked the document and found that the phrase really was there. It is therefore the Central Committee that should be held responsible for inventing it. It is a very arbitrary expression, open to several interpretations. How can you “haul down the white flag” overnight and “plant a red one” right away in the ideological realm? That is no place to “plant the red flag”. An offhand statement made without regard for its wording can have bad consequences. We should admit that we have made mistakes of this kind.

Ninth, Relations Among Fraternal Nationalities.

I have dealt with this question in my Report on the Work of the Government. But the specific matters relating to the autonomous regions of the nationalities will be either handled by the government after the present National People's Congress or discussed by the Nationalities Group of the CPPCC. The Nationalities Committee of the National People's Congress and the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the State Council plan to hold a joint meeting to exchange views on these matters. The government will give serious consideration to those matters that are within its jurisdiction and handle them in the light of the useful opinions offered by the deputies of the fraternal nationalities. For instance, we have made many mistakes concerning the size of administrative organs and the cadres of fraternal nationalities, and these should be corrected. I shall say no more about the question at this Session.

Tenth, Religions.

There is a Religion Group in the CPPCC. In dealing with the problem of religions we have made some mistakes, for which we have been criticized by friends in religious circles. Their criticisms are valid and deserve our attention. We often take a simplistic view of the problem of religious belief. We demand that everyone have a Communist's understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that everyone have the same outlook on life and on the world. That is impossible. Ideology and understanding will change gradually, and the problems arising in this area come under the category of contradictions among the people. It will take an especially long time to solve religious problems. All we hope is that religious people will love the motherland and be willing to serve socialism and to study hard. Then their religious beliefs will not stand in the way of the solidarity and expansion of our people's democratic united front or of the country's socialist construction.

Eleventh, Overseas Chinese.

Most of the overseas Chinese deputies to the current sessions of the NPC and the CPPCC work on the mainland. Only a few members of the Consultative Conference work in Hong Kong and Macao, and only two deputies to the NPC are employed in Hong Kong. It is through the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee of the NPC that contacts are maintained with the overseas Chinese. They fall into two groups: Chinese nationals living abroad; and their family members who have stayed on the mainland or have returned home to work or study. The Party and government have made known their policies

towards them on many occasions, but some problems have arisen, such as the problems of giving proper care to the family members and of transferring returned Chinese cadres who work in the cities to the countryside. Since they have been living in the cities, we should let them stay there. Our Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee should pay attention to such problems, and the Overseas Chinese Group of the CPPCC can discuss them too.

There are other areas of work that the CPPCC is involved in, but I shall not take them up here.

To sum up, our Political Consultative Conference is composed of members of many different parties and mass organizations. It is through these members that the CPPCC keeps in touch with other organizations and people throughout the country and even with Chinese nationals abroad. After this Session our united front will be further expanded and its tasks will become much heavier. If the members of the CPPCC clearly explain to the people at home the Report on the Work of the Government adopted at the National People's Congress and our policies and tasks, I believe that we shall achieve the desired results. As *People's Daily* said in its editorial yesterday, we must "unite in struggle and strive for new successes". We have affirmed our achievements, criticized our errors, set forth the principles for solving problems and identified the tasks before us. All this will strengthen our confidence as we proceed with construction and ensure that we can overcome the difficulties ahead. We are certain that we can indeed "unite in struggle and strive for new successes".

GET A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE
SITUATION AND KEEP THE INITIATIVE
IN OUR HANDS

May 11, 1962

In his report to the enlarged working conference convened earlier this year by the Central Committee,²⁷⁰ Comrade Liu Shaoqi made an analysis of the country's domestic situation. He said that although on the whole we have come through the hardest time, we are still faced with some serious difficulties. During that conference I myself made a similar assessment. As we see it, things have remained largely the same since then. Nevertheless, there are some points which call for further explanation.

What is the basis for our judgement that so far as the political and economic situation is concerned, on the whole we have come through the hardest time?

Politically, the overwhelming majority of the people, of our Party members and of public figures outside our Party have achieved notable results in their work by upholding the Three Red Banners²⁷¹ and by surmounting difficulties. Moreover, we have been closely united in the ordeals we have gone through. This is something remarkable in a time of peaceful construction. Lastly, in the past few years we have taken measures to improve our specific policies.

Economically, it is true that when we first began to make big strides with the encouragement of the Three Red Banners, we didn't know enough about the new tasks we were grappling with. Consequently, we made a series of blunders and mistakes, some of them serious ones involving principles. However, thanks to our efforts to learn from both negative and positive experience, we have gradually

Excerpt from a speech at a working conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

come to understand the laws of social development under the new circumstances. We are no longer muddleheaded, and we have a much firmer grasp of them now than we did before.

People in the rural areas are working hard to overcome the difficulties caused by the three consecutive years of natural disasters. Except for a few regions, agricultural production in most parts of the country has stopped declining and taken an upward turn. During the past four years we failed to ensure an all-round balance between the targets planned for industry and for capital construction projects. The result was that while we did indeed make a great leap forward in some areas, in others we were compelled to make wide-ranging readjustments of the plans or even to order a retreat. Sometimes at the year's end we discovered that the actual production totals fell far short of the targets set at the beginning of the year. Only gradually have we gained a better understanding of the problems relating to industrial production and seized the initiative. For example, we have revised the production targets of our own accord, and there are basically no disagreements among us now about most of the figures. Just a few years ago, readjustments on such a large scale would have been inconceivable. This is an indication that we have now reached a relatively high degree of unanimity in our understanding.

Judging by the overall political and economic situation, therefore, we come to the conclusion that our country has indeed come through the hardest time. If we were still confused about the situation, more serious consequences would surely follow. Although there are still some ideological influences that cloud our vision, we are now able to see the right course for future development.

Why do we say that we are still faced with some serious problems? Because our subjective, erroneous way of thinking has led to a series of economic imbalances, which it will take a long time to remedy step by step. Since economic management is a very complicated job, Comrade Mao Zedong often calls on us to pay close attention to every detail of economic affairs. But what we have been doing is just the opposite. I'd say that in the past few years our economic work has been chaotic. The unfortunate consequences of this have been far-reaching and can still be felt today. The natural disasters also had grave consequences. Although we have overcome enormous difficulties, it is hard for the country to make a speedy recovery from the havoc that was wreaked on such a large scale.

In some regions and departments the situation is still very bad. In some places no effective measures have yet been taken to rectify errors in work; in others there is still widespread famine. The current drive for economic readjustment has brought to light that the mistakes made by certain industrial and capital construction departments have had a series of harmful results which still affect other economic sectors. Of course, except for a few regions and departments, steps are being taken to correct the errors.

To succeed in our work, we must get a clear picture of the specific circumstances, have unflinching determination and adopt the right measures. This, however, is by no means easy.

First, we must have a clear picture of the specific circumstances. Comrade Mao Zedong placed particular emphasis on this when he called our attention to the importance of conducting investigations and studies. Can we say that we already have an adequate understanding of the difficulties we are facing? I think this question can be answered only after some analyses have been made. To be sure, we now have a clear idea of the right course to follow to overcome our difficulties. Last year, and also the preceding year, we took it for granted that the economic readjustment could be completed very quickly. This year, after the meeting attended by 7,000 people, Comrade Chen Yun⁷⁰ gave a talk at a conference held in the West Building of Zhongnanhai.²⁷² Comrade Liu Shaoqi also delivered a speech, in which he made a definitive assessment of the situation — an assessment with which Comrade Mao Zedong agreed. Liu pointed out that the readjustment would take a certain period of time to complete, during which efforts should be concentrated on economic recovery. We must try to bring both agriculture and industry back to normal, because both have suffered damage in terms of production capacity. In some factories equipment and facilities are in bad repair, normal production has been disrupted, and rules and regulations have been ignored. So efforts at rehabilitation are needed. There are similar problems in the field of education. As things stand now, the readjustment will take a considerably long time. Roughly speaking, it will probably be our major task throughout the period of the Third Five-Year Plan or even longer. Most of our comrades have now come to share this view.

Can we say that we already have a very clear idea of the existing difficulties? No, we can't. True, we are now aware of the course of future development and the relatively long period required for read-

justment. But specific problems are usually very complex, because they involve a multitude of factors. Very often it is only after some obvious sign of trouble appears that we realize there is a problem. There have been many instances of this. One example is the key water conservancy project at Sanmenxia. We still can't make a definitive judgement about its advantages as opposed to its disadvantages. The original problem was the high content of sand and mud in the river water. But when the river is cleared of sand and mud, that creates new problems. Once free of silt, the water flows with greater speed and force, racing over its bed in the lower reaches, changing its course and threatening the dikes and dams. Another problem is that the use of clear water for irrigation purposes in areas along the upper reaches makes it difficult for the river currents to wash away the saline-alkali accumulations in the soil. In short, both flooding and clear water pose problems. In ancient times our forefathers acquired much experience in dealing with these problems. But we just ignored that experience. The Sanmenxia water conservancy project is designed to serve a variety of purposes, including flood prevention, irrigation, generation of electricity, and transportation. Our objective in building the project is quite right, but our approach proved wrong. At the moment, not only is it impossible to generate power, but there is a serious problem of silting. This calls for major remedial actions. There are many other similar cases. So we must not take it for granted that we have already made a correct estimate of the difficulties we face. I hope the comrades from various departments and localities will bear this in mind.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi has asked, "What's wrong with overestimating the difficulties a little?" It is always helpful, never harmful, for leaders to point out difficult problems and find ways to solve them. Anyone who is afraid of difficulties or loses heart when they are pointed out to him is no Marxist. Revolution means identifying difficulties, facing them and finding ways to overcome them. It is by overcoming difficulties that the Communist Party has won victories. This is true of revolutionary wars, and it is also true of socialist transformation and socialist construction. Problems of any kind are generally complex. Earlier at this conference Comrade Yao Yilin²⁷³ gave a talk on our price policies. He has made a careful study of this question. Nevertheless, his proposals are only tentative. Things are very complicated, and we may run into some problems. For example, purchasing power may exceed commodity supply, there my

be financial deficits and we may have difficulties withdrawing currency from circulation. New problems may also arise in the educational, political and judicial fields. So it's better to acknowledge that we may have underestimated the difficulties. A little overestimation of difficulties will not daunt us; on the contrary, it will inspire us to unite and to surmount them by relying on the people.

We feel that in the course of readjustment in the past two years, we often tended to underestimate the existing difficulties and to hope for better and faster results than were possible. This was true of almost all the plans and projects that came to me for approval. Do you think I myself prefer slow progress? Of course not, I want to see rapid progress too. When the massive campaign to accelerate steel production was launched just a few years ago, it was I who saw to it that all other sectors of the economy make way for steel production. Consequently, all those sectors suffered severe losses, and now we have to reverse our course, cutting back steel production to make way for them. Isn't this our own fault? Of course, there were some external factors, but we must not use them as an excuse for our failures. We failed because we allowed ourselves to get carried away. Originally, we wanted to produce an annual total of 18 million tons of steel, but we have now reduced this figure to six million. Anyway, no one can now claim that the original plan to produce 18 million tons of steel a year was right. But at this point it's not a question of whether or not we should regret that decision. We should blame neither heaven nor man. The important thing is to learn from our mistakes. At any rate, the desire for rapid progress reflects good intentions. In striving for quick results, however, we must also anticipate that we may have to slow down. Comrade Mao Zedong has said that so far as socialist construction is concerned, we still haven't had enough experience, there are still many "realms of necessity" which we have not yet recognized, and it takes time to achieve the leap from the realms of necessity to the realms of freedom.

The leading comrades of the Party have now reached a consensus about the situation. But this alone will not help very much. We have to make our views known to large numbers of cadres and also explain them to the masses. It goes without saying that leading authorities play a decisive role. But it will take much painstaking work of persuasion to translate their ideas into the actions of the masses, for the people will only accept these ideas through their own experience. Right now, the leading comrades on the provincial Party

committees hold approximately the same views as we central authorities. But the views of the leading comrades at the prefectural level are not quite the same, still less at the county level, in the rural people's communes and production brigades, in the factories and mining enterprises, and in other institutions. But we must not blame the local authorities for this. As was pointed out at the Meeting of Seven Thousand, the responsibility rests with the leading authorities at the central level who initiated many erroneous programmes. Of course, there are instances in which the local authorities went a little too far in carrying out the decisions of the central authorities. But more often than not, that happened as a result of the pressure exerted by departments at the central level. It will therefore take a period of painstaking effort to narrow the gap in understanding between the central and local authorities. It can't be done in a hurry. The specific measures of readjustment must be carried out in a systematic way. It is important to keep all circles well informed about new developments. Thanks to the Meeting of Seven Thousand, the 7,000 leading Party cadres have gained an understanding of the need for readjustments. As for public figures outside our Party, through the people's congresses and the political consultative conferences, they too have acquired a general understanding of our specific measures, although not a detailed one. It will take some time for them to understand everything thoroughly.

Second, we must have unflinching determination. Do we have it now? Yes, on the whole, I think so. One example was our decision last year to send more than 10 million people to settle in rural areas and to cut the number of staff and workers by 8.7 million. This was a typical example of our great determination. But last year it never occurred to us that this year we would be able to close down so many factories and so many government offices, again greatly reducing the number of staff and workers. No government in old China was ever able to do that. Only our people's government, which enjoys popular support, could do such a thing. There were no major disturbances last year. And this year things are getting better. At first we were hesitant and dared not think that this year we could succeed once again in mobilizing huge numbers of urban residents to move to the countryside, as we had done last year. I myself favoured the idea.

As for how to go about it, I thought it best to proceed systematically, watching every step as we went along. So we first decided

that the number of city dwellers to be transferred to rural areas this year should be seven million, including five million office staff and workers. Later on, since many local authorities suggested that it would be better for the population transfer to be completed in a single step, we changed our original decision and proposed that the number be increased to 13 million, including nine million staff and workers. After the recent discussions by the Standing Committee of the Party's Political Bureau, we have decided to send about 10 million staff and workers to the countryside. When these people are added to other city residents to be transferred this year, the total may exceed 20 million. It was only after a long process of deliberation that we finally decided to take this step. Such a decision would not have been possible last year, still less the year before last. Our objective is to make a drastic readjustment of the economy and to restructure it on a new foundation. This decision represents the will not only of the central authorities but also of the entire nation. It is no small matter, for it will have enormous impact on the people's lives throughout the country.

Third, we must adopt the right measures. We have devised some measures for the readjustment, but we have to rely on the masses for more ideas on how to tackle our problems. This was true in the war years and it will be true during the present period of economic development. If we put our heads together, we can find the way. Leading comrades in localities and departments should not hesitate to talk about the problems to the rank-and-file cadres. Once you have given them a clear picture of the existing problems, they will offer more useful advice than you can. If you don't explain problems clearly, they will wonder what you have up your sleeve, and this will give rise to mutual suspicion and widespread gossip. By making our decisions known to the general public, we can discover good solutions to problems, and that will enable us to achieve some preliminary successes in readjustment in the short space of a year or a year and a half, and then to strive for further progress. As time is pressing, we cannot afford to hesitate. On the other hand, we must be aware that the problems we are coming to grips with are very complex; a pull on a single hair may affect the whole human body. A little carelessness and we could make a mess of everything. So we must be on our guard. We should do all we can to avoid possible troubles, but we shouldn't be afraid of them and must be prepared to cope with them once they appear. We can overcome even very serious

troubles, so long as we keep large numbers of cadres and the people informed of the real situation. But we must proceed cautiously and do nothing precipitate.

The most important thing right now is to handle well the relationships between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other, between urban and rural development, and between the central and local authorities, a task already discussed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his speech "On the Ten Major Relationships". Because as it stands now, our agriculture cannot support industry on its present scale. The imbalances between various industrial sectors make sustained and balanced production impossible, and industry cannot support agriculture, ease the strain on the market or meet the needs of national defence. In some cases these imbalances have assumed staggering proportions. Urban development is also out of balance with rural development. Furthermore, all such essential elements of agricultural production as manpower, draught animals, soil fertility, water conservancy works, fertilizers, seeds, farm implements and transport facilities have decreased to varying degrees.

All this indicates that a certain period of time will be required to bring agriculture back to its normal capacity. Take grain production for example. It will take about three to five years, or even longer in some regions, to restore grain production to its previous level. More than five years will be needed to obtain a full recovery in all aspects of agriculture, including the cultivation of cash and other crops, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery. In carrying out the readjustments, therefore, we must focus on improving the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other and on the relationship between urban and rural development. Anyway, we cannot expect that all necessary readjustments will be completed this year.

The same is true for industry. Spending the next three years on the readjustment of industrial and capital construction projects will surely have some side-effects on economic growth in the following three. During the coming three years we shall have to mark time in the field of capital construction and to concentrate on agricultural development. Under these circumstances, no substantial growth in the industrial reserve and in the potential capacity for expanded reproduction can be expected in such industries as coal, lumber, nonferrous metals and chemicals. And this will necessarily have unfavour-

able effects on economic development during the last three years of the Third Five-Year Plan. Already at the Meeting of Seven Thousand we tried to cut back the planned targets for production and construction as much as possible. As we now see it, even the revised targets are still a little too high. It now appears that the plans to produce 18 million tons of steel and 350 million tons of coal in 1967 cannot be fulfilled. And we have to see how things go in the next two years before we can decide whether we can produce as much as 185 million tons of grain in 1967. The planned production in 1967 of 1.85 million tons of cotton is apparently impossible. In considering problems we have to be more realistic. We still can't clearly discern the course and scope of future economic development, and we should acknowledge our weakness in this respect.

Economic revitalization in our country, which has a huge population and a backward economy, will be an exceedingly difficult task. We must always keep a sharp lookout, lest things go wrong. This doesn't mean that we should beat a retreat or be downhearted, but that we must be cautious and vigilant. During this period of economic development we cannot afford to be self-complacent or careless.

As I pointed out at the Meeting of Seven Thousand, our central tasks for the present period are: to streamline the administration, to increase production and practise economy, to ensure sufficient supplies for the market and to put things in good order in every field.

By increasing production, I mean first of all increasing agricultural production. This is by no means easy. Unless agriculture, which is the foundation of our economy, is revitalized, our industry cannot stand on its own, and neither can our cities, even if we reduce the urban population by another 20 million. This situation is clear to all of us.

To speed up grain production we must concentrate on two things: one is building bases for the production of commodity grain; the other is rehabilitating areas hit by natural disasters. As for cotton production, it must not be allowed to decline any further, but should increase from year to year. The practice of rationing cotton cloth at the rate of one metre per person per year should be discontinued. The rehabilitation of cotton production will proceed more slowly than that of grain production. While the central authorities will concern themselves with the major cotton-growing areas, the local authorities should encourage the peasants to devote part of their private

plots to cotton. None of the cotton grown on such plots should be purchased by the state. Whenever grain supplies are shipped back to rural areas for resale, first consideration should be given to the needs of cotton-growers.

In view of the weakness of the country's agricultural foundation, there must be a substantial readjustment of industry. The disorder existing in some enterprises and the imbalances between various planned production targets, some of which are too high, must be remedied. Our policy is to achieve well balanced development by filling in the gaps, while leaving some room for manoeuvre. We can't do these things all at once, but we must stick to this policy and carry it out step by step. As for the lack of certain necessary branches of the economy, all countries without exception have some missing links and weak points in their economies and this is why they should supply each other's needs. But that's a different problem. If an economic blockade were imposed on us by most countries, we would have no alternative but to stop producing certain goods and switch to producing substitutes. So far, we do not yet have the facilities necessary to produce alloy steel, nor do we have a domestic source of rubber, so for both those things we have to depend on imports. Factories that are capable of producing whole sets of equipment must not confine themselves to the manufacture of only the main machines, for without auxiliary machines there can be no complete sets and their products will only be stockpiled in warehouses. A survey conducted at the end of last year showed that a total of about 10 billion yuan's worth of equipment was lying idle for a long time in warehouses, which represented an enormous waste.

In accordance with our policy of industrial readjustment, we shall close down or merge a number of factories, reduce the scale of production and construction, urge some enterprises to switch to other lines of production, and transfer a certain number of workers to other occupations. Of the more than 60,000 industrial enterprises throughout the country, more than half will probably be shut down. These may seem to be negative measures. But they will enable us to make the best use of our resources, such as raw and semi-finished materials, electric power and coal, by allocating them to those factories which turn out a variety of quality products and which have high productivity, a low rate of material consumption and low production costs. It is most likely that because of these measures the country's production as a whole will drop slightly during a certain

period. The end result will be a steady increase in manufactured goods and a constant improvement in the quality of products. And there will be an increasing amount of products available for export. Needless to say, all this can be realized only through readjustment and will take some time.

The objectives of the readjustment are to streamline the administration, to increase production and practise economy, to ensure necessary supplies for the market and to put things in good order. To raise agricultural and industrial production, it is necessary to cut back on industry and capital construction, make corresponding reductions on other fronts, streamline the administration and reduce the urban population and the numbers of staff and workers. All this represents a forward-looking policy, a policy designed to achieve progress through readjustment and restructuring.

THE KEY TO BUILDING A POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY IS TO MODERNIZE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

January 29, 1963

I am a layman in natural science. But as my trip to Shanghai coincides with your discussion of a 10-year programme for science, I'd like to avail myself of this opportunity to speak on a few questions.

First, we should understand how important the modernization of science and technology is to socialist construction.

China's science started on a poor foundation. If we want to build a powerful socialist country, we must modernize agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology, and of these the most crucial are science and technology.

To modernize science and technology we must do the following: seek truth from facts, move forward in an orderly way, make each of the four modernizations promote the other and try to catch up with the more advanced countries. The first two points refer to the scientific approach. As early as in the rectification movement of 1942,¹⁴ Chairman Mao Zedong set forth the principle of seeking truth from facts, a principle that is also applicable to natural science. China is a socialist country with the largest population in the world. In addition to seeking truth from facts and advancing in an orderly way, we should foster great aspirations and lofty ideals, so as to catch up with the advanced countries in the shortest possible time. We must proceed with the four modernizations simultaneously so that each promotes the other. We must on no account postpone the modernization of agriculture, national defence and science and technology until we have modernized industry. Although we lag behind the developed

Speech at a meeting held in Shanghai on science and technology.

countries, we can draw on their advanced experience and make use of their latest scientific and technological achievements. By doing so we shall broaden our horizons and move faster. Of course detours are unavoidable, but we shall try not to make too many. We can and must catch up with the developed countries. But we don't have to follow on the heels of others at every step. That way we'll remain behind forever. Only if we combine these principles of seeking truth from facts, advancing in an orderly way, making each of the four modernizations promote the other and trying to catch up with the developed countries can we make our scientific and technological development meet the requirements of the 1960s and approach the level of the most developed countries at a fairly rapid pace.

Second, we should recognize the factors that favour our effort to modernize science and technology.

We have dialectical materialism as the guide to our thinking, not subjective idealism or mechanical materialism. Dialectical materialism will help us to understand objective laws better and will give freer rein to our subjective initiative.

China is endowed with abundant manpower and natural resources. Our country boasts many nationalities, a huge population and all kinds of products, and naturally we are duty bound to make a great contribution to our country and to mankind. In ancient times, our forefathers had many inventions to their credit; in modern times, why shouldn't we have even more? Newcomers surpass the old-timers, and we ought to surpass our ancestors.

The superior socialist system will guarantee our success. In the old society, scientists made their contributions single-handed, without help from others; in the new society, with a fundamentally changed social system in which both the productive forces and people's minds have been emancipated, scientists need no longer struggle in isolation but can pool their knowledge and efforts and can work freely to bring their talents into full play. Of course, this will take time. Moreover, dialectically combining collective needs with personal freedom requires a process of practice and cognition. Some of you comrades present here have witnessed four stages of history: the last years of the Qing Dynasty, the northern warlord government,⁶ Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime and socialist society. When you compare the four periods, you can clearly see the superiority of our socialist system.

We have a large contingent of scientists, technicians and other intellectuals, many times larger than the one in old China. From the time students were first sent abroad, during the last years of the Qing Dynasty just before 1911, to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, there were altogether 200,000 college graduates. But in the short span from the founding of New China to the end of last year, we have produced 960,000 college graduates and millions of middle-school graduates. And 10 years from now we shall see a million more college graduates, a number unparalleled in the old era. Today we have a considerable corps of technicians and a number of scientific research institutes, and these are valuable assets to the country.

We have built a preliminary foundation for industrialization. We can make or produce most of the equipment and raw and semi-finished materials we need. This provides favourable conditions for the advance of our science and technology. We can surely make greater contributions than our forefathers did, provided that, under the leadership of the Party, we make the best use of our advantages, pool all our knowledge and efforts and rely on ourselves.

Third, I'd like to suggest some ways in which we can modernize science and technology with faster, greater, better and more economical results.

1. We should enhance the sense of scientists and technicians that they are masters of the country. In other words, they should accept the Party's leadership, serve socialism and voluntarily remould themselves. Throughout our lives we should learn while we work. You'll feel happy when you become aware of the need for constantly studying and remoulding yourselves. We must guard against complacency and rectify our shortcomings, if we want to make progress; otherwise, we shall slip back. Mankind should always advance, so we should all encourage each other and advance together.

2. We should concentrate the scientific and technological forces and increase them. Research institutes, educational institutions and factories should closely combine their efforts, sharing the work and co-operating with one another. We should not place lopsided emphasis either on the role of research institutes or on that of schools or factories. For example, Shanghai is pooling the efforts of its technical forces in an attempt to master semi-transistor technology, so specialists in this field should be transferred from other places to Shanghai to lend a hand.

3. We should improve relations among all sectors of society, first of all, relations between the Party and the masses and those between the leaders and the led. By the leaders I mean collective leadership, not any individual Party member. Of course, individual Party members sometimes speak according to the Party's directives and convey its ideas. Nevertheless, each person has his or her personality with more interest in a particular field of work. In conveying the Party's ideas, a person is likely to talk more about this particular field. Not all speeches of leaders represent directives. If they did, how could people get along? That's why I'm not in favour of taking everything a person says as a directive from the Party. Conveying the Party's views is only one aspect of the matter. We should attach more importance to close ties between the Party and the masses, between the young and the old, and between teachers and pupils. In relations between the old and the young, the former should enjoy first priority. It is they who are leading the way, but being vigorous, the younger people can push our cause forward. In addition, we should correctly handle the relations between theory and practice and between tasks and the scientific approach to them. We should enable the leaders, the experts and the masses to combine their efforts and bring about close co-ordination among scientific research institutes, schools and production units. It is the responsibility of the State Science and Technology Commission to deal with these relations satisfactorily. The Commission should intensify ideological work, organize scientists and technicians and readjust relations among all sectors.

4. We should improve the working conditions and environment for scientists and technicians engaged in research. The State Science and Technology Commission and the relevant government departments should facilitate their work. Laboratories are indispensable for research and teaching, and workshops are indispensable for production. Shanghai should be provided with the equipment it lacks, and when necessary, it should import some for the purpose. We shall try our best to meet your needs. Research institutes, schools and factories can support each other with materials and publications. For some time, lax control over the ordering of foreign publications resulted in duplicate subscriptions; this was followed by too rigid control. We should continue to order the necessary books and reference materials and to give the necessary exchange publications to our foreign partners, or we'll get nothing in return. As for additional

research assistants and skilled workers, I'm sure you can solve those problems yourselves. Of course we can help by transferring a few from other parts of the country, when necessary. All in all, with favourable conditions, you will achieve new successes.

As for the working conditions, true scientists are never too particular about that. Still, we cannot ignore their difficulties in their everyday lives and in housing. For instance, we should help those whose homes are far away from their places of work. Some research projects call for concerted efforts and collective activities, but that doesn't rule out individual research. The State Science and Technology Commission should make arrangements for scientists to focus on their special research and not to be involved too much in other things. All departments and institutes should do that too. We have been used to doing rush jobs and haven't made proper arrangements for routine work. I hope you will make suggestions about the working and living conditions of scientists.

I'm convinced that you will be able to work out an excellent 10-year programme for the development of science.

Our task is a hard one, but we are all optimistic; our responsibility is enormous, but we are full of energy. Shanghai is China's largest industrial city and a vital base for science and technology. We have high hopes for scientific and technological circles here. We wish you all success in working for the four modernizations.

LEARN FROM LEI FENG

March 6, 1963

Learn from Comrade Lei Feng²⁷⁴ — his firm class stand and his clear understanding of what to love and what to hate, his revolutionary faithfulness to his word, his communist spirit of selflessness and his proletarian fighting will that defied personal danger.

Inscription published in *Liberation Army Daily*.

COMBAT BUREAUCRATISM

May 29, 1963

Bureaucratism is a political disease to which our leading organs are highly vulnerable.

Bureaucratism is a legacy of the exploiting classes who ruled China for so long. China was a feudal society for many, many years; for the past century it was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. This accounts for the profound influence of bureaucratism in our country.

Bureaucratism is closely related to liberalism, individualism, commandism, routinism, decentralism, departmentalism and sectarianism. So our struggle against it must be related to the struggle against all these tendencies. Of course, there are other undesirable tendencies, but the seven I have mentioned are the dominant ones.

Bureaucratism manifests itself in many different ways. Let me try to classify bureaucrats and take up the types one by one.

1. Bureaucrats who know very little about what is going on around them or what is happening in the departments under their administration, because they hold aloof from realities and are out of touch with the masses. They neither conduct social surveys and investigations, nor work out concrete measures to implement Party policies, nor do political and ideological work among their subordinates. When they give orders, they inevitably cause great harm to the state and the people. They are bureaucrats who are divorced from both the leadership and the masses.

No matter how correct the Party's line and policies are, if their implementation is hindered by the bureaucrats, the Party will become alienated from the masses. That's why I put this type of bureau-

Excerpt from a speech made at a meeting of leading cadres from departments directly under the Central Committee and the State Council.

cratism at the head of the list and call on all leading cadres, especially those at higher levels, to be on their guard against it.

2. Bureaucrats who are arrogant and conceited, who take a one-sided, subjective approach to problems, handle matters carelessly, indulge in empty political discussions but pay no attention to practical matters, turn a deaf ear to advice, make arbitrary decisions, and give orders in total disregard of actual circumstances. They are bureaucrats who habitually resort to coercion and give arbitrary orders.

If a person in a leading position becomes proud and unapproachable, thinks himself head and shoulders above others and claims to know everything, and if this attitude finds expression in his style of work, that is very dangerous indeed. Bureaucrats of this type usually pay no attention to practical matters, for they regard themselves as purely political supervisors. They haven't the patience to listen to or analyse other people's opinions, which they consider insignificant, with the result that they are often overbearing, make arbitrary decisions and issue unjustifiable orders.

3. Bureaucrats who work diligently all year round, busying themselves from morning till night with all sorts of jobs. But they make no study of the affairs they handle and know nothing of the merits and failings of their subordinates. They make no preparations before delivering a speech, and they have no plans for their work. What's more, they never bother to study relevant policies, and they ignore the importance of relying on the masses. As a result, they often work alone and in the dark, unable to identify the right course of action. They are bureaucrats who are muddleheaded, have no sense of orientation and are afflicted with routinism.

Quite often we hear someone describe himself as a busy, hard-working bureaucrat. This seems to suggest that his type of bureaucratism is permissible. But I think that it too should be repudiated. Of course, we must not be too hard on the rank-and-file cadres who, being busy and overworked, may sometimes become confused and lose their bearings. But how can we allow a leading cadre to excuse himself for being buried in routine?

4. Bureaucrats who put on airs and behave high and mighty. They lord it over people, so that others stand in awe of them. They are insufferably arrogant and don't treat others as equals. Moreover, they are often rude to people, or shout abuse at them. They are bureaucrats who behave like overlords.

5. Bureaucrats who, although ignorant and incompetent, consider it beneath their dignity to consult their subordinates for advice or suggestions. Given to boasting and exaggeration, they often send false reports to the central authorities. They make false or misleading statements and gloss over their own mistakes. They claim all credit for themselves and shift all blame onto others. They are bureaucrats whose hallmark is dishonesty.

6. Bureaucrats who, being afraid to take on responsibility, find all sorts of excuses to decline assignments and bargain over every task assigned to them. They are dilatory and irresolute in their work and repeatedly put things off. Furthermore, they are often apathetic and careless. They are bureaucrats who shirk responsibility.

7. Bureaucrats who are perfunctory about all their work and only want to avoid offending anybody. Well versed in the ways of the world and skilful in interpersonal relations, they know how to flatter their superiors, win the good will of their subordinates and curry favour with everyone. They are bureaucrats whose only aim in life is to hold on to their official posts and lead a comfortable life.

8. Bureaucrats who can make no progress in political study or in improving their professional skills. Their talk is dull and meaningless and their methods of leadership are completely ineffective. They are totally unqualified for the posts they hold and capable of nothing except eating their unearned meals. They are bureaucrats whose chief characteristics are sluggishness and incompetence.

9. Bureaucrats who just while away their time without a definite purpose, indulging in food and drink. Too lazy to think for themselves, they often echo other people's opinions and have no answer to offer to any question. They rarely show any enthusiasm for their work. They are bureaucrats who are brainless and incompetent.

10. Bureaucrats who are so lazy that they lean drowsily on their elbows and ask someone to read aloud to them the written reports submitted by subordinate departments. They casually express their approval or disapproval of the matters in question without even looking at the reports themselves, and if their instructions turn out to be wrong, they shift the responsibility onto someone else. Even when at a loss as to how to tackle a problem, they are unwilling to seek advice from other people, so they either pass the buck or just leave the matter unsettled. They are yes-men in the presence of

superiors, always nodding their agreement of making evasive remarks. But they like to order their subordinates about, pretending to know a great deal about matters of which they are in fact ignorant. They appear to get along well with their peers, but actually their thoughts are poles apart. They are lazy bureaucrats.

11. Then there is institutionalized bureaucratism. This type of bureaucratism is found in an organization with overlapping and overstaffed departments where many people bustle around inefficiently and aimlessly, and it not only causes financial and material waste but also impedes the normal functioning of the organization.

It seems to be a rule that no matter how intelligent and capable its leading members may be, if an organization is overstaffed and has an overextended structure, it will be affected by bureaucratism. The reason is that when an organization has become overexpanded and overstaffed, many people spend all their time in idle talk. Since papers have to be routed to many staff members, few matters can be settled in time. By contrast, a small, close-knit organization can take action on a matter quickly through brief consultations.

12. Bureaucrats who constantly ask for instructions but don't read them, call on subordinate departments to send in many reports but don't comment on them, and have many statistical records or other data sent to them but make no use of them. They hold many meetings but don't communicate to the participants the directives or decisions of higher authorities. They have many contacts with people but don't discuss matters with them. They are bureaucrats who are obsessed with red tape and formalism.

13. Bureaucrats who seek comfort and pleasure but are afraid of hard work. They try to grab personal gain and to seek advantage through "pull". Their conduct reminds one of the old saying, "When a man ascends to high position, even his dogs and chickens will rise with him." They give dinners and offer gifts to everyone they want to curry favour with, and they take particular interest in decorating their homes with luxurious furniture and ornaments. They want to enjoy as much leisure as possible and don't care whether others are overworked. When dealing with people, they give preference to their own colleagues. They are bureaucrats who are always looking for privileges.

Our cadres are servants of the people and should share the lot of the masses. If they are only interested in their own comfort and pleasure, fight shy of hard work, seek benefits through "pull" and

try to secure personal privileges, they will surely arouse the people's indignation.

14. Bureaucrats who, as they climb the ladder of the official hierarchy, become increasingly ill-tempered and crave ever-higher living standards, including larger rooms, more luxurious furniture and an increasing supply of goods. If leading cadres behave that way, their subordinates are bound to indulge in extravagance and waste and pursue selfish ends by dishonest means. They are bureaucrats who put on the airs of high officials.

15. Bureaucrats who use public office for private gain and pursue selfish ends by pretending to serve public interests. They are like warehouse keepers who steal the goods entrusted to their care, or law enforcement officers who break the law themselves. They take more than they are entitled to and never return it or make compensation. They are selfish bureaucrats.

16. Bureaucrats who bargain with the Party for status and social position and are unhappy if their wishes are not satisfied. They shirk heavy responsibilities and prefer lighter ones, and they are very particular about their salaries and material benefits. They curry favour with their colleagues but are indifferent to the well-being of the masses. They are bureaucrats who crave status and gain.

17. Bureaucrats who are in conflict with each other. This results in divided leadership, contradictory policies, slackness in work, mutual exclusion among staff members, alienation of leaders from the rank and file and absence of both centralization and democracy. They are bureaucrats whose dominant feature is disunity.

18. Bureaucrats who defy organizational discipline. They choose their friends and relatives for promotion, form small groups to pursue selfish interests and cover up each other's evil-doing, establish feudal relations with others and pursue factional interests. They place their own advantage above everything else and benefit their cohorts at the expense of the public good. They are bureaucrats whose hallmark is sectarianism.

19. Bureaucrats who are degenerating politically and whose revolutionary will is on the decline. They like to put on the airs of veterans and flaunt their seniority, they have a particular appetite for good food and drink and they prefer leisure to hard work, often amusing themselves with sightseeing trips to different places. These people are too lazy to use their brains and hands and show no con-

cern for state interests or the people's welfare. They are bureaucrats who are political degenerates.

It is really deplorable to let bureaucratism reach this point. Revolutionary zeal and a vigorous, enterprising spirit are basic requirements for all cadres and for all Communist Party members. Once revolutionary enthusiasm subsides, political degeneration sets in.

20. Bureaucrats who give the green light to unhealthy practices and let wrongdoers go unpunished. They retaliate against anyone who dares to criticize them, act in defiance of law and discipline, stifle democracy and bully the people. They even make no distinction between the enemy and ourselves and connive with wrongdoers to commit offences that jeopardize the interests of the Party and the state. They are the most dangerous bureaucrats.

I have just made a classification of various types of bureaucrats. It may not be a very scientific analysis. I don't mean that all these kinds of bureaucratism have appeared in any one organization. But we must recognize that they can be very harmful and perilous to the state organs and to our Party, now that it is in power. True, only a small number of our leading cadres are guilty of serious bureaucratism. Nevertheless, as pointed out in the Party's recent directive of March 1,²⁷⁵ bureaucratic attitudes and practices have caused enormous losses in our work, and if allowed to spread unchecked they can have even more serious consequences. We must therefore put a stop to them right now.

MEET THE TEST IN FIVE DOMAINS

May 29, 1963

Now I should like to talk about the need for leading cadres to meet the test in five domains: ideology, politics, social relations, family relations and daily life.

First, we must meet the test in the realm of ideology. This requires what we often refer to as remoulding our thinking and establishing a correct outlook on the world and on life. By this we mean the Marxist-Leninist outlook, or the outlook guided by dialectical and historical materialism. For this purpose, we need to study and learn how to apply Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical principles, as expounded in his essays "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" and his recent remarks on knowledge.²⁷⁶ This is a lifetime endeavour. As we all know, the times are always moving forward. Our aim in ideological remoulding is to prevent our thinking from lagging behind the times, to keep moving along with them. Since things never cease developing, we should never cease remoulding our thinking. Even in ten thousand years from now, contradictions between the advanced and the backward, between the new and the old and between the individual and the collective will still be reflected in people's minds. So there will still be a need for ideological remoulding. How can we now set a definite year or a specific date for the final completion of this task? That is absolutely impossible. Even those comrades who joined the revolution many years ago may fall behind the ranks if they don't pay enough attention to ideological remoulding and consequently allow their revolutionary will to diminish. We must therefore look upon ideological remoulding as a

Excerpt from a speech at a conference attended by leading cadres from departments directly under the Central Committee and the State Council. Comrade Zhou Enlai often returned to this subject during talks with intellectuals, democratic figures and his relatives.

long-term task to be tackled with unceasing effort. That view will help broaden our perspective. Since there will still be contradictions in the ideological sphere even after ten thousand years, since there will still be the need for people to remould their thinking even then, how can we now assume that we have already accomplished the task and can therefore feel satisfied? No, we should never feel satisfied.

To temper ourselves in the ideological sphere, we need to consider our own class origin, the class relations between people around us and the class relations involved in matters we are handling. Let us assume that you come from a good family background, that you have an untarnished work record and that you joined the revolution some years back. You still need to give careful consideration to the specific social environment in Hong Kong, for example, if you are assigned to work there. If, instead of being assigned to Hong Kong, you are required to stay in Beijing to work in diplomacy or foreign trade, which involve frequent contacts with foreigners or businessmen, you need to make a study of the people and the issues you come across. We are now conducting a good deal of trade with capitalist countries. Plans are under way to import complete sets of equipment. Some of the comrades who are entrusted with this sort of work need to have frequent contacts with foreign businessmen. It is essential for these comrades to make a detailed analysis of such contacts. The same also applies to me, because I too have frequent contacts with foreigners. Anyway, we have to pay close attention to the relations between different classes.

Here, I should like to cite my own experience as an illustration. I was born into a feudal family, and the education I received was a bourgeois education. Nevertheless, by means of ideological remoulding, I have now transformed myself into a revolutionary intellectual. At certain times in the past, I undertook Party work relating to the united front, and that brought me into contact with Chiang Kai-shek on many occasions, and even with General Marshall of the United States.²⁷⁷ I have quite a number of former schoolmates and friends who are members of the Kuomintang and now live in Taiwan. I also have many friends now living in the United States. So my social relations are quite complicated. They involve a great many people, including both Party and non-Party people, and even foreigners. Furthermore, I often have to participate in all sorts of activities. Sometimes, I have to take a trip abroad. Usually, during such tours, I have to meet with heads of state of capitalist countries. The com-

plexity of my social contacts reminds me that I have to keep a clear head and remain on the alert. I am now 65. But can I claim that I have already steeled myself ideologically to such a point that I don't need to remould my thinking any more? I dare not say that. Comrade Liao Luyan,²⁷⁸ recalling something I had said, once remarked: "Even Premier Zhou says he needs ideological remoulding, let alone us." That was a well-intentioned remark, and I appreciated it very much. It's true that I often say I too need ideological remoulding. That's an endeavour I am still continuing, and I'm willing to take the lead in this respect.

It is my hope that all of us recognize the importance of ideological transformation. We must be aware that all kinds of social relations and many other things can have an influence on a person's ideology. So we often need to examine ourselves and to exchange views with our comrades. It's like taking a regular "ideological bath". We should consider ideological remoulding as indispensable as air, something we can't live without. Otherwise, we shall find our thoughts rusting and corroding. Every Party member, from the day he joins the Party, must be mentally prepared to remould his thoughts continually until the day he dies. The same goes for those of our friends who have not yet joined the Party but who have plunged into the revolution, working for socialist construction and socialist transformation.

Second, we must meet the test in the realm of politics. In this connection, the most important thing is to adhere to our political stand. Don't take it for granted that we are all steadfast with regard to our political stand just because we have joined the revolutionary ranks. Political stand is an abstract concept. Whether you adhere unswervingly to the revolutionary stand can be judged only by your performance in actual struggles. You might have stood firm in one struggle but not in another. So one's steadfastness or vacillation with regard to political stand can be tested only over a long period of struggles. To judge a person's political steadfastness, we also need to look at his attitude towards work, his understanding and implementation of Party policies, his relations with the masses and his demonstration of Party spirit. As for those who have not yet joined the Party, much depends on whether they regard the proletariat as the most advanced class and are therefore willing to accept its ideology as their guide. One thing that is of particular importance for

all of us is our readiness to make criticisms and self-criticisms and to correct mistakes the moment they come to our notice.

From what I have said, it is clear that to stand firm in the face of tests in the political sphere is not so easy. We must not assume that because a person joined the revolution long ago and has fought on many a battlefield and performed praiseworthy exploits, these are absolute guarantees that he is steadfast in his political stand. There is no such guarantee. Otherwise, how do you explain that Chen Duxiu,³⁸ Wang Ming¹⁸² and Gao Gang²⁷⁹ failed to maintain their revolutionary stand? Actually, Chen Duxiu's thinking had very little in common with Marxism-Leninism, and needless to say, he had never accepted it as his guiding doctrine. As for Wang Ming, he has so far refused to admit his mistakes. So we should always do our best to hold fast to the revolutionary stand in order to come through tests in the political sphere.

Third, we must withstand the evil influence of the old society. We have always stressed the need to stand firm in the ideological and the political domains. Today, I should like to call your attention to tests that we face in three other areas. This is because the Chinese society we have inherited is extremely complex, and we are confronted with the task of transforming it. In society today the old force of habit still exists — the feudal, capitalist force of habit that can so easily contaminate our thinking. The moment you lower your guard, the old habits will take the opportunity to pollute your mind. It follows that the transformation of the old society will be an arduous task for us, especially for comrades in leading positions. The old force of habit will not disappear overnight. It will take a long time to transform it. How can we expect the transformation to be accomplished at one stroke?

These old habits permeate virtually every sector of society and all our offices, institutions and organizations. Take the city of Beijing, for example. You can easily observe the outmoded social habits and conventions everywhere you go. To transform the society of this city into a new one will take several decades at least. I'm afraid the participants at this meeting who are now beyond the age of 60 may not have the chance to see the city's final transformation. From this, we can see that it is not so easy to withstand the evil influence of the old society. Only by participating in the transformation of the old society can we remould our own thinking. Otherwise, it is hard to say whether the old society is influencing us or vice versa. In the

play *Sentries Under the Neon Lights*, someone asks, “Are we going to transform the bourgeoisie, or is it going to transform us?” That’s a meaningful question. In fact, while you are transforming the old society, it is influencing you in return. This transformation will be a long-term, repeated struggle, a process during which you and the old society will each influence the other. Even if you have stood the test of the social environment in a particular place, you still need to withstand the old habits and old social conventions in a new place to which you are assigned. You may have stood fast in the environment here at home, but it could be another matter if you are posted to Hong Kong or abroad. So to withstand the harmful influence of society, we need to have determination and be prepared for a long-term struggle.

Fourth, we must deal with our relatives correctly. This includes not only members of the immediate family but also more distant relatives. Are you going to influence your relatives or are they going to influence you? This is the first question a cadre in a leading post has to answer. It is also a matter that you must handle correctly. If you don’t, chances are it is you who will be under the sway of your relatives’ ideas, not the other way around. I think the best way to deal with the problem of our relatives is to rely on the help of society, that is, to let them be tempered and remoulded in the midst of the masses. We must have faith in the new society’s capacity to temper people. Dealing with our relatives in the right way is easier said than done. You have several people, especially your children, living with you under the same roof all the time. So the question arises, who should influence whom? Should the parents influence the children or vice versa? Here, I should like to appeal to all our leading cadres, the 407 participants at this meeting in particular,²⁸⁰ myself included, to set a good example in this respect. We must see to it that our own children are not spoiled. While we should take care not to behave like an overlord, we must also make sure that our children are not spoiled by indulgence. Otherwise, how shall we explain our failure to bring up a trustworthy younger generation? Ours is a socialist society, different from the feudal and capitalist societies. Nevertheless, we can draw useful lessons from history. Qin Shihuang, the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), for example, succeeded in unifying China. But he spoiled his son, Qin II, with the result that the dynasty crumbled during the latter’s reign. We must not allow our own children to become a burden on the state and

society and an obstacle to our revolutionary cause. It is good for leading cadres to place strict, high demands on their children, because that can spur them to progress.

Fifth, we must stand the test in our daily lives. This involves both the material and ideological aspects of everyday life. So far as material things are concerned, we leading cadres should always be satisfied, or more than satisfied, with what we have, prefer the frugal life and feel embarrassed when we are granted more than our fair share of benefits. If we look upon hard work and plain living as virtues, we shall have peace of mind and be modest in our personal spending so that more funds will be available for the collective welfare and for state accumulation. In this way we can help to turn our country into a powerful socialist state at a faster pace. So far as the ideological aspect of life is concerned, we must above all be wholeheartedly dedicated to the cause of communism and be concerned about the well-being of the people and the future of the world. In this way, we shall develop a stronger sense of responsibility and higher moral standards.

Of course, this doesn't mean we should busy ourselves all day long with political struggles and with our work. As human beings, we need colour and variety in our lives, we need to feel cheerful and relaxed. So we have to have art and entertainment. But they should be designed to stimulate people's thinking and raise their cultural and moral levels. Art and entertainment should be instructive. Accordingly, the repertoires of our artists and performing troupes must have an instructive value. Works of literature and art that are vulgar and of degraded taste, works that portray brutality and horror or glorify decadent, depraved ways of life are products of the capitalist and feudal classes and must be repudiated. On no account can we take a bureaucratic attitude towards such works or tolerate them, because they produce a harmful effect on us, especially on the healthy growth of the younger generation. We must be aware that certain literary and artistic trends of thought in the capitalist countries are decadent. These are cultural dregs and dross, and it is our duty to keep them from corrupting our cadres and especially our young people. So we need to straighten things out in this field. At a recent meeting of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles I talked about this matter and also about the need to reorganize our writers and artists and to devote more efforts to their ideological remoulding.

It is not easy for an individual to meet the test in these five domains all at once. It takes a long time. But we leading cadres must make conscientious efforts and place strict demands on ourselves, trying to stand each and every test in the five domains.

EIGHT PRINCIPLES FOR ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO OTHER COUNTRIES

January 15, 1964

In providing economic and technical assistance to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly observes the following eight principles.

First, the Chinese Government consistently abides by the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It always regards aid to other countries as mutual and not as a kind of unilateral alms.

Second, in providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.

Third, the Chinese Government provides economic assistance by giving interest-free or low-interest loans and, where necessary, extends the deadline for repayment to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as much as possible.

Fourth, the purpose of the Chinese Government's foreign aid is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them start on the path of self-reliance and eventual independence in economic development.

Fifth, the projects which the Chinese Government helps the recipient countries build are those which will, as far as possible, require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their revenues and accumulate capital.

Sixth, the Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at prices negotiated on

Excerpt from answers given to reporters of the Ghana News Agency during Zhou Enlai's visit to that country. The eight principles were formally incorporated in the Joint Communique of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Mali issued on January 21, 1964.

the basis of international market prices. If the equipment and material provided are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government will replace them.

Seventh, in giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master the technology involved.

Eighth, the experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient countries. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

COMPLETE PROHIBITION AND THOROUGH DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

October 17, 1964

On October 16, 1964, China detonated an atomic bomb, thus making its first successful nuclear test. On the same day, the Chinese Government issued a statement on this event, setting forth in detail China's position on the question of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China has been compelled to conduct nuclear testing and develop nuclear weapons. Its mastering of nuclear arms technology is entirely for purposes of defence and for the protection of the Chinese people from the U.S. nuclear threat.

The Chinese Government solemnly declares that at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government will continue to work for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations and, for this purpose, has put forward in its statement the following proposal:

That a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that, as the first step, the conference should reach an agreement by which the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, either against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones or against each other.

Telegram sent to the heads of the governments of all countries in the name of Zhou Enlai, Premier of the State Council. It was carried in *Peopl's Daily* on October 21, 1964.

It is the common aspiration of all peace-loving countries and people of the world to prevent a nuclear war and to eliminate nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that its proposal will receive favourable consideration and a positive response from your Government.

SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE ON HARNESSING
THE HUANGHE RIVER

December 18, 1964

This conference is sponsored by the State Council. Before it opened I planned to spend two weeks or a month making an on-the-spot study. But my plan did not materialize, because I had to go abroad for some international affairs. And, after my return, I was kept busy in Beijing preparing for the Third National People's Congress.

We must make up our minds and start reconstructing the multi-purpose water-control project at Sanmenxia, Henan Province; otherwise the problem of silting will become more difficult to solve. Although the reconstruction programme is only a makeshift measure and will not solve all problems, it will nevertheless improve things.

Is our plan for harnessing the Huanghe River and for building the Sanmenxia water-control project entirely right or entirely wrong? Or is it mostly right or mostly wrong? This has remained a controversial issue. We can find the correct answer only after a period of experimentation and observation. It's no good to jump to a hasty conclusion. All sorts of opinions can be expressed as long as they serve to promote our socialist construction and benefit the people by controlling the Huanghe and ensuring better conservation of water and soil. In the days of old China, the attempt to tame the river could not succeed. Today we are determined to explore the laws governing control of the river and to gain a thorough understanding of them. Step by step, all thorny problems will be solved, and some day the Huanghe will surely be brought under control. We must aspire to that great goal.

It is now almost 15 years since we first started harnessing the Huanghe in 1950. But we have acquired only limited knowledge and experience in this connection, so we cannot say that we already have

a clear understanding of the laws that apply. It is true that we now have more experience than we had 15 years ago or when we started to build the multipurpose water-control project at Sanmenxia. But there will still be many unforeseen problems to which we shall have to find solutions. You comrades must guard against complacency and be modest in your own evaluation of the reconstruction projects. Before forming a final judgement you had better keep turning it over and over in your minds, make a detailed study of the relevant data and take frequent trips to the construction sites.

As many things are still under consideration, the reconstruction projects should not be too large. Our overall strategic objective is to bring the Huanghe under control and to make best use of all the water and soil resources along its upper, middle and lower reaches, so that the river will serve production. No doubt, this general guideline is quite correct. But the problem of both conserving and utilizing the water and soil resources is of not only tactical but strategic importance. Take the problem of silt, for example. What are the ideal areas for the storage of silt: the upper and middle reaches, or the lower reaches? If it is preferable to distribute the silt along the whole length of the river, then the question arises as to the appropriate percentage of silt to be deposited in each section. During the current discussions, many of you are focusing on particular problems that you think important and are not taking an overall view of related problems. Whatever economic construction projects we undertake, there are always laws and realms which we still do not know. As Engels put it, there are many unknown realms of necessity. Our duty is to constantly explore the unknown realms. As soon as an unknown realm has been conquered, we will be faced with other realms which are new and unfamiliar to us. In the world of nature there are more things unknown than things we have come to understand. Much of the historical data about the Huanghe River may have been quite useful in the past. But this is no longer the case, because tremendous changes have taken place over the centuries. Although we have consulted the historical records and collected quite a lot of hydrological data, it still cannot be said that we have now gathered sufficient knowledge to harness the river. Does this mean that we shall never be able to draw any conclusion for the purpose? No, it doesn't. At a certain point, we shall have acquired a fairly comprehensive body of well-founded knowledge from which we can draw conclusions, putting off decisions where our knowledge is incomplete. To delay

decisions in such cases is only prudent and will give us time to consult wide circles of people for their opinions and suggestions in the interest of future planning.

Even if our original programme for harnessing the river was quite all right at the time, it needs to be revised now that we have found defects in it. The same thing has happened with the Sixty-Article Regulations on Rural Work²⁶⁴ and the Forty-Article Programme for Agricultural Development.⁹⁴ Even plans for tasks with which we are so familiar need to be revised from time to time, let alone plans for such a complicated undertaking as harnessing the Huanghe River and building a multipurpose water-control project at Sanmenxia. We cannot say that our original plan is so perfect that it leaves no room for improvement. That is absolutely impossible. We therefore urge the technical experts and the leading comrades in the administrative departments concerned to hold discussions with the local people for their advice, so they can draw conclusions that are based on the realities. You comrades should continue to collect data and go on inspection tours to selected areas to conduct on-the-spot research. It would be desirable to have a division of labour, so that each of you has a particular subject to focus on. The best way to approach a problem is to consider it in the context of all the related circumstances. In other words, you need to bear the overall interests in mind. You should be modest and prudent and not insist that others agree with your ideas. More often than not, an individual's views have some defects. This being the case, people will find it both natural and necessary to express their criticism and offer their advice. Both criticism and advice are needed. You should be careful not to act rashly and draw premature conclusions. Does this mean unprincipled compromise? Not at all. What we mean is that we should pool the correct opinions and discard the wrong ones; in other words, we should always uphold truth and rectify error. In this way, we shall be able to make constant progress.

For these reasons, we have stated neither that the original plans for harnessing the Huanghe River and building the Sanmenxia water-control project were 100 per cent correct, nor that they were 100 per cent wrong. As for future possibilities, we should be a little bolder in thinking about them. I once said that in an emergency — if there were torrential rains, say, and the Sanmenxia reservoir, which is badly silted up, threatened to overflow the Guanzhong Plains, endangering the surrounding industrial areas — it might be necessary

to blow up the great dam at Sanmenxia. I said this not to urge you to blow up the dam but to encourage you to think boldly. If I hadn't expressed myself that way, you might hesitate to consider certain possibilities. You would probably think that idea was madness, considering the sums that have been invested in the dam. My point is that you should be daring in your thinking, daring enough to contemplate the destruction of the great dam at Sanmenxia if circumstances called for it. But I don't want you just to agree with whatever I have said, or to take it for granted that the dam at Sanmenxia must by all means be blown up. I shouted, so to speak, to get your attention so that you will think the matter over. If anyone has strong reasons to oppose blowing up the dam, please speak out and don't be apprehensive. To address problems of technology, we must try to identify the contradictions in each other's proposals and resolve them. That's the way to discover laws and truths.

In our first design for the Sanmenxia water-control project, we followed the advice of the Soviet experts, who considered that the normal height of a dam should be 360 metres above sea level. In our later design, however, we decided to build the dam only 350 metres above sea level, with an initial water storage only 335 metres above sea level. The reservoir was intended to hold a total volume of 9.6 billion cubic metres of water and silt. The problem is that during the five years since then, the accumulation of silt has increased to five billion tons, accounting for half the designed storage capacity. Surveys indicate that in the two years of 1961 and 1964 alone more than three billion tons of silt were deposited. If the accumulation of silt were allowed to continue at that rate for another five years, and if during those years there were two unusually heavy rains, the entire reservoir, from the bottom to a height of 335 metres, might very well fill up with sand. In that case, there's not the slightest doubt that the backed-up water would endanger the areas along the Weihe and Luohe rivers. Our previous assumption was that the Sanmenxia reservoir would have no silting-up problem for at least 20 to 30 years, during which time we could ameliorate the situation by building many water and soil conservation projects. But to our surprise, the reservoir has silted up to this enormous extent in just five years. If we take no action, it will certainly be totally filled up in the next five years and then, if there were torrential rains, it would threaten the Guanzhong Plains, one of the country's major bases for agricultural and industrial production. We must not consider the safety of only

the lower reaches of the river and forget about its middle reaches. Still less can we consider saving the lower reaches from flooding by allowing the Guanzhong Plains to be submerged. That runs counter to the dialectical way of thinking. Just imagine the distress if our casual planning for harnessing the river eventually caused not only the upper reaches but also the lower reaches to be flooded. Why not consider the matter from a different point of view? If the Sanmenxia reservoir were fully silted up, unusually heavy rains would flood the upper reaches of the Huanghe, and the torrent would rush down. Then if it were joined by the raging currents of the Yihe, Luohe and Qinhe rivers, could we be sure the dikes along the lower reaches of the Huanghe would hold? And even if the dikes didn't give way, it would be very dangerous. We need to consider matters from an overall point of view and make a comparative study of the different opinions and proposals.

Some comrades are in favour of keeping the original water-control programme unchanged. If their opinions were accepted, could we ensure that in the next five years there would be successful water and soil conservation in the vast areas along the upper and middle reaches of the river? Absolutely not. As I see it, there is simply no way of bringing the flooding and soil erosion on the northwestern plateau under control within five years. That is a task which I myself would never dare undertake, because it holds no promise of success. So there can be no doubt that the Sanmenxia project must be reconstructed.

The key problem facing us is the silt. How shall we deal with this problem in the next five or ten years? Even if the proposal for building two tunnels and using four huge steel tubes to discharge water and silt is promptly approved and construction is begun,²⁸¹ it is not until 1968 or 1969 that these projects can be put into operation. Moreover, the four steel tubes have only a limited discharging capacity — 1,000 cubic metres of silt per second. What shall we do if there are serious floods like those which occurred in 1961 and 1964 and which caused the reservoir to silt up with three billion tons of sand? This is a matter of extreme urgency.

It would have been easy enough for me just to ask the State Planning Commission to approve the plan for reconstructing the Sanmenxia water-control project. But opinion about it is still widely divided. I would have felt uneasy if I hadn't come here to consult you — that's why I managed to find time to attend this conference.

After listening to your opinions, I have a clear picture of the programme. Right now there is a near consensus about the necessity of building two tunnels and using four huge steel tubes to discharge water and silt. There is much less disagreement about this plan for reconstructing the Sanmenxia project than before. But there are still a few comrades who are against the plan and who have made an alternative proposal: to build three reservoirs along the upper reaches of the Huanghe River, which will not be a multipurpose project but will serve the sole function of storing silt. I'm afraid their proposal will not solve our problem. The reasons are that these reservoirs alone cannot hold all the silt and that in any event we don't have time to conduct a geological survey for the selection of construction sites. You may be right to blame the Huanghe River Water Conservancy Committee and the Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power for their failure to do a good job of water and soil conservation and of the hydrological surveys along the upper reaches. But the question right now is what action to take as a remedy? What is to be done in the next five years? You have to find an answer to that question. Those comrades who object to the reconstruction programme see only the benefits of having the accumulated silt washed away from the riverbed in the lower reaches. But why do they close their eyes to the troubles that have arisen in the middle reaches? If these troubles should increase to the point of causing damage to the industrial base of Xi'an, the resultant losses would be well above tens of millions of yuan. What are you going to say to the comrades from Xi'an and the Sanmenxia reservoir area to ease their anxiety? The proposed water and soil conservancy projects and silt-storage reservoirs are not practicable in the near future. How can the state afford the huge investment it would take to build so many projects in the short space of five years? What, then, is the best way out under the present circumstances, given that we cannot undertake these projects in either the upper or the lower reaches of the river? I hope all participants in this conference will give careful thought to this matter, taking an overall view of it. I admit that the Sanmenxia reconstruction programme, including building the two tunnels and using four large steel tubes, will not provide a final solution to the problem. But in the absence of a better alternative, it can serve as an emergency measure. Reconstruction will help solve the problems, which will remain unsolved if we take no action at all. The reconstruction programme will probably require quite a lot of money. But

we consider it a worthwhile investment, even if it comes to as much as 80 or 90 million yuan. We can't just sit idly by and let the problems remain unsolved. We need to look at things from a comprehensive point of view and to anticipate possible changes. We can't afford to wait any longer, and now is the time to make up our minds and give final approval to the Sanmenxia reconstruction programme.

Today I can only express my approval of the first phase of the programme, that is, the building of some additional projects. I shall continue to take care of other problems related to the programme. My approval of the additional projects doesn't imply that we should focus solely on the middle reaches of the river. Nothing of the kind. So far, we have worked out only one practicable blueprint for the reconstruction programme, but we shall continue to tackle other problems and tasks.

I want to emphasize once more that to find solutions to any problem it is very important to frequent the construction sites and plunge yourselves into practical work. Summing up practical work will enrich your experience. And you should be sure to do it at regular intervals. I'm still worried that the plan for building the two tunnels and using four steel tubes may pose some problems. We shouldn't look at things through rose-coloured glasses. Most likely there will be new problems that we haven't anticipated. You should devote much of your time and energy to designing, and when the designed projects go into construction, you should hold frequent consultations with the workers. In short, you should work carefully and hard. If problems crop up, telephone the authorities in Beijing without delay. As soon as a fault is discovered, action must be taken to eliminate it. Don't assume that once the reconstruction programme has been endorsed by the central authorities and approved by the State Planning Commission, you no longer have anything to worry about. Very often our decisions are flawed or not well thought through, especially in matters related to technology. I want to remind you once again that it was not easy for us to reach a final decision on building the two tunnels and using the four steel tubes. But since we have decided on this construction task, we have the responsibility for carrying it out. It is essential for all of us to use our brains, because we have to admit that we still don't have a good grasp of the laws governing control of the river. I should like to repeat my previous warning that just because you have understood one thing, you must not assume you know everything you need to

know. When we first decided to build the Sanmenxia water-control project we made some hasty judgements. Whenever we get carried away with excitement, we tend to view things one-sidedly and to overlook the other side of the coin. As a result, we fail to look at problems from a dialectical point of view. The root cause of this is that we don't know enough, which makes it difficult for us to pay due attention to various problems and to rank them in order of importance. In 1959 the Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power started building more than 300 large reservoirs. Some of these projects have been stopped in the past few years, but there are almost 200 reservoirs still under construction. A considerable amount of engineering work on these projects has not yet been completed, and quite a number of problems remain unsolved. Construction of reservoirs has proved a difficult task. Our experience over the last few years has taught us some important lessons, and we should bear them in mind.

MAJOR TASKS FOR DEVELOPING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

December 21, 1964

The major task for developing our national economy in the years to come is, in brief, to turn China into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology in not too long a period, catching up with and surpassing the countries that are advanced in these respects. To accomplish this historic task, we may envisage the development of our economy in two stages beginning with the Third Five-Year Plan. The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic structure; the second stage is to accomplish the overall modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, so that our economy will be among the front ranks of world economies.

The period of the Third Five-Year Plan is crucial for achieving the objective set in the first stage. If we do a very good job in this period, we shall surely be able to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic structure in China in another two five-year plan periods.

In developing our economy, we should pay attention to the following problems.

First, handling the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. The correct handling of these relations will help to ensure the successful implementation of the general line of socialist construction. The plan for national economic development should give priority to agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in that order.

Excerpt from the first part of the Report on the Work of the Government made at the First Session of the Third National People's Congress.

We must do better in applying the guiding principle of economic development, namely, that agriculture is the foundation and industry the leading factor. The scale of industrial development should correspond to the volume of marketable grain and industrial raw materials made available by agriculture. All department and trades should orient themselves towards serving agriculture and the countryside. The department of heavy industry should, in the first place, provide agriculture with increasing amounts of machinery, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, fuel, electric power, irrigation equipment and building materials and, at the same time, provide light industry with more and more raw and semi-finished materials and equipment. To meet these demands it is essential to speed up the development of heavy industry, especially the basic industries.

The development of agriculture depends not only on the necessary material and financial assistance provided by the state. What is more important, it depends on the collective strength of the people's communes.

Second, handling the relations between self-reliance and international co-operation. Self-reliance is the cornerstone of revolution and construction. Only by relying on the diligent labour of its own people and by fully exploiting its own resources for construction in the light of its own specific conditions is it possible for a socialist country to develop its economy at a relatively high speed and thus to strengthen the power of the socialist camp as a whole.

Between peoples of different countries, assistance is never a one-way affair; it is mutual and benefits both sides. It is a manifestation of national chauvinism to reduce another country to economic dependency in the name of "mutual economic assistance". International co-operation must be built on the basis of self-reliance. Only by relying on itself in construction can a country achieve a stronger position to help others. Moreover, in helping recipient countries it must help them to stand on their own feet.

Self-reliance is a policy which our Party has consistently adhered to. The Chinese people are neither sluggards nor cowards; we have never depended and never will depend on others for a living. We are fully capable of building an independent, integrated and modern economic structure through our own efforts. At the same time, we shall continue to do all we can to step up our aid to other countries and to make a greater contribution in accordance with our internationalist duty.

Third, carrying out the technological revolution. We cannot just follow the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at snail's pace. We must break away from conventions and try to adopt as many advanced technologies as possible in order to turn our country into a powerful, modern socialist state in not too long a historical period. This is what we mean by the Great Leap Forward. Is this impossible to achieve? Is this just boasting and bragging? Certainly not. It can be done. We need only take a look at our history to understand this. In our country, haven't we overthrown imperialism, feudalism and capitalism, which were seemingly so strong? Haven't we attained a reasonably good level in all fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction after 15 years of endeavour, starting from "poverty and blankness"? Haven't we also exploded an atomic bomb? Haven't we flung off the label "sick man of the East" that was fastened on us by Westerners? Why can't the proletariat of the East accomplish what the bourgeoisie of the West has been able to? Early in this century Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary and our precursor, said that China would make a great leap forward. His prediction will certainly come true within the next several decades. This is an inevitable trend and none of the forces of reaction can stop it.²⁸²

In order to employ advanced technologies it is necessary to bring our people's ingenuity and talent into full play and to carry on extensive scientific experiments. We must absorb all the good experiences and technologies of other countries, learning from other countries must be combined with creativity on our own part. The adoption of new technologies must be combined with a mass movement for technological innovation and revolution. Scientific research and teaching must be linked with production.

Fourth, combining centralized leadership and extensive mass movements. Our Party has acquired a wealth of experience in leading the masses in revolutionary struggles. We have likewise gained experience in conducting mass movements for economic construction. What we have learned is the following: We have to make sure that the tasks are discussed by the masses. We have to conduct an emulation campaign in which each compares himself with the more advanced, learning from and overtaking them, and helps the less advanced to catch up. We have to bring about close co-operation among leading cadres, specialists and the masses. We must

promote both the revolutionary spirit of daring — daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act — and a realistic, scientific approach. On the one hand, we must work with great enthusiasm, and on the other, labour must be alternated with rest. Innovations by the masses must be first tested and then gradually introduced. And we must adhere to the Party's class line, uniting with all the forces that can be united with and mobilizing every positive element to serve the cause of socialist construction.

RURAL HEALTH WORK AND FAMILY PLANNING

November 1, 1965

Doctor Lin²⁸³ and President Fu Lianzhang²⁸⁴ have set a difficult task for me. I'm only a layman in your professional discussions of gynaecology and obstetrics. So what should I say? Suppose I talk about orienting our health work to the countryside and about family planning.

China's rural population is 87 or 88 per cent of the total, while only 12 to 13 per cent of our people live in the cities. Unless we shift the emphasis of health work to the countryside, how will it be possible for us to serve the labouring people? The slogan "serve the labouring people", who form the overwhelming majority of our population, will be nothing but empty talk. Not until after repeated reminders from Chairman Mao did the public health departments begin to pay attention to work in the countryside. Our government offices, of course, must be held responsible for the delay and, as Premier of the State Council, I am to blame before anyone else. Although I mentioned rural health care on some occasions, I didn't attach enough weight to the matter. With Chairman Mao's reminders, the health departments have set about drawing up specific plans, and now they have produced a tentative programme.

It is an important and difficult task to train three kinds of health workers in the countryside within the space of five years. One of the first kind, who are not to withdraw from farm work, should be provided for every production team. As there are five million production teams in our country, we must train five million health workers for them. We cannot say for certain that we shall be able to fulfil this task within five years. It may take a decade. It's an immense undertaking to train so many health workers who, while

Remarks made at a meeting with delegates to the First National Academic Conference on Gynaecology and Obstetrics held by the Chinese Medical Association.

continuing to engage in farming, are capable of dealing with common ailments, treating simple gynaecological disorders and delivering babies. Everyone present here is charged with responsibility for training, and you should not take this job lightly. Production teams welcome people who, while continuing to farm, also know how to treat illness. Certainly, we cannot guarantee that every one of this huge contingent of health workers of the first kind will be fully qualified. Those who are unqualified can be given additional training.

Next, all production brigades and some communes should be provided with the second kind of health workers. These are people who have their work-points recorded when they work as doctors and go on with physical labour the rest of time. Attached to communes or production brigades, they are expected to master higher skills, so that they can deal with diseases that are hard to treat, not just headaches and common colds. There are more than 800,000 production brigades in our country. If each brigade is provided with one, we shall have to train over 800,000 health workers of this kind. Some brigades, in fact, will probably need more than one.

As for the third kind of health workers, they are full-time doctors working for communes or districts. If each commune is provided with three to five, some 300,000 doctors will be needed for about 70,000 communes. Although they have basically left the soil, it will be good if they can find some time to take part in farm work. Meanwhile, there is one point I need to explain, and that is that the job of a medical worker is a combination of mental and manual labour. When she was busy, Doctor Lin performed several operations a week. Young doctors stand for long hours in operating theatres every day, not including preparation time. Their jobs consist of both mental and manual labour, a combination of the two. It's the same with nurses. And not just doctors and nurses but all medical staff in hospitals do labour that is part mental and part manual.

It's a tough problem to arrange for training the three kinds of country doctors. Not counting administrative personnel, the total number of our health workers has not yet reached one million. So I don't think that six or seven million health workers of the three echelons can be trained in five years. We may need 10 years or longer. Our plan should allow more leeway, but we have to redouble our efforts. Of course, it will be a good thing if we can accomplish this task in less than 10 years. The women present here will have to shoulder more responsibility. This is because most of the health

workers of the first kind and more than half of the total six or seven million will be women. This is really a formidable task. How are you going to tackle it? Where should you begin? I think the best way is to send to the countryside, group after group, medical teams organized by large and medium-sized cities, by factories, mines, enterprises, government offices, schools and army units. These teams would have two major tasks: one would be to treat the sick and the other to train medical workers. They would receive a warm welcome, so long as they sincerely served the peasants and trained medical workers for them. As for elderly and infirm doctors, the ones who can scarcely walk without help, they'd better remain in the cities. Take Mr. Pu Fuzhou,²⁸⁵ a well-known practitioner of traditional Chinese medicine, for example. If he gets a cold in the countryside, his span of service to his patients will be shortened. Doctors like him should stay behind in the cities, where they can contribute their share to mankind by teaching and by summing up their rich experience in writing. Moreover, we cannot leave the cities without doctors. Twelve to thirteen per cent of our people, or more than 100 million, live in the cities, and that figure may go up in coming years. We have to provide good medical care for them too. Other major tasks facing us are the restructuring of the medical system and the training of specialized medical personnel.

Now I'd like to touch on the question of family planning. We need to do publicity work and education on this question. On the one hand, we should draw up some rules and regulations providing preferential treatment in terms of wages, housing, food supply and so on for those who practise birth control. On the other hand, birth control should be practised on a voluntary basis; there must be absolutely no coercion or commandism in this regard. In short, there should be both free will and a degree of constraint. All kinds of means should be employed to teach people about contraception. It is of great importance to introduce family planning in China. If we don't implement this policy among our 700 million people, the population will rise too fast for the growth of production to keep up with it, and that will pose a tremendous problem. It will be a great achievement if, by the end of the 20th century, the concerted efforts of the people can bring the net growth rate of the population down to one per cent. In a word, family planning is a long-term task. And since the goal is not unrealistic, it will be better if we can attain it ahead of schedule.

AFFORESTATION: A PROJECT OF VITAL AND LASTING IMPORTANCE

February 23, 1966

To carry out a programme of afforestation throughout the country we must count on the combined efforts of the entire Party membership and the people; that is, we must “walk on two legs”. The Ministry of Forestry has only been concerned with felling trees, but I believe its main task should be planting them.²⁸⁶ If we make mistakes in industry, they can be rectified in a year or two, but if we make mistakes in forestry and water conservancy, things can hardly be put right even in many years. The two things that worry me most are that we may make mistakes in harnessing rivers and that we may cut down too many trees — future generations would blame us for that. Despite the fact that forests cover only about 10 per cent of our territory, over the past 16 years we have chopped down more trees than we have planted, which means a net loss. There are only some 30 years left until the end of the century, and we can no longer afford such losses. Afforestation is a project of vital and lasting importance, and we must be very careful about it.

As I said, in afforestation we must follow the principle of “walking on two legs”— in other words, we must have the support of the six hundred million peasants. As it is a tremendous task to plant trees along the “four sides” [alongside villages, houses, roads and rivers — *Tr.*], the afforestation corps should launch pilot projects. Cutting down trees the way one cuts hair, then just leaving the place, when there is not a single tree left, and abandoning the railways built for forest work — how can we allow this! Planting trees is part of the work of socialist construction; we can’t behave like prod-

Talk given during a national conference on forestry to leading comrades from the Ministry of Forestry, local forestry bureaus and afforestation corps in provinces and autonomous regions of the Northwest.

igals, eating up the cake with no thought for the morrow.²⁸⁷ Our revered Liang Xi, the former Minister of Forestry, used to speak about this problem very often. It is not too late to start planting now.

The Ministry of Forestry should concentrate on afforestation in both the South and the North. It should survey the practice of the different communes, analyse their experience and disseminate the most successful methods.

The emphasis should be placed on tree farms run by the masses rather than by the state, on planting rather than felling, on the “front” [regions and units directly involved in tree farming — *Tr.*] rather than the “rear” [the government departments in charge of forestry — *Tr.*]. Only when we put the emphasis in the right place can we plant more trees than we fell. During the period of the Third Five-Year Plan we must accumulate varied experience in forestry.

The eight provinces of north China²⁸⁸ are vast and densely populated, but they don't have many trees. Afforestation should develop very quickly there. In the southern provinces natural conditions are more favourable, so a better job should be done there. The South was never lacking in trees, but now in some places the soil has been eroded. It is very important to plant trees there, to protect existing forests and to use wood rationally.

The Ministry of Forestry recommends planting trees everywhere. But what are the results so far? The road to the Beijing Airport is nice, but the one from Beijing to Tianjin is awful. For more than 10 years you have been asking people to plant trees along the railways, and nothing has been done. It's a shame! Some people say that the situation is better along the main roads, but what I can see from the train doesn't convince me. Things ought to be easier if we join efforts with the communes, making each of them responsible for planting trees along certain sections of road and taking care of them. I'm sure they can do a good job.

In the Northwest, we should concentrate on the regions where the Huanghe River silt comes from, instead of spreading ourselves too thin. Scattered projects mean heavy investment and meagre results; they won't serve any purpose.

How many years have we spent trying to grow trees on the loess plateaus of the Northwest? So much work for such poor results! We should learn from experience. In northern Shaanxi Province, which is fairly well populated and where subterranean water is close to the surface, it should be possible to plant trees to form sand-break belts.

On the Jingbian and Dingbian plateaus, however, it would be hard to grow trees because the subterranean water lies too deep. We should plant trees in the best possible places and work methodically. If we are going to halt soil erosion over the 280,000 square kilometres of the Huanghe basin, we shall have to have enormous ambition and the indomitable spirit of the “foolish old man who removed the mountains”. The loess plateaus are the cradle of our ancestors, the birthplace of our civilization. Unfortunately, the forests there have been devastated. We should not only recreate them but make them better than before.

The Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee should appoint a leading group to be responsible for reclamation of land and for water and soil conservation. Farming and forestry sectors should support each other. Since afforestation is a project of vital and lasting importance, we should carry it well into the next century. The prospects for north China are bright, and they are even brighter for northwest China.

EXPAND PRODUCTION AND REBUILD OUR HOMES

March 10, 1966

Dear comrades and villagers,

You have sustained heavy losses in this calamity. You are much in the thoughts of the Central Committee and the government. Chairman Mao sent me here to see you and extend our sympathy to you. Last night I arrived in the county seat of Longyao, where I heard reports from the prefectural Party committee and the county Party committee. Today I reached your village.

This earthquake took us unawares. Your section from Xingjiawan to Gengzhuangqiao was the epicentre. Twenty years ago, during the War of Resistance Against Japan, you suffered a great deal from battles with the national enemy. This time every village and every family has again suffered enormously at the hands of the underground “enemy”. You have paid a heavy price for the experience gained in the struggle against it.

No sooner had the men of the People’s Liberation Army, the local work teams and medical teams heard the news than they rushed to the stricken area to rescue the severely injured, treat the walking wounded and bury the dead. So many people have died in this catastrophe! We should carry on their unfinished work by “fighting” the earth. Before the disaster you had brought great changes in this low-lying area. Today you must overcome the difficulties and rebuild your homes. You can’t do it all by yourselves. But a number of villages in the western part of your county were not affected at all, such as those in Julu, Ningjin and Renxian counties. People there

One March 8, 1966, a formidable earthquake took place in Xingtai Prefecture, Hebei Province. Comrade Zhou Enlai arrived on the scene the next day. This speech was made at a meeting held in the village of Baijiazhai, Longyao County, to express sympathy and solicitude for the victims of the disaster.

can lend you a hand. You supported each other back in the years when we were fighting the Japanese aggressors. When rebuilding your village, you should construct low houses, far apart. Party and Youth League members and Young Pioneers should take the lead in relief work. Once you get organized you will surely find solutions.

The state, of course, will assist you, because 30 communes with 340,000 people have been stricken by this disaster in your prefecture. More than 20,000 PLA men, together with some 10,000 local work-team and medical-team members have been sent here, totalling more than 30,000 people. For almost every 10 people there will be one person to help. That shows that in a socialist country like ours, when one person is in trouble, all the people come to his aid. You've read Chairman Mao Zedong's speech entitled "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains", haven't you? Well, if even a foolish old man was able to remove the mountains, we can surely surmount the difficulties facing us today. It's quite natural to feel anguish when we see people die, but we must never bow to misfortune. We have to be united, for solidarity means strength. Young and able-bodied people should help look after the elderly who are left alone and the children who have lost their parents.

I'm afraid I can't go around to every village. So I hope that your village, as the representative, will express to other villages the concern of the Central Committee and of Chairman Mao and pass on what I have said today. The Chinese people have high aspirations. You should study the Chairman's works and pluck up your courage. You should try to restore life to order within seven or eight days and reorganize production work in a few days after that. Your county should launch a campaign to emulate Julu and Ningjin. Only by restoring production and regaining strength can you live up to the expectations of the departed. Now let's shout slogans together:

Work hard for prosperity!

Rely on our own efforts!

Gear up production!

Rebuild our homes!

I'll come and see you again when you have rebuilt your village.

ON PROTECTING CADRES*

1966 — 1974

A LIST OF CADRES WHO SHOULD BE PROTECTED**

August 30, 1966

Soong Ching Ling, Guo Moruo, Zhang Shizhao, Cheng Qian, He Xiangning, Fu Zuoyi, Zhang Zhizhong, Shao Lizi, Jiang Guangnai, Cai Tingkai, Sha Qianli and Zhang Xiruo.²⁸⁰

- (1) Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman and members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.
- (2) Ministers and vice-ministers.
- (3) Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.
- (4) Vice-Premiers of the State Council.

* During the "cultural revolution", the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, in their attempt to usurp the power of the Party and the state, fabricated charges against a great many cadres both inside and outside the Party and persecuted them relentlessly. Under exceedingly difficult circumstances, Comrade Zhou Enlai did his utmost to protect such persons. The texts presented here are only a small part of those he wrote in this connection.

** In Beijing on the night of August 29, 1966, Red Guards from a local school raided the home of Zhang Shizhao. The next morning he wrote a letter to Chairman Mao Zedong. Mao gave instructions that the letter should be sent to Premier Zhou for action and that Zhang should be protected. Comrade Zhou Enlai sternly reprimanded the persons involved, instructed them to return immediately all the books they had confiscated and sent people to protect Zhang's residence. At the same time, he drew up this list. On the following day he ordered PLA Hospital No. 301 to make preparations to receive Zhang Shizhao, Cheng Qian, Fu Zuoyi, Cai Tingkai, Li Zongren and others and offer them protection.

- (5) Heads of the democratic parties.
- (6) The President of the Supreme People's Court and the Procurator-General of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.
(Li Zongren)²⁹⁰

WE SHOULD RESPECT SOONG CHING LING*

September 1, 1966

Soong Ching Ling was the wife of Sun Yat-sen. Sun's merits and achievements were affirmed by Chairman Mao in his important essay "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", written in Beijing after liberation. Sun's contributions are recorded on the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tian'anmen Square. We can never agree to the destruction of Sun Yat-sen's bronze statue, as demanded by the students of Nanjing. It is Chairman Mao's decision to place his portrait opposite the rostrum in Tian'anmen every May Day and National Day. As a bourgeois revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen had merits as well as shortcomings. And his wife has never bowed her head to Chiang Kai-shek since she began to co-operate with us. After the failure of the Great Revolution she went abroad. She took it upon herself to rescue underground Chinese Communists. During the War of Resistance Against Japan she co-operated with us, and during the War of Liberation her sympathies were on our side. Soong has dedicated herself to consistent, long-term co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party. She deserves our respect. She is now at an advanced age. When we commemorate the centenary of Sun Yat-sen's birth later this year, the article she contributes for the occasion will have immense impact internationally. It is wrong to put up big-character posters in her house. Of the three brothers and three sisters in her family,²⁹¹ she is the only one who champions revolution. We cannot attack her just because her younger sister is Chiang Kai-shek's wife. Her residence was allocated by the state for her to live in. The persons who shouted "I dare to speak and act — I am determined to go there!" were wrong. We must by all means dissuade them from going there.

* Excerpt from a talk to Red Guards in the capital.

WAGES SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED FOR CADRES
WHO ARE UNDER CRITICISM*

September 18, 1966

Jilin Provincial Party Committee's telegram of September 16 received. Our views on wages for cadres who are under criticism are as follows: For the time being wages should not be reduced even in cases where the nature of a cadres' mistakes has been determined. If some of these people volunteer to draw less pay or to donate a part of their wages as extra Party membership dues, we should allow, but never compel, them to do so — on condition that they do not fall ill because of reduced pay. Full pay should be issued to all cadres the nature of whose mistakes has not yet been determined.

LI BAOHUA²⁹² AND LI RENZHI²⁹³ MUST BE RELEASED**

November 14, 1966

Comrade Tao Zhu,²⁹⁴ please have a talk with members of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee by telephone. If the report proves true, please negotiate by phone with the heads of the "August 27th Rebellion Corps". Do your best to have Comrades Li Baohua and Li Renzhi released and sent home to rest.

ON LIU LANTAO'S RELEASE FROM
KUOMINTANG PRISON^{295***}

November 24, 1966

Your telegram of the 23rd has been received. Please explain to the Weidong Red Guards of Nankai University and to the students

* Excerpt from a telegram drafted on behalf of the Central Committee to be sent to the Jilin Provincial Party Committee and to all bureaus of the CPC Central Committee.

** Instructions written in response to a report from the East China Bureau of the Central Committee regarding the repeated criticism of two secretaries of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee.

*** Telegram to the Northwest Bureau, drafted on behalf of the Central Committee.

of the Xi'an Bombard the Headquarters Militant Detachment that the Central Committee of the Party is aware of Comrade Liu Lantao's release from the Kuomintang prison. If any new materials are found, they can be sent by representatives to the Central Committee for investigation and handling, but they are not to be made public or investigated by the students themselves.

WANG ENMAO²⁹⁶ SHOULD BE MADE A DEPUTY TO THE
NINTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS^{297*}

January 12, 1969

Deputies from the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region to the Ninth National Party Congress should include Comrade Wang En-mao. You have done much to see that his name appears on the list of deputies. Now you are facing new difficulties. If it takes time to persuade Party cadres and the revolutionary masses both inside and outside the Party to elect him, Comrade Wang Enmao and his family members can be sent to Beijing in order to facilitate your work.

Please let me know your opinions about this.

XU HAIDONG²⁹⁸ SHOULD JOIN THE PRESIDIUM OF
THE NINTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS**

March 31, 1969

I am going to consult tonight with candidates for membership in the presidium and with top leaders of the People's Liberation Army

During the early days of the "cultural revolution" Kang Sheng and others fabricated the case of the "61 renegades", falsely accusing 61 senior cadres, including Liu Lantao, of having betrayed the Party in 1936. In order to protect them, Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote to Chairman Mao Zedong, pointing out that it was Comrade Liu Shaoqi who, as representative of the Central Committee, had made the decision that Comrade Liu Lantao and the others should get out of prison. Furthermore, the case had been examined and cleared at the Seventh and Eighth National Party Congresses, so the Central Committee must now confirm its action.

* Telegram to the Revolutionary Committee of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, drafted on behalf of the Central Committee.

** Letter to Comrade Mao Zedong.

about naming Comrade Xu Haidong a deputy to the Ninth National Party Congress. If they agree to elect him a deputy, I plan to propose that he join the presidium and then that conveners of groups go back to request the agreement of all the deputies. It would be best if Comrade Xu could join the presidium, once he is elected a deputy. I have consulted with comrades in the administrative office of the Central Military Commission, and we are all in agreement on this matter. Now I ask for your approval.

TAO ZHU²⁹⁴ SHOULD BE HOSPITALIZED*

April 5, 1969

I agree that Tao should be sent secretly to PLA Hospital No. 302 for treatment, and I am submitting this report to the Chairman to read and comment on. I didn't know Tao was seriously ill until I read a report from the Central Guards Bureau dated April 3. After I pressed for more details, they submitted this report.

LEADING MEMBERS OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECTED TO CRITICISM AND DENUNCIATION**

May 4, 1969

I don't know whether PLA representatives have been sent to the leading bodies of the democratic parties. If so, you can talk with them about policies.

The task for revolutionary rebels in these bodies is not to criticize and denounce leading members of the democratic parties, that is, members of their central committees and provincial and municipal committees but to screen the rank-and-file cadres. It is a different matter if active counter-revolutionaries are discovered among the leading members. But even so, such cases should be reported to the

* Comments written on a report on Tao Zhu's health. They were later read by Comrade Mao Zedong.

** Letter to the PLA representative based at work units directly affiliated with the Office of the State Council.

PLA representatives first. It is forbidden to take any action without the consent of the CPC Central Committee, or the provincial or municipal revolutionary committee.

The lower ranks of cadres should be screened in a different way from Communist Party members and held to different requirements.

Please note the attached letter from Mr. Deng Chumin.²⁹⁹

HUA LUOGENG³⁰⁰ SHOULD BE PROTECTED*

March 4, 1970

First, Hua Luogeng should be protected so that he is not harmed by scoundrels.

Second, we should follow up the clues about his stolen manuscripts and do everything possible to find the culprits.

Third, Xiyao,³⁰¹ please check Hua's collection of ancient art objects scaled up for safekeeping by the Mathematics Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences to see whether there is anything missing. When circumstances are safe, return them to Hua.

Fourth, it's not appropriate to send Hua, along with others of the Science and Technology University, to the May 7th Cadres' School³⁰² or to other places. It would be better for him to stay in Beijing as a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and to try out the mathematical method of overall planning he has proposed.

After you three have settled this matter, please let me know.

ON THE DEATH OF ZHANG LINZHI^{303**}

July 31, 1970

At a meeting held on July 31, 1970, the Executive Group under the State Council examined two reports, submitted on May 20 and

* Having received a letter from Comrade Hua Luogeng saying that his manuscripts had been stolen from him and asking for an investigation, Comrade Zhou Enlai sent these instructions to the head of the leading Party group of departments directly under the State Council, the head of the Military Control Commission of the Beijing Public Security Bureau and his own liaison officer at the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Liu Xiyao.

** Excerpt from a circular, drafted by Premier Zhou Enlai, sent by the State Council to the Ministry of Coal.

July 31 respectively, by PLA representatives at the Ministry of Coal, together with a report of May 17 submitted by the Special Case Group of the Workers/PLA Propaganda Team based at the Beijing Mining Institute. At the same time, it studied the speech that had been given at the Institute by the counter-revolutionary Qi Benyu³⁰⁴ on December 24, 1966. All the participants agreed that Comrade Zhang Linzhi's personal record was clear and that, already severely injured, he was extremely anxious when he heard Qi's threatening, rabble-rousing speech over the loudspeaker at the Mining Institute. It is clear that he died in the violence and confusion that accompanied the attempt to extort a confession from him.

These being the facts, the report of the Special Case Group of the Mining Institute barely scratched the surface. The group should get to the bottom of the case by studying the comprehensive materials assembled by the Ministry of the Coal Industry.

It is hereby decided that Comrade Zhang Linzhi's death should be dealt with as a contradiction among the people. His wife and children must not be made to suffer; on the contrary, they are entitled to the same treatment as the families of revolutionary cadres.

FASCIST METHODS OF INTERROGATING CADRES MUST BE ABOLISHED*

December 18, 1972

Please combine your efforts to accomplish the following three things:

1. Ask the persons concerned to release Liu Jianzhang³⁰⁵ for medical treatment. In view of his illness, send him to Fuwai Hospital or to the Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Hospital. Meanwhile, notify his wife, his children and his other family members so that they can visit him.

* In 1972 Comrade Liu Shuqing, the wife of Liu Jianzhang, Vice-Minister of Railways, wrote a letter to Comrade Mao Zedong, saying that her innocent husband had been arrested and was being persecuted in prison. Comrade Mao referred the letter to Comrade Zhou Enlai with the comment: "Premier Zhou, please handle the matter. Who on earth devises these fascist methods of interrogating cadres? They should all be abolished." Comrade Zhou Enlai promptly wrote this letter to the heads of the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of Communications and the Office of the State Council.

2. Send the file containing the conclusion on Liu's case to Xiannian³⁰⁶ and Dengkui³⁰⁷ of the State Council for their instructions.

3. I hope that in accordance with the proposal I made to your representatives at the State Council, the Ministry of Public Security and the Beijing Garrison Command will once again this year conduct a complete check on conditions in Beijing Prison. All practices that fall in the category of what Chairman Mao describes as "these fascist methods of interrogating cadres", beating and other maltreatment should be enumerated. It should be decreed for a second time that they are to be abolished. All this should be done in the presence of prisoners. Anyone who violates this decree must be punished according to law. Prisoners should be allowed to bring charges.

Please report to me separately when everything is settled. I enclose the Chairman's instructions; please return them to me when the three things have been done.

ON THE LIST OF PERSONS TO ATTEND THE NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION*

September 29, 1974

Yesterday evening you gave me the list of people whose names will appear in the press as having attended the National Day reception. You told me that the names had been read to the Chairman one by one. He had then proposed to add Xiao Hua,³⁰⁸ Li Lique³⁰⁹ and Hou Baolin³¹⁰ and asked whether Shang Zhen³¹¹ was included. You told me that Liu Zhijian³¹² was added in accordance with the Chairman's suggestion during the discussion in the Political Bureau last night. When skimming over the list last night, I thought of Qi Yanming.³¹³

This evening I pored over the list of more than 2,000 people once again. With regard to the 17th category, "patriotic personages", the United Front Work Department has suggested including the wives of four Kuomintang generals who came over to our side: Han

* Excerpt from a letter addressed to Wang Hongwen and the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. At this time Comrade Zhou Enlai was gravely ill and hospitalized, and Wang Hongwen was in charge of the day-to-day work of the Political Bureau.

Quanhua (wife of Wei Lihuang³¹⁴), Guo Yiqing (wife of Cheng Qian), Hong Xihou (wife of Zhang Zhizhong), and Liu Yunsheng (wife of Fu Zuoyi.). The Department also suggested Zhang Xueming.³¹⁵ (He is the younger brother of Zhang Xueliang³¹⁶ and the elder brother of Zhang Xuesi.³¹⁷ He was held in prison for many years because of the cases of Lü and Xie.³¹⁸ Last year he was set free with a verdict of “not guilty”.) In my view, the presence of the four wives will have quite some impact at home and abroad. As for Zhang Xueming, he got into trouble because Lin Biao took advantage of the cases of Lü and Xie to persecute a large number of prominent democratic persons in the Northeast. Now that Comrade Lü Zhengcao has been rehabilitated and Zhang Xuesi is dead (his case should be reexamined), we should invite Zhang Xueming to attend the reception.

COMMENTS CONCERNING ECONOMIC WORK*

1966 — 1973

THE WORKERS' PETITION MUST NOT INTERFERE WITH PRODUCTION**

November 28, 1966

You are welcome to send representatives to Beijing to exchange views with us (one representative from a small factory, two or three from a big one, the total not to exceed 300).

Please consider this : If thousands of your workers throng to Beijing to present the petition, it will be hard for us to receive and negotiate with all of you, while on your side it will hamper production in your factories. And if workers who oppose you also come to Beijing, it will affect production even more seriously.

We hope that leaders of the provincial and municipal Party committees, as well as leaders of the factories and mines, will guarantee that no workers are fired, have their pay docked or are subjected to retaliation or threatened with loss of their membership in the Party or Youth League. At the same time, workers should guarantee that

* During the "cultural revolution" the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing instigated factionalism and incited people to violence, with the result that production was disrupted throughout the country, communication lines were severed and the economy sustained heavy losses. Under these extremely difficult circumstances, Comrade Zhou Enlai did everything he could to promote unity among the workers and other employees so as to maintain social stability and keep production going. Following are several comments he made on economic work during this period.

** Telegram revised and approved by Comrade Zhou Enlai and sent in the name of the State Council to workers in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, who were preparing to leave for Beijing to present a petition.

production is not interfered with and that communications and transport are not disrupted.

When you decide upon the number of representatives who will come to Beijing, please let us know, so that the Ministry of Railways can be instructed to dispatch trains. Your factories and mines should be responsible for your travelling expenses. Comrade Liao Zhigao³¹⁹ will accompany your representatives to Beijing.

LET THE PEOPLE STORE UP MATERIAL WEALTH*

May 3, 1967

As Chairman Mao put it, the peasants are storing up material wealth by reporting less grain than they have actually produced. It can only be a good thing for peasants to store up 10 per cent more grain, because it will never be consumed frivolously. It's better for grain to be kept in the peasants' barns than to be purchased by the state. But you must not think this means we are advocating dishonesty. What Chairman Mao said was directed against bureaucrats who don't go down to the countryside to investigate. Before 1961 the peasants suffered a great deal from high targets fixed by the bureaucrats, so now they pay them back by reporting less output. The same thing is happening in the cities, where people report more family members in order to obtain more ration coupons for grain.

Reporting less acreage under cultivation and less grain output, claiming more family members and exaggerating the losses caused by natural disasters — these are the people's ways of dealing with bureaucratism. They will tell the truth if we adopt realistic policies and try to win the support of poor and lower-middle peasants.

Offering people necessary benefits as a measure of encouragement cannot be described as emphasizing material incentives. The policy we have adopted in that regard in recent years should be viewed as a necessity. We have to give some special benefits to peasants in the cotton-growing areas — that is, provide them with chemical fertilizers and grain — so that they will be able to restore cotton production more rapidly. We also have to encourage rice producers,

* Excerpt from remarks made when receiving representatives from 14 provinces and cities attending a meeting on state purchase of grain and edible oil in summer time.

because the export of rice can bring important economic returns. One ton of rice can be exchanged for 1.7 tons of wheat or 2 tons of corn, or it can earn foreign exchange for us.

Also, we have made some mistakes in purchasing grain. For instance, in recent years we have sometimes had to transport enormous quantities of grain back to the countryside for resale to the peasants, because we had asked them to sell too large a proportion of their harvest to the state. By purchasing too much grain we created the false impression of a bumper harvest. Moreover, transporting the grain back and forth was a waste of everything. For this reason, Chairman Mao favours purchasing as little grain as possible. In his opinion, it is a good thing for people to store up a certain amount of material wealth. This is particularly true in time of war, and most especially in case of foreign invasion.

RAILWAYS AND WATERWAYS MUST NOT BE CUT*

May 31, 1967

Please read the enclosed eight dispatches about disrupted railway traffic. At Chairman Mao's office this morning, I made it clear that trains and ships are the communications lifelines of the country as a whole. In no circumstances can they be held up. This afternoon I called together Comrades Li Fuchun,³²⁰ Li Xiannian,³⁰⁶ Ye Jianying,³²¹ Xiao Hua,³⁰⁸ Yang Chengwu,³²² Gu Mu³²³ and Yu Qiuli³²⁴ for a discussion. In addition to the order forbidding people to interrupt rail and water transport, which has been submitted for you to approve and issue, we plan to transfer China's 18 railway administrations to the local garrisons, thus placing them under military control. We shall also place ships plying the seas and rivers under military control and unified administration by the navy. Army and navy units responsible for rail and water transport should be separated from the military sub-area commands and also from arm-the-people departments. By the same token, they must no longer get involved in the work of supporting the Left in their localities.³²⁵ In this way, rail and water transport throughout the country will be under unified control and free from interference. The plan is being

* Letter to the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee.

drafted at General Staff Headquarters and should be finished and submitted for your examination tomorrow.

We are also preparing a statement to be issued to all workers and staff of railways and ships. When it is finished it will be sent to you for approval.

UNITE TO PROTECT HARBOUR TRAFFIC*

October 2, 1967

It has been reported that because there are two opposing factions among the staff at the Xiamen customs office and the local port office, no one is on inspection duty. As a result, a British merchant ship was unable to enter the port. The people on board, including three who were ill, had difficulty getting food and drink. We absolutely cannot tolerate such conduct, which is utterly wrong, violates Chinese law and damages the reputation of our country. I hope that on receipt of this telephone message, the Xiamen Military Control Commission and the Investigation Group will call upon people of the two factions to make a united effort to perform their day-to-day duties well and to do a good job in all matters relating to other countries. The Central Committee of the Party will dispatch a circular commending any faction that answers the call of the Committee and of Chairman Mao. Conversely, if any faction refuses to respond, the Central Committee will call for public criticism of it. Meanwhile, the Central Committee orders the Military Control Commission to take necessary measures to ensure the inspection of ships and their loading and unloading. If any faction interferes with this work, the Military Control Commission, in accordance with the June 6th Circular,³²⁶ must punish the instigators and chief troublemakers.

MEASURES FOR CHECKING VIOLENCE**

1968

Disband special teams whose function is to settle disputes by violent means.

* Text of message telephoned to the Military Control Commission of Xiamen, in the coastal province of Fujian.

* Handwritten memorandum.

People should form a “great revolutionary alliance” only within their own work units and in accordance with the principle of a three-in-one combination (i.e., a combination of representatives of revolutionary organizations, revolutionary leading cadres and the People’s Liberation Army — *Tr.*).

No more factions should be allowed to form. Revolutionary committees and representatives of military control commissions should see to it that no workers or other employees are driven away from their posts. Those who leave their factories of their own accord must return by a specified date. The wages of those who do not return on time should be docked. Those who are still away from their posts after six months should be dismissed.

Revolutionary committees and representatives of military control commissions should protect returned workers. They should send those who have been beaten up to hospital on full pay and seek out their assailants.

From now on, no one should be allowed to leave his post and go wherever he likes to carry on factionalist activities.

Prohibit people from seizing arms and ammunition from army units and transporting them elsewhere.

Allow no more assaults on public buildings for the purpose of turning them into strongholds.

Allow no theft of goods and materials from public warehouses.

Still less allow murder and arson.

RATIONAL RULES AND REGULATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE IN FORCE*

April 12, 1969

Airplane accidents caused by poor quality of the aircraft have damaged our war preparedness, interfered with our aid to foreign countries and endangered human lives. You all come from the air force; how can you be so irresponsible, when the lives of your comrades are at stake? And how can you allow such mismanagement to continue at a defence plant? Didn’t you know that Factory No. 420 had abolished the inspection system? Why didn’t you report it to the central authorities? Why didn’t you dare to look into this pro-

* Excerpt from a talk at a meeting of leading members of the departments concerned called to discuss airplane accidents caused by poor quality of the aircraft.

blem? Why didn't you order that the system be restored? It's because you're afraid of getting into trouble, afraid of offending someone. I was very worried when I read the report this morning. How can you tolerate such a mess at a defence plant? You claim that the inspection system is being gradually restored. What does that mean? How can you take such an attitude and talk that way? You must restore it immediately, not gradually!

You must act at once to re-establish all rules and regulations, except for those that are unreasonable. You must absolutely not relax the inspection procedures. You should give orders for irrational rules and regulations to be revised and for rational ones to be reinstated. Abolishing all rules is not consistent either with Mao Zedong Thought or with the scientific approach. We cannot act against scientific practice. We should have faith in the working class. They won't demand that we eliminate reasonable rules and regulations, so long as we explain the advantage of retaining them. It is under the influence of the ultra-Left ideological trend that some people are demanding that all rules be scrapped. Inspectors should be sent to the Northwest, Southwest and Northeast. Chairman Mao's "red line" has dominated China for the past two decades, so we must not negate everything we have done. Instead, we should look at what we have done from the viewpoint that everything has two aspects — favourable and unfavourable. If we negate everything, how can we explain the growth of industrial production over the past 20 years?

PROBLEMS OF QUALITY SHOULD BE PUT ON THE AGENDA*

December 15, 1971 and January 21, 1972

I

Forty Qian-6 planes were built to aid foreign countries. But inspection revealed that seven of them, 17.5 per cent of the total, were not up to the required standards for delivery. This example alone shows how far the quality of the planes we produce has fallen; isn't that enough to sound the alarm?

* Comments written after reading two reports on problems of quality in the production of aircraft and of automobiles respectively.

II

I hope that Qiuli,³²⁴ like Jianying, will work on problems in the No. 1 Motor Vehicle Plant (Changchun, Jilin Province), the No. 2 Motor Vehicle Plant (Shiyan, Hubei Province) and the Beijing and Nanjing motor vehicle plants. With quality declining like this, how can we help foreign countries or be prepared to defend ourselves? This is an issue that concerns our political line, and we should hold a meeting to discuss it before the end of this month.

REMEDY THE ECONOMIC DAMAGE CAUSED BY
LIN BIAO AND COMPANY*

February 26, 1973

Arbitrary, irresponsible management has dominated the economic field since 1969. One example is the Nanchang Aircraft Plant, where the most skilled workers are said to have been transferred to other jobs in rural areas. Another example is the demolition of the pottery and porcelain kilns in Jingdezhen. Although the sabotage by Lin Biao and his partners came to an end on September 13, 1971,³²⁷ their destructive influence can still be felt today. In the course of time, more and more of their evildoings have been brought to light. Facts showing how Lin Biao and his associates undermined economic development plans since the Party's Ninth National Congress²⁹⁷ should be collected and put into a pamphlet to facilitate mass criticism. A thorough criticism of them has to be made if we want to do away with their disastrous influence.

Let's have a look at the industrial production targets. The striking thing is that the growth rate of coal production is the lowest of all. And electric power is at the bottom of the charts too. If things go on like this, how can we speed up production? We need a balanced development of the economy, but the fact is, the economy is totally out of balance.

* Remarks made at a meeting with members of the State Planning Commission, who were reporting on the 1973 Plan for Economic Development and on the draft document "Regulations Concerning Unified State Planning and Improved Economic Management".

What's the solution to the problem of economic co-operation between regions? We certainly don't want to establish an independent economic system in each region.

Why is our capital construction so overexpanded? Because both central and local departments have launched too many projects. It's time to cut back. The central departments in particular should take the lead by withdrawing some of their projects first, because that will leave local departments some room for manoeuvre. Neither central nor local authorities should approve any further expansion of capital construction.

Throughout the year we need to make regular inspections of capital construction projects. Capital construction was overexpanded in 1970, and owing to our neglect, the same thing happened again in 1972. This taught us a lesson: frequent, year-round inspections are indispensable. We must halt construction of projects that should be abandoned and resume construction of those that have been wrongly suspended.

Another problem is that some people have taken advantage of the capital construction opportunities to build non-productive projects. Of course we need to build necessary housing, shops, schools and so on, but many of the new buildings are not intended for these purposes.

You haven't proposed concrete, necessary measures for readjusting the "five small industries" run by local departments.³²⁸ To develop them we must have a reliable supply of raw and semi-finished materials and equipment. If the small local industries are allowed to grow by competing with large enterprises for raw materials, the result will be haphazard development. Guidelines for this readjustment should be clearly set forth in the 1973 Plan and in the draft Regulations. The growth of the "five small industries" should be restricted, so that they will benefit agricultural production without interfering with state plans.

The actual numbers of workers and other employees, the national payroll and the sales volume of grain throughout the country have all exceeded the planned figures. Although last year I spoke about the need to anticipate these problems, the departments concerned did nothing. This is really going too far.

In addition to these three items, the amount of currency issued has also exceeded the planned figure. This is no minor matter. Although our system is fundamentally different from the capitalist

system, which is beset with economic crises, that doesn't mean we shall always have plain sailing. Because of the shortage of commodities, it is hard for us to withdraw the currency that has been put into circulation. The increase in the number of workers and other employees means a corresponding increase in total payroll. This forced us to issue more currency. The trouble is that the amount we have issued is in excess of actual needs. This is a problem that must be studied. That too much currency was issued is demonstrated by a comparative survey conducted this year, which revealed that the amount of commodities available on the market fell short of social demand by a total of three billion yuan.

In the past two years, we have seen increasing evidence of the damage done to the economy by Lin Biao and his collaborators. For example, an alarming amount of bank notes have been issued. This represents an even more serious mismanagement than allowing the three figures I mentioned to run over the targets. You are all in charge of financial and banking affairs, but you didn't sound the alarm. These things are economic barometers, and it is your duty to remind people to keep an eye on them. Hubei Province put a huge sum of money into circulation, with the result that some of the money budgeted for this year's expenditure was already used up in the fourth quarter of last year. The same sort of thing happened in Anhui and Jiangsu provinces too. We have never seen such unrestrained spending.

The total number of workers and other employees has jumped from 50 million to more than 56 million, an all-time high. You have to take measures to address this problem. It should not be hard to reduce the number of labourers working on public projects. As for the surplus labourers employed in the "five small industries" and temporary workers, you should encourage them to return to their original production posts. All this should be started right now.

We have turned out plenty of steel. But what about rolled steel? There are some missing links in the production process. The steel we've produced can't be used to make rolled steel, and thermal energy is thus wasted. We are facing the same problem we had 10 years ago. Poor co-ordination between production and before-and-after processes has always been a big problem. And we still don't have adequate transport facilities, so that ports are jammed with exports and imports. We can't simply concentrate on major products and neglect these problems.

Still another problem concerns distribution according to work. Right now we have the “four no differences” [so far as pay is concerned, it makes no difference whether you work long hours or short, whether your results are good or bad, whether you are competent or incompetent, or whether you work at all — *Tr.*]. And it also makes no difference whether the job you are doing is hard or easy. It has been said — and I agree — that egalitarianism does nothing to stimulate the enthusiasm of workers and other employees or to keep their numbers from increasing indefinitely.

So it’s better to have a system that offers some rewards and incentives.

ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO PREVENTING WATERLOGGING AND COMBATING DROUGHT*

May 14, 1973

Please read carefully the two reports on world weather at the bottom of page 4 of *Reference News* (issue No. 5251 of May 14). The Central Meteorological Bureau should study this problem seriously. This year we shall probably be faced with problems of waterlogging in the South and drought in the North, so please ask the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to remind its subordinate units that they must persevere in measures to combat waterlogging and drought and must under no circumstances relax their efforts.

* Letter to Li Xiannian and other comrades.

INSTITUTIONS OF CULTURE, EDUCATION,
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SHOULD RESUME
THEIR NORMAL FUNCTIONS*

1970 — 1973

DON'T REJECT A BOOK SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE
AUTHOR'S POLITICAL BACKGROUND**

September 17, 1970

Why is it that the Dictionary on the Four Corner System edited by Wang Yunwu³²⁹ has been banned? It's not right to reject a book simply because of the author's political background. Why should we prevent people from using a book just because the writer is politically dubious? There is always something useful in a book. Marxism has developed from three sources: the classical philosophy of Germany, the classical political economy of Britain and the utopian socialism of France. Isn't it a fact that these are either bourgeois theories or doctrines that bear the imprint of historical idealism? Nevertheless, there are some grains of truth in them. All ideas have their roots, and a new society can be born only from the womb of the old. People from families of the exploiting classes cannot change their background, but they can transform their own thinking. This is the viewpoint of historical materialism. It is essential to look at things dialectically. Don't fly into a rage at the mere mention of something feudal or capitalist. If you do, you are metaphysical or one-sided in your thinking.

* During the "cultural revolution" the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Bao and Jiang Qing took every opportunity to foster an ultra-Left trend of thought that wreaked havoc in the fields of the arts, literature, publishing, education, science and technology. The present excerpts from Comrade Zhou Enlai's talks afford us glimpses of the struggle he waged against the two counter-revolutionary cliques in this respect.

** Excerpt from a talk given to leading members of departments in charge of education and culture.

How can the China Book Company and the Commercial Press be described as no longer necessary? If we close them down we are not really serving the interests of the people. The younger generation is very worried about the shortage of books. Because they have no good books to read, they turn to bad ones. When addressing the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao stressed the need to study philosophy and combat idealism. All our comrades should study hard to secure a good grasp of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and also of Chairman Mao's writings.

Every river has its source and every tree has its roots. Mao Zedong Thought grows out of Marxism-Leninism and therefore has its roots in the latter. The *New Chinese Dictionary* evolved out of the *Kangxi Dictionary* [Kangxi (1662-1722) was one of the emperors of the Qing Dynasty — *Tr.*]. With regard to the compiling of dictionaries, we can try to be original, but we can't simply be original without ever consulting earlier works. Our policy is to make the past serve the present and to weed through the old to bring forth the new. How are we to do that if new things are not created and old things are not used? Ballet is an art introduced from abroad. We can't say it is our own creation, can we? In the ballets we choreograph the basic dance movements are of the original Western style, but we have introduced new elements into it, both in content and in form. This is an example of the way to use foreign things to serve China. To be sure, the art of ballet still needs further improvement. It is essential for you comrades in the culture departments to study books of Marxism-Leninism carefully so as to learn about the origins of different cultures. When you set about studying Chairman Mao's philosophical writings, you can begin with "On Practice", because it is through practice that we raise our knowledge to a higher plane.

ON THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES*

November 20, 1970

Here are some questions you should look into: Are the short-term training courses for foreign-language teachers really effective?

* Excerpt from a talk given to representatives of teachers and students from Beijing University and the Beijing Institute of Foreign Languages.

Will the trainees remember what they learn? And how many of them can be truly qualified at the end of the course? Probably, except for a few who are making rapid progress and a few others who are unable to keep up, the majority of the trainees are at a middle level of achievement or a little below. If a 50-day course is not effective, you could suggest to the departments concerned that the time be extended. You should feel responsible for the trainees, or you will do a disservice to the younger generation. If you give these people inferior training, they will be unable to teach their own students well. Moreover, if your training courses turn out to be of poor quality, people will blame you for being careless and irresponsible about your work.

Students of foreign languages should practise every day. The time of practise should not be limited to one hour. If you lay down a rigid rule that no more than one hour is to be spent on practice, you will alienate the trainees. They are here to improve their foreign languages, the use of which will become their main occupation in the near future. Whether they are to become teachers or foreign affairs personnel, it is important for all of them to practise by themselves. Don't interfere with them when they manage to find time to do it. So the time for practice should not be confined to one hour a day. Practice must be declared a daily necessity, even if there are many other activities that occupy much of the trainees' time. Whenever possible, two or three hours a day should be allowed for it.

As Chairman Mao has often stressed, painstaking practice is essential when one is studying a language. This principle is also true for the art of calligraphy. To gain a good mastery of a language one must study and practise hard. And it won't do just to confine oneself to the textbook; it is also important to read current materials.

It isn't easy to be an interpreter, because you need to have not only first-hand experience but also the necessary knowledge and background information about the topics under discussion. Using a foreign language to interpret other people's ideas accurately is no easy task.

Many English textbooks currently in use in our secondary schools are full of political vocabulary but include no words and phrases that are useful in everyday life. Such textbooks are not suited to practical use and should therefore be revised. The right thing to do is to learn political and everyday vocabulary simultaneously, because actually

the two are inseparable. In one of the English texts used at Beijing University you find the sentence "Do you come from a worker's family?" People who ask that sort of question are too narrow-minded. Is there no other family background besides a worker's?

To learn a foreign language students must master certain essential knowledge and skills. It's the same with Beijing opera: you have to become proficient in particular singing styles, in speech and in acrobatics. In addition, Beijing opera actors must have some basic knowledge of political affairs, history and geography. And the case is the same with students of foreign languages. They must not only be skilled in pronunciation and the use of vocabulary and grammatical rules, in listening, speaking, reading, writing and translating, but also know something about history and geography. They must read not only books on Chinese history and geography but also books on world history and geography. Some knowledge of natural science is also indispensable. Marx and Engels knew a great deal about natural science. Chairman Mao does too. Without such knowledge you will find the job of a translator or interpreter beyond your capacity. Translation, whether oral or written, is not simple, for it demands much more than the ability to understand a few sentences in a foreign language. To be specific, it calls for political awareness and a high educational level. Unless you master essential skills and a wide range of knowledge, you will prove unequal to this kind of job. The basic requirements for translators and interpreters are political consciousness, proficiency in a foreign language and a broad cultural background.

What kinds of personnel should foreign languages institutes turn out? First, teachers. Well-qualified teachers can offer good instruction in foreign languages to secondary school students, giving them the firm foundation necessary for advanced courses in college or for future independent study. Second, cadres and technicians who are able to read or speak foreign languages. Third, people to work in foreign relations. These three kinds of personnel are all in urgent demand, but teachers rank first in terms of the total numbers that are required, while foreign relations personnel are the ones most badly needed. So we must work hard to improve the teaching of foreign languages. Why have you dropped Russian from the curriculum? Once the need arises, people who know Russian may be in great demand.

SPREAD KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY AND
PUBLISH MORE BOOKS*

April 12, 1971

As you are in charge of the publishing business, you must see to it that history books are printed. We need to spread knowledge of history, because we cannot do without it. Have you included history books in your publication lists? Books on Chinese and world history and geography are no longer available in bookstores. That should be viewed as a major failing. The three sources of Marxism are bourgeois doctrines or theories that have the limitations of historical idealism. But how can we possibly discard the knowledge of history and cut ourselves off from the past? We are Chinese, and it would be absurd for us to give up studying Chinese history. Historical references can often be found in Chairman Mao's writings. For a good understanding of his works, people need to know something about history.

Comrades have reported that in some localities certain kinds of books which were temporarily locked up for safekeeping have been burned. I am sure the people who burned the books will regret what they have done. Some of the old books should be selected for young people to read from a critical point of view, so they will have some notions of historical development. And if all of them are to read only new books, how can we provide enough to go around? Plans and concrete measures should be worked out to ensure that young people have books to read. We can't afford to cut ourselves off from history, can we? It is a manifestation of ultra-Left thinking, and also a departure from Mao Zedong Thought, to negate everything and to reject the viewpoint that "everything divides into two". We need to look at things from the viewpoint of historical materialism. Isn't it true that people set fire to those books because they were infected with ultra-Left ideas? To repeat, refusal to take the view that "everything divides into two" is a manifestation of ultra-Left thinking.

Why is it that the *Complete Works of Lu Xun* have been stored away under lock and key? That's absurd! G. V. Plekhanov³³⁰ was

* Part of a talk to the leading group of a National Forum on Publication.

considered a Marxist during the first half of his career and has left some books worth reading. Some people claim that books with questionable contents should be stored safely away so that only a few people are allowed to read them. They think they themselves are able to resist pernicious influences, but not others. As a matter of fact, the masses are able to form correct judgements because they know much more than we do as individuals. Some people, while acknowledging that there is a shortage of books for young people, make certain books inaccessible to them. This is precisely because they have no confidence in young people's judgement. No wonder there is a scarcity of books — it is squarely the result of a monopoly on ideology, which has nothing in common with socialist democracy.

I am in favour of publishing a series of books that will help broaden people's horizons. Of course, it is of prime importance to read books by Marx and Lenin and the writings of Chairman Mao, but we must also read books of history, geography and philosophy. Some of our young people have no clear idea about the geographical location of major regions in the world or about the important events of world history, and their range of knowledge is becoming narrower and narrower. This situation must not be allowed to continue, or it will be impossible for them to hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought has not developed in isolation but is a product of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It is great theory born of great practice.

ULTRA-LEFT IDEAS UNDERMINE ART*

April 9, 1972

Why doesn't the person who introduces your programme announce the names of the soloists and accompanists? It seems you haven't shaken off the influence of ultra-Left ideas, which undermine attempts to refine art.

Nowadays, your songs are sung faster and faster, the pitch is higher and higher, and the volume louder and louder.

* Remarks made after attending a musical performance by army units in Guangzhou.

We should combine revolutionary passion with revolutionary lyricism and a touch of local colour.

ON IMPROVING METEOROLOGICAL WORK*

July 30, 1972

I suggest that you take this opportunity to urge the State Council's Executive Group to keep tabs on meteorological work. The structure of management of such work can remain unchanged for the time being.

Who on the PLA General Staff and at Navy and Air Force headquarters is in charge of meteorological work? I suggest that Ye Jianying, Zhang Chunqiao and Li Desheng³³¹ appoint some specialists to meet with the Executive Group to discuss how to improve the geographical distribution of meteorological installations and observation networks throughout the country. We have to monitor worldwide meteorological forecasts. Try to find out whether it is possible for ground stations to receive additional international weather reports via satellite. If it proves feasible, measures for this purpose should be put into effect without delay. All necessary types of meteorological facilities must be installed in order of priority in all coastal regions or other areas where they are lacking. Attention must also be paid to forecasting cold fronts from the north and west and warm fronts from the east and south. If there are not enough people in this kind of work, you could call back some who are now in the May 7th cadres' schools³⁰² or who have switched to other trades or sent to work in other units. No distinction should be made between military and civilian weather forecasting, so that concerted efforts can be made to serve both purposes. It is important to take precautions against meteorological changes of all kinds, especially sudden changes in the direction of air currents or of strong winds. In addition to making regular summations of their experience, weather

* Comments, together with a report submitted by the Central Meteorological Bureau entitled "A Self-criticism Concerning the Forecasting of Typhoon No. 3 This Year", sent to Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian and other comrades. At this time the "cultural revolution" had disrupted the day-to-day operation of many government departments.

services should conduct research to ascertain whether there are unusual changes or newly added elements in the atmosphere.

Please weigh the above suggestions and take whatever action you see fit.

PAY ATTENTION TO THE STUDY OF BASIC SCIENCES AND TO THEORETICAL RESEARCH

September 11, 1972

Comrade Zhang Wenyu³³² has sent me, through Comrades Guo Moruo²⁴³ and Liu Xiyao,³⁰¹ a letter³³³ from 18 comrades in Department No. 1 of the 401st Research Institute attached to the Second Ministry of Machine-Building. I was delighted to receive it, because the opinions expressed coincide exactly with what we said to a Pakistani scientist³³⁴ during an interview earlier this month.

I hope that Comrade Zhang Wenyu will also send me a copy of the report³³⁵ which you submitted last April to the authorities of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building and the Chinese Academy of Sciences. With regard to Comrade Liu Xiyao's request that Zhu Guangya³³⁶ make arrangements for a meeting of personnel from various circles concerned, I think you need not wait for my approval on the matter. You can proceed at once to draw up plans for further discussions.

The proposed meeting should not be postponed any longer. The Academy must concentrate on the study of basic sciences and theoretical research, trying to ensure that research is integrated with scientific experimentation. Research on high-energy physics and trial manufacture of high-energy accelerators should be listed among the Academy's major tasks. Perhaps not all of my suggestions are sound; please let me know what you think after you have considered them.

* Letter addressed to Comrades Zhang Wenyu and Zhu Guangya. In July of the same year Comrade Zhou Enlai had emphasized the necessity of removing all obstacles to the efficient administration of departments of science in universities and of raising theoretical research to a higher level. In August he had repeated this view to leading comrades of the State Council's Science and Education Group and of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, urging them to "hold a detailed discussion of the problems concerned, strive to solve them and not forget all about them as if they were just a passing cloud, once the discussion is over."

CERTAIN STUDENTS MAY ENTER UNIVERSITIES
IMMEDIATELY AFTER GRADUATION FROM
SECONDARY SCHOOL*

October 14, 1972

We have not yet decided whether primary and secondary education should last for a total of 10 years or 12. Studies are now under way to determine whether the customary period of 12 years is not somewhat longer than necessary. Young people who show promise of making brilliant careers in the social or natural sciences should be allowed to enter university immediately after graduation from secondary school, instead of having to go through a two-year period of productive labour. While pursuing their studies in university they can spend some time doing certain kinds of physical labour. Of course, young people who show such outstanding promise are only a minority. The majority should engage in productive labour shortly after graduation from secondary school; they don't all have to go on to university for advanced studies. At least during the 1970s and 1980s, the state will not be able to give all of them the opportunity to do that. At present, anyway, our universities can admit only a small number of secondary school graduates. Most of them have to expand their knowledge while engaging in production. After a few years of working they may take up advanced studies at universities, if opportunities are available.

LEARN FROM THE STRONG POINTS OF
FOREIGN COUNTRIES**

February 26, 1973

Recently we sent two delegations abroad. One of them was a medical delegation whose members, after their return home, didn't dare to deliver reports at public gatherings about what they had seen

* Excerpt from a conversation with Dr. Tsung-Dao Lee, a professor from Columbia University in New York.

** Remarks made at a meeting with members of the State Planning Commission who were reporting on the 1973 Plan for Economic Development and on the draft document "Regulations Concerning Unified State Planning and Improved Economic Management".

during their tour of foreign countries. At one time they did want to speak about their impressions in public, but a PLA representative accredited to their unit muttered a warning against what he termed an attempt to paint a dark picture of our country. Under the pressure of this arrogant man, who freely pinned odious labels on other people, they abandoned the idea of making public reports.

This is a very bad way of doing things. It costs a lot of money to send a delegation on an investigation tour of foreign countries, but on their return the delegation members don't dare to report on what they have seen and heard abroad. Some of our scientific delegations didn't even hand in written reports, for fear they would have to mention other nations' strong points or touch upon our own weak points. This mentality is not in conformity with Mao Zedong Thought. Unfortunately, there are persons who are ignorant and yet have a habit of putting whatever labels they like on others. It must be made clear that when we visit or make an investigation tour of foreign countries, our purpose is to learn from their strong points.

THE GATE TO FRIENDLY CONTACTS BETWEEN
CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES HAS
FINALLY BEEN OPENED

February 21, 1972

First of all, on behalf of Chairman Mao Zedong and the Chinese government, I have the pleasure to extend our welcome to President and Mrs. Nixon and to our other American guests.

I also wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Chinese people, to extend cordial greetings to the American people on the other side of the great ocean.

President Nixon's visit to our country at the invitation of the Chinese government provides the leaders of the two countries with an opportunity to meet in person to seek the normalization of relations between China and the United States and also to exchange views on issues of concern to the two sides. This is a positive move conforming to the desire of the people of both countries and an event unprecedented in the history of the relations between China and the United States.

The American people are a great people. The Chinese people are a great people. The peoples of our two countries have always been friendly to each other. However, for reasons known to all, contacts between the two peoples have been suspended for over 20 years. Now, through the joint efforts of China and the United States, the gate to friendly contacts has finally been opened. At present the Chinese and American peoples strongly desire the normalization of relations between the two countries and the relaxation of tension. The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history. We are confident that the day will come when this common desire of our two peoples will be realized.

Toast at a banquet given in honour of Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States. It was published in *People's Daily* on February 22, 1972.

The social systems of China and the United States are fundamentally different, and there are great differences between the governments of the two countries. However, these differences should not hinder us from establishing normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence — mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. Still less should the differences lead to war. As early as 1955 the Chinese government publicly stated that the Chinese people do not want war with the United States and that the Chinese government is willing to sit down and negotiate with the United States government. This is a policy which we have pursued consistently. We have taken note of the fact that in his speech before setting out for China President Nixon said that "what we must do is find a way to see that we can have differences without being enemies in war". We hope that, through a frank exchange of views that will enable us to clarify our differences and find common ground, a new start can be made in the relations between our two countries.

THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE PEOPLES SHOULD LIVE IN FRIENDSHIP FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION

September 25, 1972

We are glad that His Excellency Kakuei Tanaka, Prime Minister of Japan, accepted our invitation to visit our country to negotiate and settle the question of the normalization of relations between China and Japan. On behalf of Chairman Mao Zedong and the Chinese government, I wish to extend a warm welcome to Prime Minister Tanaka and the other distinguished guests from Japan.

Prime Minister Tanaka's visit of China begins a new page in the history of Sino-Japanese relations. There have been friendly contacts and cultural exchanges between our two countries over the past 2,000 years, and a deep friendship has been forged between our two peoples. All this we should treasure. However, in the half century after 1894, the Japanese militarists' aggression against China brought untold disaster to our people and great suffering to the Japanese people as well. The past remembered is a guide for the future. We should bear firmly in mind this experience and the lessons to be learned from it. Following Chairman Mao Zedong's teachings, the Chinese people make a strict distinction between the very few militarists and the broad masses of the Japanese people. Therefore, since the founding of the People's Republic of China, although the state of war between the two countries has never been declared terminated, friendly contacts and trade relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples have resumed and constantly expanded. In the past few years, the number of Japanese friends visiting China each year has exceeded the number of those from other countries, and the volume of China's

Toast at a banquet given in honour of Japanese Prime Minister Kokuei Tanaka. It was carried in *People's Daily* on September 26, 1972.

trade with Japan, based on equality and mutual benefit, has surpassed that with other countries. This has created favourable conditions for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations.

At present, tremendous changes are taking place in the world situation. After assuming office, Prime Minister Tanaka resolutely put forward a new policy towards the People's Republic of China, stating that the normalization of relations would be expedited, expressing full understanding of China's three principles for the restoration of diplomatic relations³³⁷ and taking practical steps to achieve it. Proceeding from its consistent stand, the Chinese government has made a positive response. There is already a good basis for the normalization of relations between the two countries. It is the common desire of the Chinese and Japanese peoples to promote Sino-Japanese friendship and to restore diplomatic relations. Now is the time for us to accomplish this historic task.

Mr. Prime Minister, before you left for China, you said that agreement could be reached in the negotiations between the two countries and that agreement must be reached. I am convinced that, through the efforts of our two sides to conduct full consultations and seek common ground on major points while reserving differences on minor points, the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations can be realized.

The social systems of China and Japan are different. However, this should not be an obstacle to our two countries' living together as equals and in friendship. The restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan and the establishment of friendly, good-neighbour relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence⁹³ will open up new prospects for the development of friendly contacts between our two peoples and the expansion of economic and cultural exchanges between our two countries. Far from being exclusive, Sino-Japanese friendship will contribute to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the preservation of peace in the world.

China and Japan are both great nations. The Chinese and Japanese peoples are both industrious and courageous. They should live in friendship from generation to generation. On behalf of the Chinese people, I should like to extend to the Japanese people our greetings and our sincere wishes for still greater advances on the road of progress.

Today, leaders of China and Japan have begun highly significant talks on the question of the normalization of relations between the two countries. We expect that our talks will achieve complete success.

MARCHING TOWARDS THE SPLENDID GOAL OF THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

January 13, 1975

On Chairman Mao's instructions, it was suggested in the Report on the Work of the Government to the Third National People's Congress that we might envisage the development of our economy in two stages beginning with the Third Five-Year Plan: the first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic structure within 15 years, that is, before 1980; and the second stage is to accomplish the overall modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our economy will be among the front ranks of world economies.

To reinforce the foundations for completing the first stage before 1980 as envisaged, we should fulfil or overfulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1975. Judging from the situation at home and abroad, the next 10 years will be crucial for accomplishing the tasks set for the two stages. In this first period we shall not only build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic structure but set out on the march towards the splendid goal defined for the second stage. With this objective in mind, the State Council will draw up a long-range ten-year plan, five-year plans and annual plans. The ministries and commissions under the State Council and the local revolutionary committees at all levels, down to the industrial and mining enterprises and production teams and other grass-roots units, should all work out their plans through full discussion by the masses and strive to attain our splendid goal ahead of time.

Excerpt from the Report on the Work of the Government made at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress. The full text of the report was published in *People's Daily* on January 21, 1975.

NOTES

¹ The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, adopted at its First Plenary Session on September 29, 1949, defined China's basic policies regarding political, military, economic, cultural, educational, minority nationality and diplomatic affairs. It was a programme for China's reconstruction and was drawn up jointly, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, by representatives of all the democratic parties, mass organizations and people from all China's nationalities and of different sectors of society. The Common Programme articulated a common goal for all the Chinese people and served as the political basis for unified action during a certain period. It functioned as a provisional constitution until the promulgation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1954. PP. 11, 25, 33, 43, 91, 109, 114, 142

² The former province of Suiyuan (implying forcible pacification of remote regions) was peacefully liberated in September 1949 following the peaceful liberation of Beijing in January the same year. In 1954 it was made a part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. PP. 13, 266

³ At this Session, held in Xibaipo Village, Pingshan County, Hebei Province from March 5 to 13, 1949, Mao Zedong delivered a report and the Central Committee discussed bringing about the downfall of the Kuomintang, winning nationwide victory, shifting the focus of the Party's work from villages to cities and taking production and construction as the central task. It also analysed conditions in the different sectors of the economy, determined Party policies towards them and set the basic task, after nationwide victory, of transforming China from an agricultural country into an industrial one and from a new-democratic society into a socialist one. The Session called upon the whole Party to remain modest and prudent, be free from arrogance and rashness in work and preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle after victory was won. PP. 19, 133, 341

⁴ In old China school farmland was usually owned by the local gentry. The schools used the income from this land to pay the salaries of teachers, subsidies for students and other expenses. The Outline Land Law of China, adopted by the National Land Conference of the Chinese Communist Party on September 13, 1947, provided that ownership of school land should be abolished. The "Directive on Handling the Question of Farmland in City Suburbs of the Liberated Areas", adopted by the Government Administration Council on January 13, 1950, again made it clear that all school land should be nationalized and that proper arrangements should be made to solve the financial problems of schools dependent on income from such land. Similar provisions were included in the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China, approved by the Central People's Government Council in June 1950. P. 30

⁵ In the early Qing Dynasty, the Qing government banned fishing in the sea and restricted trade with foreign countries for fear of the anti-Qing armed struggles led by Zheng Chenggong and others on the southeast coast. Shipbuilding and

fishing were permitted by the Qing government after it brought Taiwan under its control in 1683. Two years later, Guangzhou, Zhangzhou, Ningbo and Yuntaishan were designated as trading ports and foreign merchants were again allowed to do business in China. In 1757, because of the illegal activities pursued along China's coast by British and other colonialists, the Qing government ruled that foreign trade would be allowed only in Guangzhou and imposed many restrictions on foreign merchants. Between 1840 and 1860, Britain, France and some other countries launched two successive Opium Wars which forced the Qing court to sign many unequal treaties and to open 17 cities as trade ports. They thus ended China's seclusion and deprived China of its right to self-determination with regard to tariff and obtained privileges to trade in the interior, conduct missionary activities freely and hire Chinese labourers to work abroad. This came to be known as "the lifting of the ban on maritime trade". P. 32

⁶ A reference to the feudal warlord bloc established in the northern provinces by Yuan Shikai in the last years of the Qing Dynasty. In 1895 Yuan Shikai was ordered by the Qing government to organize and train the "New Army" at Xiaozhan in Tianjin under the control of the minister in charge of the northern coastal provinces. After being appointed viceroy of Zhili Province and concurrently minister in charge of the northern coastal provinces in 1901, Yuan Shikai gathered more followers and formed a faction of his own. After the Revolution of 1911, he usurped the provisional presidency of the Republic of China and organized the first northern warlord government, representing big landlords and the comprador class. After his death in 1916, the bloc split into three factions based in Zhili Province, Anhui Province and Fengtian Province, which were supported respectively by the British, Japanese and other imperialist powers and which fought each other for control of the country. The Anhui warlord Duan Qirui fell from power in 1926, the Zhili warlords were wiped out by the National Revolutionary Army in 1927 and with the collapse of the government of the Fengtian warlords in 1928, the reactionary rule of the northern warlords came to an end.

PP. 32, 72, 105, 265, 303, 325, 368, 428

⁷ In the 1920s and 1930s Li Yizhi (1882-1938), a native of Pucheng, Shaanxi Province, and a specialist in water conservancy, as head of the Water Conservancy Bureau of Shaanxi Province and later as chairman of the Huanghe (Yellow) River Water Conservancy Committee, put forward many ideas for harnessing the Huanghe River. He was in charge of the irrigation projects of Jinghui, Luohui, Weihui and the Zhinü Canal. P. 32

⁸ Under the Kuomintang government, H. H. Kung (1880-1967), a native of Taigu, Shanxi Province, long held control of finance, first as Minister of Finance, then as President of the Executive Yuan, President of the Central Bank and President of the Bank of China. In 1938, during the War of Resistance Against Japan, as President of the Executive Yuan he adopted a policy of "Wartime Economic Control", promulgating the "Emergency Rules and Regulations for the Administration of Agriculture, Mining, Industry and Commerce". He drastically reduced the price of cotton and openly plundered the peasants. In that year, the value of cotton fell to 40 per cent of what it had been before the war. P. 32

⁹ In May of 1938, during the anti-Japanese war, Japanese troops occupied Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province, and marched west along the Longhai Railway. In early June, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his troops to blow up the dam on the Huanghe River at Huayuankou north of Zhengzhou, Henan Province, in an attempt to stop the westward drive of the Japanese troops. The resulting flood not only failed to

stop the invaders but also brought unprecedented disaster to the people. In the three provinces of Henan, Anhui and Jiangsu more than 40 counties were flooded, several hundred thousand people were drowned and over 10 million were made homeless. When the waters receded, there remained a vast area that was frequently flooded again and stricken by disaster and famine every year. P. 32

¹⁰ Agrarian reform was the revolutionary movement of peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party to abolish the feudal system of landownership and distribute land to the peasants. In June 1950, the Central People's Government promulgated a law on agrarian reform, and starting in the winter of that year, the movement gradually spread in the newly liberated areas. By the winter of 1952, except for Taiwan Province and some minority nationality areas, the reform had been completed nationwide. About 46 million hectares of land and other means of production had been distributed to 300 million peasants who had formerly owned only a little land or none at all. PP. 34, 51, 65, 73, 89, 103, 142, 170, 271

¹¹ Hou Debang (1890-1974), a native of Minhou, Fujian Province, and an outstanding chemist, was at this time general manager of the Yongli Chemical Company. He was later appointed deputy head of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. P. 35

¹² Sa Fujun (1886-1955), a native of Fuzhou, Fujian Province, was a railway engineer who had taken part in the construction of the Guangzhou-Hankou Railway. In 1950 he was deputy head of the Communications Department of the Southwest Military and Administrative Commission and concurrently deputy head of the Southwest Bureau for Railway Engineering. P. 35

¹³ Zhan Tianyou (1861-1919), a native of Nanhai, Guangdong Province, was the railway engineer who had been in charge of construction of the Guangzhou-Hankou Railway. From 1905 to 1909, he had been in charge of construction of the first railway built by China — the Beijing-Zhangjiakou Railway (now the section from Beijing to Zhangjiakou on the Beijing-Baotou line). P. 35

¹⁴ The rectification movement was a Party-wide Marxist-Leninist ideological education movement that began in 1942. Its major purposes were to combat subjectivism in order to rectify Party members' style of study, to combat sectarianism in order to rectify the style of Party relations and to combat stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing. This movement gave the entire Party membership a better understanding of the need to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. PP. 39, 133, 320, 372, 427

¹⁵ The Party's Seventh National Congress was held in Yan'an from April 23 to June 11, 1945. Mao Zedong made a political report ("On Coalition Government"), Zhu De made a military report ("The Battle Front in the Liberated Areas"), Liu Shaoqi made a report on the revision of the Party Constitution and Zhou Enlai made an important speech on the united front (see *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai*, Vol. I, pp. 213-44). The Congress summed up the historical experience of China's democratic revolution during the preceding two decades, established a correct programme and correct tactics, refuted the mistaken ideas of certain Party members and unified the thinking of the whole Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This Congress, which brought about unprecedented unity within the Party, laid the foundation for the nationwide victory of the new-democratic revolution. PP. 39, 133, 309, 320

¹⁶ Da Yu was chief of allied tribes in ancient China. He organized an effort to control floods by dredging the rivers. P. 40

¹⁷ The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed in Moscow by the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on February 14, 1950. The treaty became effective on April 11 of the same year and was valid for 30 years. At the Seventh Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, held on April 3, 1979, it was decided that when the treaty expired, it would not be renewed, because the international situation had greatly changed. P. 41

¹⁸ The Allied Council for Japan, formed after World War II in Tokyo under an agreement reached at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain in December 1945, was an advisory organ of the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers occupying Japan. It consisted of three representatives from China, the Soviet Union and the United States and one nominated jointly by Britain, Australia, New Zealand and India. The main task of the Council was to ensure the implementation of the Potsdam Declaration, which called for the complete disarming of Japan and its gradual conversion to democracy. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, China's seat in this Council was still occupied illegally by the representative of Chiang Kai-shek clique. In April 1952 the Council was unilaterally disbanded by the United States. P. 46

¹⁹ Syngman Rhee (1875-1965) was the President of South Korea. P. 46

²⁰ Liaodong Province, established in 1949, comprised parts of present-day Liaoning and Jilin provinces. It was dissolved in 1954. P. 46

²¹ The Stockholm Appeal was adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, held in Stockholm in March 1950. The Appeal called for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, and a worldwide campaign was launched to collect signatures. P. 46

²² The "people's conferences" were local conferences, organized shortly after liberation, in which people from different sectors of society participated in government and political affairs. The representatives to these conferences were selected by recommendation, invitation, consultation or election. Before the establishment of local people's congresses, the people's conferences served as consultative organs of the local people's governments at various levels, relaying policies to the people and maintaining contact with them. Later they performed the functions of the local people's congresses. When the people's congresses stood adjourned, consultative committees under the people's conferences were charged with helping the people's governments implement the resolutions of the conferences and making preparations for new conferences. PP. 48, 68, 83, 105

²³ The "Directive to the Entire Party Concerning the Study of the Document 'Stalin and Mao Zedon on the Unity and Co-operation of Party Members with the Non-Party People' " was issued by the CPC Central Committee on March 25, 1950. The directive stated that the Chinese Communist Party had achieved great success in uniting with non-Party people. However, it said, some Party members, especially those who were in responsible positions, still had a "closed-door" mentality, gave themselves airs and flaunted their Party seniority before non-Party people. They either would not or could not co-operate with the masses and with democratic figures. The directive required that Party committees and Party members carefully study the document mentioned in order to strengthen their unity and co-operation with leading democrats and with the masses. P. 49

²⁴ In 1950 a rectification movement was conducted within the Chinese Communist Party. On May 1 of that year, the CPC Central Committee issued a "Direc-

tive on Conducting a Rectification Movement Throughout the Party and Army". The directive stated that after the nationwide victory there had been a great increase in Party members, many of whom were weak in ideology. On the other hand, many veteran Party members had become conceited and prone to commandism. A few of them had even become corrupt and degenerate and had violated discipline and the law. The entire Party members were required to carry out a rectification movement by studying certain documents, summing up their work, analysing actual conditions and making criticisms and self-criticisms in close conjunction with, not in disregard of, their assignments so as to rectify their style of work and the cadres' style of work in particular. P. 49

²⁵ Calculated in the Renminbi in circulation at the time. On March 1, 1955, the People's Bank of China issued a new currency to replace the old, one new yuan equalling 10,000 old. P. 54

²⁶ Immediately after the outbreak of a civil war in Korea on June 25, 1950, the U.S. imperialists invaded Korea. At the same time they dispatched troops to invade China's territory of Taiwan. On September 15, under the banner of United Nations Forces, U.S. troops made a landing at Inchon on the west coast of Korea. Then they crossed the 38th Parallel *en masse* and pushed north, bombing and strafing the frontier cities and villages of northeast China and thus presenting a serious threat to China's security. To support the Korean people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to defend New China, the Chinese people, in response to Chairman Mao Zedong's call, organized the Chinese People's Volunteers with Peng Dehuai as commander and political commissar. The Volunteers marched to the Korean battlefield and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army against the U.S. aggressors. On November 4, China's democratic parties issued a joint declaration expressing support for the Volunteers' just action. The people gave all-out support to the war effort in Korea by increasing production and practising economy, signing up for the Volunteers and donating arms. The U.S. imperialists suffered one defeat after another at the hands of the Chinese and Korean people's armies and finally had to sign the Korean Armistice Agreements on July 27, 1953. Thus, the war ended in victory for the Korean and Chinese peoples.

PP. 59, 96, 103, 116, 156, 170, 241, 280, 308

²⁷ Henry Wallace (1888-1965), a Republican-turned Democrat, served in the Roosevelt Administration first as Secretary of Agriculture, then as Secretary of Commerce and finally as Vice-President. In 1946 he joined the American Progressive Party. After his defeat in the presidential elections of November 1948, he ran an agro-business in the state of New York. Although Wallace supported the U.S. government policy of aggression against Korea, on September 29, 1950, a few months after the Korean war broke out, he wrote a letter to Mao Zedong, in his private capacity as a farmer, saying, "It will be a tragedy for the world if New China learns how to manufacture tanks before it learns how to produce trucks and tractors." P. 60

²⁸ At the time of the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed that the 38th parallel, north latitude, on Korean territory would be taken as a temporary demarcation line. In the area north of the line the Soviet troops would accept the Japanese surrender, and in the area south of it, the American troops would accept the Japanese surrender. This line was commonly known as the 38th Parallel. At the outbreak of the Korean war the Korean people had already established the Democratic People's Republic of

Korea in the north, while the south was still under the rule of the Syngman Rhee clique backed by U.S. imperialism. P. 61

²⁹ The meeting was held in New York from September 12 to 18, 1950. P. 61

³⁰ In 1950, when the British Labour Party was in power, Ernest Bevin (1881-1951) served as Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom. As China had not yet established diplomatic relations with the United States, representations regarding the Korean war were made to the U.S. government by the United Kingdom through India which already had diplomatic relations with China. P. 61

³¹ Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964) was the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied occupational forces in Japan after the Japanese surrender in 1945. In June 1950 he became Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces and directed the war of aggression against Korea. P. 62

³² The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 was deliberately provoked by the Japanese militarists. The Japanese troops first invaded Korea and soon afterwards began a large-scale invasion of northeast China, preceded by provocation of the Chinese army and navy. Because of the corruption of the Qing government, China was defeated both on land and at sea and was forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. PP. 62, 303

³³ The July 7th Incident is also known as the Lugouqiao Incident. Lugouqiao (the "Marco Polo" Bridge) is a dozen kilometres outside Beijing and is the south-west gateway to the city. On July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggressors launched an attack on the Chinese troops stationed at the bridge. Inspired by the wave of resistance to Japanese aggression that was sweeping over the country and by the Communist Party's call to resist, the Chinese troops rose against the enemy. This incident marked the beginning of the Chinese people's heroic war of resistance, which was to last eight years. PP. 33, 328

³⁴ The Marriage Law was adopted by the Seventh Session of the Central People's Government Council on April 13, 1950, and promulgated by the Central People's Government on May 1 of the same year. In essence, the law abolished the feudal system of marriage, which was based on arranged or forced marriages and the superiority of men over women and which ignored the rights of children, and instituted a new marriage system which was based on freedom of choice, monogamy and equality between men and women and which protected the legitimate rights of women and children. P. 65

³⁵ In September 1951 teachers in universities and colleges in Beijing and Tianjin launched a study campaign to carry out systematic ideological remoulding. To unify the leadership of the campaign, the Ministry of Education set up a Teachers' Study Committee of Institutions of Higher Education in Beijing and Tianjin, which had a sub-committee in Beijing University. P. 69

³⁶ Ma Yinchu (1882-1982), a native of Shengxian, Zhejiang Province, was an economist. P.69

³⁷ The May 4th Movement of 1919 was a patriotic movement against imperialism and feudalism. The First World War had just come to an end, and the victors — Britain, the United States, France, Japan, Italy and other countries — convened a peace conference in Paris, at which it was decided to transfer to Japan the special rights in Shandong Province previously held by Germany. China, having declared war on Germany, was one of the victors, but the northern warlord government was prepared to accept this decision. On May 4 students in Beijing

held demonstrations to protest the imperialists' unjust decision and the warlord government's compromise. The student movement evoked an immediate response throughout the country. By June 3 it had developed into a patriotic anti-imperialist and anti-feudal mass movement embracing the working class, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The May 4th Movement was also a movement for a new culture, as against the feudal culture. Starting with the inauguration of the magazine *Youth*, this new cultural movement promoted democracy and science. It advocated a new morality and a new literature. The advanced persons in the new cultural movement, who embraced Marxism, helped transform it into a Marxist ideological movement. They were devoted to integrating Marxism with the Chinese workers' movement, thus laying the ideological and organizational foundation for the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party. PP. 69, 303, 309, 369

³⁸ Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), a native of Huaining, Anhui Province, was one of the main leaders of the May 4th new cultural movement. In September 1915 he began editing the magazine *Youth*. In 1918, together with Li Dazhao, he founded the *Weekly Review* and advocated the new culture. After the May 4th Movement, he accepted and propagated Marxism. He was one of the main founders of the Chinese Communist Party and served as its principal leader for the first six years. In the later period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, he committed the serious error of Right capitulationism. Afterwards, he lost faith in the future of the revolution and accepted Trotskyite views. He formed a faction inside the Party, engaged in anti-Party activities and was consequently expelled in November 1929. Then he was actively involved in a Trotskyite organization. In October 1932 he was arrested and imprisoned by the Kuomintang, and in August 1937 he was released. In 1942 he died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan Province. PP. 71, 307, 442

³⁹ Zhang Taiyan (1869-1936), also known as Zhang Binglin, was a native of Yuhang, Zhejiang Province. He took part in the Reform Movement when he was young. In 1904, together with Cai Yuanpei and others, he organized the Guang Fu Hui (Society for Breaking the Foreign Yoke) and in 1906 he joined the Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League). Before the 1911 Revolution he had published articles in a number of journals, disseminating revolutionary ideas and publicly advocating the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty. P. 72

⁴⁰ The *Journal of Chinese Culture* was an official publication of the Society for the Preservation of Chinese Learning, an academic organization established in 1904. The journal began publication in February 1905 in Shanghai. Its aim was to "disseminate Chinese learning and preserve the Chinese culture" and to "promote love of the country and preserve the race, carry forward Chinese learning and save the world". It helped to carry on the national academic tradition and opposed the Qing government. But it advocated the doctrine of "back to the ancients". It stopped publication after the Wuchang Uprising of 1911. P. 72

⁴¹ In the last years of the Qing Dynasty, Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), a native of Xiangcheng, Henan Province, was governor of Shandong Province, viceroy of Zhili Province and minister in charge of the northern coastal provinces. He became the head of the northern warlords. When the 1911 Revolution was launched, he was premier of the Qing government. In 1912, supported by the imperialist powers of Britain, the United States and Japan, he usurped the provisional presidency of the Republic of China and organized the first government of the northern warlords, which represented the big landlord and comprador classes.

He established an autocratic dictatorship at home and enforced a policy of capitulationism and national betrayal abroad. In May 1915, he accepted the Twenty-one Demands by which Japan was trying to subjugate China. In December he proclaimed himself emperor, but in March of the following year nationwide opposition forced him to abolish autocratic monarchy. PP. 72, 303

⁴² On January 18, 1915, taking advantage of the First World War, the Japanese imperialists presented a secret treaty to the Yuan Shikai government designed to give Japan exclusive domination of China. The proposed treaty comprised five parts with 21 articles. The main demands were: 1) to transfer to Japan the rights Germany had seized in Shandong and to grant Japan additional rights in the province; 2) to recognize the privileges enjoyed by Japan in southern Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia; 3) to reorganize the Han-Ye-Ping Iron and Steel Company as a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise; 4) not to lease or cede any harbours or islands along China's coastline to any third power; and 5) to give Japan control over China's political, financial, police and military affairs, to give it the right to build vital railway lines connecting the provinces of Hubei, Jiangxi, Zhejiang and Guandong, and to recognize its priority right to invest in mining, in the building of railways and in the reconstruction of harbours in Fujian Province. On May 7 Japan presented an ultimatum. Two days later the Yuan Shikai government accepted all the demands except those in the fifth part, on which it requested "further negotiations". Thanks to the unanimous opposition of the Chinese people and the conflicts among the imperialist powers over their interests in China, Japan failed to realize all its demands. P. 72

⁴³ These refer to the "Military Pact for Common Ground-Force Defence Against the Enemy" and the "Military Pact for Common Naval Defence Against the Enemy" signed secretly by the Duan Qirui government and the Japanese government in Beijing in May 1918. Under the pretext of common defence against the enemy these pacts ensured Japanese troops' right to enter Chinese territory to fight the Soviet Union and control the Chinese troops. P. 72

⁴⁴ Etatism was a bourgeois ideology in Europe which covered up the class nature of the state with the abstract concept of the state. Its proponents advocated "the supremacy of the state", abandonment of class struggle and devotion to the state ruled by the exploiting class. Some of the etatists even created contradictions among nationalities by preaching "national superiority" and agitated for a war of aggression under the pretext of safeguarding the motherland. In the 1920s certain representatives of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie in China organized the Chinese Youth Party, which embraced etatism and opposed the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union. P. 72

⁴⁵ The Young China Society was one of the organizations that sprang up during the May 4th Movement. It was formally established in Beijing in July 1919, on the initiative of Li Dazhao and Wang Guangqi. Among the members of this Society were communist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. The publications of the Society included *Young China* and *The World of the Young*. Because of increasing ideological disintegration among its members it ceased its activities in 1925. P.72

⁴⁶ Li Dazhao (1889-1927), a native of Leting, Hebei Province, served as the editor of the magazine *New Youth* and, together with Chen Duxiu, founded the *Weekly Review*. He was one of the first to disseminate Marxism in China. In 1918 he joined others in preparing the establishment of the Young China Society.

In 1920 he organized a communist group in Beijing and was one of the chief founders of the Chinese Communist Party. PP. 72, 309

⁴⁷ In 1918 Zeng Qi (1892-1951), a native of Longchang, Sichuan Province, joined with others to establish the Young China Society. In 1923, while studying in France, with Li Huang and others he formed the Chinese Youth Party. He returned to China in 1924 and launched the weekly *Awakened Lion* through which to spread etatism. In 1926 he became President of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Youth Party and its Chairman in 1945. During the War of Liberation he joined the National Assembly controlled by the Kuomintang and served as a member of the Kuomintang government and advisor of the Presidential Palace.

P. 72

⁴⁸ Li Huang (1895-), a native of Chengdu, Sichuan Province, was a member of the Young China Society. Together with Zeng Qi, he founded the Chinese Youth Party in 1923 while studying in France. In 1926 he served as member of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Youth Party and its Acting Chairman in 1948.

P. 72

⁴⁹ Zuo Shunsheng (1893-1969), a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was a member of the Young China Society. He joined the Chinese Youth Party in 1925. In 1926 he was member of the Standing Committee of the Party's Executive Committee and in 1935 he was President of the Central Executive Committee. During the War of Liberation he joined the National Assembly controlled by the Kuomintang and served as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in the Kuomintang government.

P. 72

⁵⁰ Kemal (1881-1938) was the representative of the national-bourgeois merchants in Turkey. From 1919 on, he led the Turkish national liberation movement and bourgeois-democratic revolution. In 1925 he was elected the first President after the founding of the Republic of Turkey. The adherents of "Kemalism" advocated the establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. After the failure of the Chinese revolution in 1927, some of the bourgeois in China preached Kemalism in an attempt to turn China into a country under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

P. 73

⁵¹ Hong Xiuquan (1814-64), a native of Huaxian, Guangdong Province, was the leader of a peasant revolutionary war in the middle of the 19th century. In 1851, together with Yang Xiuqing and others, he led a mass uprising in Guangxi Province and proclaimed the establishment of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, which fought the Qing Dynasty for 14 years.

P. 73

⁵² Yan Fu (1854-1921), a native of Minhou, Fujian Province, studied at the Greenwich Royal Naval College in Britain. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, he advocated a constitutional monarchy and reform to modernize China. His translations of T. H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, J. S. Mill's *System of Logic*, Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Loïs*, and other works were vehicles for the spread of European bourgeois thought in China.

P. 72

⁵³ In 1895, after China had been defeated by Japanese imperialism, Kang Youwei (1858-1927), a native of Nanhai County, Guangdong Province, led 1,300 candidates for the imperial examinations in Beijing in submitting a petition to Emperor Guang Xu, asking for "constitutional reform and modernization" and demanding that the autocratic monarchy be replaced by constitutional monarchy. In 1898, in an attempt to introduce reform, the Emperor promoted Kang Youwei

to a key post in the government. Later, the Empress Dowager Ci Xi, representing the diehards, again took power, and the reform movement ended up in failure. Kang Youwei fled abroad and helped to form the Protect-the-Emperor Party, which became a reactionary political faction in opposition to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries represented by Sun Yat-sen. P. 73

⁵⁴ “Meiji” was the reign of Emperor Mutsuhito of Japan. The Meiji Restoration was a bourgeois reform movement which began in 1868. Failing to eliminate the feudal system, it nevertheless abolished the feudal shogunate, established a unified and centralized state, developed capitalism and soon turned Japan into a capitalist country. P. 73

⁵⁵ At this time Liang Shumin (1893-1988), a native of Guilin, Guangxi Province, was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. P. 76

⁵⁶ Zhang Boling (1876-1951), a native of Tianjin, was an educator. In 1904 he set up Jinye Middle School in Tianjin (renamed Nankai School in 1907). In 1919 he served as President of Nankai University. After 1945, he served as member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang and President of the Examination Yuan under the Kuomintang government. When the People’s Republic of China was founded, he sent a telegram to Premier Zhou Enlai, expressing his congratulations. P.78

⁵⁷ Weng Wenhao (1889-1971), a native of Yinxian, Zhejiang Province, was a geologist. In 1948 he served as President of the Executive Yuan of the Kuomintang government. It was not long before he resigned and went to France. He returned to China in 1951 and later became a member of the National Committee of the CPPCC and a member of the Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. PP. 79, 371

⁵⁸ This refers to the “Directive of the Administration Council of the Central People’s Government on Promoting the Work in Old Base Areas” issued over the signature of Premier Zhou Enlai. See the second part of this article: “Vigorously Promote Economic and Cultural Development in Old Base Areas”. P.84

⁵⁹ An inscription written by Mao Zedong for the people in old base areas, published in *People’s Daily* on August 11, 1951. P.84

⁶⁰ These refer to the “Provisional Regulations on Special Care for Family Members of Revolutionary Martyrs and Servicemen” and the “Provisional Regulations on Special Care and Compensation for Revolutionary Disabled Servicemen”. They were issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Central People’s Government on December 11, 1950. P. 88

⁶¹ These are the state, the co-operative, the state-capitalist, the private capitalist and the individual sectors of the economy. PP. 91, 110, 119

⁶² John Leighton Stuart (1876-1962), an American, was born in Hangzhou, China. He took up the post of U.S. ambassador to the Kuomintang government in July 1946. When Nanjing was liberated in April 1949, he remained there until August of that year when he left China. P. 96

⁶³ In November 1939 a war broke out between the Soviet Union and Finland due to the border issue. With the support of the United States, Britain and France organized an expeditionary army to attack the Soviet Union via Sweden. The Soviet government warned the Swedish government not to violate its neutrality lest unnecessary disputes arise. The Swedish government decided to maintain

normal relations with the Soviet Union. In early April, 1940, following Hiker's occupation of Denmark and Norway, Sweden was likewise confronted with the threat of occupation. On April 13 the Soviet government stated to the German ambassador to the Soviet Union that it would not allow Germany to violate Sweden's neutrality. The German government paid heed to the statement. The Swedish government expressed its gratitude to the Soviet Union. P. 98

⁶⁴ The movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries was launched throughout China in 1950 and ended in 1953. In the early years of the People's Republic, there remained many bandits, local tyrants, secret agents, hard-core elements of reactionary parties and leagues, heads of reactionary secret societies and other counter-revolutionaries. They engaged in all kinds of sabotage against the people's revolution and construction programmes. In order to establish and consolidate revolutionary order, the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries was carried out throughout the country in accordance with the "Directive on Suppressing Counter-Revolutionary Activities" issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and "Regulations of the People's Republic of China Regarding Punishment of Counter-Revolutionaries" promulgated by the Central People's Government. This movement dealt a heavy blow to the remaining counter-revolutionary forces and consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship. PP. 103, 142, 170, 210

⁶⁵ Wang Yunsheng (1901-80), a native of Jinghai, Tianjin, was the editor-in-chief of *Shang Bao* (*Business Paper*) published in Tianjin and *Da Gong Bao* published in Shanghai. After the founding of the People's Republic of China he served as member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the CPPCC and as Vice-Chairman of the All-China Journalists' Association. On February 9, 1952, he published an article in *Da Gong Bao* entitled "Is It That the Bourgeoisie Is Making a Furious Attack on Us? Or Is It That We Are 'Creating Class Struggle'?" Soon after, this article, revised by Mao Zedong, was reprinted in *People's Daily* on February 13 of the same year. P. 103

⁶⁶ The Revolution of 1911, led by the Tong Meng Hui, a bourgeois revolutionary party headed by Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the autocratic regime of the Qing Dynasty. On October 10 of that year a number of revolutionaries inspired the New Army to stage an uprising in Wuchang, Hubei Province. It evoked enthusiastic response from various provinces, and very soon the reactionary rule of the Qing Dynasty, which was supported by imperialist powers, crumbled. In January 1912 the Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established in Nanjing, with Sun Yat-sen as the Provisional President. Thus, China's feudal monarchic system, which had lasted more than 2,000 years, was brought to an end. The idea of a democratic republic had struck root in the hearts of the people. But the bourgeois revolutionary forces were too weak and conciliatory to make a thoroughgoing revolution against imperialism and feudalism by mobilizing the masses. The fruits of the 1911 Revolution were soon seized by the northern warlord Yuan Shikai, and China remained a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. PP. 103, 261, 297, 325 367

⁶⁷ The movement against the "five evils"—bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information—was launched in 1952 in capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises.

⁶⁸ See "The Movement Against the 'Three Evils', and the National Bourgeoisie", pp. 90-93, above. PP. 106, 122, 170, 341 P. 107

⁶⁹ The movement against the “three evils”— corruption, waste and bureaucracy — was carried out from December 1951 to October 1952 in government departments, army units and state-owned enterprises. PP. 107, 122, 170, 341

⁷⁰ Chen Yun (1905-), a native of Qingpu, Shanghai, served in 1952 as member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, member of its Secretariat, Vice-Premier of the Administration Council of the Central People’s Government and Minister in charge of the Financial and Economic Commission. In November 1956 and 1962, he served as Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. PP. 108, 258, 418

⁷¹ Huang Yanpei (1878-1965), also known as Renzhi, a native of Chuansha, Shanghai, passed the imperial examination at the provincial level in the last years of the Qing Dynasty. When he was young, he joined the Tong Meng Hui (the Chinese Revolutionary League). In 1917 he set up the China Vocational Education Society in Shanghai. At the end of 1940 he, together with others, initiated the China Federation of Democratic Political Groups, and five years later he established the China Democratic National Construction Association. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, he served successively as Vice-Premier of the Administration Council of the Central People’s Government, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC and Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association. PP. 111, 370

⁷² See “The Second Year of Zhen Guan Taizong”. *History As A Mirror* by Wei Zheng, a statesman of the early Tang Dynasty. Mao Zedong had often quoted this remark in his article “On Contradiction” and elsewhere. P. 113

⁷³ On June 15, 1953, Mao Zedong enunciated the Party’s general line for the transition period for the first time, at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. The language quoted here is from a further elucidation of the line made when Mao Zedong read and approved the conclusions Zhou Enlai had drawn from the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work, which took place in August 1953. The following December the Central Committee approved the distribution of the document “Mobilize All Forces and Strive to Turn China into a Great Socialist Country: An Outline for the Study and Propagation of the Party’s General Line for the Transition Period”, prepared by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and revised by Mao Zedong. P. 115

⁷⁴ Sheng Peihua (1882-1961), a native of Ningbo, Zhejiang Province, was a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the CPPCC, Vice-Mayor of Shanghai and Director of the Industrial and Commercial Federation of Shanghai. P. 116

⁷⁵ See “Problems Concerning the Chinese National Bourgeoisie”, p. 103, above. After 1956, when capitalist industry and commerce were converted into state-private enterprises, dividends to capitalists were replaced by fixed interest on the money value of their assets paid to them by the state. P. 122

⁷⁶ Agricultural producers’ co-operatives were collective organizations set up by peasants on a voluntary basis under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. They were classified as elementary or advanced, according to the degree of their collectivization. In the elementary co-operatives, land was pooled under unified management, each owner having a share. Earnings were distributed in accordance with the amount of land, labour and means of production (draught animals, farm implements) contributed. In the advanced co-operatives, payment

based on land shares was done away with and land was owned by the collective. Draught animals and farm implements contributed to co-operatives were paid for outright, and the principle of distribution according to work was fully implemented.

PP. 122, 220, 271, 322

⁷⁷ See "The Only Road for the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1977, Vol. II, pp. 112-14.

PP. 122, 124, 125

⁷⁸ The movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the agrarian reform movement and the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries. See Notes 26, 10 and 64, above.

P. 122

⁷⁹ The movement for remoulding ideology through study was carried out among China's intellectuals in 1951 and 1952. It was primarily designed to help intellectuals, through the study of the basic theories of historical materialism and the Common Programme and through criticism and self-criticism, to cast off the influence of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, to distinguish between the people and the enemy and to adopt the concept of serving the working people.

P. 122

⁸⁰ The Seventh National Congress of Trade Unions summed up the experience in trade union work since the Sixth National Labour Congress held in 1948 and particularly during the period of economic rehabilitation since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The Congress stated that the task of trade unions in the period of planned economic construction was to unite with the people of the whole country, to work hard to implement the state plan for economic development and to strive for gradual industrialization and the transition to a socialist society.

P. 125

⁸¹ The six regulations were contained in the "Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity" which was adopted later by the Session. The Central Committee required all high-ranking cadres to abide by the following regulations:

1) Party unity takes precedence over everything else and safeguarding and consolidating it should be the guideline for our words and actions. In other words, we should say and do what is beneficial to Party unity and not what is not.

2) The Party is the unified, centralized organization of the advanced elements of the working class and the entire Party membership should rally around the Central Committee. All Party organizations in all departments and in all areas and their work should be regarded as an integral part of the Party and their work should be regarded as an integral part of the Party and its work under the unified leadership of the Central Committee. All Party members should oppose the factionalism, small-group mentality, localism, the mountain-stronghold mentality and departmentalism, and all words and actions that interfere with the unified leadership of the Central Committee or harm its unity and prestige.

3) Strict observation of democratic centralism and adherence to the principle of collective leadership are important guarantees of Party unity. Therefore, it is imperative to oppose decentralism and individualism, the practice of taking a region or department under one's leadership as one's own independent kingdom, of putting oneself above organizations and of unduly stressing the role of individuals and to oppose conceit and the personality cult.

4) High-ranking cadres must regularly report to the Party organizations to which they belong their important political activities and opinions and

the most important ones directly to the Political Bureau, the Secretariat or the Chairman of the Central Committee. Engaging in political activities and spreading opinions on political affairs by individuals or small groups behind the back of the Party organizations and the Central Committee are violations of Party discipline and demolition of Party unity and must be prohibited.

5) All high-ranking cadres should examine their words and deeds in accordance with the principle of strengthening Party unity and rectify those which are harmful to unity.

6) They should criticize and combat words and deeds which harm Party unity.

P. 130

⁸² Guo Moruo's celebrated essay "The Tercentenary of the 1644 Uprising" appeared in *New China Daily* in Chongqing in March 1944. It explained that the uprising was defeated in 1645 because after the peasant forces, led by Li Zicheng, entered Beijing in 1644, some of their leaders became complacent and were corrupted by luxurious living, and factional strife arose. On April 12, 1944, Mao Zedong said at a meeting of high-ranking cadres in Yan'an, "Recently we have reprinted Guo Moruo's essay on Li Zicheng, so that comrades may also take warning from this story and not repeat the error of becoming conceited at the moment of success." (See "Our Study and the Current Situation", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, p. 174.)

P. 133

⁸³ The Zunyi Meeting was an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held at Zunyi, Guizhou Province in January 1935 during the Long March. The meeting focused on rectifying the "Left" errors in military affairs, put an end to the domination of the "Left" adventurist line in the central leadership, established the leadership of Mao Zedong in the Red Army and in the Party's central leading body and saved the Red Army and the Party from destruction at a critical juncture.

PP. 135, 309

⁸⁴ This programme had been adopted by the Government Administration Council on February 11, 1954 and was implemented throughout the country from the following May to October 1958. It provided for a unified programme of physical training for the whole nation and set standards for evaluation.

P. 139

⁸⁵ Wu Chuanyu (1928-54), whose family came from Shimei, Fujian Province, was born in Indonesia but returned to China in 1951. He was an excellent competitive swimmer. With his victory in the 100-metre backstroke event at the First International Youth Friendship Games in August 1953, the flag of the People's Republic of China was hoisted for the first time in an international sports competition. Wu died in a plane crash on his way to Hungary in 1954.

P. 140

⁸⁶ The Asian-African Conference, also known as the Bandung Conference, was held in Bandung, Indonesia, from April 18 to 24, 1955. Five sponsoring countries — Burma, Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan — and 24 other countries, including Afghanistan, Cambodia, the People's Republic of China and Egypt, participated. The Conference extensively discussed the problems of national sovereignty, anti-colonialist struggles, world peace and economic and cultural co-operation among the participating countries and issued the Joint Final Communique of the Asian-African Conference, putting forward ten principles for the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

PP. 155, 241, 281

⁸⁷ An international conference on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the restoration of peace in Indo-China was held in Geneva from April 26 to July 21, 1954. The People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United States,

Britain and France took part in the discussions of both subjects. For the debate on the Korean question they were joined by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Syngman Rhee clique of South Korea and by 12 other countries which, along with Britain, the United States and France, had participated in the war of aggression in Korea. For the debate on the Indo-China question, the major powers were joined by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and the Bao Dai regime of South Viet Nam. No agreement was reached on the Korean question, but a series of agreements were reached on the restoration of peace in Indo-China, and a cease-fire there was achieved. PP. 156, 241, 281

⁸⁸ After the surrender of Japan in 1945, France launched a war of aggression in Indo-China by sending troops successively to Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos in an attempt to re-establish its colonial rule there. After eight years of courageous resistance by the peoples of these three countries, the aggressors were forced to sign an armistice agreement in July 1954, and in August there was a cease-fire.

PP. 156, 281

⁸⁹ A meeting of the prime ministers of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) was held in Colombo from April 28 to May 2, 1954. The conference issued a communique appealing for an immediate cease-fire in Indo-China, expressing satisfaction at the restoration of peace in Indo-China through the negotiations at the Geneva Conference and proposing that an Asian-African conference be convened. P. 156

⁹⁰ A reference to the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia reached at the Geneva Conference in July 1954 and to the final declaration of that Conference. The main points of these agreements were as follows: the participating countries of the Geneva Conference undertook to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs; the two belligerent parties in the three states would cease fire at the same time; the three states would not join any military alliance, and no foreign military bases would be established on their territory; and France would withdraw its troops from Indo-China. However, the United States did not sign the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference; instead, it announced that the U.S. government undertook not to hinder the fulfilment of the agreements by armed force. Later, it went back on its word, thus violating the agreements. P.157

⁹¹ A Japanese seaman, Aikichi Kuboyama, was the first to die from the effects of radiation caused by the United States' first experimental explosion of a hydrogen bomb, near the island of Bikini in the central Pacific, in March 1954. P.157

⁹² The second conference of the prime ministers of Burma, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan, held in Bogor, Indonesia, on December 28 and 29, 1954, after the Colombo Conference, issued a joint communique announcing the convening of an Asian-African conference in 1955. The communique declared that the aims of the Asian-African conference would be to promote friendly co-operation and good-neighbour relations among the countries in question; to discuss social, economic and cultural problems and relations among the participating countries; to discuss problems of special interest to the peoples of Asia and Africa, such as national sovereignty, racism and colonialism; and to discuss the role of the countries and their peoples in world affairs and the contributions they could make to promoting world peace and co-operation. P. 160

⁹³ See, 'Five Principles for Peaceful Coexistence', p. 128, above.

PP. 161, 250, 502

⁹⁴ The Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967), published in January 1956, was prepared by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in accordance with suggestions by Mao Zedong. A revised draft, published in October 1957, was adopted in April 1960 at the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress and promulgated as an official document. Consisting of 40 articles, the Programme outlined plans for the development of farming, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery and sideline production and of other rural undertakings in the areas of commerce, credit, transport, post and telecommunications, radio broadcasting, science, culture, education and public health. The Programme provided target figures for increases in the average annual yield of grain in different parts of the country. PP. 168, 225, 452

⁹⁵ See "Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, pp. 301-03. P. 169

⁹⁶ Hu Feng (1902-1985), a native of Qichun, Hubei Province, was a poet and a theoretician of literature and art. In July 1933 he joined the Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers in Shanghai. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served as a council member of the Chinese Writers' Association and a member of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. In 1955 he and some others were wrongly judged to have formed a "counter-revolutionary clique", and 10 years later he was sentenced to prison. In September 1980 Hu Feng and other members of the alleged clique were found innocent in accordance with legal procedures, and their rehapilitation was announced in a circular issued by the CPC Central Committee. In 1981 Hu Feng became a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the CPPCC and an advisor to the Chinese Writers' Association. P. 173

⁹⁷ Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin (1895-1975) was then Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. The words quoted are from his report "The Tasks for Further Developing Industry, Advancing Technology and Improving Productive Organization", made at a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on July 4, 1955. P. 187

⁹⁸ See "The Chinese People Have Stood Up!", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. V, p. 18. P. 194

⁹⁹ Remarks made at the Supreme State Conference on January 25, 1956 and published in *People's Daily* on January 26 of the same year. P. 195

¹⁰⁰ The Kunqu opera *Fifteen Strings of Coins* was adapted from the legendary play of the same name (also known as *The Dream of the Two Xiong Brothers*) written by dramatist Zhu Suchen who lived in the early Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). The main plot of the opera is as follows: a gambler, Lou Ashu, kills a butcher, You Hulu, and steals his fifteen strings of coins. Lou puts the blame on Su Shujuan, You's adopted daughter, and a passerby named Xiong Youlan, who happens to have fifteen strings of coins on him. Guo Yuzhi, the county magistrate of Wuxi, asserts, without objective evidence, that Su and Xiong have committed adultery and murdered You Hulu and sentences them to death. But when Kuang Zhong, prefect of Suzhou, goes to the execution ground to supervise the execution as ordered, he becomes suspicious about the case. That very night he rushes to the governor, Zhou Chen, and asks that the sentence be suspended and the case re-examined. Kang Zhong then goes to the scene of the crime to investigate and question the local people, with the result that he discovers the true murderer and the wrong judgement is reversed. PP. 197, 344

¹⁰¹ A reference to the character in the opera Zhou Chen, Governor of Provinces south of the Changjiang (Yangtse) River. The historical personage Zhou Chen (1381-1453), a second vice-minister during the Xuan De reign of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), inspected those provinces. He was honest and upright and worked for the interests of the people. Together with Kuang Zhong, he petitioned the throne to reduce the heavy taxes levied on the provinces south of the Changjiang River.

P. 198

¹⁰² A reference to the character Kuang Zhong, the prefect of Suzhou. The historical Kuang Zhong (1383-1443) served as prefect of Suzhou during the Xuan De reign of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). When he was in office he took measures to check the power of the despotic forces and severely punished corrupt officials. Together with Zhou Chen, he petitioned the throne to reduce the heavy taxes levied on provinces south of the Changjiang River.

P. 198

¹⁰³ A sub-plot in Zhu Suchen's original play deals with two brothers, Xiong Youlan and Xiong Youhui, who are wrongly executed for the murder connected with the fifteen strings of coins. Prefect Kuang Zhong meets the two brothers in a dream and suspects that injustice has been done to them. He makes an investigation and finally has the brothers rehabilitated. *Fifteen Strings of Coins* in Kunqu form discards the plots about Xiong Youhui and the feudal dross in the form of making a judgement to the two Xiong brothers case in one's dream and gives prominence to Kuang Zhong's working style of seeking truth from facts and paying attention to investigation.

P. 260

¹⁰⁴ A reference to Wang Chuansong who was deputy leader of the Kunsu Opera Troupe of Zhejiang Province. He played the part of Lou Ashu in *Fifteen Strings of Coins*. Chuanying, whose family name was Zhou, was the head of the troupe and played the part of Kuang Zhong.

P. 202

¹⁰⁵ The celebrated playwright Lao She (1899-1966), a native of Beijing, was at this time Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association.

PP. 202, 302, 324

¹⁰⁶ In 1860 Song Jingshi (1824-?), a native of Tangyi (now Liaochengxi), Shandong Province, joined with other peasants of western Shandong to resist the grain levy. In the following year when the Nian Army entered Shandong, he joined in the uprising of the White Lotus Religion and led the Black Flag Army in fighting along the border of Zhili (now Hebei Province) and Shandong. It was not long before the Army was encircled by the troops of the Qing government and surrendered to Shengbao, the imperial envoy of the Qing court. Song Jingshi then left the Qing army, returned to his home town and rose in revolt again. In 1865 he fought in the battle of Caozhou against the troops under the command of Senglingqin of the Qing government; after the battle he was never seen again. A Beijing opera *Song Jingshi* and a film of the same name have been made about him.

P. 203

¹⁰⁷ A reference to the call to "strive for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan and the complete unification of the motherland" issued by Zhou Enlai in his report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on January 30, 1956. On behalf of the Chinese people on the mainland and the Chinese government, he declared that "all those who wish to come to the mainland to visit their relatives and friends may come; all those who wish to come to the mainland for a tour or for study may also come; all those who wish to take the road of peaceful liberation

of Taiwan, no matter who they are, or how serious their past crimes were, will be treated leniently by the Chinese people without questioning their past; all those who perform meritorious services in the peaceful liberation of Taiwan will be duly rewarded by the Chinese people in accordance with their merits; and all those who come back to the motherland by peaceful means will be provided with appropriate jobs by the Chinese people.” P. 206

¹⁰⁸ A reference to the Sino-American talks at the ambassadorial level held in Geneva starting in August 1955. The two sides decided through consultation that two items would be put on the agenda of their talks. One was the question of the return of civilians of both sides to their respective countries; the other related to certain other practical matters then at issue between the two countries. An agreement was reached on the first item, on September 10, 1955, but no agreement was reached on the second. From September 1958 to February 1970, the site of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks was changed to Warsaw. P. 207

¹⁰⁹ In the later stage of the War of Liberation and the early days of the People’s Republic of China, the Chinese Communist Party, to completely defeat the feudal forces and consolidate the revolutionary order in the newly liberated areas, led the people and the army in a large-scale struggle to suppress bandits and secret agents and to fight local tyrants and landlords. While leading the army in military operations to eliminate bandits and give cover to the work of the people, it organized the people to support these operations, to fight against local tyrants, to destroy the counter-revolutionary ruling forces and to establish people’s democratic power. The struggle to suppress bandits and to fight against local tyrants prepared the ground politically and organizationally for the agrarian reform that was conducted later. P.210

¹¹⁰ From June 1955 to the end of 1956, a nationwide movement was conducted to eliminate hidden counter-revolutionaries. The movement launched in the Party and government organs, mass organizations, factories, mines and other enterprises, army units and schools was known as the “elimination of counter-revolutionaries from Party and government organs” or “internal elimination of counter-revolutionaries”. The movement launched in the rural areas, in urban neighbourhoods and privately owned enterprises was called “suppression of the counter-revolutionaries in society at large”. P. 211

¹¹¹ In April 1943 the Central Committee decided to conduct a Party-wide campaign to examine cadres while rectifying the Party’s style of work. In the process, a “movement to save those who have made mistakes” was launched, and the movement to suppress enemy agents was expanded to include many innocent cadres as targets. On August 15 of the same year, with a view to correcting this grave mistake, the Central Committee adopted the “Decision on the Examination of Cadres”. In this decision it analysed the experience of the campaign and laid down nine principles to be adhered to instead of the wrong, subjective principle of obtaining confessions by compulsion and giving them credence. The nine principles were as follows: 1) Leading cadres themselves should assume responsibility; 2) leading cadres should participate personally; 3) the leading group should link itself closely with the masses; 4) general calls should be combined with specific guidance; 5) investigation and study should be undertaken; 6) right should be distinguished from wrong and trivial errors should be distinguished from serious ones; 7) efforts should be made to help those who have made mistakes; 8) cadres should be trained; and 9) the masses should be educated. On October 9, Mao

Zedong stated that “in this struggle against enemy agents we must adhere to the policy of killing none and arresting few”. P. 211

¹¹² During China’s First Five-Year Plan period, in order to help competent departments at various levels to exercise control over the planning, design and construction of projects, a certain amount of investment was fixed for each industry in accordance with the total amount of investment in capital construction projects. This quota was known as the “norm”. For example, in 1954 the norm set for investment in the iron and steel industry was 10 million yuan, in the textile industry 5 million yuan, and in other light industries 3 to 4 million yuan. Projects undertaken over and above the norm for investment were generally key construction projects of the state. P. 217

¹¹³ The payment of a fixed rate of interest was a means employed by the state to redeem the means of production owned by the national bourgeoisie. After the conversion of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises on a trade-by-trade basis, the state paid the national bourgeoisie a fixed annual rate of interest (generally 5 per cent) on the money value of their assets, regardless of their enterprises’ profits or losses. Payment of such interest began in 1956 and was discontinued in September 1966. PP. 113, 373, 412

¹¹⁴ The system of fixed quotas for the production, purchase and marketing of grain was an important measure adopted by the state in 1955 to encourage the peasants to increase agricultural production and thus to ensure the grain supply. The production quotas for peasant households were fixed on the basis of the grain yield per *mu* [1 *mu* equals about 0.07 hectares — *Tr.*] in normal years in the light of the land quality and other natural conditions as well as management. The amounts of grain purchased by the state from peasant households were fixed in accordance with these production quotas. These amounts were usually about 80 to 90 per cent of the peasants’ surpluses from their own need for food, seed and feed grain as well as for payment of taxes in kind. In 1955 the amount purchased by the state was fixed on a household basis and would not be changed for three years if things were normal, and increases in production were not to entail extra sales. The fixed quota for marketing refers to the amount of grain the state supplied to grain-deficient localities. P. 222

¹¹⁵ The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Beijing from September 15 to 27, 1956. It analysed the situation following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and laid down the task of the all-round building of socialism. At the Congress, Mao Zedong made an opening address, Liu Shaoqi delivered a political report of the Central Committee, Zhou Enlai gave the “Report on Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan for Economic Development (1958-62)”, Deng Xiaoping gave the “Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution” and Zhu De, Chen Yun and Dong Biwu made important speeches. The Congress adopted resolutions on the political report, the revision of the Constitution and the proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan and elected the new Central Committee. The Eighth National Party Congress defined a correct line for the development of the socialist cause and for Party building in the new period. P. 233

¹¹⁶ Shao Lizi (1882-1967), a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, was a member of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, and a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. P. 235

¹¹⁷ A reference to the speech entitled “On the Ten Major Relationships”, delivered by Mao Zedong at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau on April 25, 1956. The ten major relationships were: 1) the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other, 2.) the relationship between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior, 3) the relationship between economic construction and defence construction, 4) the relationship between the state, the units of production and the producers, 5) the relationship between the central and the local authorities, 6) the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities, 7) the relationship between Party and non-Party, 8) the relationship between revolution and counter-revolution, 9) the relationship between right and wrong, and 10) the relationship between China and other countries. P. 235

¹¹⁸ A reference to the conflict in the Pacific region between the anti-fascist allied powers and Japan during the Second World War. On the morning of December 7, 1941, without declaring war, Japan employed a huge naval and air force for a surprise attack on Pearl Harbour in Hawaii, the main Pacific base of the U.S. navy and air force, inflicting disastrous losses on the U.S. Pacific Fleet. The following day, the United States and Britain declared war on Japan, while Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. The Japanese troops occupied many countries and regions in Southeast Asia and some islands in the Pacific Ocean. Later, under the heavy blows dealt by the armed forces of the anti-fascist nations in the Pacific region, Japan met with one defeat after another, and in August 1945 it surrendered unconditionally. P. 247

¹¹⁹ A reference to the Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan which, at the instigation of the British imperialists, was set up by Sabit Damolla, an exponent of Islamic chauvinism, in November 1933 in Kashi, Xinjiang. Because it split China and threw in its lot with imperialists this regime was opposed by people of all nationalities in Xinjiang and collapsed in February 1934. P. 266

¹²⁰ Following the Wuchang Uprising of 1911, the Hubei Military Government proposed changing the form of government by establishing a republic of five nationalities, an idea that was also supported by Sun Yat-sen, who advocated that the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan nationalities would administer state affairs on an equal footing, thus uniting the nationalities and unifying the country. P. 270

¹²¹ In his book *China's Destiny* written in 1943, Chiang Kai-shek said that the Chinese nation, as may be seen from its historical development, had grown by a gradual amalgamation of various clans. The clans in different places had a common ancestry, that is to say, the same blood ran through all the clans, large and small. In the long process of development, owing to the interdependence in their lives, the exchange of their cultures and generations of intermarriage, these clans had assimilated into one single “great Chinese nation”. It is clear from this statement that Chiang Kai-shek recognized the existence only of the Han nationality, and that he regarded the minority nationalities as only clans of the Han nationality. P. 270

¹²² Cheng Yanqiu (1904-58), a native of Beijing, was a performing artist in Beijing opera and founder of the Cheng school of Beijing opera. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he refused to perform for the Japanese and the puppet regime and, instead, devoted himself to the theory and teaching of traditional opera. After the founding of the People's Republic, he served as deputy president

of the China Traditional Opera Research Institute. Cheng joined the Communist Party in 1957. PP. 279, 302, 325

¹²³ This remark, which means socialism has grown stronger than imperialism, is from a talk given by Mao Zedong in Moscow on November 17, 1957, to Chinese students studying in the Soviet Union. P. 281

¹²⁴ The characters designated in the Scheme for Simplified Chinese Characters were published in four batches from February 1, 1956, to July 15, 1959. Acting on the instructions of the State Council, the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language then prepared a General Table of Simplified Characters including an additional number which brought the total to 2,238. P. 287

¹²⁵ Li Fenglian was a model worker in a quilt and garment factory in Yan'an during the War of Resistance Against Japan. In 1958 she was working in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. P. 288

¹²⁶ Li Zhuchen (1881-1968), a native of Yongshun, Hunan Province, was at this time a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Vice-Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association and Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. P. 288

¹²⁷ The Phonetic Alphabet, to be used to transcribe Chinese characters phonetically, was drafted by the Association for the Unification of Pronunciation in 1913 and published by the Ministry of Education of the northern warlord government in 1918. The Kuomintang government later renamed it the Phonetic Symbols. P. 244

¹²⁸ See "A Layman's Remarks on Writing" in Lu Xun's *Essays of Qiejieting*, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1980, Vol. IV, pp. 109-10. P. 296

¹²⁹ Towards the end of the 18th century, Britain smuggled large quantities of opium into China, which resulted in widespread addiction among the Chinese people and the outflow of large quantities of silver from China. At the end of 1838, the Qing government sent Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu to Guangzhou to ban the opium trade. In June 1839, Lin Zexu ordered the public destruction of 1,150 tons of opium seized from British and American merchants. In 1840, Britain launched a war of aggression against China under the pretext of protecting trade. The Qing government wavered and compromised with the enemy, and only part of its troops joined the people in resistance. As a result, after invading the coastal areas in Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang provinces, the British army occupied Wusong, pushed towards the Changjiang River and threatened Nanjing. In August 1842, the Qing government was forced to sign the humiliating "Treaty of Nanjing". Thereafter, China gradually became a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. PP. 298, 367

¹³⁰ In the last years of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), China's postal services were under the control of Britain. The Postal System was a system by which the British used Latin letters to spell Chinese place names. P. 298

¹³¹ The Wade System for transcribing Chinese into the Roman alphabet was published in 1867 by Thomas Wade, a secretary working with the Chinese language in the British embassy in China. P. 298

¹³² Lu Gangzhang (1854-1928), a native of Tong'an, Fujian Province, was one of the earliest advocates of reform of Chinese characters. In his *Clear at First Glance: The Initial Steps*, published in 1892, he proposed a system of phonetic notation which he named *qieyin xinzi* (new phonetic alphabet). P. 298

¹³³ A reference to the method of spelling Chinese with Roman letters, another system of transcribing Chinese characters in the Roman alphabet, which was invented by Professors Qian Xuantong and Li Jinxi of Beijing Normal University, Professor Zhao Yuanren of Qinghua University and other members of the Romanized Chinese Research Committee. It was published in 1926 by the Preparatory Committee for the Unification of the Chinese Language and officially promulgated by the Ministry of Education of the Kuomintang government in 1928.

P. 298

¹³⁴ As head of the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party to the Communist International in 1928, Qu Qiubai often discussed the reform of Chinese characters with Wu Yuzhang, Lin Boqu and others who were studying in the Soviet Union and wrote a booklet entitled *A Latin Alphabet for China*. After Qu returned to China in 1930, Wu and Lin, together with some Soviet linguists, worked out a scheme for Latinizing China's northern dialect. In September 1931 in Vladivostok, Chinese nationals residing in the Soviet Union held the first Conference on New Chinese Characters, which adopted *Principles and Rules for Latinizing Chinese Characters* based on the earlier work. When the system was introduced to China between 1933 and 1934, it became known as the New Latinized Written Language.

P. 298

¹³⁵ Chen Shutong (1876-1966), a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, was a member of the Imperial Academy in the late Qing Dynasty. He participated in the struggle against Yuan Shikai. In 1927 he became the president of the National Commercial Bank. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he supported the resistance. After China's victory in the War, he joined the Federation of Shanghai Mass Organizations and participated in the democratic movement against Chiang Kai-shek. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served successively as Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

PP. 301, 371, 412

¹³⁶ Zhang Wenbai, also known as Zhang Zhizhong (1890-1969), a native of Anhui Province, was at this time Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

P. 302

¹³⁷ The Reform of 1898 was a bourgeois movement aimed at constitutional reform and modernization. At that time, China was being carved up by imperialist powers. Backed by Emperor Guang Xu of the Qing Dynasty, Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong and others attempted to save the nation by gradually establishing a constitutional monarchy under the joint rule of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and developing national capitalism. However, there was not yet a powerful bourgeois class in China and the conservatives headed by Empress Dowager Ci Xi strongly opposed the reform. Some three months after the reform was launched, the Empress Dowager staged a coup d'état in which Emperor Guang Xu was placed in custody and Tan Sitong and five other reformists were executed. Thus, the reform ended in failure.

P. 303

¹³⁸ Gu Jiegang (1893-1980), a native of Wuxian County, Jiangsu Province, and a historian, was at this time a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a research fellow at the Institute of Chinese History.

P. 304

¹³⁹ The Eight Banners, named for the colour of their standards, were part of the standing army of the Qing Dynasty. In each banner, there were a commander and two deputy commanders. The eight banners were later subdivided into eight banners of each of the Manchu, Mongolian and Han nationalities. P. 304

¹⁴⁰ The Green Battalions, also called the Green Banners, were a standing army of the Han nationality set up by the Qing government following the military system of the Ming Dynasty. P. 304

¹⁴¹ The Xiang Army was an armed force organized and trained by the feudal warlord Zeng Guofan in his home province of Hunan in 1852 to suppress the peasant revolutionary movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. It was called the Xiang Army because most of the officers and men were from Xiangxiang County. P. 304

¹⁴² The Huai Army was an armed force of feudal warlords. In 1861 to suppress the peasant revolutionary movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, Li Hongzhang, with the help of Zeng Guofan, reorganized the armed forces of the landlords in his native Anhui Province. It was called the Huai Army because most of the soldiers were from places south of the Huai River. P. 304

¹⁴³ The New Army was organized by the Qing government after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 on the pattern of armies in the Western capitalist countries.

¹⁴⁴ During China's Great Leap Forward movement in 1958, some people referred to fulfilling high output quotas or scoring remarkable achievements in other fields as "launch satellites", by analogy with the spectacular launching of the first man-made satellite by the Soviet Union in October 1957. However, the high output quotas which many departments claimed to have achieved were greatly exaggerated, and the "new technology" and "new products" of which they boasted were often not up to standard. P. 304

¹⁴⁵ The Whampoa Military Academy, a field army officers' academy, was set up by Sun Yat-sen in 1924 with the help of the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union in Huangpu (Whampoa), Guangzhou. The Party assigned Zhou Enlai, Yun Daiying, Xiao Chunü, Nie Rongzhen, Xiong Xiong and others to posts in the the Academy. Many cadets were members of the Communist Party and Communist Youth League. Before Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution in 1927, the Academy was run jointly by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. P. 304

¹⁴⁶ The March 20th Incident, also known as the *Zhongshan* Warship Incident, was a plot by Chiang Kai-shek designed to squeeze out the Communists during the First Revolutionary Civil War. On March 18, 1926, Chiang Kai-shek sent a trusted follower to transmit an order in the name of the Office of the Whampoa Academy in the provincial capital of Guangdong to Li Zhilong, acting director of the Navy Bureau and a member of the Communist Party, instructing him to move the *Zhongshan* Warship to Huangpu pending further orders. When the warship arrived at Huangpu, Chiang's trusted followers spread the rumour that it was going to blow up the Whampoa Military Academy and that the Communist Party would then throw out Chiang Kai-shek. Under the pretext that the Communist Party was plotting an insurrection, on March 20 Chiang Kai-shek had Li Zhilong arrested, the warship detained and troops sent to encircle the office of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike Committee. Later, the Communist Party members were forced to withdraw from the First Army of the National Revolutionary Army and the Whampoa Military Academy. Because Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao and other principal

leaders of the Central Committee of the Party compromised and made concessions, not daring to counter-attack, Chiang Kai-shek's plot was successful. PP. 204, 310

¹⁴⁷ In October 1940 the Kuomintang military authorities ordered the New Fourth Army and the Eighth Route Army, which were fighting the Japanese aggressors in the areas south and north of the Changjiang (Yangtse) River and south of the Huanghe (Yellow) River, to move to the area north of the Huanghe River. The Communist Party protested this unreasonable demand, but at the same time promised to transfer the New Fourth Army troops stationed in southern Anhui to the area north of the Changjiang River, in hopes of continuing the struggle against the Japanese. In January 1941 more than 9,000 New Fourth Army troops from southern Anhui started to move to the north side of the river, with the consent of the Kuomintang military authorities. While passing through Jingxian County, Anhui Province, they were subjected to a surprise attack by 70,000-80,000 Kuomintang troops. After seven days and nights of bloody fighting, the New Fourth Army troops ran out of food and ammunition. Only a few were able to break through the encirclement, while the rest were killed. Ye Ting, the commander, was arrested by the Kuomintang, while Xiang Ying, the deputy commander, was killed. The Southern Anhui Incident, as it came to be called, shocked the country and the whole world.

P. 304

¹⁴⁸ when the Government of the Uphold-the-Provisional-Constitution Army was established in 1917, Chen Jiongmeng (1878-1933), a native of Haifeng, Guangdong Province, was Commander-in-Chief of the Guangdong Army sent to aid troops in Fujian. In 1920 he became Governor of Guangdong Province and Commander-in-Chief of the Guangdong Army. In 1922 he launched a military coup against Sun Yat-sen. In February and March 1925, in order to consolidate the revolutionary base areas in Guangdong, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party jointly organized a revolutionary army with the Whampoa Academy cadets as the backbone force and launched an Eastern Expedition against Chen Jiongmeng, defeating his main force stationed in Dongjiang. Between October and November the same year, the revolutionary army launched another expedition and finally wiped out Chen's troops.

PP. 305, 310

¹⁴⁹ Liang Sicheng (1901-72), a native of Xinhui, Guangdong Province, was an architect and the son of Liang Qichao, a famous reformist of the late Qing Dynasty. At this time, he was Dean of the Civil Engineering and Construction Department of Qinghua University and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He joined the Communist Party in 1959.

P. 305

¹⁵⁰ Kang Tongbi (1881-1969), a native of Nanhai, Guangdong Province, was the daughter of Kang Youwei, a famous reformist of the late Qing Dynasty. At this time she was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

P. 305

¹⁵¹ The Reformists, a bourgeois political faction that advocated learning from the West and instituting constitutional reform, appeared in China around the period of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Its main representatives were Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong and Yan Fu.

P. 305

¹⁵² To mark the 60th anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement (see Note 137 above), on September 28, 1958, a symposium was held in Beijing under the joint sponsorship of the Chinese History Society and the Institute of Chinese History of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Presided over by Fan Wenlan, the symposium

was attended by more than 60 persons, including historians and such well known figures as Wu Yuzhang, Li Jishen, Huang Yanpei, Chen Shutong, Chen Yuan, Pan Zinian, Zhang Shizhao, Kang Tongbi and Liang Sicheng. Comrades who spoke at the symposium stated that though the 1898 movement was reformist in nature, it was a movement of ideological emancipation which represented the trend of Chinese society at the time and thus had a progressive aspect. P. 305

¹⁵³ The Communist International, also known as the Third International and the Comintern, was founded in Moscow in March 1919 under the leadership of Lenin. The Chinese Communist Party joined the International in 1922. In May 1943 the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the International adopted a resolution proposing the dissolution of the organization, and in June it was formally dissolved. P. 306

¹⁵⁴ Li Lisan (1899-1967), a native of Liling, Hunan Province, joined the Communist Party in 1921 and was one of the chief leaders of the Chinese workers' movement. From June to September 1930, when he was a leading member of the Central Committee, he made "Left" adventurist errors. Later, he accepted the Party's criticism, came to see his mistakes and corrected them. He was re-elected to the Central Committee at the Party's subsequent Seventh and Eighth National Congresses. P. 307

¹⁵⁵ A reference to the "Left" putschist mistakes made by Qu Qiubai and others from November 1927 to April 1928 and the "Left" adventurist mistake made by Li Lisan and others from June to September 1930 and by Wang Ming and others from January 1931 to January 1935, when the Zunyi Meeting (see Note 83 above) was held. P. 309

¹⁵⁶ After the Revolution of 1911, Jiang Kanghu (1883-1954), a native of Yiyang, Jiangxi Province, travelled to Japan and Europe in his early years. After the 1911 Revolution, he advocated socialism and organized the Chinese Socialist Party in Shanghai. The party was dissolved by the Yuan Shikai government in 1913. In June 1921, Jiang attended the Third Congress of the Communist International as a non-voting delegate, in the capacity of a former member of the Socialist Party. In order to enter the service of the northern warlords, in 1924 he reorganized the Chinese Socialist Party and the following year reorganized it again into the New Chinese Social-Democratic Party. In 1927 he had to dissolve the party, as the Northern Expedition was winning one victory after another. During the anti-Japanese war, he worked with the puppet government and degenerated into a traitor. P. 309

¹⁵⁷ Huang Jiemin (1883-1956), a native of Qingjiang, Jiangxi Province, joined the Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League) as a young man. In 1919 he became director-general of the Chinese Association of Industry in Shanghai and participated in the patriotic anti-imperialist movement. After the Kuomintang reactionaries betrayed the revolution in 1927, he resigned from his official post as alternate member of the Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang's Jiangxi Provincial Headquarters and other posts in resentment of Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorial rule, and a few years later worked as a lawyer and teacher. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served as a member of the Central Solidarity Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang and deputy director of the Supervisory Department of the Jiangxi Provincial People's Government. P. 309

¹⁵⁸ As a young man, Dai Jitao (1891-1949), born in Guang'an, Sichuan Province, joined the Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League). During the May 4th

Movement of 1919, he was chief editor of the *Weekly Review* in Shanghai and wrote some articles on socialism and labour. In 1924 he became a member of the Kuomintang's Central Executive Committee. During the first period of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, he distorted the revolutionary content of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's doctrines and spread opposition to the Communist Party and the workers' and peasants' movement, thus preparing ideologically the ground for the counter-revolutionary coup d'état later launched by Chiang Kai-shek. After the Kuomintang reactionaries betrayed the revolution in 1927, he remained a follower of Chiang Kai-shek and served successively as a member of the Kuomintang government council and president of its Examination Yuan. P. 309

¹⁵⁹ Wu Peifu (1874-1939), a native of Penglai, Shandong Province, was one of the chieftains of the Zhili (Hebei) clique of northern warlords. In 1918 he opposed the policy of "unification by force" advocated by Duan Qirui, the head of the Anhui clique, and favoured peace through negotiations between the southern and northern warlords. During the May 4th Movement of 1919, he gave the impression of being a "patriotic officer" through sending a telegram nationwide opposing the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty. In 1920 he joined forces with the Fengtian clique to overthrow Duan Qirui's government and then established ties with the Soviet government. After driving the Fengtian clique north of the Great Wall, he supported Cao Kun, who controlled the northern warlord government in Beijing. In 1923 he cruelly suppressed the movement of the railway workers along the Beijing-Hankou Railway. In 1926 Wu's troops were routed by the Northern Expeditionary Army in Hubei Province. P. 309

¹⁶⁰ The Third National Party Congress was held in Guangzhou from June 12 to 20, 1923. The main topic on the agenda was the establishment of a revolutionary united front with the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The Congress made a correct evaluation of Dr. Sun's democratic stand in opposition to imperialism and feudal warlords; explored the possibility of transforming the Kuomintang into a revolutionary alliance of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie; criticized the "Left" view held by people who had misgivings about co-operation with the Kuomintang and the Right view held by people who advocated that "everything should be placed under the Kuomintang's leadership"; and decided that members of the Communist Party could join the Kuomintang in a private capacity but that they should maintain their political and organizational independence as Communist Party members. The Congress laid the necessary ground-work for co-operation with the Kuomintang in launching revolutionary civil war. P. 309

¹⁶¹ Zhang Guotao (1897-1979), a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province, attended the First National Congress of the Communist Party in 1921 and was elected successively to the Central Committee, to its Political Bureau and to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. In 1931 he served as secretary of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China. In June 1935, after the First and the Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army joined forces in Maogong, Sichuan Province, he became General Political Commissar of the Red Army. He opposed the Central Committee's decision that the Red Army should continue its march north, tried to split the Party and the Red Army by setting up a separate "party central committee". In June 1936 he was forced to dissolve the "second party central committee". He then marched northward with the Second and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army, reaching northern Shaanxi in December.

In April 1938 he betrayed the revolution and became a Kuomintang secret agent. Zhang was subsequently expelled from the Party, and in 1979 he died in Canada.

P. 310

¹⁶² After the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, the right-wingers in the Kuomintang became openly counter-revolutionary. On November 23, some dozen of them, including Zou Lu, Xie Chi and Lin Sen, called a meeting at Biyun Temple in the Western Hills near Beijing. At this meeting they came out against Dr. Sun's Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers and adopted resolutions opposing the Communist Party, the Soviet Union and co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Then they set up a central Kuomintang headquarters in Shanghai and local headquarters in Beijing and other cities and worked against the Communists and the people. The persons who attended the Biyun Temple meeting became known as the Western Hills Clique.

P. 310

¹⁶³ The Merchants' Corps was a counter-revolutionary armed group controlled by the influential comprador Chen Lianbo in Guangzhou. In 1924 the British imperialists assisted the Corps with large amounts of money and munitions in an attempt to subvert the Guangdong Revolutionary Government. In August of that year the government confiscated the munitions smuggled in by Chen Lianbo to organize armed rebellion. Chen then persuaded the Merchants' Corps to petition Sun Yat-sen and incited shopkeepers throughout the province to go on strike. On October 10, when the people of Guangzhou paraded in celebration of the anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, they were fired on by the Merchants' Corps. The 16 organizations represented in the parade formed the Revolutionary Alliance of Workers, Peasants, Soldiers and Students and issued a declaration demanding that the Corps be dissolved and the assailants severely punished. Influenced and supported by the Communist Party, the masses of workers and peasants, and the Kuomintang left-wingers, Sun Yat-sen took resolute measures. He assembled the Whampoa cadets, the armed forces of workers and peasants and other troops, who routed the Merchants' Corps on October 15.

P. 310

¹⁶⁴ The Independent Regiment of the Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army was founded in the winter of 1925 in Zhaoqing, Guangdong Province, with Ye Ting, a Communist, as its commander. With members of the Communist Party and Communist Youth League as its backbone, the regiment fought heroically and performed outstanding service in the battle of the Northern Expedition.

P. 310

¹⁶⁵ A reference to Mao Zedong's *Report on An Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*. In February 1927 Mao Zedong sent this report to *The Guide*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, but Chen Duxiu and other Right deviationist leaders of the Party refused to publish it. Early in March the article was carried for the first time in *The Soldier*, the organ of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee. On March 12 *The Guide* published a part of the article, but the proposal to carry it in full made by Qu Qiubai, who was then in charge of the Central Committee's propaganda work, was rejected by Chen Duxiu and others. In April of the same year, Qu Qiubai sent the article to the Changjiang Publishing House run by the Party in Wuhan to be published as a pamphlet entitled *Peasant Revolution in Hunan*, with foreword by Qu.

P. 310

¹⁶⁶ A reference to the counter-revolutionary coup launched by Wang Jingwei (1883-1944) in Wuhan on July 15, 1927. After Chiang Kai-shek staged a counter-revolutionary coup in Shanghai on April 12, 1927, the Wuhan National Government

headed by Wang Jingwei became increasingly reactionary. On June 10 Wang Jingwei and Feng Yuxiang convened a meeting in Zhengzhou at which they plotted to oppose the Communist Party. On the 19th, Feng and Chiang Kai-shek held a secret meeting in Xuzhou, where they laid plans for Chiang to collaborate with Wang in common opposition to the Communist Party. Under the influence of the Right capitulationist line represented by Chen Duxiu, the Communist Party paid no attention to the intrigues of the Kuomintang and made no preparations for a sudden change in the situation. On July 15 Wang Jingwei openly split with the Communist Party. He banned the trade unions, peasant associations and other revolutionary organizations and massacred large numbers of Communists and other revolutionaries. Thus the First Revolutionary Civil War ended in failure. P. 311

¹⁶⁷ Mikhail Markovich Borodin (1884-1951) was the Soviet Government emissary to the Guangzhou Revolutionary Government and political advisor to the Kuomintang during the first period of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation. He came to Guangzhou in October 1923 and returned to the Soviet Union after the Wuhan Government betrayed the revolution in July 1927. P. 312

¹⁶⁸ Ye Ting (1896-1946), a native of Huiyang County, Guangdong Province, joined the Communist Party in 1925 and became the commander of the Independent Regiment of the Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army that same year. The armed forces referred to here were the 24th Division of the Eleventh Army, which had been formed, with the bulk of the Independent Regiment as its main body, on the eve of the Nanchang Uprising, and the 25th Division of the Fourth Army, which had also been formed with the rest of the Independent Regiment as its backbone. Ye was then commander of the 24th Division. P. 312

¹⁶⁹ On August 1, 1927, the Communist Party launched an armed uprising in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, to combat the counter-revolutionary forces led by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei. Under the command of Zhou Enlai, who was secretary of the Front Committee of the Communist Party, and He Long, Ye Ting, Zhu De and Liu Bocheng, the insurrectionists seized Nanchang after fierce fighting. This uprising was the opening salvo in the Chinese people's armed opposition to the Kuomintang reactionaries and ushered in a new era in which the Communist Party exercised independent leadership of revolutionary armed struggle. After withdrawing from Nanchang, the insurrectionary army headed south for Guangdong. In early October, it came under attack from all sides by superior enemy forces in the Chaozhou-Shantou region and was defeated. Later, part of the remaining troops went to the Haifeng-Lufeng area and continued the struggle. Another part, commanded by Zhu De and Chen Yi, moved to southern Hunan and launched the Southern Hunan Uprising. These troops arrived in the Jinggang Mountains in April 1928 and joined forces with the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army under Mao Zedong. P. 312

¹⁷⁰ B. Lominadze (1898-1934), Russian, came to China as a representative of the Communist International in late July 1927, when the Wuhan Government had already betrayed the revolution. P. 312

¹⁷¹ At an emergency meeting on August 7, 1927, the Central Committee summed up the lessons to be drawn from the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), put an end to the dominance of Chen Duxiu's Right capitulationist line in the Central Committee, laid down the general principles for agrarian revolution and armed resistance to Kuomintang's reactionary rule, and resolved that the main task of the Party at that time was to arouse the peasants to launch autumn harvest uprisings. However, in combating Right errors, the meeting paved the way for "Left" errors.

It failed to recognize the need to organize appropriate counter-offensives or necessary tactical retreats in the light of different conditions in different places. Organizationally, it touched off excessive, sectarian struggles inside the Party. For an assessment of this meeting, see Zhou Enlai's "On the Sixth Congress of the Party", *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1981, Vol. 1, pp. 193-210. P.312

¹⁷² Zhang Tailei (1898-1927), a native of Changzhou, Jiangsu Province, joined a communist group in Beijing in 1920. In 1925, at the Fourth National Party Congress, he was elected an alternate member of the Central Committee. At the same time he served as interpreter for the Soviet advisor Borodin and as a member of the Standing Committee of the Guangdong Regional Party Committee and head of its Propaganda Department. He was elected a member of the Central Committee at the Party's Fifth National Congress, held in May 1927. He attended the Party's August 7th Meeting of the same year and was elected an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Provisional Central Committee. He later served as secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and laid down his life while leading the Guangzhou Uprising in December. P.312

¹⁷³ The "articles" referred to are Stalin's "Notes on Contemporary Themes" carried in *Pravda* on July 28, 1927; his address at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Control Commission of the CPSU (B.), held from July 29 to August 9; and his speech at the Joint Meeting of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and its Control Commission on September 27. See J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. 9, pp. 328-69 and Vol. 10, pp. 1-96 and pp. 158-72. P. 313

¹⁷⁴ In 1920 Tan Pingshan (1886-1956), a native of Gaoming, Guangdong Province, organized a communist group in Guangzhou, and at the Third, Fourth and Fifth National Congresses of the Communist Party he was elected to the Central Committee. During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), he was successively a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, head of the Organization Department and of the Peasant Department of the Central Executive Committee and a member of the Wuhan National Government Council. During the Nanchang Uprising in 1927, he served as a member of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Committee. In November the same year he was expelled from the Communist Party by the "Left" leaders at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Provisional Central Committee and later took part in organizing the Provisional Action Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang (that is, the Third Party). During the anti-Japanese war, Tan opposed the traitorous, dictatorial policy of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1948 he helped to establish the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served as a member of the Central People's Government Council. P. 313

¹⁷⁵ A reference to an armed insurrection launched by the Communist Party to combat the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary force after the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927. On December 11, led by Zhang Tailei, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, and Ye Ting, Yun Daiying, Ye Jianying, Yang Yin, Zhou Wenyong, Nie Rongzhen and others, the Officers' Training Corps of the Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army, supported by the workers of Guangzhou and the peasants in the suburbs, seized most of the city after fierce fighting and set up the Guangzhou Soviet Government. On the 12th, the Kuomintang

reactionary troops, backed by imperialist gunboats, attacked Guangzhou. Zhang Tailei laid down his life during the fighting, and on the 13th the insurrectionists were compelled to withdraw from the city. They then joined the revolutionary armed forces in Dongjiang and Hunan and continued their armed struggle. P. 313

¹⁷⁶ The Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party was held in Moscow from June 18 to July 11, 1928. Qu Qiubai made a political report on “the Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party”, Zhou Enlai delivered a report on organizational and military problems and Liu Bocheng delivered a supplementary report on military problems. The Congress adopted resolutions on political, military and organizational questions and elected the Sixth Central Committee. It affirmed that Chinese society was semi-colonial and semi-feudal and that the Chinese revolution in process was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It pointed out that the prevailing political situation was a lull between two revolutionary high tides, that the revolution was developing in an uneven way and that the Party’s general task at the time was not to carry out offensives or organize uprisings, but to win over the masses. While criticizing Right opportunism, the Congress pointed particularly to putschism, military adventurism and commandism as the most dangerous tendencies inside the Party, which resulted from being divorced from the masses. The main thrust of the Congress was correct, but there were also shortcomings and mistakes. It failed to make a correct evaluation either of the dual character of the intermediate classes or of the internal contradictions among the reactionaries and to put forward appropriate policies on these questions. It also lacked a proper understanding of the need for an orderly tactical retreat by the Party after the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, of the importance of rural base areas and of the protracted nature of the democratic revolution. P. 313

¹⁷⁷ Xiang Zhongfa (1879-1931), a native of Hanchuan, Hubei Province, served as a representative of the Chinese Communist Party to the Communist International after the failure of the Great Revolution in July 1927. He was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party at its Sixth National Congress in 1928. On June 22, 1931, he was arrested and turned traitor. He was shot by the Kuomintang on June 24. P. 313

¹⁷⁸ Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938) joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1906. After the October Revolution of 1917 he served as member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B.) and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In November 1929 a plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B.) dismissed him from the Political Bureau. He was expelled from the Party in 1937 and executed the following year. P. 314

¹⁷⁹ Palmiro Togliatti (1893-1964) was elected a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1928. He once served as General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy. P. 314

¹⁸⁰ Pavel Mif (1901-38), Russian, was appointed deputy head of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International and president of the Dr. Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow in 1928. He arrived in Shanghai in 1938 as representative of the Communist International. Owing to his support, Wang Ming assumed the supreme leadership of the Chinese Communist Party at the Fourth Plenary Session of its Sixth Central Committee. P. 314

¹⁸¹ Qu Qiubai (1899-1935), a native of Changzhou, Jiangsu Province, joined the Communist Party in 1922 and was one of its chief leaders in the early period. At the crucial moment after the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, he presided

over the emergency meeting of the Central Committee on August 7. At this meeting he was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the Provisional Central Committee and charged with handling its routine business. Between November 1927 and April 1928 he made the “Left” error of putschism. In September 1930 he chaired the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee, which corrected Li Lisan’s “Left” adventurist mistakes. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee held in January 1931, he was attacked by Wang Ming and other exponents of “Left” dogmatism and sectarianism and was pushed out of the central leading body. From then on he worked in the revolutionary cultural movement in Shanghai in co-operation with Lu Xun. In 1934 he arrived in the Central Revolutionary Base Area in Jiangxi Province and was made Commissioner of People’s Education in the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China. In February 1935 he was arrested by the Kuomintang when moving from Jiangxi to Fujian and on June 18 he was executed in Changting, Fujian Province. P. 314

¹⁸² Wang Ming (1904-74), also known as Chen Shaoyu, a native of Jinzhai, Anhui Province, joined the Communist Party in 1925. He later served as member of the Central Committee, of the Political Bureau and of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and as secretary of the Central Committee’s Changjiang Bureau. He was the principal exponent of the “Left” adventurist mistakes that prevailed in the Communist Party between the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in January 1931 and the Zunyi Meeting in January 1935. During the early period of the anti-Japanese war (1937-45) he made Right capitulationist errors. Stubbornly refusing to accept criticism and help from the Party, he degenerated into a traitor to the Chinese revolution in the 1960s. PP. 314, 442

¹⁸³ A reference to a faction inside the Kuomintang during the late 1920s and early 1930s. After the Wuhan Government turned against the Communist Party in July 1927, Wang Jingwei’s faction of the Kuomintang in Wuhan collaborated with Chiang Kai-shek’s faction in Nanjing. At the end of 1928, dissatisfied with Chiang’s monopoly of the power in his own hands, Wang, Chen Gongbo, Gu Mengyu and others set up the Society of Comrades for the Reorganization of the Kuomintang (also known as the Reorganization Clique) in Shanghai. P. 315

¹⁸⁴ The six resolutions adopted in 1930 by the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International were entitled as follows: Current Organizational Tasks for the Communist Party of China, Tasks of the Communist Party of China in the Workers’ Movement (Draft), On China’s Peasant Question, On the Question of the Chinese Soviet, On the Land and Peasant Problems in China’s Soviet Areas (Draft), and On the Economic Policies of the Chinese Soviet Regime (Draft). P. 315

¹⁸⁵ He Mengxiong (1898-1931), a native of Lingxian, Hunan Province, was one of the early organizers of the workers’ movement in north China and founder of the Beijing-Suiyuan Railway Trade Union. After the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, he served as a member of the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee and secretary of its Peasant Movement Committee and resisted the “Left” errors of Li Lisan and Wang Ming. He was arrested in Shanghai and executed in Longhua by the Kuomintang reactionaries in 1931. P. 315

¹⁸⁶ A reference to *Two Lines*, a pamphlet written by Wang Ming in 1930 after the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party, in which he preached “Left” dogmatism. It was first published in Shanghai in February 1931 and was reprinted in Moscow the following year under the title *The Struggle for the Further Bolshevization of the Communist Party of China*. P. 316

¹⁸⁷ Chen Changhao (1906-67), a native of Hanyang, Hubei Province, was at this time a member of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee. P. 316

¹⁸⁸ In October 1932 the Soviet Area Bureau of the Central Committee convened a meeting in Ningdu, Jiangxi Province. The meeting wrongly rejected the proposals made by Mao Zedong and others for expanding the struggle to northeastern Jiangxi, where the enemy was weak and the Party and the people were comparatively strong, and demanded instead that the Red Army seize key cities and be victorious first in Jiangxi Province. After this meeting Mao Zedong was reassigned to government work and was later dismissed from his post as General Political Commissar of the First Front Army of the Red Army. P. 316

¹⁸⁹ Luo Ming (1901-), a native of Dapu, Guangdong Province, was at this time acting secretary of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee. He maintained that conditions in Shanghang, Yongding and other outlying areas in western Fujian were more difficult than elsewhere and that the Party's policies there should be different from those in the consolidated base areas. The Party leaders, who were following an erroneous "Left" line, dismissed his views as pessimistic, saying they constituted an opportunistic, liquidationist line envisaging flight and retreat and launched a struggle against it. P. 316

¹⁹⁰ Deng Xiaoping (1904-), a native of Guang'an, Sichuan Province, was at this time secretary of the Party's Huichang-Xunwu-Anyuan Key County Committee. Mao Zetan (1905-35), a native of Xiangtan, Hunan Province, was secretary-general of the Soviet Area Bureau of the Central Committee. Xie Weijun (1907-35) a native of Leiyang, Hunan Province, was a member of the Jiangxi Provincial Soviet Government Council, director of the Political Department of the Jiangxi Provincial Military Command and secretary of the Party's Le'an Key County Committee. Gu Bai (1906-35), a native of Xunwu, Jiangxi Province, was secretary-general of the Party's General Front Committee and a member of the Jiangxi Provincial Soviet Government Council. Although these men were carrying out a correct line of defence against strong odds, they were condemned by exponents of the "Left" erroneous line in the Party as "creators of the Luo Ming line in Jiangxi Province". P. 317

¹⁹¹ Li Teh (or Hua Fu) was the Chinese name of the German Otto Braun (1900-74). He was sent to China by the Communist International in 1932. After arriving at the Central Revolutionary Base Area in October 1933, he became the military advisor to the Chinese Communist Party, wielding the actual power of command over the Red Army. During the fifth campaign against Kuomintang's "encirclement and suppression", he and the advocates of the erroneous "Left" line in the Party devised a series of wrong strategies and tactics which caused great losses to the Red Army. He was removed from command before the Zunyi Meeting in 1935 and left China in 1939. P. 317

¹⁹² From September 1931 to January 1935, Bo Gu (1907-46), also known as Qin Bangxian, a native of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province, was a principal leader of the Provisional Central Committee of the Party and a member of its Political Bureau. During the fifth campaign against Kuomintang's "encirclement and suppression", which started in September 1933, he held supreme command over the Red Army and made a series of military errors that resulted in great losses to the Red Army. He was removed from his position after the Zunyi Meeting. During the early days of the anti-Japanese war, he worked at the Changjiang and Southern bureaus of the Central Committee. After 1941, he founded and directed both *Liberation Daily* and

the New China News Agency in Yan'an. In 1945 he was re-elected to the Central Committee at the Party's Seventh National Congress. He died in a plane crash in April the following year. P. 317

¹⁹³ Georgi Dimitrov (1882-1949), Bulgarian, was a member of the Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions in 1921, and from 1935 to 1943 served as Secretary-General of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. After returning to Bulgaria in November 1945, he worked as Secretary-General of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. P. 317

¹⁹⁴ The Xi'an Incident is also known as the December 12th Incident. At the critical juncture when the Japanese imperialists were stepping up their aggression to colonize China, the Kuomintang Northeastern Army, headed by General Zhang Xueliang, and its 17th Route Army, headed by General Yang Hucheng, having been influenced and given impetus by the Chinese Communist Party's policy of the anti-Japanese national united front and the people's anti-Japanese movement, demanded that Chiang Kai-shek stop the civil war and unite against Japan. He not only refused to comply but hurried to Xi'an to make active preparations for "suppressing the Communists". Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng took joint action and arrested Chiang Kai-shek on December 12, 1936 in Lintong. This became known as the famous Xi'an Incident. After the incident, the pro-Japanese faction in the Kuomintang, headed by He Yingqin, prepared to exploit this opportunity to launch a large-scale civil war and to oust Chiang Kai-shek in order to take his place. The Chinese Communist Party adhered to the principle of settling the incident peacefully. Due largely to the arduous efforts of Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu (Qin Bangxian) and Ye Jianying, all representatives of the Chinese Communist Party, a peaceful settlement was indeed reached, thus facilitating the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. P. 317

¹⁹⁵ A reference to the Right capitulationist error made by Wang Ming and others during the initial period of the anti-Japanese war. In December 1937, not long after his return from the Soviet Union, Wang Ming made a report at a meeting of the Political Bureau entitled "How to Persist in the Nationwide War of Resistance and Strive for Victory" in which he put forward Right capitulationist proposals. Later, when serving as secretary of the Changjiang Bureau of the Central Committee, he again expressed certain wrong views and wrote statements, drafted resolutions and articles that contained errors of principle. Having more faith in the Kuomintang than in the Communist Party, he made concessions to the Kuomintang's anti-popular policies and dared not to develop people's armed forces and expand the anti-Japanese bases in the Japanese-occupied areas. He advocated that "everything should go through the united front" and that "everything should be subordinate to the united front", surrendering the leadership of the resistance to the Kuomintang. As the correct line represented by Mao Zedong had already prevailed in the Party, Wang Ming's wrong policies were implemented only in a few places. At the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Party's Sixth Central Committee, held from September to November 1938, the principle that the Party should independently lead the armed resistance to Japan was firmly established. P. 318

¹⁹⁶ See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, pp. 263-68. P. 318

¹⁹⁷ This article, originally entitled "The Work of Investigation", was written in May 1930 and printed for distribution within the Communist Party in March 1961. When it was included in the *Selected Readings of Mao Zedong* in 1964, its title was changed to "Oppose Book Worship". P. 320

¹⁹⁸ A reference to the tendencies towards effecting the transition to communism prematurely, boasting, commandism, allowing cadres special privileges and issuing arbitrary orders regarding production, all of which were prevalent during the Great Leap Forward and the movement to establish people's communes in 1958.

P. 320

¹⁹⁹ A reference to a letter written by Chairman Mao Zedong on May 6, 1961, from Shanghai. In the letter he asked the first secretaries of the bureaus of the Central Committee and of Party committees at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous region levels to spend two weeks conducting detailed rural surveys. Li Jingquan was at that time a member of the Political Bureau and First Secretary of the Southwest Bureau of the Central Committee. Chen Zhengren, Deputy Director of the State Council's Office for Agriculture and Forestry and Minister of the Farm Machinery Industry, was carrying out a rural survey in Sichuan Province.

P. 321

²⁰⁰ The National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967) stipulated that production teams should take care of rural co-operative members who were widowed or alone and unable to support themselves. Such persons were to be guaranteed food, clothing, cooking and heating fuel, education (for children) and burial expenses.

P. 322

²⁰¹ Chen Yi (1901-72), a native of Lezhi County, Sichuan Province, was at this time a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was to head the Chinese delegation to the enlarged Geneva Conference of 1961.

PP. 322, 338, 412

²⁰² The enlarged Geneva Conference was held between May 16, 1961 and July 23, 1962. In 1960 the United States, in violation of the Agreement reached at the Geneva Conference of 1954 invaded Laos and provoked a civil war there. In order to bring about a peaceful solution of this issue, an enlarged conference was convened in Geneva, including the participants in the first (China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, Laos, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and South Viet Nam) and also India, Burma, Canada, Poland and Thailand. The Conference resulted in the signing of the Declaration of the Neutrality of Laos and a Protocol, which reaffirmed the principles of respecting the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and not interfering in its internal affairs.

P. 322

²⁰³ Xu Ming (1919-66), a native of Changxian County, Hebei Province, was at this time deputy director of the Premier's Office of the State Council.

P. 322

²⁰⁴ Hiro Saga (1914-87), Japanese, was Pu Jie's wife.

P.323

²⁰⁵ Aisin-Gioro Pu Jie (1907-) is the younger brother of Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty. He studied in Japan on three occasions between 1930 and 1944, and served as equerry as well as in other posts at the puppet Manchu Court. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, he was taken prisoner by Soviet troops and in August 1950 was handed over to the Government of the People's Republic of China. He was released by special pardon in December 1959. Later, he became a special aide of the Historical Data Research Committee under the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a member of the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress.

PP. 323, 370

²⁰⁶ Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi (1906-67) was the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty. He abdicated in 1912 after the founding of the Republic of China. In 1932 he became

the Chief Executive of the puppet Manchukuo regime established by the Japanese imperialists, and in 1934 his title changed to Emperor of Manchukuo. He was taken prisoner by the Soviet troops in 1945 after the Japanese surrender and handed over to the Government of the People's Republic of China in August 1950. In December 1959 he was released by special pardon. In 1964 he became a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

PP. 323- 357

²⁰⁷ Hisako Saga, Japanese, was Hiro Saga's mother.

P. 323

²⁰⁸ Akihiro Miyashita, Japanese, was a member of the Japanese garrison guarding the Eastern Tombs of the Qing Dynasty before the surrender of Japan in 1945. When Hisako Saga visited China, he was in her entourage.

P. 323

²⁰⁹ Kosei was the daughter of Pu Jie and Hiro Sage and had taken Japanese citizenship.

P. 323

²¹⁰ Zai Tao (1887-1970) had been a minister advising on military affairs in the late Qing Dynasty. At this time he was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

PP. 324, 370

²¹¹ Kinkazu Saionji (1906-) is the grandson of Duke Kinmochi Saionji, a veteran in Japan's political circles. He had been a Councillor of the Diet, editor of the *Nichiyo Shimbun*, and member of the Secretariat of the World Peace Council in Vienna. From 1958 to 1970 he was posted to China as deputy secretary-general of the Peace Liaison Committee for Asia and the Pacific Region.

P. 324

²¹² Mikiko Machita was Hiro Saga's younger sister.

P. 324

²¹³ "Beile" was a middle-ranking title of nobility conferred by the imperial family of the Qing Dynasty.

p. 324

²¹⁴ The Manchukuo regime was a puppet regime established in March 1932 in Changchun, by the Japanese imperialists after they invaded China's Northeast in 1931. In March 1934 its name was changed to the Manchukuo Empire. The regime was brought down in 1945 with the Chinese victory over Japan.

P. 324

²¹⁵ Qi Baishi (1864-1957), a native of Xiangtan County, Hunan Province, was a celebrated painter. After the founding of the People's Republic of China he was made Honorary President of the Beijing Academy of Traditional Chinese Painting and President of the Chinese Artists' Association.

P. 325

²¹⁶ After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chen Banding (1876-1970), a native of Shaoxing County, Zhejiang Province, became Vice-President of the Beijing Academy of Traditional Chinese Painting and a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

P. 325

²¹⁷ After the founding of the People's Republic of China Yu Fei'an (1889-1959), a native of Beijing, became Vice-President of the Society for the Study of Traditional Chinese Painting and Vice-President of the Beijing Academy of Traditional Chinese Painting.

P.325

²¹⁸ He Long (1896-1969), a native of Sangzhi County, Hunan Province, was at this time a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister in charge of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission.

P.325

²¹⁹ A reference to the book *From Emperor to Citizen, the Autobiography of Pu Yi*.

P. 326

²²⁰ A reference to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. See Note 32 above.

P. 328

²²¹ On September 18, 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army attacked Shenyang in northeast China. Following the attack, the Japanese forces began an all-out invasion of Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces. The Chinese troops in Shenyang and elsewhere in the Northeast obeyed Chiang Kai-shek's order not to resist, and the Japanese forces rapidly occupied the three provinces. P. 328

²²² Eijun Otani (1890-1973) was Senator, Councillor, and a member of the Judiciary Committee. From 1953 he was Chairman of the Implementation Committee for Consoling the Souls of Chinese Martyrs Who Died in Japan. In May 1961 he visited China as head of a delegation sent to present a list of Chinese martyrs who had died in Japan. P. 328

²²³ Kenji Dohihara (1883-1948) was a Japanese war criminal. As a young man he was sent to China on an espionage mission. Later, he became director of Japanese secret service in Shenyang and took part in planning the Japanese invasion of China's Northeast and the establishment of the puppet Manchukuo regime. After that he was commander of Japan's Air Force, commander of the 7th Front Army stationed in Singapore and commander of Military Training. After the Japanese surrender he was arrested and in 1948 sentenced to death by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. P. 329

²²⁴ Yasuji Okamura (1884-1966) served in 1932 as deputy chief of staff of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces which invaded Shanghai. From 1937 to 1945 he was successively commander of the 11th Corps, of the North China Front Army and of the 6th Front Army and commander-in-chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in China. He headed the list of the Japanese war criminals published in Yan'an in August 1945. During the War of Liberation he was Chiang Kai-shek's secret military advisor. In January 1949 the Kuomintang government declared him not guilty and set him free, and then he returned to Japan. P. 329

²²⁵ Hideki Tojo (1884-1948) was a Japanese war criminal. After the September 18th Incident, he served first as commander of the Military Police and chief of staff of the Japanese Kwantung Army. In 1940 and 1941, as Minister of Japanese Ground Forces, he vigorously advocated expanding the invasion of China and preparing for a war against the United States and Britain. From 1941 to 1944, as Prime Minister, he launched the war in the Pacific, extending the war against China to the Pacific and Southeast Asia. He was arrested after the Japanese surrender and sentenced to death in 1948 by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. P. 329

²²⁶ Seishiro Itagaki (1885-1948) was a Japanese war criminal. He participated in planning the invasion of China and served successively as chief of staff of the Japanese Kwantung Army, Minister of Ground Forces, chief of staff of the Expeditionary Forces in China, commander of the Japanese forces stationed in Korea and commander of Japan's 7th Front Army in Singapore. He was arrested after the Japanese surrender and sentenced to death in 1948 by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. P. 329

²²⁷ During World War II Saburo Endo (1893-) was deputy chief of staff of the Japanese Kwantung Army and later commander of the Flight Squadron of the Japanese ground forces. He visited China many times since the 1950s. P. 329

²²⁸ During World War II Masanobu Tsuji (1902-) commanded the Japanese forces that invaded China's Northeast, Malaya, the Philippines, Burma and Thailand.

After the war he was elected Senator and Councillor. He visited China in 1957. He disappeared in April 1961 on his way from Thailand to Laos for a study tour.

P. 529

²²⁹ During World War II Tatsunosuke Takasaki (1885-1964) served as economic advisor to the puppet Manchukuo government and president of the Heavy Industry Development Corporation of Manchukuo. After the war he was elected Senator and Councillor a number of times and served as Minister of State Affairs and Minister of International Trade and Industry. He promoted non-governmental trade between China and Japan and became president of the Japan-China Trade Association. In 1962 he signed with Liao Chengzhi of China a memorandum urging the development of non-governmental trade between Japan and China.

P. 329

²³⁰ Fusanosuke Kuhara (1869-1965) was Minister of Post and Telecommunications and president of Seiyukai (Society of Political Friends). After World War II, as representative of the People's Association for Readjusting Japan-China Relations, he was actively involved in an effort to restore Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. In 1955 he was elected president of the People's Association for Resuming Diplomatic Relations Between Japan and China and Between Japan and the Soviet Union and led a delegation to China.

P. 329

²³¹ A reference to the speech "On Walking on Two Legs in the Sphere of Literature and Art", delivered at a forum attended by deputies to the National People's Congress and members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and some people in Beijing who worked in the field of literature and art, on May 3, 1959.

P. 332

²³² A reference to the struggle against bourgeois Rightists in 1957. In April of that year, the Central Committee had decided to launch a Party-wide rectification movement against bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism. Taking advantage of this, a handful of bourgeois Rightists attacked the Party and the new-born socialist system in China in an attempt to supplant Communist Party leadership. In June the Central Committee issued a directive to repel the Rightists' attack. This action was necessary, but a serious mistake was made in the process, namely, the scope of the struggle was overextended. In 1978 the Central Committee decided to re-examine the cases of persons who had been designated as Rightists and to exonerate those who had been wrongly labelled as such.

PP. 336, 374

²³³ Li Weihai (1896-1984), a native of Hunan Province, was at this time head of the United Front Work Department under the CPC Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He had published an article entitled "The United Front Is a Magic Weapon of the Chinese People for Winning Victories" in the magazine *Red Flag*, No. 11, 1961.

P. 346

²³⁴ Cf. Note 271 below.

P. 346

²³⁵ Zhou Yang, born in 1908 in Hunan Province, was at this time deputy head of the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association.

P. 346

²³⁶ A reference to a series of remarks on *pingtan* (storytelling and ballad singing in Suzhou dialect) and other forms of *quyi* (folk performing arts), made by Chen Yun during the period from November 1959 to June 1961. He pointed out that in

the creation and performance of *quyi* too much emphasis was placed on the political aspect of these arts, to the neglect of their cultural and recreational aspects. He said that people liked to relax and enjoy themselves after work and that ideological education should be conducted by artistic means. P. 349

²³⁷ Mei Lanfang (1894-1961), born in Beijing, was a Beijing opera performer and the founder of the Mei School of Beijing opera. He was at this time head of the China Beijing Opera Theatre, Director of the Chinese Opera Institute, Vice-Chairman of both the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the Chinese Dramatists Association, and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1959. P. 352

²³⁸ Nie Rongzhen (1899-), a native of Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, was at this time Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister in charge of State Science and Technology Commission. P. 354

²³⁹ A reference to a peasant revolutionary war against the feudal Qing Dynasty, led by Hong Xiuquan, Yang Xiuqing and others from 1851 to 1864. P. 355

²⁴⁰ Zhang Shizhao (1881-1973), also known as Zhang Xingyuan, a native of Hunan Province and a former professor at Beijing University, had served as both Minister of Justice and Minister of Education in the northern warlord government. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he became a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Director of the Central Institute of Research on Culture and History. P. 357

²⁴¹ Wei Zheng (580-643) was a statesman in the early Tang Dynasty. When the Emperor Tai Zong was on the throne, he served as a public reprover and keeper of the national archives in the court. He did not mince his words when he said to the Emperor: "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened; heed only one side and you will be benighted." P. 362

²⁴² When Leftist ideas held sway during the Great Leap Forward of 1958, people who opposed boastfulness and tried to seek truth from facts and those whose academic views were thought to be bourgeois were regarded as having "Rightist, conservative ideas" and were said to follow the bourgeois "white flag". They all came under criticism and denunciation and many were punished. This was known as "hauling down the white flag". In April 1962, the Central Committee issued a circular calling for a re-examination of the cases of persons who had been criticized and punished so that those who had been wronged might be exonerated and rehabilitated. PP. 362, 413

²⁴³ Guo Moruo (1892-1978), a native of Sichuan Province, was at this time Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. PP. 368, 496

²⁴⁴ Fan Wenlan (1893-1969), a native of Zhejiang Province, was at this time an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee, a member of the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences under the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute of Modern Chinese History. P. 368

²⁴⁵ In traditional education in China's feudal society, "Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestor and Teacher" were regarded as the five things students should be taught to revere. P. 368

²⁴⁶ Anarchism was a petty-bourgeois trend of thought that arose in Europe in the middle of the 19th century. Its principal representatives were the Frenchman Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and the Russians Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin. The anarchists denied all forms of government, governmental power, force and authority, preached complete freedom and extreme democracy and advocated the establishment of a society in which there are no orders to obey, no authority to submit to and no punishment to be meted out to any wrongdoing. During the May 4th Movement of 1919, this trend of thought had great influence among young people in China, and small anarchist organizations were established in a number of places. At the beginning, these organizations expressed their desire to struggle against imperialism and feudalism. With the spread of Marxism, and especially with the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, some young people who had been imbued with anarchism turned to scientific socialism, and the anarchist organizations gradually became reactionary. P. 369

²⁴⁷ The Awakening Society was a progressive student organization founded by Zhou Enlai and others in Tianjin in September 1919. Its score of members included Deng Yingchao, Guo Longzhen, Ma Jun and Liu Qingyang. Their main activities were to publish the journal *Awakening*, discuss and study new trends of 1920, the members of the Society went to different places and its activities patriotic movement against the imperialists and feudal warlords. In the winter of 1920,, the members of the Society went to different places and its activities virtually ceased. Later, most of its principal members joined the Chinese Communist Party. P. 369

²⁴⁸ Deng Yingchao, born in 1904, is a native of Henan Province. During the May 4th Movement of 1919, she helped Zhou Enlai and others to establish the Awakening Society in Tianjin. The reply cited was made to a journalist from *Chinese Youth* in 1949. P. 369

²⁴⁹ Guild socialism was a bourgeois reformist trend of thought that appeared in the British workers' movement in the early 20th century. Its main representatives were Arthur Joseph Penty and George Douglas Howard Cole. They believed that there should be two parallel organizations in a society: one was an industrial guild composed of workers and engineers from the same trades and professions, whose task would be to manage production; the other was a state or a consumers' association, which would be responsible for distributing products and providing for the needs of the entire people. They imagined that when all the people were organized into the guild, it would peacefully replace the capitalist state, thus realizing socialism. P. 369

²⁵⁰ Fabian socialism was a bourgeois reformist trend of thought advocated by the British Fabian Society, which was formed by British bourgeois intellectuals in 1884. The Society took its name from the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus, who was famous for the patient tactics he used to slowly wear down the enemy. Its principal representatives were Sidney and Beatrice Webb and George Bernard Shaw. They believed that the capitalist system could be changed into socialism by moderate and gradual means, through small social reforms. P. 370

²⁵¹ Liu Qingyang (1894-1977), a native of Tianjin, joined the Chinese Communist Party when she was studying in France in 1921. After the defeat of the

Great Revolution in China in 1927, she gave up her Party membership. Four years later she participated in the movement to resist Japan and save the nation. She became a member of the China Democratic League in 1944 and in 1948 went to the liberated areas of north China. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, she served as member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, Vice-Chairman of the All-China Women's Federation and Vice-President of the Red Cross Society of China. In 1961 she joined the Communist Party again.

P. 370

²⁵² Zhang Shenfu (1893-1986), a native of Hebei Province, went to study in France and Germany in 1920 and in the following year joined the Chinese Communist Party. In 1924 he became a professor at Guangdong University and Deputy Director of the Political Department of the Whampoa Military Academy. He quit the Party in 1925. In 1942 he joined the China League of Democratic Political Groups (later known as the China Democratic League in 1944) and served on its Standing Committee. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he worked as a researcher at Beijing Library and was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

P. 370

²⁵³ The British idealist philosopher and logician Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) had been invited to lecture in China in 1920 and 1921. His theories had a wide influence among academic circles in old China.

P. 370

²⁵⁴ Shen Hengshan, or Shen Junru (1875-1963), a native of Zhejiang Province, became a *jinshi* during the last years of the Qing Dynasty. He participated in the Revolution of 1911 and in the struggle against the northern warlords. Later, he became a lawyer in Shanghai. Before the War of Resistance Against Japan, he helped organize the Shanghai Federation of Cultural Circles for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation and the All-China Federation of All Circles for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation. During the war, he helped to found the China League of Democratic Political Groups. After the war, he became Chairman of the Chinese People's National Salvation Association, taking an active part in the struggle for peace and democracy and opposing the Kuomintang's policy of civil war. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he served as a member of the Central People's Government Council, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, President of the Supreme People's Court and Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League.

P. 370

²⁵⁵ Dong Biwu (1886-1975), a native of Hubei Province, became a *xiuca* in the last years of the Qing Dynasty. As a young man, he was a member of Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League), taking part in the Revolution of 1911 and in the struggle against the northern warlords. After the Russian Revolution in 1917 and China's May 4th Movement in 1919, he participated in the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and attended its First National Congress. In 1962 he was Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

²⁵⁶ Li Genyuan (1879-1965), a native of Yunnan Province, joined the Tong Meng Hui in 1905. After the Revolution of 1911 he became Minister of War of the Yunnan Military Government and Speaker of the Senate. In the campaign to uphold the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China in 1918, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Yunnan troops stationed in Guangdong. He

served as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce of the northern warlord government and for a time as Prime Minister as well. P. 371

²⁵⁷ Hu Shi (1891-1962), a native of Anhui Province, studied in America as a young man. After returning to China in 1917, he became a professor at Beijing University, where he preached pragmatism. During the May 4th new cultural movement, he advocated reform of literature by promoting the use of vernacular Chinese in writing. In July 1919 he published an article entitled “Study Problems More and Discuss Doctrine Less”, in which he openly attacked Marxism. Afterwards, he followed Chiang Kai-shek in opposing the people’s revolutionary movement. In 1958 he was appointed Chinese ambassador of the Kuomintang government to the United States. In 1946 he became President of Beijing University. He moved to the United States in 1949 and later went to Taiwan. P. 371

²⁵⁸ See V. I. Lenin, “Foreword to the Published Speech ‘Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality’”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 29, p. 381. P. 371

²⁵⁹ a reference to the “Fourteen Suggestions on the Present Work of the Research Institutes of Natural Sciences (Draft)” jointly put forward in June 1961 by the groups of leading Party members in the State Science and Technology Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences and approved by the Central Committee the following month for trial implementation. In its instruction conveying its approval of the draft document, the Central Committee stated: “It is of vital importance to do successful work among the intellectuals.... In recent years, quite a few comrades have adopted a one-sided approach to knowledge and to intellectuals, and matters related to them are often handled in an oversimplified and crude manner. Serious attention must be paid to this so as to ensure that a correct attitude will be taken and the Party’s policies will be correctly implemented.” In this draft document a series of guidelines were formulated on the standards by which workers in the natural sciences were to be judged “red and expert”; on the correct implementation of the policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend” and of the principle of integrating theory with practice; on defining the fundamental tasks of the scientific research institutes (achieving positive research results and training qualified personnel); on maintaining stable scientific research work and ensuring adequate time for it; and on improving the Party’s method of leadership in research institutes. The Central Committee declared that the guidelines set forth in this document were to be applied by all departments and units employing intellectuals. P. 377

²⁶⁰ This document entitled “Draft Provisional Regulations for Work in Institutions of Higher Learning Directly Under the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China” was approved in principle by the Central Committee in September 1961. The regulations summed up the experience — both positive and negative — in higher education in the three years following 1958. In view of the major problems such as the poor quality of teaching, neglect of the role of the intellectuals and too much physical labour, the regulations provided that institutions of higher learning must do the following: make teaching their main task and strive to raise the quality of instruction; correctly implement the Party’s policy towards intellectuals and its policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend”; manage general affairs well so as to ensure the material conditions necessary for teaching and for the daily lives of the staff and students; and improve the method and style of Party leadership and strengthen ideological and political work. P. 377

²⁶¹ This document entitled “Draft Regulations on the Management of State Industrial Enterprises” was drawn up by the Central Committee in September 1961. After the Great Leap Forward of 1958, many enterprises failed to implement strict systems of responsibility and neglected business accounting. Their wage and reward systems were based on egalitarianism, and their Party committees took all the day-to-day administrative work into their own hands. Among the common consequences of this were chaotic production, arbitrary direction, confused operation, serious damage to equipment and poor economic results. In view of this situation, the draft regulations on industrial work defined the nature of state industrial enterprises and their fundamental tasks; called for the establishment of the necessary responsibility systems and rules and regulations; and emphasized the principles of planned management, distribution according to work, good economic performance and material benefits for workers and other employees. The discussion and trial implementation of this document helped to analyse experience in the management of state industrial enterprises, to readjust, consolidate and fill in gaps and raise standards, and to speed up the recovery and growth of industry. PP. 377, 388

²⁶² A reference to the first drafts of the “Eight Articles on Literature and Art Work”, the “Ten Articles on the Administration of Theatres and Troupes” and the “Thirty-two Articles on the Creation and Management of Fiction Films”. Starting in the late 1950s, under the influence of the “Left” mistakes in the political and economic fields, some mistakes were also made in literary and art work. Leading departments, units and leading Party cadres in this field failed to correctly implement the “hundred flowers” principle and the Party’s policies towards intellectuals. They made some crude and oversimplified criticisms of certain literary and art works and inappropriately restricted or interfered in the work of writers and artists. In order to correct these deviations, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Ministry of Culture and the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles undertook a series of investigations and studies under the direct leadership of the Central Committee and Zhou Enlai. The results of their work were the three documents; the “Ten Articles on Literature and Art Work” drafted by the Propaganda Department, and the “Ten Articles on the Administration of Theatres and Troupes” and the “Thirty-two Articles on the Creation and Management of Fiction Films” drafted by the Ministry of Culture. After full discussion the first document was revised and became the “Eight Articles on Literature and Art Work” before it was approved by the Central Committee on April 30, 1962, and transmitted throughout the country in the name of both the leading Party members’ groups in the Ministry of Culture and in the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. The instructions it contained were as follows; 1) to implement the policy of “hundred flowers”; 2) to improve the quality of creative works; 3) to preserve the best elements of the national cultural heritage and assimilate the best of foreign cultures; 4) to correctly carry out literary and art criticism; 5) to ensure enough time for creative work and balance between work and rest for writers and artists; 6) to train excellent personnel and reward fine works; 7) to consolidate unity and continue ideological remoulding; and 8) to improve the methods and style of leadership. The other two documents remained in draft form and were distributed separately later that year to cultural bureaus and literature and art organizations in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for comment and for trial application. The implementation of these three documents helped to promote the healthy development of socialist literature and art. PP. 377, 388

²⁶³ Cf. Note 271 below.

P. 383

²⁶⁴ This document was formulated by the Central Committee in March 1961. In view of the egalitarianism existing between production brigades, between production teams and between commune members, the document laid down systematic provisions for reducing the size of production brigades and teams and of the communes, which were exercising rigid control over too many activities of their subordinate units, making them more democratic and improving their system of management. In May and June of the same year, the Central Committee prepared a revised draft for discussion and trial implementation, in which regulations were added on abolishing the system of supply in kind and closing the public canteens. On September 27, 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee formally adopted the revised draft. The implementation of this document played an important part in restoring the rural economy.

PP. 386, 452

²⁶⁵ Cf. Note 261 about the "Draft Regulations on the Management of State Industrial Enterprises".

A reference to the 35-article "Regulations on Certain Policies Concerning Handicraft Industry in Urban and Rural Areas (Draft for Trial Use)" drawn up by the Central Committee in June 1961. After the Great Leap Forward of 1958, all handicraft industry was indiscriminately brought under the ownership of the state or commune and its production orientation was changed. As a result, many handicraftsmen had to be transferred to other trades, and the production of many small commodities for daily use thus declined or ceased entirely. This led to a shortage of such commodities. In view of this situation, the document stipulated the following: that handicraft industry should be under three forms of ownership — ownership by the whole people, by the collective and by the individual — with collective ownership as the main form; that handicraftsmen should return to their original trades; that methods of operation and management should be flexible and diversified; that the wage system should be based on the principle of distribution according to work; and that an overall arrangement should be made for supply, production and marketing.

P. 386

²⁶⁶ In order to tighten control over materials and maintain a balance between supply and demand, thus ensuring smooth economic development and a stable market, the state divided materials into the following three categories, according to their importance to the economy and the people's standard of living: 1) materials earmarked for unified distribution by the state, 2) materials to be distributed by the central departments, and 3) materials to be distributed by local authorities. Commodities were also divided into these categories, on the same basis. Commodities and materials of the "third category" were varied, produced in many places and widely used. The three-way balance between production, supply and marketing was adjusted mainly through the market.

P. 395

²⁶⁷ The "six criteria" were put forward by Mao Zedong in 1957 in his essay "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People". The original text reads: "In their political activities, how should our people judge whether a person's words and deeds are right or wrong? On the basis of the principles of our Constitution, the will of the overwhelming majority of our people and the common political positions which have been proclaimed on various occasions by our political parties, we consider that, broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

- (1) Words and deeds should help to unite, and not divide, the people of all our nationalities.

(2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.

(3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.

(4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.

(5) They should help to strengthen, and not shake off or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.

(6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

Of these six criteria, the most important are the two about the socialist path and the leadership of the Party.”

P. 402

²⁶⁸ Hu Xiansu (1894-1968), a native of Xinjian, Jiangxi Province and a botanist, was at this time a researcher at the Institute of Botany under the Chinese Academy of Sciences and had been invited to attend the Session as a non-voting delegate.

P. 403

²⁶⁹ Zhang Jichun (1900-68), a native of Yizhang, Hunan Province, was Director of the Culture and Education Office under the State Council and Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPC.

P. 413

²⁷⁰ The conference referred to was convened in Beijing from January 11 to February 7, 1962. It was attended by more than 7,000 persons — leading members of the Central Committee and its bureaus; of Party committees from the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, prefectures and counties; of major factories, mines and other large enterprises; and of the army units. The conference was also known as the Meeting of Seven Thousand. Liu Shaoqi, on behalf of the Central Committee, delivered a report in which he summed up the experience, both positive and negative, since the Great Leap Forward of 1958, analysed the major mistakes in the work of the previous years, and stated that the major task facing the entire Party was to conduct an effective readjustment. Mao Zedong gave an important speech, emphasizing the necessity of improving the system of democratic centralism, of giving full play to democracy both inside and outside the Party, and of deepening people's understanding of the laws of socialist construction by summing up both positive and negative experience. He also made a self-criticism, assuming responsibility for the mistakes in the work of the previous years.

P. 416

²⁷¹ A reference to the general line of “going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism”, the Great Leap Forward movement and the movement for rural people's communes. The general line of socialist construction adopted in May 1958 at the Second Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress reflected the masses' desire for a change in the country's economic and cultural backwardness. However, objective economic laws were overlooked. The Great Leap Forward movement and the movement for rural people's communes were initiated without careful investigation and study and without prior experimentation. As a result, Leftist errors — setting excessively high targets for economic development, issuing arbitrary directions, boasting and the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely — spread unchecked throughout the country. These errors disrupted normal economic development, caused an enormous waste of labour and materials and led to serious disproportions in the national economy. They were chiefly responsible for the grave economic difficulties experienced from 1959 through 1961. As the Party failed to draw the

appropriate lessons with regard to its ideological guideline at the time, the formula “hold high the three red banners” continued to appear in Party documents.

P. 416

²⁷² A reference to the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held in Zhongnanhai [the seat of the Central Committee — *Tr.*] in Beijing from February 21 to 23, 1962. The meeting, presided over by Liu shaoqi, discussed problems of finance, banking and the market, as well as the economic situation as a whole. It concluded that the financial and economic difficulties were very serious and estimated that the state budget deficit in that year would be large. At the meeting Chen Yun made a speech outlining the current financial and economic situation and the several possible methods of remedying it. Unanimously agreeing with the main content of this speech, the participants considered that the chief task in the period of economic readjustment was to rehabilitate the economy. They called upon the entire Party to concentrate on increasing agricultural production and production of goods for daily use, so as to ensure the market supply and check inflation, and ordered that capital construction was to be firmly curtailed. This meeting played an important role in changing the difficult situation in finance and economy at the time.

P. 418

²⁷³ Yao Yilin (1917-), born in Guichi, Anhui Province, was at this time Minister of Commerce and Deputy Director of the Office of Finance and Trade under the State Council.

P. 419

²⁷⁴ Lei Feng (1940-62), a native of Jianjatang, Changsha County, Hunan Province, joined the Chinese People’s Liberation Army in 1960 and was admitted to the Communist Party the same year. He died in the line of duty while serving as the squad leader of a transport company in an engineer unit. Nurtured by Mao Zedong Thought, Lei Feng grew up to be an outstanding Communist soldier, serving the people wholeheartedly. On March 5, 1963, Mao Zedong issued a call to “learn from Lei Feng”, launching a mass movement to emulate him.

P. 432

²⁷⁵ A reference to the “Directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Launching a Vigorous Campaign to Increase Production and Practise Economy and to Combat Graft and Embezzlement, Speculation, Extravagance and Waste, Departmentalism and Bureaucratism”.

P. 438

²⁷⁶ A reference to the passages written by Mao Zedong on the “Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work” (i.e., the 10-Point Decision), adopted in May 1963. In 1965 they were included in the *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong (A)* under the title “Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?”.

P. 439

²⁷⁷ George Marshall (1880-1959) was Chief of Staff of the United States Army during World War II. In December 1945 he was appointed special envoy to China by President Truman. In January 1946 a “Committee of Three” was formed, consisting of Zhang Qun (later Zhang Zhizhong) representing the Kuomintang, Zhou Enlai, representing the Communist Party and Marshall as mediator. In fact, however, he supported the Kuomintang side in the negotiations, trying to keep the Kuomintang in power. In August 1946, Marshall declared the “mediation” a failure and soon afterwards left China.

P. 440

²⁷⁸ Liao Luyan (1913-72), a native of Nanjing, Jiangsu Province, was the Minister of Agriculture.

P. 441

²⁷⁹ Gao Gang (1905-54), a native of Hengshan, Shaanxi Province, was at various times a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Secretary

of the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government. In 1953 he was appointed Chairman of the State Planning Commission in Beijing. Thereafter he engaged in anti-Party activities, which were discovered in 1954. In March the following year he was expelled from the Party by a resolution of the Party's National Congress. P. 442

²⁸⁰ The participants were the Premier, the Vice-Premiers and the chief leaders of the 73 government departments directly under the State Council. P. 443

²⁸¹ The proposal was to build two tunnels on the left bank of the dam to discharge water and sand and to convert four of eight existing steel drainage tubes for the same purpose. This plan was later approved and put into construction. P. 454

²⁸² Paragraph added by Mao Zedong when he revised the draft of this report. P. 460

²⁸³ Doctor Lin Qiaozhi (1901-83), a native of Xiamen, Fujian Province, was a specialist in gynaecology and obstetrics. She was at this time Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences and a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. P. 462

²⁸⁴ Fu Lianzhang (1894-68), a native of Changting, Fujian Province, was at this time Vice-Minister of Public Health, Vice-Minister of Health of the PLA General Logistics Department, President of the China Medical Association and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. P. 462

²⁸⁵ Pu Fuzhou (1888-1975), a native of Zitong, Sichuan Province, was Vice-President of the Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. P. 464

²⁸⁶ During a conference held in November 1962, Zhou Enlai had discussed the question of forestry, saying "In managing our forests, we should follow the principle that the more we fell, the more we should plant, and the more we plant, the more we shall have to fell. In this way we can always keep the mountains green and the work can go on forever." Later, he added, "True management of forests means that felling and planting go hand in hand, with emphasis on the latter. That is the only way to keep the mountains green and to ensure a permanent supply of wood; if we cut down trees, we have to plant more, and better trees each time." P. 465

²⁸⁷ From the early 1960s on, Zhou Enlai often criticized the notion that wood production consisted simply of felling trees without replanting. If we went on that way, he said, we would run out of wood in a few decades and would be blamed for using up the forests handed down to us by our ancestors and leaving nothing for succeeding generations. P. 466

²⁸⁸ Henan, Shandong, Hebei, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Hubei, Anhui and Jiangsu. P. 466

²⁸⁹ Song Ching Ling (1893-1981), a native of Wenchang, Guangdong Province, was at this time Vice-Chairperson of the People's Republic of China. P. 470

Guo Moruo (1892-1978), a native of Leshan, Sichuan Province, was Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Zhang Shizhao (1881-1973), a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was a member of the Standing Committee of the NPC, a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and head of the Central Institute of Research on Culture and History.

Cheng Qian (1882-1968), a native of Liling, Hunan Province, was Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, a member of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

He Xiangning (1878-1972), a native of Nanhai, Guangdong Province, was Vice-Chairperson of the Standing Committee of the NPC, Chairperson of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang and Honorary President of the All-China Women's Federation.

Fu Zuoyi (1895-1974), a native of Linyi, Shanxi Province, was Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, Minister of Water Conservancy and Electric Power.

Zhang Zhizhong (1890-1969), a native of Chaoxian County, Anhui Province, was Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the CPPCC and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

Shao Lizi (1882-1967), a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, was a member of the Standing Committee of the NPC, a member of the National Committee of the CPPCC and a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

Jiang Guangnai (1887-1967), a native of Dongguan, Guangdong Province, was Minister of the Textile Industry and a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

Cai Tingkai (1892-1968), a native of Luoding, Guangdong Province, was Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, a member of the Standing Committee of the NPC and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

Sha Qianli (1901-82), a native of Shanghai, was Minister of Grain and Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

Zhang Xiruo (1889-1973), a native of Zhaoyi (now Dali), Shaanxi Province, was Minister in charge of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, President of the Chinese People's Institute for Foreign Affairs and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

²⁹⁰ Li Zongren (1891-1969), a native of Lingui, Guangxi Province, had at one time been the head of the Guangxi warlords in the Kuomintang. He became Vice-President in the Kuomintang government in April 1948 and Acting President in January 1949. After the fall of the Kuomintang regime, he went to the United States but returned to Beijing in July 1965 P. 471

²⁹¹ Soong Ching Ling's younger brothers were T. V. Soong, T. L. Soong and T. A. Soong; her elder sister was Ai-Ling Soong and her younger sister was May-Ling Soong (Mme Chiang Kai-shek). P. 471

²⁹² Li Baohua (1909-), a native of Leting, Hebei Province, was at this time First Secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee. P. 472

²⁹³ Li Renzhi (1919-83), a native of Dongguan, Guangdong Province, was member of the Secretariat of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee and Deputy Governor of Anhui Province. P. 472

²⁹⁴ Tao Zhu (1908-69), a native of Qiyang, Hunan Province, was at this time a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. In the following years he was persecuted by the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, and in January 1967 he was put in prison. PP. 472, 474

²⁹⁵ Liu Lantao (1910-), a native of Mizhi, Shaanxi Province, was at this time First Secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee. Along with others, he was arrested by the Kuomintang reactionaries in 1931 and imprisoned in Beiping. In view of the nationwide upsurge of resistance to Japanese aggression and the need for cadres to lead the popular movement, the Northern Bureau, with the approval of the Central Committee, decided that the arrested comrades should do what was necessary to obtain their release. Thus Liu Lantao and 60 others were let out of prison. In 1966 the Central Committee had long since reviewed the case of the 61 and considered it closed. During the early period of the “cultural revolution”, however, Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing, along with Lin Biao and others, hoping to usurp the power of the Party and the state, were urging student Red Guards throughout the country to struggle against these veteran Party members. In March 1967 the Central Committee issued a document wrongly declaring the 61 persons to be members of “renegade clique”. In 1978, after the downfall of the Gang of Four, the Central Committee re-examined the case and reversed that judgement. P. 472

²⁹⁶ Wang Enmao (1913-), a native of Yongxin, Jiangxi Province, was at this time Deputy Director of the Revolutionary Committee of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and First Political Commissar of the Xinjiang Military Command. P. 473

²⁹⁷ The Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Beijing from April 1 to 24, 1969. This Congress legitimized the erroneous theories and practices of the “cultural revolution” and strengthened the positions of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others in the Central Committee. The ideological, political and organizational guidelines set by the Congress were all wrong. PP. 473, 485

²⁹⁸ Xu Haidong (1900-70), a native of Dawu, Hubei Province, had served as Commander of the 25th Army and Commander-in-Chief of the 15th Army Group of the Red Army. At this time he was a member of the Central Committee, a member of the Central Military Commission and a member of the National Defence Council. P. 473

²⁹⁹ Deng Chumin (1889-1981), a native of Shishou, Hubei Province, was at this time Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. P. 475

³⁰⁰ Hua Luogeng (1910-85), a native of Jintan, Jiangsu Province and mathematician, was at this time Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Director of its Mathematics Institute, Vice-President of the China Science and Technology University and a member of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress. P. 475

³⁰¹ Liu Xiyao (1916-), a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was Premier Zhou Enlai's liaison officer at the Chinese Academy of Sciences. PP. 475, 496

³⁰² In a letter to Lin Biao dated May 7, 1966, Mao Zedong wrote that cadres in Party and government organs should also learn from peasants and workers. In accordance with the "Left" ideology that prevailed during the "cultural revolution", groups of cadres were therefore sent to selected places in the countryside to do manual labour; these places were known as May 7th Cadres' Schools. The counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing took advantage of Mao's letter to persecute great numbers of cadres, using labour as a punishment. After the downfall of the Gang of Four, the May 7th Cadres' Schools were closed.

PP. 475 . 495

³⁰³ Zhang Linzhi (1908-67), a native of Nangong, Hebei Province, had served as Minister of the Coal Industry since 1957. His death was the result of persecution by the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. P. 475

³⁰⁴ In the early days of the "cultural revolution", Qi Benyu (1931-), a native of Weihai, Shandong Province, was a member of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee and actively involved in the criminal activities of Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary clique. He was imprisoned in January 1968. In 1983 he was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for counter-revolutionary crimes and was deprived of political rights for four years. P. 476

³⁰⁵ Liu Jianzhang (1910-), a native of Jingxian, Hebei Province, had served as Vice-Minister of Railways since 1954 and had been persecuted and imprisoned by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. P. 476

³⁰⁶ Li Xiannian (1909-), a native of Huang'an (now Hong'an) County, Hubei Province, was at this time a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. PP. 476, 481

³⁰⁷ Ji Dengkui (1923-), a native of Wuxiang, Shanxi Province, was an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. P. 476

³⁰⁸ Xiao Hua (1916-1985), a native of Xingguo, Jiangxi Province, had served as Director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army since 1964. He had been persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and had been in prison since December 1967. He was released on the eve of National Day (October 1), 1974. PP. 477, 481

³⁰⁹ Li Liqun (1921-), a native of Suqian, Jiangsu Province, was a staff member of the Science and Education Group of the State Council. P. 477

³¹⁰ During the "cultural revolution", Hou Baolin (1917-), a native of Beijing and a performer of comic dialogues, was criticized, denounced and persecuted. P. 477

³¹¹ Shang Zhen (1887-1978), a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, was a founder of the Kuomintang. After China's victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, he was dissatisfied with Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime and his policy of civil war and resigned his post as head of the Kuomintang government's mission to Japan and took up permanent residence there. In September 1974, he had returned to China for a visit. P. 477

³¹² Liu Zhijian (1912-), a native of Pingjiang, Hunan Province, had served as Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army since 1957. Persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolu-

tionary cliques, he was imprisoned from January 1967 to the eve of National Day (October 1), 1974. P. 477

³¹³ Qi Yanming (1907-78), a native of Beijing, had served as Vice-Minister of Culture and secretary of the leading Party members' group of the Ministry since 1960. During the "cultural revolution", he was persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, and from the summer of 1966 to the eve of National Day, 1974 he was held in solitary confinement. P. 477

³¹⁴ Wei Lihuang (1896-1960), a native of Hefei, Anhui Province, was a former Kuomintang general. In 1948 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Kuomintang's "Bandit Suppression" Headquarters in northeast China. However, failing to mount an energetic counter-attack against the Communists during the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign as Chiang Kai-shek had ordered, he was placed under house arrest in Nanjing. Released in 1949, he went to Hong Kong. He returned to Beijing in March 1955 and afterwards served as Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. P. 478

³¹⁵ Zhang Xueming (1906-83), a native of Haicheng, Liaoning Province, was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. During the "cultural revolution" he was persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and was imprisoned from 1968 to 1973. P. 478

³¹⁶ Zhang Xueliang (1901-), was a native of Haicheng, Liaoning Province, and a patriotic general. In December 1936, when serving as deputy commander of the Kuomintang's "Bandit Suppression" Headquarters in northwest China, together with Yang Hucheng, commander-in-chief of the Kuomintang's 17th Route Army, carried out the coup known as the Xi'an Incident in an attempt to compel Chiang Kai-shek to stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression. Thereafter, he was detained and imprisoned by Chiang for many years to come. P. 478

³¹⁷ Zhang Xuesi (1916-70), a native of Haicheng, Liaoning Province, had served as Chairman of the Liaoning Provincial People's Government and Chief of Staff of the Navy of the People's Liberation Army. During the "cultural revolution" he was persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and imprisoned since 1967. P. 478

³¹⁸ In their attempt to usurp the power of the Party and the state, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques falsely accused Lü Zhengcao, Xie Fang, Liu Lanbo, Zhang Xuesi, Wan Yi, Yan Baohang, Gao Chongmin, Jia Tao and many others who had worked in the Northeast in the Northeastern Army or in civilian units of having betrayed the Party. Countless leading cadres of the Party, government and army, as well as democratic figures, were involved in this "Northeastern Clique" and were cruelly persecuted. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, held in 1978, the cases of all these persons were re-examined, and they were exonerated. P. 478

³¹⁹ Liao Zhigao (1913-), a native of Mianning, Sichuan Province, was First Secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee. P. 480

³²⁰ Li Fuchun (1900-75), a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee's Political Bureau, Vice-

Premier of the State Council and Minister in charge of the State Planning Commission. P. 481

³²¹ Ye Jianying (1897-1986), a native of Meixian County, Guangdong Province, was member of the Political Bureau and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee. P. 481

³²² Yang Chengwu (1914-), a native of Changting, Fujian Province, was at this time First Deputy Chief and Acting Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army. P. 481

³²³ Gu Mu (1914-), a native of Rongcheng, Shandong Province, was Minister in charge of the State Capital Construction Commission. P. 481

³²⁴ Yu Qiuli (1914-), a native of Ji'an, Jiangxi Province, had been Vice-Minister in charge of the State Planning Commission in 1967 and became member of the Central Committee and Minister in charge of the State Planning Commission in 1972. PP. 481, 485

³²⁵ During the "cultural revolution", PLA soldiers were sent to factories to support workers, to rural areas to support peasants, and to government offices, schools and other public institutions to support "Left" factions there, institute military control and give military training. This practice helped to stabilize a chaotic situation, but it also had negative consequences. P. 481

³²⁶ An order issued on June 6, 1967, by the Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission and the Cultural Revolution Group under the CPC Central Committee. P. 482

³²⁷ At dawn of September 13, 1971, Lin Biao fled the country by plane. He died when the plane crashed at Undurkhan in Mongolia. P. 485

³²⁸ In the 1960s the "five small industries" referred to small, locally run iron and steel factories, mines, power stations, chemical fertilizer factories and machine-tool factories. Later the expression came to include small cement factories. P.486

³²⁹ Wang Yunwu (1888-1979), a native of Zhongshan, Guangdong Province, was born in Shanghai. He was the first to introduce the "Four Corner System" for indexing Chinese characters in dictionaries. Since 1946 he had served in the Kuomintang government as Minister of Economic Affairs, Minister of Finance and Vice-President of the Executive Yuan. He went to Hong Kong in 1949 and two years later left to settle in Taiwan. P. 489

³³⁰ The Russian G. V. Plekhanov (1856-1918) was a Marxist propagandist in the early stages of his career. In 1883 he founded the first Russian Marxist organization, the Society for the Liberation of Labour. He translated and introduced many works of Marx and Engels and published a number of works of his own, including *Socialism and Political Struggle*, *Our Differences*, *The Development of the Monist View of History* and *The Role of the Individual in History*. Thus he played a vital role in disseminating Marxism in Russia. After the Second Session of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, held in 1903, he gradually went over to the Mensheviks, later becoming one of the chief opportunists of the Second International. P. 493

³³¹ Ye Jianying was Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee presiding over the Commission's day-to-day work. Zhang Chunqiao and Li Desheng were his assistants. P. 495

³³² Zhang Wenyu (1910-), a native of Hui'an, Fujian Province, was Deputy Director of the 401st Research Institute of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building. P. 496

³³³ In the letter, dated August 18, 1972, Zhang Wenyu and the other scientists described the state of affairs in the study of high-energy physics and made suggestions for developing research in that field. P. 496

³³⁴ Professor Abdus Salam, a physicist, was science advisor to the President of Pakistan. In a talk with him on September 5, 1972, Premier Zhou Enlai had stressed the importance of theoretical research in the natural sciences. P. 496

³³⁵ A report on developing high-energy physics, submitted on April 4, 1972. P. 496

³³⁶ Zhu Guangya (1924-), a native of Wuhan, Hubei Province, was Deputy Director of PLA's Science and Technology Commission for National Defence. P. 496

³³⁷ The three principles put forward by China were: 1) that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole lawful government of China, 2) that Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China, and 3) that the "Japan-Taiwan treaty" is illegal and invalid and should be abrogated. P. 502

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