

**HISTORY
OF THE
CHINESE
COMMUNIST
PARTY**

**A Chronology of Events
(1919-1990)**

History of the Chinese Communist Party—A Chronology of Events, compiled by the Party History Research Centre of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), records the most important events in the seventy-year history of the CPC from May 1919 to December 1990 and draws an outline of CPC history. The book, while basically a chronicle of historical development, focuses on the character of events, and thus reflects the internal connections between the events in CPC history. Therefore, it can be regarded as a book of brief, annalistic history of the CPC. The book, which emphasizes the most important events and problems, is based on accurate materials, as all historical facts having been double-checked with files and other original documents. Also included are materials from newly discovered documents and results taken from the most recent research of historians. Thus the book can correctly tell the true story of the history. In addition, based on the principle of seeking truth from facts, the book authoritatively analyses and comments on some events in the history of the CPC.

The book briefly introduces the tortuous but ultimately progressive

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course of the CPC during and after the period of the founding of the Party, particularly during the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution and construction. It helps readers comprehensively understand the process of the various important decisions that the CPC Central Committee has made to build socialism with Chinese characteristics since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC in December 1978, and the developing process of the economic construction, reform and opening to the outside world.

Because the CPC played the role of the leading party in the Chinese revolution and now it is still in power and plays a decisive role in modern China's social development, the book is not only authoritative for understanding the CPC and its history but also is important for comprehending the development of modern and contemporary Chinese history.

**History of the Chinese
Communist Party
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(1919-1990)**

*Compiled by the Party History Research Centre
of the Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party*

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Publisher's Note

History of the Chinese Communist Party—A Chronology of Events, compiled by the Party History Research Centre of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), records the most important events in the seventy-year history of the CPC from May 1919 to December 1990. The book draws an outline of the history of the CPC and reflects the internal connections between the events chronicled. Therefore, it can be regarded as a brief, annalistic history of the CPC. The exhaustive content of the book, which emphasizes the most important events and problems, is based on accurate materials, all historical facts having been double-checked with files and other original documents. Also included are materials from newly discovered documents and results taken from the most recent research of historians. Thus the book can correctly tell the true story of the history. In addition, based on the principle of seeking truth from facts, the book authoritatively analyses and comments on many events in the history of the CPC. Because the Communist Party of China played the role of the leading party in the Chinese revolution and now it is still in power and plays a decisive role in modern China's social development, the book is not only authoritative for understanding the CPC and its history but also is important for understanding the history of social development in modern and contemporary China. It can be also regarded as a reference book or a research tool for study of CPC history as well as modern and contemporary Chinese history.

The English edition of the book is a translation of *History of the Chinese Communist Party—A Chronology of Events* (first edition, April 1987), published by the Beijing People's Publishing House. In addition, the compilers supplemented events from October 1982 to December 1990 and added explanations where necessary and revised some entries.

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I. The Founding of the Communist Party of China

May 1919—May 1923

The Communist Party of China (CPC) was founded in 1921, which was the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement in China and an inevitable outcome of the political and economic development of the Chinese society in modern times.

For a long time prior to the mid-19th century China remained under the rule of an autocratic monarchy which was based on a feudal economy. In 1840 Britain launched the aggressive Opium War against China. In the ensuing decades, China was subjected to constant aggression by the imperialist powers militarily, politically, economically and culturally. Practically all the imperialist countries took part in the plundering of China. They forced China to cede territory and pay indemnities and signed with them many unequal treaties by which they obtained various kinds of privileges, such as stationing troops, establishing banks, commercial firms and factories in China, controlling China's trading ports, communications lines and customs, exacting concessions and putting them under their jurisdiction, and procuring extraterritoriality for their nationals. Thus, they got hold of China's financial and economic lifelines and political and military power in their hands. China maintained independence only in name, when in fact it was reduced to a semi-colony dominated by several imperialist countries. The influx of goods and capital from capitalist and imperialist countries wrecked the self-contained natural economy which had been dominant in China's feudal society, while contributing to the development of an embryo of the capitalist economy in China. With the emergence of modern industry, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat came into existence. However, the imperialists did everything to check the growth of Chinese national capitalism with the aim of keeping the feudal system and the reactionary forces intact in China for the benefit of their occupation of the country. Therefore, under the dual oppression by the imperialist and feudal forces, the disintegration of the Chinese feudal society did not lead to the establishment of an independent capitalist society but, instead, it turned the Chinese society gradually into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society.

The threat posed by imperialist aggression to China's national independence and survival and the decadent, reactionary rule imposed by the

feudal rulers who had thrown in their lot with the imperialists constituted tremendous obstacles to China's social development. The people of the various nationalities suffered utter destitution and enjoyed no democratic rights whatever. The contradictions between imperialism and the Chinese nation and between feudalism and the people became the principal contradictions in modern China. Since the Opium War, the people of the various nationalities in China had waged a long-drawn-out, heroic struggle against foreign aggressors and domestic feudal forces. At the outset, the peasants formed the main force in the struggle and their spontaneous struggles dealt hard blows at the imperialists and the feudal ruling class. Yet, because they did not represent the new mode of production and thus lacked foresight in the programme they proposed for the struggle, it was impossible for them to defeat those formidable enemies. So, all their struggles, including the Revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and the Yihetuan Movement ended in failure.

The new-born Chinese bourgeoisie entered the historical arena towards the end of the 19th century. It led the Revolution of 1911 and overthrew the imperialist-supported Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), putting an end to the feudal monarchy that had lasted for more than 2,000 years and established the Republic of China (1912-1949). But in their attempt to prolong their enslavement of the Chinese people, the imperialists would never see a victorious bourgeois revolution or a bourgeois democratic system in China. That is why under the immense pressure exerted jointly by imperialism and feudalism the regime of the Republic of China soon fell into the hands of the Northern warlords—the representative of the big landlord and big comprador classes. History has borne out that in China neither the peasantry nor the bourgeoisie could lead the national democratic revolution to victory. The colossal responsibility for leading the Chinese revolution, therefore, fell on the shoulders of the rising proletariat.

The Chinese proletariat came into being first in imperialist-run enterprises in China in the middle of the 19th century, and then in enterprises run by bureaucrats of the Qing court and in national capitalist enterprises. After the Revolution of 1911 and during World War I the Chinese national capitalist industry developed fairly fast and by 1919 there had been about two million modern industrial workers in China and the workers' struggles had grown in scale.

Being connected with the most advanced form of the economy, the Chinese proletariat is endowed with a keen sense of organization and discipline and, therefore, is the most progressive class with the greatest future in the Chinese history. Being subjected to oppression by imperialism, the bourgeoisie and feudalism, it had a strong desire to change its miserable plight. The fact that it was concentrated mostly in the coastal provinces, in the big cities along the land and water communications

lines and in large enterprises helped strengthen its organization and solidarity. And the fact that most of the industrial workers were bankrupt peasants made it possible for them to form a close alliance with the peasantry. Naturally, with these characteristics the Chinese proletariat was the most revolutionary, especially combat-worthy class in modern China. With the rapid expansion of the ranks of the proletariat following the Revolution of 1911, the workers' struggles developed considerably. Between 1912 and 1919 before the outbreak of the May 4th Movement, there were more than 130 strikes recorded. The growth of the Chinese proletariat laid the class foundation for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

Meanwhile, beginning in 1915, advanced Chinese democrats, holding high the banner of science and democracy, launched a movement for new culture, declaring war against the ideology, ethics and culture of the feudal tradition. Being an unprecedentedly profound movement aimed at ideological emancipation in the modern history of China, it paved the way for the dissemination of new ideas that were suited to the needs of the Chinese society. The victorious October Socialist Revolution of Russia in 1917 showed the Chinese people and, first of all, the intellectuals the future and hope of their country. Under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution, the Left-wing intellectuals in the New Cultural Movement embraced Marxism and spread it wide in China so that it gradually replaced bourgeois democracy and became predominant in China's advanced ideological circles. Thus the ideological foundation was laid for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

1919 (May—December)

May 4

An anti-imperialist, patriotic student movement broke out in Beijing.

In the early days of the year, the victors in the First World War held a peace conference in Paris to discuss post-war world issues. Under the pressure of nationwide public opinion, the representatives of the Chinese government to the conference raised the just demand of recovering China's sovereignty over Shandong Province and annulling the unequal Twenty-One Demands. However, manipulated by the imperialist powers, the conference wantonly decided in late April to give Japan all the rights and interests enjoyed by Germany in the province before the war. The decision aroused deep indignation among the Chinese people, especially among the intellectuals and students. On May 4, over 3,000 students from 13 universities and colleges in Beijing assembled in front of Tiananmen and held a demonstration. They demanded that the Chinese representatives refuse to sign the Peace Treaty and that pro-Japanese officials Cao Rulin, Zhang Zongxiang and Lu Zongyu of the Northern

warlord government be punished. The government then sent out troops and policemen and arrested 32 demonstrators. On May 5, students in Beijing staged a general strike and sent an open telegram to all parts of the country, which was responded by student strikes across the land. On June 3 and 4, the Northern warlord government continued to arrest large numbers of patriotic students and met with fierce resistance among the people. The working class, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie also took part in the movement. Beginning on June 5, over 150,000 workers in Shanghai went on strike in support of the students' anti-imperialist patriotic struggle. Shopkeepers in the city joined the strike, too. Workers in Tangshan, Changxindian and Jiujiang staged political strikes. And the workers of Tianjin and the Tianjin-Pukou Railway were brewing strikes. The imperialists and the Northern warlord government were scared by the swiftly growing mass struggles in which the workers constituted the main body. Later in the month, the Northern warlord government was compelled to set the arrested students free, remove Cao, Zhang and Lu from their posts and refuse to sign the "Treaty of Versailles."

Tempered in the May 4th Patriotic Movement, the revolutionary intellectuals, imbued with preliminary communist thinking and represented by Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Zhongxia and others, came to realize the historic mission and gigantic strength of the proletariat. They went to disseminate Marxism among the workers and get them organized, integrating Marxism with the workers' movement in China. Thus, the May 4th Movement prepared conditions in terms of ideology and personnel for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

May

Li Dazhao published in the *New Youth* an article entitled "My Marxist Outlook," the last installment of which appeared in November. In the article he systematically explained the three component parts of Marxism—historical materialism, political economics and scientific socialism, pointing out that "class struggle, like a gold thread, links up the three parts fundamentally." Earlier in November 1918, he published two other articles entitled "Victory of the Common People" and "Victory of Bolshevism," in which he sang the praises of the October Revolution and predicted the ultimate triumph of socialism throughout the world. Being one of the earliest Marxists in China, Li Dazhao was a pioneer in the communist movement.

July 25

The Soviet Government in Russia announced its first declaration on the abolition of the unequal treaties signed between Tsarist Russia and China and the privileges enjoyed by Russia in China. In the declaration

it proclaimed, "The Soviet Government will return to the Chinese people all that the Tsarist Government has grabbed from the Chinese people by itself or jointly with the Japanese or the Entente countries." "We hope that the Chinese people will see that in their struggle for freedom the Russian workers, peasants and Red Army are their sole ally and brothers."

July-August

The widespread dissemination of Marxism and its integration with the workers' movement in China between July and August struck terror into the hearts of the imperialists and feudal warlords and aroused their antagonism. A number of Right-wing bourgeois intellectuals came out as ideological opponents of Marxism. Hu Shi, for one, published articles to stir up a debate on the discussion of "questions" or "doctrines." Under the pretext of "more discussion on questions, less talk about doctrines," he opposed social revolution and Marxism and advocated bourgeois reformism. In his articles refuting Hu Shi, Li Dazhao pointed out that the solution of social problems depended on the common endeavour of the majority of people in society, which called for a common ideal or doctrine as guidance. With the help of Marxist historical materialism, he expounded the revolutionary proposition that a fundamental solution must be sought for China's problems.

In essence the debate boiled down to whether or not China needed Marxism and revolution. Li Dazhao and young Marxists in other parts of the country expounded and proved the applicability of Marxism in China and the necessity of a thorough revolution in Chinese society. This played a positive role in increasing the influence of Marxism in China and encouraging people to explore a correct road for the Chinese revolution.

1920

Spring

Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu began to discuss in Beijing the question of founding the Communist Party. Shortly afterwards, Chen moved to Shanghai and started preparations for the founding of the Party in the south while Li did the same in the north. In March, Li consulted with Deng Zhongxia and others and decided to set up in Beijing University a secret society for the study of Marxist theories. In May, Chen Duxiu and others established a society for the study of Marxism in Shanghai to make ideological and organizational preparations for the founding of the Party. Later in September, Cai Hesen, who was on a work-study programme in France, wrote to Mao Zedong proposing immediate preparations for the founding of the Communist Party as the "initiator, propa-

gandist, vanguard and operational headquarters of the revolutionary movement." Mao Zedong expressed his agreement in reply and stressed the need for making Marxism the theoretical guidance, saying, "Historical materialism should be the philosophical basis of the Party."

April

A group of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) members, including Visinsky sent by the Communist International, arrived in China, its task being to establish contact with Chinese revolutionary organizations. The members of the group first met with Li Dazhao and then Chen Duxiu and became acquainted with the workers' movement, the spread of Marxism, the May 4th Movement and the preparations made for the founding of the Communist Party in China. Meanwhile, they gave an account to Li and Chen of the Communist International, the international communist movement and its experience and helped them with the preparations for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

May 1

The *New Youth* and other progressive journals published special issues or articles to mark the International Labour Day. Commemorative activities were held in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou and other cities. Workers and intellectuals rallied, and revolutionary intellectuals made speeches, disseminating Marxism and expressing their warm support for the workers' struggles. These activities developed into a large-scale attempt to integrate Marxism with the workers' movement in China.

Chen Duxiu organized a gathering in commemoration of May Day in Shanghai. In September, he declared explicitly in a long essay "On Politics," "I believe that it is the prime necessity for a modern society to establish a state of the labouring classes (the productive classes) by means of revolution and frame political laws that prohibit plundering both at home and abroad." These statements and acts of his showed that he had shifted to the side of the proletariat and changed from a radical democrat to a Marxist.

August

China's first Communist group was set up in Shanghai, the centre of China's industry and workers' movement. The group then became the centre of activities for the founding of a unified nationwide political party of the proletariat. From the fall of 1920 through the first half of 1921, Communist groups* were established one after the other in Beijing,

*The names of the groups varied—some were known as "the Communist Party," others "the Communist Party Branch" or "the Communist Group," but all of them were local organizations of the unified Chinese Communist Party and later were called "Communist groups."

Wuhan, Changsha, Jinan, Guangzhou and other cities, and similar groups were also organized among the Chinese students and residents in Japan and France.

The Communist group in Shanghai drafted the "Manifesto of the Chinese Communist Party," which expounded the aspirations of the Communists to create a communist new society and advocated abolishing private ownership, practising public ownership of the means of production, doing away with the old state apparatus and eliminating classes. It also stated that to create a new society, the proletariat must unite and wage class struggle to "overthrow the state of the capitalists" and destroy the capitalist system by force; it must "organize a revolutionary political party of the proletariat—the Communist Party" to lead it in the seizure of political power, in the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat and in the "formulation of many laws for building communism by revolutionary means." The manifesto gave a relatively systematic expression to the ideals and views of the Chinese Communists for the first time.

After their establishment, the Communist groups in various parts of the country were mainly engaged in disseminating Marxism, organizing workers' movement and setting up Socialist Youth League. The Communist group in Shanghai made the *New Youth* its organ, and then it published a semi-open journal *The Communist Party* and a popular journal *The Labourers*. Under its leadership, trade unions were organized among the manufacturing and printing workers. Meanwhile, the Communist group in Beijing published journals like *The Voice of Labour* and *The Workers' Weekly* and opened a workers' continuation school in Changxindian. The Communist groups in various places all contributed to further integration of Marxism with the workers' movement in China.

August 22

The Shanghai Socialist Youth League was set up under the leadership of the local Communist group. The same happened in Beijing, Wuhan, Changsha and Guangzhou. The Youth League began to recruit members from among the progressive young people. In November, a provisional central bureau of the Youth League was set up with Yu Xiusong as secretary.

November

As the Marxists were organizing Communist groups in a number of cities, Zhang Dongsun, Liang Qichao and other bourgeois reformists mounted an attack on Marxism, alleging that "it was absolutely impossible to turn China into a state of the labouring classes" in an economically backward China where "there were no genuine labourers." Claiming themselves to be guild socialists, they were actually upholding the capitalist system in the name of socialism. They asserted that China must rely on the gentry and businessmen to develop capitalism.

Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Li Da, Cai Hesen and others wrote articles refuting their anti-socialist statements. They pointed out that Marxists recognized the need for China to develop industry in order to abolish poverty and backwardness. But a capitalist road would lead to nowhere; socialism was the only way out for China. They added, since the Chinese society was as dark as could be, "there is no way to save it unless the labourers get themselves united in revolutionary organizations and the system of production is changed." The debate which lasted for more than a year centred on whether China should take a socialist road or a capitalist road and whether it should carry out social revolution or social reform. Under the forceful counter-attacks by the Marxists, the bourgeois reformists were beaten once again.

While combating the reactionary bourgeois trend of thought in the wake of the May 4th Movement, the Marxists also opposed the erroneous ideas that were connected with the workers' movement—revisionism and anarchism. A few intellectuals declared that the revisionist views that no class struggle should be waged and that it was possible to grow into socialism by peaceful means were desirable. The Marxists pointed out that Bernstein's revisionism was "diametrically opposed" to communism, that trying to make the bourgeois parliament serve the labourers was just like asking a tiger for its skin, and that under the reactionary rule of the feudal warlords it was absolutely impossible for the Chinese working class to carry out legitimate parliamentary struggles. Anarchism was a petty-bourgeois trend of thought that had considerable influence in China. While opposing all forms of state, authority, political struggle and violent revolution, the anarchists advocated individualism and absolute freedom and opposed the need of organization and discipline. The Marxists severely criticized anarchism. They elucidated the necessity and importance of revolutionary struggles waged by the people under the leadership of the proletariat, the seizure of political power by means of violence and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They refuted the fallacy of "absolute freedom" advocated by the anarchists, pointing out that freedom in human society was always relative and there was never "absolute freedom." Many revolutionary young people once influenced by anarchism abandoned the erroneous thinking and accepted Marxism. In the end, the anarchists who had sneaked into the Communist groups in various places were cleared out.

1921

January

Speaking at the New Year gathering of Xin Min Society, at which transformation of China and the world was discussed, Mao Zedong noted that bourgeois reformism was only a makeshift remedy which cut no ice,

that the parliamentary road of social democracy was designed to protect the propertied class, that anarchist propositions could never be materialized, but that "communism that advocates radical means, or the doctrine of the workers and peasants, can be expected to succeed through class dictatorship and therefore is most desirable."

July 23-early August

The First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Shanghai.* The 12 delegates to the congress were from the Communist groups in various parts of the country and from those in Japan.** They were Mao Zedong, He Shuheng, Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu, Wang Jinmei, Deng Enming (Shui nationality), Li Da, Li Hanjun, Zhang Guotao, Liu Renjing, Chen Gongbo and Zhou Fohai. There was another delegate named Bao Huiseng*** who was appointed by Chen Duxiu. These delegates represented more than 50 Party members. Two representatives from the Communist International, Malin and Nicolsky, also attended the congress. On July 30, the meeting had to be adjourned upon the sudden appearance of detectives on the scene. It was resumed on the final day on board a boat on Lake Nanhu in Jiaying County, Zhejiang Province.

The central task of the congress was to discuss the question of officially founding the Chinese Communist Party. The congress adopted the Party programme and decided on the name of the Party as the Communist Party of China and on the objectives of the Party as follows: to overthrow the bourgeoisie by means of the revolutionary army of the proletariat, to rebuild the country by the labouring classes and to work for the ultimate elimination of differences between classes; to establish

*The opening date of the congress was confirmed by archives after the founding of New China in 1949. The closing date was August 1 or 2. Earlier, the date of the Party's founding was set on July 1 in the "Directive Concerning Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the 4th Anniversary of the War of Resistance Against Japan" issued by the Central Committee of the CPC on June 30, 1941. This was because it was impossible to investigate and verify the date during the anti-Japanese war.

**The Communist group in France could not send delegates to the congress because of the long distance, although it had been informed of the date for the convening of the congress.

***Liu Renjing quit the Party after the defeat of the First Great Revolution and joined a Trotskyite organization. After nationwide liberation in 1949, he issued a statement saying that he had been expelled by the Trotskyite organization in 1937. Chen Gongbo betrayed the Party in 1922. Zhou Fohai betrayed the Party in 1924. Both of them held important posts in the Kuomintang (KMT) after 1927 and surrendered to Japan and became traitors after the War of Resistance Against Japan broke out. Bao Huiseng quit the Party in 1927 and served as counsellor of the State Council after nationwide liberation.

the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to attain the objective of class struggle, that is, the elimination of classes; and to abolish ownership by capitalists and establish ownership by the entire society through confiscating all the means of production. The Party programme enunciated explicitly the need to get the workers, peasants and soldiers organized and to disseminate communism and it recognized social revolution as the dominant policy of the Party. The programme also defined the organizational principle of democratic centralism and the discipline of the Party. The congress also adopted the "Resolution on the Present Tasks," according to which the central task of the Party after its founding was to get the working class organized and provide guidance to the workers' movement and the Party should adopt a policy of independence to protect the interests of the proletariat in the struggles against the war-lords and bureaucrats and for freedom of speech, the press and assembly. A completely new-type and unified political party of the working class had thus emerged in China that took the realization of communism as its goal and Marxism-Leninism as its guide for action. The congress elected Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao and Li Da to form the Central Bureau with Chen serving as its secretary.

August

The Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization (the Office of China's Trade Union) was set up in Shanghai. Later, branches of the organization were set up in Beijing, Wuhan, Changsha, Guangzhou and Jinan, serving as the open organizations for the Party to give guidance to the workers' movement. For this purpose, the secretariat published the journal *Labour Weekly*. It also ran a workers' continuation school to offer literacy courses while secretly disseminating Marxism among the workers to raise their class awareness and teach them tactics of struggle. On the basis of the workers' continuation school, an industrial workers' trade union was later organized. Under the leadership of the Party, the workers' movement and strikes developed further.

September

Under the leadership of Communist Party members, peasants in Yaqian Village, Xiaoshan County of Zhejiang Province set up a peasants' association and publicized the association's rules and regulations and its declaration. Within two or three months afterwards, peasants' associations were set up in more than 80 villages in Xiaoshan and Shaoxing counties. In some places, struggles were waged against taxation and for rent reduction. But they were soon put down by feudal forces and reactionary troops and police.

October 13

Under the leadership of the Party organization in Wuhan, workers of

the Wuchang and Changsha sections of the Guangzhou-Hankou Railway went on strike for wage increases and better living conditions. On the 25th, led by the Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization, over 9,000 workers of British and American cigarette factories downed tools, protesting the management's summary dismissal and bullying of workers. In November, the mechanics of the Longhai Railway staged a strike against the management's reduction of the number of workers and their wages and maltreatment of the workers, and more than 2,000 workers of the entire railway rose in response. In December, rickshaw pullers in Hankou also went on strike.

November

The Central Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party issued a circular concerning the organizational and propaganda work of the Party. It required each of the five district Party organizations of Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Wuhan and Changsha to increase the number of Party members to 30 before July 1922 and to set up a district executive committee as early as possible so as to prepare for the official establishment of a central executive committee at the Second National Congress to be convened in July 1922. The circular also required that the total number of Youth League members throughout the country must exceed 2,000, that in each district there must be at least one trade union under its direct administration and that the central propaganda department must publish at least 20 kinds of books on communism.

1922

January

The Chinese Communists made further efforts in their revolutionary practice to probe the practical questions regarding the Chinese society and revolution in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. The bi-weekly *The Pioneers*, organ of the Socialist Youth League, stressed in its "Introduction" the need "to make great efforts to study the objective conditions of China and work out the most suitable and feasible plan to solve China's problems" and to make it "our first important task." In his "Communism and Anarchism," Deng Zhongxia stated, "Communism has its objectives, and steps, means and methods should be adopted to attain them." In March, Zhou Enlai noted in his article "Turning West Europe 'Red,'" "We uphold two principles—the truth of communism on the one hand and class revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other. The means to practise them should be adopted in the light of actual conditions."

Workers of Changsha Huashi Cotton Mill went on strike under the

leadership of Socialist Youth League members Huang Ai and Pang Renquan. The strike was suppressed by warlord Zhao Hengti, and Huang and Pang were arrested and murdered.

January 12

Over 6,000 seamen in Hong Kong staged a strike against oppression and exploitation by British capitalists and for wage increases. By early March, the struggle had developed into a general strike by the Hong Kong Workers' Union, involving more than 100,000 workers, including 20,000 seamen. The strike paralysed the entire network of shipping in Hong Kong, and traffic and production in the city came to a standstill. On March 4, the British troops and police in Hong Kong opened fire at the strikers who were on their way back to Guangzhou via Shatian, killing and wounding hundreds of them. The incident became known as the "Shatian Massacre." During the strike, the Guangdong Provincial Government of the KMT gave financial support to the strikers. Under the leadership of the CPC, workers in various parts of China voiced support for the striking Hong Kong seamen, and the struggle helped strengthen unity of the working class. The strike lasted for 56 days before the Hong Kong British authorities were compelled on March 8 to accede to the seamen's demands for increasing wages and compensating the families of the murdered workers. Thus the strike was crowned with victory. From then on the workers' movement led by the CPC was on the upsurge. Under the leadership or encouragement of the local Party organizations, the boatmen of the Changjiang (Yangtse) River, the postal workers and the workers of the Japan-China Cotton Mill in Shanghai, the workers of the Hanyang Iron and Steel Plant and the workers of the Beijing-Hankou, Guangzhou-Hankou, Beijing-Fengtian, Beijing-Suiyuan and Zhengding-Taiyuan railways went on strike, and most of the strikes were victorious.

January 21-February 2

The Communist International held in Moscow the first congress of representatives from the Communist Parties and national revolutionary organizations of the Far Eastern countries, including China, Korea, Japan and Mongolia. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Socialist Youth League (CSYL), the Chinese KMT and other revolutionary organizations of the Chinese workers, peasants, students and women all sent representatives to the congress. The congress exposed the reactionary nature of the Washington Conference convened by imperialist countries to readjust their interests in the Far East, and analysed the experience of the Far Eastern peoples in their revolutionary struggles. It expounded in the light of Lenin's theories on the national and colonial questions, the historic mission of the oppressed nations in their struggle against imperialism and feudalism. During the congress, Lenin met with some of the

Chinese representatives despite his illness, encouraging the Chinese working class and other revolutionary people to close their ranks and push the Chinese revolution forward.

May 1-6

The Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization, in compliance with the decision of the CPC, convened the First National Labour Conference in Guangzhou. The 173 participants represented 340,000 workers belonging to over 110 trade unions in 12 cities. Among them were members of the CPC and of the KMT, anarchists and public figures without party affiliation. The conference accepted the political slogans of "Down with imperialism" and "Down with the feudal warlords" proposed by the CPC, and adopted resolutions on the "eight-hour-day system," "aid to strikers," "organizational principles of the All-China Trade Union Federation," etc. It decided that the Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization serve as the general liaison office for the workers' organizations in the country before the All-China Trade Union Federation was formed.

May 5-10

The First Congress of the Chinese Socialist Youth League was held in Guangzhou. The 25 delegates to the congress represented over 5,000 League members from 15 district organizations in the country. The congress adopted the "Programme of the Chinese Socialist Youth League" and the "Constitution of the Chinese Socialist Youth League." In its programme the League declared acceptance of the political positions of the CPC and advocated "the elimination of armymen politics and the overthrow of oppression by international capital-imperialism." It elected the Central Executive Committee of the League with Shi Cuntong serving as the secretary.

June 15

The Central Committee of the CPC proclaimed the "Views of the CPC on the Current Situation." In the document it analysed how international imperialists had been colluding with the Chinese feudal warlords in their oppression of the Chinese people since the 1911 Revolution and pointed out that imperialist aggression and warlord politics were the causes of the misery of China and the suffering of the Chinese people. It stated that the most urgent tasks facing the proletariat were to abolish by revolutionary means all the privileges enjoyed by the imperialist powers in China; sweep away the warlords, confiscate the property of the warlords and bureaucrats and distribute their land to the poor peasants; and to protect the freedom rights of the people. To accomplish these tasks, the CPC proposed the formation of a democratic united front with the KMT and other revolutionary parties and organizations to wage a

joint struggle against the oppression by imperialist powers and feudal warlords.

July 16-23

The CPC held its Second National Congress in Shanghai. Twelve delegates attended the congress, representing 195 Party members.

The congress adopted and issued a historic declaration. Based on Lenin's theories on national and colonial questions and the examinations of the basic questions of the Chinese revolution made since the founding of the CPC, the declaration analysed the world situation and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of the Chinese society, expounded the character, motive force and targets of the Chinese revolution and formulated the minimum and maximum programmes of the Party. The objectives of the minimum programme, or the chief programme of the Party at the stage of democratic revolution, included eliminating internal disorder and overthrowing the warlords to achieve peace in the country; overthrowing oppression by world imperialism to gain complete independence for the Chinese nation; and unifying China as a genuine democratic republic. After these objectives were attained, further efforts should be made to prepare for the achievement of the objectives set by the maximum programme—"to establish the dictatorship by workers and peasants, eliminate the system of private ownership and gradually move into the communist society." For the first time in modern China, the Second National Congress of the CPC explicitly set forth a programme of democratic revolution, opposing imperialism and feudalism, and thus it unequivocally charted the tasks and orientation for the people of various nationalities in China in their revolutionary struggles at the present stage.

For the benefit of carrying out the Party's programme for democratic revolution, the congress adopted the "Resolution on Democratic United Front," calling on the workers and peasants throughout the country to rally under the banner of the CPC in their struggle, and at the same time to unite with all the revolutionary parties and the bourgeois democrats in the country to form a democratic united front in order to eliminate the feudal warlords, overthrow imperialist oppression and build an independent, truly democratic China.

The "Resolution on the Organizational Rules and Regulations of the Communist Party" adopted by the congress clearly defined the nature of the Party. It pointed out, "Our Communist Party is neither a Marxist academic society organized by intellectuals nor a utopian revolutionary organization of a few Communists who are divorced from the masses. It should be a political party fighting for the interests of the proletariat, a party of a large number of people of the proletariat who are imbued with the noblest revolutionary spirit and the vanguard of the proletariat in

the revolutionary movement." The resolution stressed that the CPC was the vanguard organization of the Chinese proletariat. The Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party adopted by the congress was the first constitution after the Party was founded. It contained specific provisions concerning requirements for Party members, the Party organizations at various levels and Party discipline.

Among others, the congress also adopted the "Resolution on the Chinese Communist Party's Joining the Third Communist International," the "Resolution on the Trade Union Movement and the Communist Party," the "Resolution on Women's Movement" and the "Resolution on the Juvenile Movement." It elected the Central Executive Committee of the Party and Chen Duxiu chairman of the committee, and decided to publish a weekly *The Guide* as the organ of the Party, with Cai Hesen serving as the chief editor.

August 9-14

Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived in Shanghai from Guangzhou following the rebellion of the Guangdong warlord Chen Jiongming.* The Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party supported him in his predicament. To implement the programme for democratic revolution and form a democratic united front, the CPC sent Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu and others respectively to meet with Sun Yat-sen and other KMT leaders and discussed with them the question of cooperation between the KMT and the CPC. Sun Yat-sen decided to ally with the Soviet Union and cooperate with the Communist Party and invited Communist Party members to help reorganize the KMT.

August 29-30

The Central Executive Committee of the CPC held a plenary meeting at the West Lake, Hangzhou. According to a report prepared by Malin, the Communist International instructed that Chinese Communist Party members join the KMT as individuals to help set up the democratic united front and promote the development of the Chinese national democratic revolution. After full discussion at the meeting it was decided to comply with the instruction of the Communist International on condition that Sun Yat-sen reorganized the KMT and turned it into an organization of the democratic revolutionary united front of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, since most of the Party members were skeptical of this decision, only Chen Duxiu, Li

*In May 1921 when Dr. Sun Yat-sen became Extraordinary President in Guangzhou, he held aloft the banner of upholding the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China again and prepared for launching a northern expedition. On June 16, 1922 Chen Jiongming, being abetted by imperialists and colluding with the Zhili warlords, staged an armed rebellion in an attempt to overthrow Sun Yat-sen.

Dazhao and a few other central leaders joined the KMT after the West Lake Meeting.

August

The Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization promulgated the "Outline of the Labour Law" and called on the workers throughout the country to launch an extensive campaign for the enactment of a labour law. The outline consisted of four principles and 19 articles. The four principles were protection of political freedom, improvement of economic life, participation in labour management and continuation education for the labourers. The 19 articles included recognition of the labourers' rights to assembly and association, strike in alliance and signing of group contracts; introduction of the eight-hour-day system, protection of female and child labourers and guarantee of minimum wages for the labourers. The campaign played an important role in bringing about a continued upsurge in the workers' movement.

September 14

More than 17,000 workers of the Anyuan Coal Mine in Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province and the Zhuzhou-Pingxiang Railway in Hunan Province went on strike under the leadership of the Party organization of Hunan and Mao Zedong, Li Lisan and Liu Shaoqi. The strikers put forward in a declaration the demands for protection of the workers' rights, wage increases and improvement of material benefits, and abolition of the system of feudal labour contractors. After five days of fierce struggle, the local coal mine and railway authorities were compelled to accept the workers' demands and recognize the Workers' Club as an organization representing the rights of the workers. The strike was thus crowned with major successes, and the Workers' Club of Anyuan Railway and Coal Mine was consolidated and expanded.

October

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was moved from Shanghai to Beijing.

October 16

Workers of the Kailuan Coal Mine, in Tangshan, controlled by British imperialists demanded wage increases and better material benefits. The coal mine authorities unreasonably rejected the miners' demands and detained their representatives. On October 23, the miners went on strike under the leadership of the Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization. Soon afterwards, nearly 50,000 workers of the Qixin Cement Factory in Tangshan downed tools in sympathy with the Kailuan miners. The coal mine authorities and the warlord government called in troops and policemen, including British troops, to suppress the strikers. On the 26th, the reactionary troops and policemen fired at the workers, killing

and wounding more than 60 of them. Although the strike ended in failure, as a sizable struggle directly against imperialism following the seamen's strike in Hong Kong, it had a powerful impact both at home and abroad.

1923

January 1

The Peasants' Association of Haifeng County, Guangdong Province was established with Peng Pai as the president. The association had a membership of about 100,000 peasants, accounting for a quarter of the county's population. The first of its kind at the county level in the country, the association was composed of the departments of education, public health, finance, agriculture and arbitration. Influenced by the peasants' movement in Haifeng, the peasants' struggle in Lufeng, Huiyang and other counties also grew in strength.

January

Dr. Sun Yat-sen met with the representative of the Russian Soviet Government Yoffe and both issued the "Joint Declaration of Sun Yat-sen and Yoffe." The declaration gave expression to the sympathy of the Russian Soviet Government for the Chinese revolution and its support for Sun Yat-sen, and Sun Yat-sen's appreciation of the Russian Soviet Government's help and his open confirmation of the KMT's policy of alliance with Russia. This represented a major step taken by Sun Yat-sen towards a new revolutionary road by firmly relying on the assistance of the socialist Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communist Party in disregard of imperialist obstructions.

February 1

The General Beijing-Hankou Railway Trade Union held a meeting in Zhengzhou to mark its inauguration. The Zhili warlord Wu Peifu ordered a ban on the trade union and sent out reactionary troops and policemen to occupy the seat of the General Trade Union. On February 4, over 20,000 workers of the Beijing-Hankou Railway went on strike, paralysing the 1,200-kilometre-long railway. On February 7, Wu Peifu, aided by imperialists, assembled more than 20,000 troops and policemen to suppress the striking workers in cold blood at Jiang'an, Zhengzhou, Changxindian and other railway stations. This became known as the "February 7 Massacre," which shocked the country and the whole world. Fifty workers were killed, more than 300 were wounded and over 40 were thrown into jail. Many workers' families were looted. Lin Xiangqian, a Communist Party member and president of the Jiang'an Branch of the Beijing-Hankou Railway Trade Union, and Shi Yang, also a Communist Party member and legal consultant of the General Beijing-Hankou

Railway Trade Union, were executed. They displayed an indomitable spirit before the enemy and heroically laid down their lives. The great strike lasted until February 9, when the General Beijing-Hankou Railway Trade Union and the Workers' Union of Hubei Province asked the strikers to return to work in order to preserve the revolutionary strength.

January 1922-February 1923

The upsurge in the workers' movement led by the CPC continued for 13 months. During the period, more than a hundred strikes were launched, involving 300,000 workers at least. During the rapid growth of the workers' movement the proletariat steeled itself and the class foundation of the Communist Party was consolidated. Following the failure of the strike by the workers of the Beijing-Hankou Railway, most of the trade unions in the country were smashed or closed by the reactionary troops and policemen and many of the workers' leaders were arrested or murdered. As a result, the workers' movement receded to a low ebb.

February

The Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization issued an appeal to the workers of the country on the "February 7 Massacre," calling on them "to close their ranks to form a gigantic and most powerful organization, and unite with the peasants, merchants and students to fight with one heart and overthrow their common enemy—the warlords, and establish a genuine democratic republic to replace the warlord government."

February 27

The Central Committee of the CPC issued the "Open Letter to the Working Class and the Chinese People on Wu Peifu's Slaughter of the Beijing-Hankou Railway Workers," calling on them to get united and overthrow the warlords who oppressed and killed the workers.

March 1

Dr. Sun Yat-sen established a government of the Generalissimo in Guangzhou. After Chen Jiongming had been driven out of Guangzhou to eastern Guangdong Province by the Yunnan, Guangxi and part of the Guangdong armies, Sun Yat-sen had returned to the city from Shanghai in February. There he had accepted the proposal made by the Soviet Union and the CPC and set to reorganizing the KMT. But his efforts met with much resistance.

March 3

The Executive Committee of the Communist International issued the "Open Letter to the Chinese Railway Workers on the Massacre of the Beijing-Hankou Railway Workers on Strike," in which it stated that through their recent strikes and sacrifices, the Chinese railway workers

had joined forces with the international proletariat in the struggle against the exploiters in various countries. Their slogans for freedom of association and assembly put forth in the strikes and their unflinching fight for the slogans demonstrated that they had truly joined the ranks of the organized international proletariat.

April 25

Chen Duxiu published an article "The Bourgeois Revolution and the Revolutionary Bourgeoisie." By then he had shifted his attention from the working class to the bourgeoisie, erroneously regarding the latter as the main body and social base of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China. He wrote in the article, "The present mission of the Chinese KMT and the correct approach should be: to command the revolutionary bourgeoisie and unite with the revolutionary proletariat to win the bourgeois democratic revolution."

April

The Central Committee of the CPC moved back to Shanghai from Beijing.

II. The Period of the First Great Revolution

June 1923—July 1927

1923 (June—December)

June 12-20

The CPC held its Third National Congress in Guangzhou. Attending the congress were 30-odd delegates who represented 420 Party members. According to the agenda, the congress was mainly to discuss the question whether the entire membership should join the KMT. It accepted the "Resolution on the Relationship Between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang" adopted by the Communist International on January 12 of the year and decided that all the CPC members join the KMT in the capacity of individuals for the benefit of establishing the united front of various democratic classes. The Communist International was right in its resolution concerning cooperation between the KMT and the CPC. However, it overestimated the revolutionary character and role of the bourgeoisie and the KMT while underestimating the strength and role of the Chinese working class. In the resolution it held that the KMT was "the only important national revolutionary group, which relies both on the liberal bourgeois democrats and the petty bourgeoisie and on the intellectuals and workers" and that in China "the independent workers' movement is not powerful enough" and "the working class has not yet fully developed into an independent social force." During discussions at the congress, the majority of the delegates, while criticizing Zhang Guotao for being reluctant to cooperate with the KMT, were against the Right deviationist views, held by Malin and Chen Duxiu, that "all work should be done with the approval of the Kuomintang." After full discussion, the congress adopted the "Resolution on the Questions of National Movement and the Kuomintang," "the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Draft)" and other documents. It was pointed out in the documents that at the present stage the Communist Party "should make national revolutionary movement its central task"; that the KMT "should assume leadership in national revolution"; that "Communist Party members should join the KMT," and that "efforts should be made to expand the KMT organizationally throughout the country so as to draw all the Chinese revolutionaries into the KMT." To maintain the political independence of the Communist Party, the documents

stressed that "in political publicity, we must preserve our true character and remain uncompromising to the imperialists and warlords" and "check the KMT's tendency towards compromise in political movement and towards reformism in labour movement." At the same time, Party members were required to preserve and expand the CPC organizations and abide strictly by the Party discipline after they joined the KMT. The congress stated explicitly that the objectives of the Communist Party members in joining the KMT were: "first, to transform the KMT into a Left-wing political party; second, to expand the KMT where the Communist Party cannot operate openly; and third, to recruit fine members of the KMT into the Communist Party." The congress issued a declaration and adopted resolutions on the questions of labour, peasants, youth movement and women's movement. It elected nine members and five alternate members to form the new Central Executive Committee, which elected Chen Duxiu, Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen, Tan Pingshan and Luo Zhanglong to form the Central Bureau (later, when Tan Pingshan was transferred to Guangdong to be Party representative there, Wang Hebo was elected in September to fill the vacancy,) Chen Duxiu was elected chairman, Mao Zedong secretary and Luo Zhanglong treasurer of the Central Bureau, to be in charge of the day-to-day work of the CPC Central Committee.

After the conclusion of the congress, Party organizations in various places carried out ideological work among the Party members to remove their doubts about joining the KMT. In the meantime, the Communist Party encouraged Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Liao Zhongkai to reorganize the KMT.

June 15

The quarterly *New Youth*, a theoretical journal of the CPC, was launched in Guangzhou, with Qu Qiubai serving as chief editor. The Chinese version of the words of *The Internationale* translated by him was published in the journal for the first time.

July 1

The monthly *Vanguard*, organ of the CPC, with Qu Qiubai serving as chief editor, was published by the Pingmin Publishing House in Guangzhou. However, it stopped publication in February the following year after the third issue came off print.

July

The Central Committee of the CPC published "The Second Proposition of the Chinese Communist Party on the Current Situation." It said, "Only a national conference can genuinely represent the people, draw up a constitution, and establish a new government to unify China."

August 20-25

The Second National Congress of the Chinese Socialist Youth League was held in Nanjing. The congress expressed support for the policy of cooperation with the KMT formulated at the Third National Congress of the CPC. It decided that the Socialist Youth League members also join the KMT in the capacity of individuals.

September

The Soviet Government appointed Mikhail Markovich Borodin its permanent representative to Guangzhou. At the end of the month, Borodin arrived in Shanghai and met Chen Duxiu and other leaders of the CPC. On October 6, he arrived in Guangzhou, where he held meetings with the members of the Central Executive Committees of the CPC and of the CSYL to discuss ways of reorganizing the KMT and decided to persuade by all possible means Dr. Sun Yat-sen to call a meeting to discuss the matter.

October 20

The weekly *Chinese Youth*, organ of the CSYL, was launched in Shanghai. Yun Daiying, Xiao Chunü, Lin Yunan, Ren Bishi, Deng Zhongxia, Zhang Tailei and Li Qiushi served as editors in different periods. The weekly was compelled by reactionaries to stop publication in November 1927.

October 25

Sun Yat-sen called a special meeting in Guangzhou to discuss the necessity of and plan for reorganizing the KMT. At the meeting he designated Liao Zhongkai, Tan Pingshan (then a Communist) and seven others as members, and Wang Jingwei, Li Dazhao and three others as alternate members, to form the Provisional Executive Committee of the KMT to handle matters concerning reorganization of the KMT. He also invited Borodin to serve as adviser to the Central Executive Committee.

November 1

The CPC opened the Shanghai Bookstore to sell revolutionary literature and publish and distribute *The Guide*, the *New Youth*, the *Vanguard*, *Chinese Youth* and other journals. The bookstore was banned by warlord Sun Chuanfang in February 1926.

Early November

Visinsky came to China again to replace Malin as representative of the Communist International in China.

November 24-25

The First Plenary Session of the Third CPC Central Committee was held in Shanghai. In the light of the letter of instruction sent by the

Communist International Executive Committee to the Third National Congress of the CPC in May and the actual conditions of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the plenary session discussed questions concerning the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the Third National Congress of the CPC. The session decided to make further efforts to promote the reorganization of the KMT and to expand the KMT organizations throughout the country, to urge CPC members and CSYL members "all to join" the KMT wherever possible, and to help build such organizations where there were none of them. The session also decided that secret Party or League groups in the KMT should implement the Party's programme and policies and do their best to become "the core of the KMT."

November 25

The European Branch of the KMT was formally set up with the help of the CPC. Speaking at the meeting of the branch, Zhou Enlai bitterly denounced the KMT for its corruption. He was elected director in charge of the general affairs and Li Fuchun director in charge of propaganda, of the branch. Later, Zhou Enlai was entrusted with the task of making preparations for the establishment of the KMT Liaison Office in Paris. Nie Rongzhen, Li Fuchun and others also took part in the work.

November 28

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted the "Resolution on the Chinese National Liberation Movement and the Kuomintang." It expounded the Three People's Principles in the spirit of democratic revolution, maintaining that nationalism should mean "struggling against world imperialism and its lackeys and for China's independence by relying on all the strata of peasants, workers, intellectuals, industrialists and merchants" and "doing away with oppression by imperialism from abroad and by warlords at home"; and the KMT should proclaim "the principle of equality among all the nationalities in China." Democracy should mean "enjoying of democratic rights and freedoms only by those elements and organizations that genuinely support the anti-imperialist programme rather than by the ones that work for foreign imperialism and its lackeys (the Chinese warlords)." People's livelihood should mean "nationalizing foreign-owned factories, enterprises, banks, railways and waterways" and "distributing land directly to the tillers and abolishing the ownership of land by the big landlords and the many small and middle landlords who do not till the land." These interpretations of Nationalism, Democracy and the People's Livelihood in the resolution constituted the basic principles of the "Declaration of the First National Congress of the Chinese Kuomintang."

December 22

The Central Committee of the CSYL issued its Notice No. 24, stating that reorganization of the KMT conformed to the demands of the revolutionaries of the country and the aspirations of the Socialist Youth League and therefore, the League should cooperate with the KMT and assist it in its reorganization.

December 25

The Central Committee of the CPC issued its Circular No. 13, calling on all the Party members to help reorganize the KMT, and made specific arrangements for the local Party organizations to encourage Party members to join the KMT, with a view to hastening the convocation of the First National Congress of the KMT.

December

Li Dazhao arrived in Guangzhou to help Sun Yat-sen reorganize the KMT and prepare for the convening of the First National Congress of the KMT. The Central Bureaus of the CPC and the CSYL issued a joint statement on the forthcoming national congress of the KMT. Both before and after the issuance of the statement, Communist Party members published articles in *The Guide*, the *Chinese Youth* and other journals, making many sincere suggestions and comments to the KMT on the need to imbue the Three People's Principles with revolutionary contents and to formulate the Three Great Policies—alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

1924**Early January**

The Central Committees of the CPC and the CSYL held a joint meeting in Shanghai to discuss reorganization of the KMT. Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai and Borodin, representative of the Communist International, attended the meeting.

January 20-30

Sun Yat-sen presided over the First National Congress of the KMT held in Guangzhou. The congress adopted an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal declaration drafted with the help of Communists, and decided on the Three Great Policies—alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, thus developing the old Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles. The congress elected ten Communists, including Li Dazhao, Tan Pingshan, Mao Zedong, Lin Boqu and Qu Qiubai, as members or alternate members of the Central Executive Committee of the KMT. The headquarters of the KMT was also reorganized with Communists serving

as director of the Organization Department and the Department of Peasants. The Department of Workers was actually led by Communists, too. Afterwards, most of the KMT local branches throughout the country were reorganized or set up with Communists or KMT Left-wingers comprising the backbone. In this way, the KMT began to change from a bourgeois political party into a democratic revolutionary alliance of the workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. During discussions of the "Constitution of the KMT" at the congress, Fang Ruilin and other Right-wingers of the KMT opposed the Communists retaining dual party membership, advocating adding an article to the effect that "members of the KMT shall not join other parties." Li Dazhao refuted them sternly, declaring, "We have joined the KMT because we want to make contributions to it and thus to the national revolution rather than take the opportunity to carry out the Communist movement under the name of the KMT," and "it is an honest act on our part to join the KMT and retain dual party membership." Upholding Sun Yat-sen's policy of cooperation with the Communist Party, Li Dazhao clearly stated the principled stand of the Communists in joining the KMT. His statement won the support of Liao Zhongkai and the majority of the deputies. The motion of the Right-wingers was thus rejected.

February 7

A national congress of railway workers was held secretly in Beijing, at which the National Trade Union of Railway Workers was set up.

February

The Third Central Executive Committee of the CPC convened its Second Session, at which the "Resolution on the Work and Attitude of Comrades in the Kuomintang" was adopted to the effect that "it is desirable" for Communists "to stay at a respectful distance from the most degenerate elements" of the KMT "so as to avoid unnecessary conflicts with them." In fact, it required the Communists to take a compromising and yielding attitude towards the Right-wingers of the KMT. As for the activities of Communists, it advocated that "all work should be done with the approval of the KMT." All these views led to Right deviation in the work of the Party. Towards the end of the month, Li Dazhao returned to Beijing from Guangzhou to guide the KMT's work in the north.

May 5

The first group of students began to register at the Military Academy of the Kuomintang's Ground Force located in Whampoa. On June 16, the academy was inaugurated. Sun Yat-sen was concurrently chairman of the academy, Liao Zhongkai was representative of the KMT and Chiang Kai-shek was president of the academy. Zhou Enlai, Yun Dai-

ying, Xiao Chun⁰, Xiong Xiong, Nie Rongzhen and other Communists provided political leadership or did other work at the academy on different occasions. The CPC selected Party and Youth League members and other revolutionary youths from various parts of the country and sent them to study at the academy, many of whom became backbone members of the academy. Established with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the CPC, the academy had trained large numbers of officers for the revolutionary army.

May 10-15

The CPC Central Executive Committee held an enlarged meeting in Shanghai. While affirming the achievements scored over the past five months since cooperation had been effected between the KMT and the CPC, the meeting called attention to the Right tendency in the Party, holding that "only by arousing the workers to take part in struggle is it possible to prevent the bourgeoisie from compromising and to win complete national liberation." The meeting reminded the Party members of the importance of consolidating the Party in the complicated environment both inside and outside the KMT. It stressed the need for upholding the revolutionary programme contained in the declaration of the First National Congress of the KMT and taking it as the criterion for correctly judging the struggles between the Left- and Right-wingers of the KMT. It called for constant and extensive efforts to publicize and implement the programme in order to help expand the organization of the KMT, strengthening the Left-wingers and weakening the Right-wingers. It criticized the policy of compromise adopted earlier by the Party towards the Left- and Right-wingers of the KMT. It stressed the importance of the educational and organizational work of the Party, called for efforts to recruit large numbers of Party members from among the industrial workers and criticized the failure "to work hard to recruit members from the workers." It worked out concrete measures to improve the Party's work. It pointed out that the industrial workers constituted the class foundation of the Communist Party and that it was the most important task for the Party to set up and expand trade unions and develop the labour movement. In the light of the different conditions, it drew up specific provisions concerning ways of helping the KMT launch the trade union movement. The meeting played a positive role in correcting the Right deviation that had existed for a period of time in the work of the Party, in upholding the Party's independence in the united front, in correctly handling the Party's relations with the Left- and Right-wingers of the KMT and in building the Party itself. In view of the complicated situation in which the Party was contending with the KMT Right-wingers for leadership over the workers' movement, the meeting made appropriate adjustment of the Party's policy regarding trade union activities and the industrial workers' joining the KMT, so that the Party

would not be too much restricted in conducting independent activities and have more room for manoeuvre.

June 17-July 8

The Communist International convened its Fifth Congress. Li Dazhao, Wang Hebo, Peng Shuzhi and Liu Qingyang attended the congress as representatives of the CPC. The congress stressed the importance of the united front in the colonial countries and the need for the Communist Parties to maintain absolute and complete independence in negotiations with the upper stratum. It criticized the "Left" and Right opportunist tendencies found in united front work. Speaking on the questions of nations and colonies at the congress, Li Dazhao gave an account of imperialist activities in China and the development of China's national movement.

July 3

The Training Institute of the Peasant Movement was inaugurated in Guangzhou. Under the direction of Communists, five groups of students attended the training courses between July 1924 and December 1925. Peng Pai, Ruan Xiaoxian, Luo Qiyuan and Tan Zhitang served as directors on different occasions, and some 450 people from Guangdong and the neighbouring provinces were trained to become backbone members in the peasant movement.

July 15

Several thousand workers in Shamian of Guangzhou went on strike, protesting against the British and French imperialists' enforcement of the "new police rule of denying the Chinese free entrance access to the concessions." The strike, which lasted over a month, ended in victory. Following up the success, the workers in the city organized the workers' corps.

August

The peasants in Guangdong began to organize their self-defence corps.

September 10

The CPC issued a third statement on the situation, calling on the people to oppose imperialism and overthrow the rule of the Zhili warlords.

October

Being urged by the Communist Party and the masses of workers and peasants, relying on the army of the Whampoa Military Academy and uniting with the workers' and peasants' armed forces and other troops, Sun Yat-sen suppressed the counter-revolutionary rebellion staged by the merchants' troops led by Chen Lianbo, a comprador backed by Britain. The move dealt a telling blow at imperialism and the landlord and

comprador classes and freed the revolution in Guangdong from danger.

October 23

Feng Yuxiang staged a coup d'etat in Beijing and put Cao Kun into custody, overthrowing the Beijing government of Cao Kun and Wu Peifu. Duan Qirui, an Anhui warlord, acted as the provisional regent. Feng Yuxiang redesignated his troops as the national army, expressed his sympathy with the Guangdong revolutionary government and sent a telegram to Sun Yat-sen inviting him to the north to discuss peaceful unification of the country.

November 10

With the support of the CPC, Sun Yat-sen decided to go north for the benefit of peaceful unification of the country and issued his "Statement on My Departure for the North," in which he proposed the convening of a national assembly and abolition of unequal treaties.

November 19

The CPC issued its fourth statement on the situation, calling on the people of the country to unite and hasten the convening of the national assembly. By the end of the year, a great movement for the convocation of national assembly was launched throughout the country. Thus the mass movement that had been at a low ebb in the wake of the "February 7 Massacre" had arisen again, signifying the advent of an upsurge in the great revolution.

November

With Sun Yat-sen's consent, the Guangdong District Party Committee and Zhou Enlai selected some Party and Youth League members from the first group of graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy to serve as the backbone of an armoured car unit under the command of the Headquarters of the Generalissimo. This was, in fact, a revolutionary armed force directly led by the CPC.

December 12

Led by Peng Pai and Zhou Qijian, the Peasant Association of Guangning, Guangdong Province, mobilized the peasants in a movement for rent reduction, which was undermined by the landlords' armed forces. When the Guangdong Revolutionary Government dispatched the armoured car unit to Guangning in support of the peasants' struggle, it was warmly received by the peasants.

1925

January 11-22

The CPC held its Fourth National Congress in Shanghai. Twenty

deputies representing 994 Party members attended the congress. The central item on the agenda was: to improve Party leadership over the daily-surging revolutionary movement and do propaganda, organizational and mass work in preparation for the upsurge in the great revolution. The participants reviewed the Party's policies formulated and implemented since the Second Congress, reaffirmed the criticism of Right deviation in the work of the Party, made at the enlarged meeting of the Central Executive Committee in May the previous year, and decided on a number of new policies concerning cooperation with the KMT, the workers' movement and the peasants' movement. It was pointed out in the documents adopted at the congress that though an important instrument to China's national movement, the KMT was not the only force in the movement. The CPC must uphold a thorough programme of democratic revolution and maintain its independence both within and outside the KMT. It must expand the ranks of the Left, oppose the Right and win over the middle-of-the-roaders through ideological, organizational and mass propaganda work. While helping the KMT in practical struggles and in expanding its organizations, the CPC must persistently combat its compromising inclination. Having looked into combination of the workers' movement with the national movement, the congress stressed the need for the workers' movement to remain independent and keep growing in the midst of the national movement so as to gain leadership and make the national movement completely revolutionary. For this purpose, the working class must have powerful trade unions based on mass participation; more important, the organizations of the industrial workers must be brought under the guidance of the CPC. Regarding the workers' joining the KMT, the congress adopted different measures for different cases, emphasizing the need to combat bourgeois influence in the trade union movement and the scheme of KMT Right-wingers for a split. Having analysed the role of the different classes in Chinese society in the national revolutionary movement, it called attention to the importance of leadership by the proletariat and of alliance between workers and peasants. The congress summed up the experience and lessons in the cooperation with the KMT since the previous year and worked out plans for unfolding mass movement. It also decided to set up and strengthen Party organizations throughout the country to meet the needs of great development in the revolution. The shortcoming of the Fourth Congress lay in that it failed to make a correct analysis of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, holding that it had not yet become an independent class and thus obscuring its role in the democratic revolution. As a result, it had either taken all the members of that class as enemies of the revolution, confusing in principle the difference between the two stages of the revolution, or neglected the activities of the national bourgeoisie in the revolutionary camp, thus writing off the task of the

proletariat to contend for leadership with it. Moreover, the congress failed to work out a correct policy for the proletariat to win leadership, emphasizing only leadership over the mass movement to the total neglect of leadership over the government and the armed forces. It revised the Party Constitution and elected the new Central Executive Committee, which elected Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao, Peng Shuzhi, Cai Hesen and Qu Qiubai as members of the Central Bureau, with Chen Duxiu as general secretary.

January 26

The Chinese Socialist Youth League convened its Third National Congress in Shanghai. The congress called on League members to carry out the resolutions adopted at the Party's Fourth Congress and to develop the students' movement, and decided to change the Socialist Youth League into the Communist Youth League. The Central Executive Committee was elected with Zhang Tailei as general secretary. (Ren Bishi became acting general secretary later in 1926.)

February 1

With the support and assistance of the CPC, the Guangdong Revolutionary Government launched the first eastern expedition. In March the expeditionary troops routed Chen Jiongming's main force.

February

Over 40,000 workers of the Japanese-owned textile mills in Shanghai went on strike under the leadership of the CPC.

March 1

Sponsored by the CPC and the Left-wingers of the KMT, the National Congress of Promoters for the Convocation of the National Assembly was inaugurated in Beijing. The congress, which closed on April 16, publicized the CPC's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal political programme and adopted resolutions on the principles and organizational programme for the movement for the convocation of the national assembly.

March 12

Sun Yat-sen passed away in Beijing. The CPC and the KMT organized mourning ceremonies among people from all walks of life, which developed into a nationwide propaganda campaign to disseminate Dr. Sun's testament and his revolutionary spirit.

April

Over 10,000 workers in the Japanese-owned textile mills in Qingdao went on strike under the leadership of the CPC.

May 1-9

The Second National Labour Conference and the First Peasant Con-

gress of Guangdong Province were held simultaneously in Guangzhou. It was decided at the Labour Conference to establish the All-China Federation of Trade Unions which represented 166 trade unions with a total membership of 540,000 organized workers. The conference adopted resolutions on the working class, the political struggle, the worker-peasant alliance, the economic struggle and the organizational question and on joining the Red International of Labour Unions. It elected 25 members, including Lin Weimin, Liu Shaoqi, Su Zhaozheng and Deng Zhongxia, to the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. At its first meeting held on the same day, the Executive Committee elected Lin Weimin as President, and Liu Shaoqi, Deng Pei and Zheng Zesheng vice-presidents, of the federation. It also set up a Secretariat with Lin Weimin as general secretary. Thanks to the leadership of the CPC and support of the Guangdong Revolutionary Government, the worker-peasant movement in Guangdong regained momentum. By early May, peasants' associations had been set up in more than 20 counties in the province, with a total membership of 200,000 at least. Local students' unions and the All-China Students' Federation became more active. Members of these organizations were already aware of the need for waging anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles. This had laid the organizational and ideological foundation for the forthcoming revolution.

May 15

The Japanese director of the Shanghai No. 7 Cotton Mill sent thugs to shoot, skilling Gu Zhenghong, a Chinese worker, and wounding many others. The incident touched off a strike among the workers, and the students rose in support of the workers. The police in the International Settlement arrested the strikers and protesters. Moreover, the authorities there decided to increase dock taxes and introduce registration at the stock exchange at the expense of Chinese industrialists and businessmen. All this roused greater indignation of the workers, students and the national bourgeoisie.

May 21

The troops on the eastern expedition returned to Guangzhou on orders to put down the rebellion incited by the Guangxi warlord Liu Zhenhuan and the Yunnan warlord Yang Ximin. On June 20, they quelled the rebellion with the support of the workers and peasants.

May 28

The Central Committee of the CPC called an emergency meeting and decided to stage a demonstration in the International Settlement of Shanghai on the 30th in protest against the imperialists' killing of Chinese workers. At the same time, it also decided to set up the Shanghai

Federation of Trade Unions under the leadership of Communists Li Lisan and Liu Hua to strengthen the trade unions. Soon afterwards, Liu Shaoqi arrived in Shanghai to take part in the leadership of the federation.

May 30

Students and representatives from other social strata in Shanghai demonstrated and made speeches against imperialism. The police of the International Settlement opened fire on them, killing a dozen of them and wounding many more. This became known as the "May 30 Massacre." On the evening of the same day, the Central Committee of the CPC called another emergency meeting, at which it decided to set up an action committee and form united front of different classes to rouse the workers, students and merchants to stage strikes against imperialism.

June 1

The Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions was openly inaugurated with Li Lisan as president and Liu Hua vice-president. On the same day, the federation issued a declaration and an open message to fellow workers, declaring a general strike in protest against the imperialists' killing of Chinese people. The strike was followed by the students' and merchants' strikes. The imperialists continued their wild killings, only to invite more powerful resistance from the strikers. An unprecedented great revolutionary storm in modern China swept across the country. Defying brutal suppression by imperialists and their lackeys, 17 million people in Beijing, Guangzhou, Qingdao, Wuhan, Tianjin, Tangshan, Nanjing, Jiujiang, Changsha, Chongqing and Zhengzhou rose in response to the anti-imperialist struggle of the people in Shanghai. On June 19, 200,000 workers of the foreign concession of Shamian in Guangzhou and of Hong Kong went on strike. On July 6, the Guangdong-Hong Kong Strikers' Committee was established in Guangzhou, and workers' pickets of several thousand men were organized. The committee exercised some functions and powers of a government. With Su Zhaozheng serving as president, it was composed of seven representatives from the Hong Kong strikers, four from the Shamian strikers and one from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The strike turned the prosperous Hong Kong into a "dead port," dealing a heavy blow at British imperialism. The hundreds of thousands of strikers provided a powerful backing to the Guangdong revolutionary base area. With the support of the people and the Revolutionary Government of Guangdong, the strike persisted for nearly two years. Meanwhile, the peasants in Guangdong, Hunan, Henan and other provinces also took an active part in the May 30 Movement.

July 1

The Headquarters of the Generalissimo in Guangdong was reorganized and the National Government of the Republic of China was founded. Wang Jingwei was appointed chairman of the government, Hu Hanmin foreign minister, Xu Chongzhi minister of military affairs and Liao Zhongkai finance minister, and Borodin was invited to serve as senior adviser to the government.

July 8

The Guangzhou National Government decided to expand the army of the Whampoa Military Academy into the First Army of the National Revolutionary Army with Chiang Kai-shek serving as its commander. The other armies under the National Government were all designated as units under the National Revolutionary Army, too. Namely, the Hunan Army became the Second Army commanded by Tan Yankai, the Yunnan Army the Third commanded by Zhu Peide, and the Guangdong Army the Fourth commanded by Li Jishen. And the Fifth and Sixth Armies were commanded by Li Fulin and Cheng Qian respectively. In each of the armies, party representatives were sent and political departments were set up. Most of the party representatives and directors of the political departments were Communists. Zhou Enlai, Li Fuchun, Zhu Kejing, Luo Han and Lin Boqu were deputy party representatives for the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Sixth Armies respectively.

July 23

Dai Jitao published a book called *The National Revolution and the Chinese Kuomintang*, in which he attacked the Marxist theory on class struggle. The book became an ideological weapon with which the bourgeois Right-wingers and the old and new Right-wingers in the KMT opposed the Communist Party. In August, Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, Yun Daiying and others wrote articles to refute Dai Jitao's reactionary doctrine. They pointed out in explicit terms that when class struggle was abandoned, it would be impossible to prevent the bourgeoisie from making compromises and to realize the Principle of Nationalism; it would be impossible to rouse the workers and peasants and enable the overwhelming majority of the people to enjoy Democracy; and it would be impossible to make the bourgeoisie accept regulation of capital, the landlords accept equal right to land ownership and to realize the Principle of People's Livelihood.

August 20

Liao Zhongkai, leader of the KMT's Left-wingers, was assassinated in Guangzhou by its Right-wingers.

October

The Fourth Executive Committee of the CPC held its Second Enlarged Meeting in Beijing. The participants analysed the experience in

the struggles since the May 30 Movement, decided on the policies on the Party's leadership over the worker-peasant movement during the upsurge of the revolution and discussed the situation, the tasks of the Party, the relations between the CPC and the KMT, the Party's organizational, propaganda and military work and the question of land to the peasants. They noted that in the anti-imperialist struggles, the bourgeoisie had shown strong inclinations towards compromise and the proletariat had obviously assumed leadership; and that the recent revolutionary movement was not only aimed at opposing imperialism, but at "achieving political power by the revolutionary people." Drawing up lessons experienced by the workers under the armed suppression by the warlords in the May 30 Movement, they called for "organizing and arming the bravest and loyalist members of the working class" and for "establishing a military commission under the Central Committee." This showed that the Central Committee had become alive to the significance of military affairs. The meeting reiterated the importance of the worker-peasant alliance and called for the formulation of a "political programme" concerning the peasant question "with the ultimate objective of confiscating the land of the big landlords, warlords, bureaucrats and monasteries and distributing it among the peasants." It pointed out in clear-cut terms, "Unless their most urgent demand, that is, land to the tillers, is met, the peasants cannot become supporters to the revolution." For the first time, the CPC Central Committee had put forward the question of land to the peasants in its resolutions. The participants also discussed further disintegration of the KMT into Left- and Right-wingers and the emergence of Dai Jitao's doctrine, pointing out that Dai and his like had become "new Right-wingers." After full discussions, the participants decided to continue cooperation with the KMT, "going all out to support its Left-wingers and oppose its Right-wingers." However, they also decided that "unless necessary, new comrades of the Party would no longer join the KMT, nor work for it, still less serve as high-ranking cadres." The decision led to the abandonment of the effort for leadership over the KMT. The meeting adopted the "Resolution on China's Current Political Situation and the Tasks of the Communist Party," the "Resolution on Relations Between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang" and other documents, and issued a "Message to the Peasants."

October 1

The National Revolutionary Army launched its second eastern expedition. Chiang Kai-shek was the general commander and Zhou Enlai was director of the general political department. With the support of the Guangdong and Hong Kong strikers and the peasants in Dongjiang, the expeditionary army soon recaptured Chaozhou and Shantou that had been entrenched by the remaining troops of Chen Jiongming's. In early November, it recovered Dongjiang, unifying in the main the revolution-

ary base area in Guangdong. At the time, revealing his intention to exclude Communists from the army, Chiang Kai-shek unreasonably asked Zhou Enlai to hand over the name list of the Communists serving in the First Army and the Whampoa Military Academy. Zhou Enlai returned to Guangzhou from Shantou, consulted with Chen Yannian, secretary of the Guangdong District Party Committee, and Borodin, the Soviet adviser, and came to the conclusion that it was necessary to give Chiang Kai-shek a rebuff, stop cooperating with him and organize other armed forces based on Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. However, Zhou's plan was opposed by the Central Committee headed by Chen Duxiu and the representative of the Communist International. Thanks to the efforts made by Zhou Enlai and others, the Independent Regiment, commanded by Ye Ting, of the National Revolutionary Army's Fourth Army was organized in Zhaoqing, Guangdong Province, with an armoured unit as its mainstay. In fact, the regiment was a regular army led by the CPC.

November

The KMT Central Committee decided to convene the Second National Congress in January the following year. Among the deputies elected in different areas, Communists and KMT Left-wingers composed a preponderant majority. Zhou Enlai and Chen Yannian stood for making use of the favourable conditions to expel Dai Jitao, Sun Ke and other Right-wingers from the KMT at the forthcoming congress by way of punishing the Right-wingers who were then holding an anti-Communist meeting in the Western Hills in Beijing. They intended to raise the proposal that in electing the Central Executive Committee, Communists should account for one-third of the total membership and that there should be more Left-wingers than the middle-of-the-roaders, so that the Left would dominate the Executive Committee. However, they were again opposed by the Central Committee headed by Chen Duxiu and the Communist International representative. Determined to make concessions to the KMT Right-wingers, Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao held talks in the Soviet Consulate in Shanghai with Dai Jitao and Sun Ke, who had been driven out of Guangdong, and invited the Right-wingers back to Guangdong to attend the Second Congress of the KMT.

December 1

Mao Zedong published his article "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" for the first time. Earlier, Qu Qiubai, Chen Duxiu, Deng Zhongxia and others had also published articles on the subject and on the Chinese revolution. In his "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" and the other articles he had published in the period, Mao Zedong applied the Marxist method of class analysis in analysing the various classes in Chinese society to distinguish between the enemies and

the friends of the Chinese revolution. In this way, he concentrated the correct ideas in the Party and put forward his preliminary, basic ideas on the new-democratic revolution in China: the proletariat must unite with all the semi-proletariat (mainly the poor peasants), who accounted for the majority of the population, and the petty bourgeoisie (mainly the middle peasants) and win over the Left-wingers of the middle class (mainly the national bourgeoisie), in order to overthrow the imperialists, the warlords, the bureaucrats, the landlords, the comprador class and the Right-wingers of the middle class and establish a joint rule by the revolutionary classes in opposition to establishing in China a state ruled by a single class—the national bourgeoisie.

December 5

The Political Weekly edited by Mao Zedong started publication in Guangzhou. The journal was published by the Propaganda Department of the KMT under conditions of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation, with the aim of “smashing the counter-revolutionary propaganda in the north and the Yangtse River area.” It played a positive role in criticizing and exposing the Right-wingers of the KMT headed by Dai Jitao.

1926

January 1-19

The KMT held its Second National Congress in Guangzhou, Wu Yuzhang, a Communist, served as secretary-general of the congress. With Communists and the Left-wingers of the KMT in a dominant position, the congress decided to further implement the Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers and take disciplinary measures against the Right-wingers who had attended the Western Hills Meeting. In the Headquarters of the KMT Central Committee established after the congress, nearly all the principal departments, including the secretariat, the departments of organization, propaganda and peasants, were headed by Communists. However, owing to the compromise and concession energetically advocated by Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao, the CPC made considerable concessions in the election of members to the Central Executive Committee and the Supervisory Committee of the KMT. Of the 36 Central Executive Committee members, only seven were Communists. Dai Jitao and other Right-wingers, who should have been expelled from the KMT, were elected to the Central Executive Committee after receiving disciplinary punishment. With only one Communist on it, the 12-member Supervisory Committee was dominated by the Right-wingers. This provided favourable conditions for Chiang Kai-shek to usurp the central leadership of the KMT later.

February 21-24

The CPC Central Committee convened a special meeting in Beijing, at which it was decided that the Party should make all-round preparations for a northern expedition. At this point, the National Revolutionary Army was engaged in battles with the warlord troops of the Fengtian and Zhili factions in Hebei and Henan. Having analysed the situation, the participants concluded that if the joint forces of the British and Japanese imperialists and the Fengtian and Zhili warlords won, they would certainly go on with their attack to overthrow the National Government in Guangzhou, and therefore, the only way out lay in "the National Government's victory in the northern expedition." Such being the case, "the chief political task for the Party at the time is to make all-round preparations for the northern expedition and the political programme for the expedition must focus on solution of the peasant question." They also considered it essential to do mass work in Hunan, Hubei, Henan and other provinces where the expeditionary army would pass through. They decided to set up the Central Military Commission in order to improve Party leadership over military affairs. Later the Central Committee set up the Department of Military Affairs. Chen Duxiu didn't attend the meeting because of illness.

March 12

Japanese warships sailed into the port of Dagukou to cover Fengtian warlord troops' attack on Tianjin. The troops bombarded the National Army, but were repulsed by it. On the 16th, together with the United States, Britain and five other imperialist powers, Japan delivered an ultimatum to the Beijing government, unreasonably demanding, among other things, the dismantlement of the fortifications at Dagukou.

March 18

Led by the CPC and the KMT Left-wingers, 5,000 people in Beijing demonstrated against imperialist aggression and betrayal of the country by the government. The security guards opened fire at the demonstrators in front of the government building, which became known as the "March 18 Massacre." On March 20, the CPC issued an appeal to people throughout the country, calling on them to overthrow the government of Duan Qirui and the rule by the imperialists and warlords. People in Tianjin, Shanghai and other cities held rallies and demonstrations in response.

March 20

Chiang Kai-shek created the "Zhongshan Warship Incident," spreading the lie that directed by Communists, the warship was to bombard Whampoa and that the Communists planned to revolt, so as to use it as a pretext to impose a martial law, send troops to arrest Communists or

keep close watch on them, and surround the Guangdong-Hong Kong Strikers' Committee and the Soviet advisers' office. At the time, five of the six army commanders of the National Revolutionary Army were on bad terms with Chiang Kai-shek. And even in the First Army, which was under the direct command of Chiang, most of the political cadres were Communists. After analysing the situation, Mao Zedong and others came to the conclusion that resolute counter-attacks must be launched against Chiang Kai-shek by relying on the Independent Regiment commanded by Ye Ting and by rousing the worker-peasant masses and uniting with the KMT Left-wingers and all the forces that could be united with. But because Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao and the Communist International representative stood for compromise and concession, the Communists were compelled to withdraw from the First Army. Then Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai suggested that those Communists be sent to other armies to organize revolutionary armed forces on the pattern of the Independent Regiment led by Ye Ting. But this correct proposal was again rejected by Chen Duxiu.

May 1

The Third National Labour Conference and the Second Peasant Conference of Guangdong Province were held simultaneously in Guangzhou. The participants of the 12-day long Labour Conference adopted resolutions on the general strategy for the workers' movement, on organization and organizational measures and on the immediate objectives of economic struggles and measures to achieve them. The 15-day long Peasant Conference adopted 21 resolutions, including the one on the role of the peasant movement in China's national revolution. Delegates to the two conferences held four joint sessions and adopted the resolution on the great alliance between the workers and peasants and other resolutions. They also went to the Guangzhou National Government to present a petition for launching a northern expedition.

May 3

The Training Institute of Peasant Movement opened for its sixth group of trainees, who completed the courses on September 11. Mao Zedong then served as director of the institute, Gao Yuhan director of the political training department and Xiao Chunli dean of studies. The institute recruited at least 300 trainees from 20 provinces and regions of the country and prepared cadres for the vigorous development of the peasant movement nationwide during the northern expedition.

May 15-22

The Second KMT Central Committee held its Second Plenary Session in Guangzhou. Tan Yankai, Chiang Kai-shek and seven others tabled a motion on "Rectification of Party Affairs" with the aim of restricting

Communist activities and usurping leadership of the KMT. Chiang Kai-shek discussed the motion with Borodin and had his approval beforehand. The CPC Central Committee had sent Zhang Guotao and Peng Shuzhi to the plenum to give guidance to the group of the CPC delegates. During discussions of the motion, opinions differed among the Communists. Finally, Zhang Guotao, acting on the policy of concession that he had decided with Chen Duxiu, instructed the CPC delegates to support the motion. Consequently, all the Communist directors of the departments in the KMT Headquarters resigned and the vacancies were filled by KMT Right-wingers, and Chiang Kai-shek became director of the central organization department and concurrently director of the central department of military personnel. Later, he became chairman of the Standing Committee of the KMT Central Committee. In addition, he had the KMT Central Committee appoint him commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army. According to the provisions of the Organizational Regulations of the General Headquarters, after the issuance of a mobilization order for expedition, all the departments of military, political and civil affairs and finance under the National Government would come under the command of the commander-in-chief. Thus Chiang Kai-shek monopolized all the powers of the party, government, army and finance.

May 20

Acting as the vanguard of the Northern Expedition, Ye Ting's Independent Regiment entered Hunan, to the rescue of Tang Shengzhi, a supporter of the National Government, whose troops were defeated by the Zhili warlord forces. This raised the curtain on the Northern Expedition.

June 4

Chen Duxiu published an "Open Letter to Chiang Kai-shek," in which he defended Chiang for the March 20 Incident, declaring that from the days of the Whampoa Military Academy up to March 20, Chiang had not been found doing anything against the revolution and that the CPC would never seek to overthrow him. In the meantime, speaking to the Soviet advisers in Guangzhou in early June, Borodin made a special analysis of the alignment of the forces in the united front and the changes in their relations after the March 20 Incident and the adoption of the motion on rectification of party affairs, and advocated continuation of the policy of appeasement and concession towards Chiang Kai-shek.

June 19

The KMT Central Committee sent a letter to the CPC Central Committee proposing the establishment of a bipartisan council in accord-

ance with the motion on rectification of party affairs, and appointing Zhang Jingjiang, Tan Yankai, Chiang Kai-shek, Wu Zhihui and Gu Mengyu KMT representatives to the council. Later, the CPC Central Committee appointed Qu Qiubai, Tan Pingshan and Zhang Guotao CPC representatives to the council.

July 4

The KMT announced its declaration on the Northern Expedition by the National Revolutionary Army, which on the 9th pledged its resolution for the expedition.

July 7

Chen Duxiu published an article "On the Northern Expedition by the National Government," in which he erroneously believed that the time for the expedition was not yet ripe, only to expose himself to criticism by the CPC and attack by the KMT.

July 12-18

The CPC Central Executive Committee held its Third Enlarged Meeting in Shanghai. The participants discussed the Party's organizational line, tactics for Kuomintang-Communist cooperation and policies on popular movements during the Northern Expedition. The "Resolution on Relations Between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang" and other documents were adopted at the meeting. The participants reviewed the political situation in the country since the Second Enlarged Meeting held in September the previous year and noted that the March 20 Incident in Guangzhou and the May 15 meeting of the KMT Central Committee were aimed against the Communist Party, echoing the imperialists and the warlords in their anti-Communist campaign. They put Chiang Kai-shek, once regarded as a middle-of-the-roader or even a Left-winger of the KMT, on a par with Dai Jitao and considered them representatives of the new Right-wingers. Moreover, they put forward the task for the proletariat to struggle with the bourgeoisie for leadership. This was a progress. Nevertheless, the meeting failed to provide a correct answer to the question as to how to contend for leadership with the bourgeoisie. On the question of the bourgeoisie, although the meeting recognized its compromising character, it overestimated its role at the present stage of the Chinese revolution, stressing that "without its active participation, the national revolution would be landed in an extremely difficult or dangerous situation." Although it warned against both Right and "Left" tendencies, it one-sidedly emphasized the need to unite with the bourgeoisie lest it would be scared away by the struggle against it and "the revolutionary movement would miscarry." On the Northern Expeditionary War, the participants failed to recognize the fact that in the revolutionary ranks the struggle between the proletariat and the bour-

geoisie had focused on contending for leadership over the expedition, and continued to emphasize leadership over the mass movement to the neglect of the military aspect of the matter. The "Resolution on the Military Movement" adopted at the meeting indicated the tasks of the Party on the Northern Expedition were merely to do a little work and "conduct some propaganda" to support "the progressive military forces," without mentioning that the Party should directly grasp the army and set up a government. On the question of the peasant movement, the meeting one-sidedly criticized the newly rising "peasant movement for the 'Left' deviations that had occurred in different places, for the impractical slogans that had been raised and the radical actions taken in the movement." It, therefore, imposed many unreasonable restrictions on the movement.

Mid- and late July

The National Revolutionary Army on the northern expedition captured Zhuzhou, Changsha and other places in succession.

August

With the support of the peasants, the Northern Expeditionary Army took Tingsi Bridge and Hesheng Bridge, two key points leading to Wuhan, wiping out the main force of the Zhili warlord Wu Peifu. Pushing on in the flush of victory, the army seized Hankou and Hanyang in September. Ye Ting's Independent Regiment fought bravely in these battles, defeated formidable enemies and won the title of "Iron Army" for the Fourth Army.

September 17

Assisted by the Soviet Union and the CPC, the National Army troops commanded by Feng Yuxiang pledged resolution in Wuyuan, Suiyuan Province, before advancing towards Gansu and Shaanxi provinces in coordination with the Northern Expeditionary Army that was moving northward.

September

Mao Zedong published his article "The National Revolution and the Peasant Movement," in which he pointed out that "the peasant question is the central issue of the national revolution" and that "the workers, students and middle and small merchants in the cities should launch a fierce attack on the comprador class and direct their attack on imperialism; leaders of the progressive working class and of all other revolutionary classes must be aware that the warlord and imperialist forces will never topple unless the peasants in the rural areas rise to overthrow the privileges of the patriarchal feudal landlord class."

October 10

The Northern Expeditionary Army took Wuchang, wiping out all the defending troops and thus in the main routing Wu Peifu's reactionary troops.

October 23

Led by the CPC, the workers in Shanghai, then under the rule of the Northern warlords, staged the first armed uprising. But owing to inadequate preparations, the uprising ended in failure.

October

A great revolution broke out in the rural areas of Hunan and Hubei. Organized peasants assaulted the unlawful landlords, local tyrants and evil gentry. The privileges enjoyed by the feudal landlords for thousands of years were smashed to smithereens. The peasant associations became the only organs of power in the countryside. The slogan "All power to the peasant association" came into reality. The workers' movement was rising vigorously in places occupied by the Northern Expedition troops. However, this incurred utter hatred of officers in the KMT and the National Revolutionary Army who had come from landlord or bourgeois families. Siding with the landlords fleeing to the cities, they violently opposed the workers' and peasants' movements, particularly the great revolution in the countryside.

November 22-December 16

The Communist International Executive Committee held its Seventh Enlarged Plenary Session in Moscow. The CPC representative Tan Pingshan attended the meeting, and Shao Lizi representing the KMT also attended it as a non-voting delegate. The meeting mainly discussed the Chinese revolution and adopted a resolution on the question of China. Stalin delivered a speech "On the Prospects of the Chinese Revolution." While making a number of correct theoretical expositions on the tasks, motive forces and prospects of the Chinese revolution, the meeting made a basic mistake—overestimating the revolutionary character of the KMT.

November

The Northern Expeditionary Army wiped out the main force of Sun Chuanfang's and captured Jiujiang and Nanchang. By then, the forces of two of the three big warlords—Wu Peifu, Sun Chuanfang and Zhang Zuolin that had occupied the better part of the territory had been wiped out in the main. The Northern Expedition had won major victories. In this favourable situation, the KMT decided at its central political conference to move the National Government to Wuhan. In December, the Provisional Central Party-Government Joint Council was established. Composed of the Central Executive Committee members of the KMT and members of the National Government who had arrived in Wuhan,

as well as Communists, the council acted as the organ of supreme power. Chiang Kai-shek had been against moving to Wuhan. So now he intended to set up a separate central organ in Nanchang. At the same time, he began to hold secret talks with representatives of imperialism and the feudal comprador forces in preparation for a surprise attack on the Communists once the Northern Expeditionary Army took Shanghai and Nanjing.

Mid-December

The CPC Central Committee called a special meeting in Hankou. The main item on the agenda of the meeting was to analyse the changing political situation and map out tactics for struggle accordingly. Chen Duxiu made a political report at the meeting, stating that since the victory on the battlefield of Jiangxi, new changes had taken place in the Party's relations with the KMT. He warned that many indications of danger had appeared. The united front would break at any moment, which would put the future of the national revolution at stake. Although he admitted that the KMT was deviating to the Right, and Chiang Kai-shek was Left in word but Right in deed, he directed his criticism chiefly on "Left" deviation in the Party, regarding it as the main cause for the crisis. On the one hand, in his analysis of the situation he exaggerated certain "Left" mistakes in practical work of the Party and on the other, he covered up the fact that the new Right-wingers in the KMT who were preparing to sell out the revolution were the root cause of the split. Based on Chen Duxiu's political report, the meeting adopted a resolution which erroneously held that both "Left" deviation in the rising mass movement and Right deviation resulting from Chiang Kai-shek's fear of the mass movement were daily increasing, which would lead to a split in the united front and thus endanger the national revolutionary movement. And this was the main danger at the time. Based on this wrong assessment of the situation, the resolution set the principal tactics for the Party as follows: to restrict the development of the workers' and peasants' movements and oppose the slogan of "land to the tillers" in exchange for Chiang Kai-shek's change from the Right to the Left; and at the same time, to assist Wang Jingwei in his effort to gain the leading positions in the KMT Central Committee, the National Government and the mass movement, so as to restrict Chiang Kai-shek's military strength. In essence, the resolution had placed more faith in Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei than in the worker and peasant masses and yielded to Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary demands at the expense of the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants. Both the Soviet adviser Borodin and the representative of the Communist International Visinsky were in favour of the resolution. The Hankou special meeting gave a concentrated expression of the Right deviationist mistakes represented chiefly by Chen Duxiu in the Party and developed

them into Right capitulationist mistakes, which dominated the Party Central Committee at the time. The continued development of these mistakes made it impossible for the Party to concentrate its efforts on organizing the revolutionary armed forces and the revolutionary workers and peasants to cope with the forthcoming surprise attack by Chiang Kai-shek.

1927

Early January to mid-February

The momentous anti-imperialist mass movement led by the CPC and the diplomatic talks conducted by the Wuhan Government forced the British aggressors to return to China its concessions in Hankou and Jiujiang. This was a major victory in the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the Chinese people in the past century.

January 4-February 5

Mao Zedong returned to Hunan to investigate the peasant movement there. In a letter written to the CPC Central Committee on February 26, he said that the question of distributing land to the peasants should no longer remain a propaganda, but something to be done immediately. In March, he published his "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," in which he refuted the skepticism and carping criticisms heaped on the peasant movement both inside and outside the Party. He summed up the rich experience of the peasant movement in Hunan and put forward the theory and policies for the solution of the peasant question—the central issue in the Chinese democratic revolution.

February 19

Under the leadership of the CPC, the workers in Shanghai went on a general strike. On the 21st, the strike developed into the second armed uprising. With his troops sitting idle in the vicinity of Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek watched the warlord troops ruthlessly suppressing the workers. The uprising ended in defeat.

February

Qu Qiubai published a pamphlet entitled *A Controversy About the Chinese Revolution*. Summing up his arguments with Peng Shuzhi in the pamphlet, he criticized the Right capitulationist mistakes represented by Chen Duxiu and Peng Shuzhi within the Party.

March 10-17

The Second Central Committee of the KMT held its Third Plenary Session in Hankou. The Communists and the Left-wingers of the KMT

worked together at the meeting and foiled Chiang Kai-shek's scheme to set up a separate party centre in Nanchang. A number of resolutions designed to restrict Chiang's autocratic rule were adopted. However, under the influence of Chen Duxiu's Right capitulationism, Wang Jingwei, who was abroad at the time, was elected leader of the KMT Central Committee and the National Government, and Chiang Kai-shek remained commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army. After the plenum, aided and abetted by imperialism and the comprador tycoons of Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, Chiang Kai-shek, in his capacity as commander-in-chief, amassed troops under his direct control in the Shanghai-Nanjing sector to prepare for a counter-revolutionary coup.

March 21

Under the leadership of the CPC Special Central Committee, which was comprised of Chen Duxiu, Zhou Enlai, Luo Yinong and Zhao Shiyan, the workers in Shanghai staged the third armed uprising. After more than 30 hours of fierce fighting, the workers defeated the warlord troops and occupied Shanghai. Chiang Kai-shek seized the opportunity to move his troops into the city.

March 24

With Communists taking part in command, the Sixth and Second Armies of the Northern Expeditionary Army defeated the enemy troops and occupied Nanjing. The British and U.S. warships bombarded Nanjing, giving the signal of stepped-up intervention in the Chinese revolution. Taking advantage of his position as commander-in-chief, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the Sixth and Second Armies to move to the north bank of the Yangtse River and sent his own troops to Nanjing.

March 30

Mao Zedong, Peng Pai, Fang Zhimin and Deng Yanda, a KMT Left-winger, were elected by the joint conference of peasant representatives from Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, Guangdong and Henan provinces to form the Provisional Executive Committee of the National Peasant Association. The executive committee immediately made plans for the establishment of local peasant associations, the expansion of peasant armed forces, the establishment of rural revolutionary governments and the solution of the land question.

April 1

Wang Jingwei returned to Shanghai from Germany. On the same day, Chiang Kai-shek made two suggestions to him: to "drive out Borodin" and "separate the Communist Party from the Kuomintang." In early April, Wang held secret talks with Chiang. While Chiang and his followers wanted to "purge the party" by force, Wang inclined to

convene the Fourth Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee of the KMT in Nanjing at which to solve the problem. On April 5, a joint declaration was issued by Chen Duxiu and Wang Jingwei after talks held between them. The declaration dismissed as rumours the assertions that "the KMT leaders would expel the CPC and crack down on the trade unions and the workers' pickets," and so forth.

Early April

The CPC Central Committee moved to Wuhan from Shanghai.

April 12

Chiang Kai-shek staged a counter-revolutionary coup in Shanghai, having the weapons of the workers' pickets taken over and the workers and Communists rounded up and murdered. Afterwards, counter-revolutionary massacres also took place in Guangdong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and other provinces. On the 18th, Chiang Kai-shek established a counter-revolutionary "national government" in Nanjing in opposition to the National Government in Wuhan. Meanwhile, acting in cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek, the warlords of the Fengtian clique arrested and killed Communists in Beijing. Li Dazhao, Chen Yannian, Zhao Shiyan, Wang Shouhua, Xiao Chunü, Xiong Xiong and other proletarian revolutionaries laid down their lives heroically.

April 14

The Communist International Executive Committee issued the "Message to the World Proletariat, Peasants and All Oppressed Nations on the Counter-Revolutionary Coup D'état Staged by Chiang Kai-shek." It pointed out that having been bought over by imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek had become an accomplice of the imperialist gangsters and the enemy of the workers' movement.

April 16

Zhou Enlai and others cabled the CPC Central Committee, suggesting that an immediate punitive expedition against Chiang Kai-shek be dispatched from Wuhan. Their suggestion was opposed by the majority of the Central Committee members and the Communist International, who shared the view of the KMT Central Committee in Wuhan that the Northern Expedition should continue to join forces with Feng Yuxiang and clear the communications lines leading to the Soviet Union before turning back to deal with Chiang Kai-shek.

April 19

The National Government in Wuhan pledged resolution to continue the Northern Expedition and attack the warlord troops of the Fengtian clique in Henan. Having engaged the main forces of the enemy in fierce battles in southern Henan from late April to late May, the Northern

Expeditionary Army defeated them.

April 20

The CPC issued the "Declaration on Chiang Kai-shek's Massacre of the Revolutionary Masses," calling on the people to overthrow him.

April 22

The delegation of the Communist International to China made a declaration in Hankou condemning Chiang Kai-shek for his betrayal of the nation and for his serving as a tool of imperialists.

April 25

A rally of 300,000 people was held in Wuhan to denounce Chiang Kai-shek. At the same time, peasant rallies were held in many counties and townships of Hunan and Hubei to condemn him. In Jiangxi, 400,000 organized peasants denounced him for his counter-revolutionary crimes.

April 27-May 9

The CPC held its Fifth National Congress in Wuhan. Eighty deputies attended the congress, representing over 57,900 Party members. The participants concentrated on discussing the Party's tasks at the critical moment. They accepted the resolution on the Chinese revolution adopted at the Seventh Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Communist International Executive Committee. In view of what he had done in political struggles, they criticized Chen Duxiu for his Right deviationist mistakes as manifested in his neglect of the struggle with the bourgeoisie for leadership over the revolution. But they did not put forward any practical measures for correcting the mistakes. In the "Resolution on the Political Situation and the Party's Tasks" adopted at the congress, the Party made no concrete analysis of the situation in conformity with the reality, although it pointed out that since the May 30 Movement, it had "paid attention only to the struggle against imperialism and the warlords to the neglect of the struggle with the bourgeoisie for leadership over the revolution," so that it had failed to stop Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal. Moreover, in the resolution Chiang's betrayal was taken as betrayal by the bourgeoisie as a whole, as a result of which the national bourgeoisie was placed on a par with the comprador bourgeoisie and was regarded as the target of the revolution, too. And the KMT and the government in Wuhan, that were already under the control of Wang Jingwei and Tang Shengzhi, were regarded as the allies of the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, and great hopes were pinned on Wang and Tang. The "Resolution on the Question of Land" adopted at the congress repeatedly stressed the importance of the agrarian revolution, maintaining that in the provinces "controlled by the revolutionary National Government," the agrarian revolution could be carried out intensively. But it did not see that the force controlling the KMT and the government

in Wuhan could not possibly be a supporter of the peasant movement. The congress emphasized the importance of winning leadership for the proletariat, setting up revolutionary democratic government and carrying out the agrarian revolution, but it did not work out effective and practical measures in the light of the critical situation in the revolution to solve the questions of how to win leadership by the proletariat over the revolution, how to lead the peasants in the agrarian revolution, what attitude to take towards the government and the KMT in Wuhan, and particularly how to build the Communist-led revolutionary armed forces. The congress elected the Central Committee composed of 29 members and 11 alternate members. The members of the Central Committee then elected Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao, Li Wei-han, Cai Hesen, Li Lisan, Qu Qiubai and Tan Pingshan as members, and Su Zhaozheng, Zhang Tailei, Chen Yannian and Zhou Enlai as alternate members, of the Political Bureau; Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao, Cai Hesen and Qu Qiubai (Li Wei-han was added later) were elected members of the Political Bureau Standing Committee. Chen Duxiu was elected general secretary again.

May 10

The Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL) convened its Fourth National Congress in Wuhan. Over 60 deputies attended the congress, representing a membership of 50,000. The congress elected the new central bureau with Ren Bishi as secretary.

May 17

Xia Douyin, commander of the Fourteenth Independent Division of the Wuhan National Revolutionary Army, turned traitor in Yichang and the troops under his command attacked Wuhan. Acting on orders from the CPC Central Committee, Ye Ting, commander of the Wuhan Garrison, repulsed the traitorous troops on the 19th.

May 18-30

The Communist International Executive Committee convened its Eighth Plenary Session in Moscow. The session adopted the "Resolution on the Question of China." During the session, the Communist International instructed the CPC to carry out the agrarian revolution and confiscate the land of the landlords and urge the National Government to support the agrarian revolution. It also suggested that the CPC try to transform the leading organs of the KMT by promoting a number of workers' and peasants' leaders to the leadership; mobilize 20,000 Party members and 50,000 revolutionary workers and peasants to form a new army, serving as the "reliable guards" of the Wuhan government to disarm the unreliable troops; organize a revolutionary military tribunal headed by renowned KMT members to try reactionary officers. In

essence, the instruction revealed the vain hope that Wang Jingwei and others in Wuhan would take measures to save the revolution. When the CPC Central Committee received the instruction on June 1, Borodin and Visinsky thought it difficult to implement it at the time. Luo Yi shared the same view. On June 5, Luo Yi showed the Communist International's instruction to Wang Jingwei and handed him a copy of it the following day, which served as the pretext for Wang to jettison the Communists from the KMT. On June 15, Chen Duxiu sent a cable to the Communist International, expressing complete agreement to its instruction, but saying that it was impossible to put it into practice within a short period of time.

May 21

Xu Kexiang, a reactionary officer of the KMT in Hunan, started a counter-revolutionary coup in Changsha (known as the "May 21 Incident.") His troops assaulted the Hunan Provincial Trade Union and Peasant Association and other revolutionary organizations, arrested and killed Communists, KMT Left-wingers and other revolutionary people. The incident signalled the open collaboration of the Right-wing KMT in Wuhan headed by Wang Jingwei with the Right-wing KMT in Nanjing headed by Chiang Kai-shek.

May

The peasant movement in Hunan and Hubei continued to grow, and the membership of the peasant associations in the two provinces increased to seven million. In some places, the peasants rose and divided the land of the landlords among themselves. This incurred still greater hatred for the peasant movement on the part of the officers of the National Revolutionary Army, who were from landlord families. After Xia Douyin and Xu Kexiang turned traitor, the local tyrants and evil gentry in Hunan and Hubei retaliated against the peasants.

June 5

The National Government in Wuhan removed Borodin, Galen and 140 others from the posts of Soviet advisers.

June 10

After they had been informed of the emergency instruction of May by the Communist International, Wang Jingwei, Tan Yankai and Tang Shengzhi of the Wuhan National Government went to Zhengzhou to hold secret talks with Feng Yuxiang and plotted against the CPC. On June 20 and 21, Feng Yuxiang met in Xuzhou Chiang Kai-shek and other leaders of the KMT from Nanjing. They decided on the policy of opposition to the CPC and the Soviet Union and cooperation between Nanjing and Wuhan.

June 19

The Fourth National Labour Conference was held in Hankou. More than 400 delegates attended the conference, representing 2,900,000 members. The conference called on the workers to form a powerful alliance with the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, firmly oppose Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal and deepen the revolutionary struggle.

June 30

The CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting which adopted the "Resolution on the Relations Between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party." The resolution still recognized "the unquestioned leading position in the national revolution" maintained by the KMT which had been under the control of Wang Jingwei and his like. It stated, "Communists working in the government may ask for leave for the benefit of the political situation," "the workers' and peasants' organizations should accept leadership and supervision of the Kuomintang," and "the worker-peasant armed forces should be administered and trained by the government"—in an attempt to keep Wang Jingwei from going too far by making capitulationist concessions. But this only made Wang more unscrupulous in his effort to drive the Communists out of the KMT.

July 4

The Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting. Chen Duxiu suggested at the meeting that members of the peasant associations and their self-defence corps be recruited by the National Revolutionary Army. But Mao Zedong argued, "Unless we preserve our own armed forces, we would be helpless in face of emergencies." He advocated "going to the mountains" and hoped to "build military bases there."

July 12

In accordance with an instruction of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the CPC Central Committee was reorganized. The Provisional Standing Committee of the Central Committee was composed of Zhang Guotao, Li Wei-han, Zhou Enlai, Li Lisan and Zhang Tailei. Chen Duxiu was suspended from his duties. On the 13th, the CPC Central Committee issued a statement on the political situation, in which it condemned the KMT Central Committee and the National Government in Wuhan for their reactionary acts and announced that Communists would withdraw from the National Government. In the meantime, it published the "Political Programme for Actions to Be Taken in the National Revolution (Draft)," expressing the determination of the CPC to continue the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary struggle.

July 14

The KMT Central Committee in Wuhan held a secret meeting to discuss the issue of jettisoning the Communists from the KMT. Soong Ching Ling—Madame Sun Yat-sen, the outstanding representative of the Left-wingers of the KMT, sent a representative to the meeting to express her strong opposition to the move. However, disregarding the firm opposition of the Left-wingers, Wang Jingwei and his followers decided on the plan to “jettison the Communists.” On the same day, Soong Ching Ling made a statement protesting against the KMT Central Committee in Wuhan for pursuing its counter-revolutionary “new policy” in violation of Sun Yat-sen’s revolutionary principles and policies.

July 15

Wang Jingwei called a meeting of the KMT Central Executive Committee in Wuhan, at which a decision was made on jettisoning the Communists from the KMT, thus openly betraying the policy of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme formulated by Sun Yat-sen. Soon afterwards, Wang Jingwei joined Chiang Kai-shek in the massacre of Communists and other revolutionary people. The 1925-1927 Great Revolution suffered a disastrous defeat. The Provisional Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee promptly decided to put up armed resistance and launch the Nanchang Armed Uprising.

III. The Period of the Agrarian Revolutionary War

August 1927—July 1937

1927

August 1

In accordance with the decision of the CPC Central Committee and under the leadership of Zhou Enlai, secretary of the Party's Front Committee, He Long, Ye Ting, Zhu De, Liu Bocheng and others, over 20,000 men of the National Revolutionary Army and other armed forces, who were either led or influenced by the Chinese Communist Party, staged an armed uprising in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, and occupied it. This uprising fired the first shot of armed opposition to the KMT reactionaries, ushering in a new period in which the Chinese Communist Party exercised independent leadership over revolutionary armed struggles and founded the people's revolutionary army. Beginning on August 3, the Front Committee led the army units to withdraw from Nanchang according to the original plan of the CPC Central Committee. Owing to lack of experience, the insurgent forces failed to join with the peasant movement in Jiangxi and other provinces and therefore they were besieged and defeated by superior enemy forces in late September and early October in the Chaozhou-Shantou area when they were moving southward to Guangdong. Part of the troops that had survived shifted to the Haifeng-Lufeng area to continue the fight, while the rest, commanded by Zhu De and Chen Yi, switched to southern Fujian and Jiangxi and the Guangdong-Jiangxi border area to engage in guerrilla operations there.

August 7

With the help of the Communist International, the CPC Central Committee held an emergency meeting (known as the August 7 Meeting) in Hankou, Hubei Province. Attending the meeting were ten members and three alternate members of the Central Committee and eight representatives from the Central Control Commission, the Central Military Commission, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, and Hunan and Hubei provinces. B. Lominadze, representative of the Communist International, and leading members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee were also present. The meeting was presided over by Qu Qiubai and Li Wei-han. First of all, Lominadze made a report on the

importance of holding this meeting and the questions that called for immediate solution. Qu Qiubai made a report on behalf of the Provisional Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee, in which he analysed the political situation prevailing at the time, pointed out the grave harm done to the revolutionary cause by the Right deviationist mistakes made by the central leading body, laid down principles for the Party's work and set forth the tasks. At the critical moment in the Chinese revolution, the participants summed up experience in the Great Revolution and the lessons to be learned from its failure, and discussed questions concerning relations between the CPC and the KMT, the agrarian revolution and armed struggle. The meeting resolutely corrected the Right capitulationism represented by Chen Duxiu, decided upon a general policy of carrying out the agrarian revolution and armed resistance to the KMT reactionaries and decided to make mobilization of the peasants to stage autumn harvest uprisings the major task of the Party. Many comrades spoke at the meeting and analysed the experience and lessons of the Great Revolution. Mao Zedong criticized the Central Committee for failing to exercise proletarian leadership during the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. He emphasized that in the future, the Party's "departments at higher levels should listen attentively to reports from the lower levels" and "should pay special attention to military affairs and understand that political power comes out of the barrel of a gun." The meeting elected the Provisional Political Bureau of the Central Committee, with Su Zhaozheng, Xiang Zhongfa, Qu Qiubai, Luo Yinong, Gu Shunzhang, Wang Hebo, Li Weiham, Peng Pai and Ren Bishi as members and Zhou Enlai, Deng Zhongxia, Mao Zedong, Peng Gongda, Li Lisan, Zhang Tailei and Zhang Guotao as alternate members. On August 9, the Provisional Political Bureau held its first meeting and elected Qu Qiubai, Su Zhaozheng and Li Weiham as members of its Standing Committee. Afterwards, the bureau decided to set up the North Bureau and South Bureau of the Central Committee, and Wang Hebo and Cai Hesen to work in the North Bureau and Zhang Tailei the South Bureau.

August 22

Soong Ching Ling issued a statement before leaving for Moscow, reiterating Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, and condemning the crimes perpetrated by "the reactionary forces led by the pseudo-leaders of the KMT" in violation of the Three Great Policies. On December 14, the KMT government in Nanjing ordered to break off relations with Russia: "Annul recognition of all the consulates of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the provinces. At the same time, stop all business operations of the Soviet commercial institutions in the provinces." On the 18th, Soong Ching

Ling sent a telegram from Moscow denouncing Chiang Kai-shek, pointing out that if Chiang Kai-shek and company should put this policy into effect, they would be condemned by history as "criminals harming the party and the nation."

September

Mao Zedong was sent to Hunan as a special envoy of the Central Committee to lead, together with the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, the Autumn Harvest Uprising in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area. The units taking part in the uprising included the Guards Regiment of the Second Front Army of the former National Revolutionary Army's Fourth Group Army, the Peasant Army of Pingjiang and Liuyang in Hunan, some peasant armed forces from Chongyang and Tongcheng in southern Hubei, and the workers' pickets from Anyuan. The insurgent units, over 5,000 strong, were organized as the First Division of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army, with Mao Zedong serving as secretary of the Front Party Committee, Lu Deming as commander-in-chief of the insurgent army. On September 9, some of the worker and peasant masses who took part in the uprising began to demolish the Yueyang-Huangshajie and the Changsha-Zhuzhou sections of the Guangzhou-Hankou Railway. On the 11th, an armed uprising was launched in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area. The forces set out respectively from Xiushui, Anyuan and Tonggu in Jiangxi Province, and joined forces with the Peasant Army from Pingjiang and Liuyang area in Hunan Province, planning to attack Changsha. They won the battles at Laoguan, Liling, Liuyang and Dongmen of Baisha, and occupied the county seats of Liling and Liuyang and some other towns. However, they suffered a series of setbacks later in face of counter-attacks by a strong enemy. Mao Zedong immediately ordered the First and Third Regiments and the remaining part of the Second Regiment of the insurgent army to assemble at Wenjia in Liuyang. The Front Committee held a meeting at Wenjia and decided to give up the plan to attack Changsha. On the 20th, it pulled the army out of eastern Hunan to move southward along the Luoxiao Mountain Range. On September 29, about 1,000 men of the army arrived at Sanwan Village of Yongxin County, Jiangxi Province for reorganization. The insurgent army was condensed from one division to one regiment, and Party organizations were set up at every level in the army, especially a Party branch was set up in each company, thus strengthening the Party's leadership over the army. In October, the insurgent army arrived at the Jinggang Mountains and began the struggle to establish a rural revolutionary base area in the Jinggang Mountains with Ninggang as its centre.

September

The Central Hubei Special Party Committee led the peasants in

Mianyang and other places in Hubei to stage autumn harvest uprisings. Towards the end of the month, peasants' armed uprisings took place in Lehui (now under the jurisdiction of Qionghai County), Wanning, Qiongsan, Ding'an, Lingshui, Lingao and Chengmai under the leadership of Yang Shanji, secretary of the Qiongya (i.e., Hainan Island) Special Party Committee, and Wang Wenming, Feng Ping, Feng Baiju and others, and efforts were made to build a revolutionary army and the Qiongya base area. In the spring of 1928, the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army was reorganized as the Red Army with Feng Ping as its commander-in-chief. In summer, the Qiongya Soviet (namely, the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Congress) Government was established with Wang Wenming as its chairman. After suffering severe setbacks under enemy attack, the Red Army led by Wang Wenming and Feng Baiju persisted in the struggle.

September 19

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting, at which it adopted the "Resolution on the 'Left-Wing Kuomintang' and the Question of the Soviet Slogan" and decided to replace the KMT banner with the Soviet one.

Late September-early October

The leading organs of the CPC Central Committee moved to Shanghai in succession and the Changjiang Bureau was set up in Wuhan, which was placed under the charge of Luo Yinong.

Late October

Ma Shangde (i.e., Yang Jingyu), leader of the Queshan County Party Committee and the County Peasant Army, led a peasant uprising in Liudian of Queshan County, Henan Province. After the success of the uprising, the County Party Committee decided to officially set up the Queshan Peasant Revolutionary Army to persist in guerrilla operations with Liudian as its centre.

Late October-early November

After the failure of the uprisings in Haifeng and Lufeng in Guangdong Province in September, the local Party organizations there, with the cooperation of the Second Division of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army made up of the remaining troops of the Nanchang Uprising forces led by Dong Lang and others, organized the peasants in Haifeng, Lufeng and other areas nearby to stage another armed uprising. Shortly afterwards, Peng Pai returned to the Haifeng-Lufeng area to take charge of the work of the Dongjiang Special Party Committee. Then, Soviet governments were set up in Lufeng and Haifeng counties. In January 1928, the Fourth Division of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army, consisting of the forces that survived the Guangzhou

Uprising, entered the Haifeng-Lufeng area, thus reinforcing the revolutionary strength there. In late February and early March, the county seats of Lufeng and Haifeng were occupied by the enemy. After that, the revolutionary base area comprising Haifeng, Lufeng, Zijin and other counties met serious defeats under the attack by a powerful enemy, and only a small number of people moved to the mountain areas nearby to continue the fight.

November

Pan Zhongru, Dai Kemin, Wu Guanghao and others led the Huang'an (now Hong'an)-Macheng armed uprising in Hubei Province, established the Huang'an Peasant Government and formed the Eastern Hubei Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army. After the fall of Huang'an County, some troops shifted to Mulanshan area in Huangpi and the vicinity of Chaishanpu in Guangshan County, Henan Province, to carry on the revolutionary struggle. In the same month, the Northern Hubei Special Party Committee led a peasant uprising in Zaoyang County, Hubei Province.

November spring of 1928

The peasants in Wan'an, Taihe, Ji'an, Ganxian, Xingguo and other counties in Jiangxi Province launched armed uprisings under the leadership of the Western Jiangxi and Southern Jiangxi Special Party Committees. The Donggu Uprising in Ji'an led to the establishment of the Donggu base area later.

November 9-10

The Provisional Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee led by Qu Qiubai held an enlarged meeting in Shanghai. The meeting adopted in principle, among other documents, the "Resolution on China's Current Situation and the Tasks of the Communist Party" (amended and approved by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee on the 14th) and elected Zhou Enlai and Luo Yinong additional members of the Standing Committee of the Provisional Political Bureau. At that time the revolution was at a low ebb, and the Party organizations and the revolutionary mass movements of the workers and peasants were trampled down by the enemy. The membership of the Communist Party was reduced from nearly 60,000 in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War to a little more than 10,000. Yet, guided by the "Left" thinking of Lominadze, representative of the Communist International, this meeting wrongly held that the Chinese revolution at that time was in nature an "uninterrupted revolution" and that the revolutionary situation was still surging high. Hence, it opposed retreat, demanded continuous attack and ordered a small number of Communist Party members and other people to carry out the general tactics of armed insurrection without any

hope for victory. Having caused great losses to the Party in practical work, this "Left" putschism was criticized and repudiated by many comrades within the Party. It remained effective in many areas until the beginning of 1928. At its Ninth Enlarged Meeting held in late February 1928, the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted a resolution on the question of China, in which it also criticized the "Left" error. On April 30, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee discussed and accepted this resolution, basically putting to an end the "Left" putschism represented by Qu Qiubai in practical work throughout the country.

December 11

Taking advantage of war between the Guangdong and Guangxi war-lords and departure of the main forces of the Guangdong Army from Guangzhou, Zhang Tailei, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, together with Ye Ting, Huang Ping,* Zhou Wenyong, Yun Daiying, Yang Yin, Ye Jianying and Nie Rongzhen, led the Training Corps and Guards Regiment of the Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army, the Workers' Red Guards of Guangzhou and peasants in the suburban areas to stage an armed uprising and established the Guangzhou Soviet Government, with Su Zhaozheng as chairman (as Su did not assume office, Zhang Tailei served as acting chairman). Some Soviet, Korean and Vietnamese revolutionaries in Guangzhou took part in the uprising. This uprising ended up in defeat because of wanton attack by a numerically superior enemy and of the failure on the part of the insurgent forces to shift to the countryside in time. Zhang Tailei died heroically, and some of the remaining troops and personnel moved to Haifeng, Lufeng and other rural areas to carry on the revolutionary struggle.

1928

January

Fang Zhimin, Shao Shiping, Huang Dao and others led an armed uprising in Yiyang and Hengfeng in Jiangxi Province. They formed a revolutionary armed force of the workers and peasants, carried out agrarian revolution and engaged in guerrilla operations, gradually establishing the northeastern Jiangxi revolutionary base area.

*He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1924, became member of the Revolutionary Military Commission and member of the People's Council for Internal Affairs and for Foreign Affairs of the Guangzhou Soviet Government at the time of the Guangzhou Uprising, and was arrested and turned traitor in Tianjin in December 1932.

Late January

Under the command of Zhu De, Chen Yi and others, part of the forces that survived the Nanchang Uprising entered southern Hunan area from Beijiang in Guangdong Province and staged year-end uprisings in Yizhang, Chenzhou (now Chenxian County), Leiyang, Yongxing, Zixing and other counties with the assistance of the local organizations of the Communist Party, thus expanding the revolutionary armed forces.

January

Zhou Yiqun and He Long arrived at the Honghu Lake area and the Hunan-Hubei border area to mobilize the masses and wage armed struggle. In March, the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army staged an uprising and seized the county seat of Sangzhi. In April, when the enemy attacked the Sangzhi area, the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army suffered a setback. After that, Zhou Yiqun went to the Honghu Lake area to lead mass struggles. He Long remained in the Sangzhi-Hefeng border area to persist in guerrilla operations. Later, in line with the instructions of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, the Fourth Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army was established, with He Long as its commander.

February

The Pinghe County Party Committee decided to set up the First Regiment of the Fujian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army and the Insurrection Committee. On March 8, Zhu Jilei, leader of the Pinghe County Party Committee, and others led the peasants in an armed uprising in Pinghe County, southern Fujian. The insurgent army withdrew from the county seat under the enemy's counter-attack. Later, a section of the peasant army moved to mountain areas to carry on the struggle.

March-June

Leaders of the Longyan County Party Committee Guo Diren, Deng Zihui and others led an uprising in Houtian of Longyan County in western Fujian, so did the Shanghang County Party Committee in Jiaoyang, Shanghang County, and Zhang Dingcheng, leader of the Yongding County Party Committee, in Xinan, Jinfeng, Hulei and other places in western Fujian. Afterwards, the Western Fujian Special Committee of the CPC was set up according to instructions of the Provisional Fujian Provincial Party Committee, and the insurgent forces in the counties mentioned above were reorganized into the Nineteenth Division of the Seventh Army of the Western Fujian Red Army. Before long, they suffered serious setbacks under the attacks of a strong enemy, with part of the remaining insurgent armed forces carrying on guerrilla operations.

April

Under the command of Zhu De and Chen Yi, the remaining units of the forces, that had participated in the Nanchang Uprising, and the Southern Hunan Peasant Army arrived at the Jinggang Mountains and joined forces with the Autumn Harvest Uprising forces led by Mao Zedong. The two armies merged into the then most powerful workers' and peasants' armed forces—the Fourth Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army (later renamed the Fourth Army of the Red Army in line with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee), with Zhu De serving as commander and Mao Zedong as secretary of the Military Committee and Party representative.

April-May

Under the leadership of the CPC's local organizations in Shaanxi the peasants in Weinan and Huaxian counties and a brigade of the Northwest Army commanded by Xu Quanzhong launched an uprising, and the Northwest Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army was formed with Tang Shu as commander-in-chief and Liu Zhidan as chairman of the Military Committee. Later, when the insurgent army suffered defeat, its remaining revolutionary forces went underground to wage struggle.

May

Under the leadership of the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee and the Northern Jiangsu Special Party Committee, the peasants in Taixing, Rugao, Jingjiang, Nantong and other places staged uprisings. Although the insurgent units suffered setbacks, they relied on the masses and carried out vigorous activities, gradually restoring and expanding the guerrilla units.

Mao Zedong presided over the First Party Congress of the Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area in Maoping of Ninggang, Jiangxi Province. The participants discussed development of Party organizations, deepening of the agrarian revolution, consolidation and expansion of the Red Army and the revolutionary base areas, and other tasks, giving a preliminary answer to the question "How long can we keep the red flag flying?" The Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area Special Committee of the CPC was elected, with Mao Zedong serving as secretary. In late May, the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet Government of Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area was set up, with Yuan Wencai as chairman.

June

Directed by Zhu De and Chen Yi, the Fourth Army of the Red Army wiped out one enemy regiment and routed two at Longyuankou on the border of Yongxin and Ninggang counties. From then on, the Jinggang Mountain Base Area entered its heyday. In August, Mao Zedong led the Red Army to overcome the obstructions of "Left" putschism and safe-

guarded the Jinggang Mountain Revolutionary Base Area. In October, the Second Party Congress of the Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area adopted the resolution on "The Political Problems and the Tasks of the Border Area Party Organization" drafted by Mao Zedong. This resolution further analysed the experience in struggle in the Jinggang Mountains and in establishment of Red political power in various places, expounded the laws governing the existence and development of the Red political power in China, and put forward the brilliant idea of "establishing an armed independent regime of workers and peasants."

June 18-July 11

With the help of the Communist International, the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was convened in Moscow. Attending the congress were 142 deputies, among whom 84 were full deputies (who had the right to vote), representing 130,000 Party members across the country.* Qu Qiubai and Zhou Enlai made the main reports at the congress. Among other documents, the congress adopted the "Political Resolution," pointing out that the Chinese society remained in nature a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, that "the Chinese revolution at the present stage is in nature a bourgeois democratic revolution," that the current political situation in China was one between two revolutionary high tides, and that the general task of the Party was, therefore, not to attack, but to win over the masses and prepare for insurrections. The congress worked out the revolutionary programme of opposing imperialism and feudalism, carrying out agrarian revolution and establishing the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants and criticized "Left" and Right opportunism, especially putschist mistakes. The congress elected the Sixth Central Committee of the Party. At its First Plenary Session after the congress, the Sixth Central Committee elected Su Zhaozheng, Xiang Ying, Zhou Enlai, Xiang Zhongfa, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen and Zhang Guotao into its Political Bureau, with Guan Xiangying, Li Lisan, Luo Dengxian, Peng Pai, Yang Yin, Lu Futan and Xu Xigen as alternate members. It also elected the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, with Su Zhaozheng, Xiang Zhongfa, Xiang Ying, Zhou Enlai and Cai Hesen as members and Li Lisan, Xu Xigen and Yang Yin as alternate members. As a result of overemphasis on working-class background, Xiang Zhongfa was recommended and elected chairman of the Central Committee's Political Bureau and of its Standing Committee at the first meeting of the Political Bureau held on July 20. But as a matter of fact he was far

* In his "Report and Conclusion on the Question of Organization" and "Outline of Report on the Question of Organization" delivered at the Sixth National Party Congress on June 30, 1928, Zhou Enlai said that the figure was a rough estimate. Up to now no other sources for the figure have been found.

short of the requirements for the position, and later he was arrested and turned traitor.* The revolutionary tasks set at the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party were in the main correct and helped promote the Chinese revolution later on. The shortcomings of this congress were: it failed to make a correct judgement and formulate a correct policy on the role of the intermediate classes and the contradictions within the reactionary forces, and particularly it lacked an adequate understanding of the protracted nature of the Chinese revolution and the importance of the rural revolutionary base areas. On November 11 the same year, the Central Committee issued an "Appeal to All Comrades," stating that the general political line adopted at this congress was the criterion for formulating all current tactics and required comrades of the entire Party to firmly implement the resolutions of the congress. At the same time, it further emphasized the need for continuing the struggle against opportunism, putschism and all other non-proletarian ideas.

July 22

The former First Regiment of the Independent Fifth Division of the National Revolutionary Army's Hunan Ground Force, led by Peng Dehuai and Teng Daiyuan, staged a revolt at Pingjiang. The Third Battalion of the division's Third Regiment stationed in Jiayi City under the command of Huang Gonglue and the school attached to the battalion stationed in Yueyang under the command of He Guozhong followed suit and rushed to Pingjiang to join forces there. On the 24th, the Pingjiang County Soviet Government was set up, and the insurgent troops were reorganized into the Thirteenth Division of the Red Army's Fifth Army, with Peng Dehuai serving as commander of the Army and of the Thirteenth Division, and Teng Daiyuan as Party representative. Later, they gradually set up the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi Revolutionary Base Area. After the main force of the Red Army's Fifth Army moved to the Jinggang Mountains, Huang Gonglue and others stayed behind to persist in struggle.

October

The peasants in Chong'an and other places in northern Fujian staged an uprising under the leadership of the local Party organizations. Guer-

*Born in a worker's family, he once worked as a seaman and a docker in Wuhan. After he joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922, he was sent to work in the Hubei Provincial Trade Union Federation before he became general director of the Wuhan Workers' Pickets, chairman of the Wuhan Trade Union and so forth. He was elected member of the Central Committee at the Fifth National Party Congress and member of the Provisional Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee at the August 7 Meeting in 1927. He was arrested and turned traitor in June 1931.

rilla units were organized after victory in the uprisings and they waged guerrilla operations in areas northeast of Chong'an.

December

Led by Peng Dehuai and Teng Daiyuan, five contingents of the Red Army's Fifth Army arrived at the Jinggang Mountains and joined forces with the Red Army's Fourth Army, thus further strengthening the armed forces in the Jinggang Mountains. In the same month, the Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area Special Party Committee issued the "Agrarian Law" of the Jinggang Mountains, which was formulated by Mao Zedong on the basis of the experience gained in the agrarian revolution in the rural revolutionary base areas.

From the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927 to the end of 1928, the revolutionary masses in all parts of the country staged more than 100 armed uprisings to overcome the White terror imposed and the cruel massacre perpetrated by the KMT reactionaries. They won victory in some of the uprisings but suffered many defeats due to the enemy's ruthless suppression or inadequate preparations on their part. However, through all these uprisings they dealt blows at the enemy to varying degrees, spread revolutionary influence and created favourable conditions for the establishment of the rural revolutionary base areas.

1929

January 14

In order to break the third "joint suppression campaign" launched against the revolutionary base areas in the Jinggang Mountains by the enemy in Hunan and Jiangxi provinces and to solve the problem of the troops' supplies, Mao Zedong, Zhu De and Chen Yi led the main force of the Fourth Army of the Red Army to southern Jiangxi. Soon afterwards, they joined forces with the local Party organizations and armed units and set up the Southern Jiangxi and Western Fujian Revolutionary Base Areas. Later, the two base areas were linked together and became the Central Revolutionary Base Area.

January 26

The enemy troops in Hunan and Jiangxi provinces attacked the Five Wells area in the Jinggang Mountains from three directions. Peng Dehuai and Teng Daiyuan, who remained in the Jinggang Mountains, organized the Fifth Army of the Red Army and other units to launch a heroic counter-attack under the coordination of the Red Guards. By the 30th, the enemy troops had taken Huangyangjie, Bamianshan and other positions. To preserve the effectives, the Fifth Army broke through the encirclement and moved to southern Jiangxi. In early April, it met with

the main force of the Fourth Army in Ruijin. Peng Dehuai and Teng Daiyuan then led the Fifth Army out of southern Jiangxi, and returned to the Jinggang Mountains to go on with the struggle in the Hunan-Jiangxi and Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi border areas.

April

Mao Zedong presided over the work to draw up the "Land Law" of Xingguo. In line with the principle of "confiscating all the land of the landlords and distributing it among the peasants who have no or little land" contained in the "Resolution on the Peasant Question" adopted at the Sixth National Congress of the CPC and in the light of the experience gained in the agrarian revolutionary struggle in southern Jiangxi, the stipulation in the "Land Law" of the Jinggang Mountains of confiscating all the land was changed in this "Land Law" into confiscating the land of the landlord class and public land.

Late April

Under the leadership of the CPC Eastern Sichuan Revolutionary Military Commission with Wang Weizhou as its secretary, peasants in the Wanyuan-Xuanhan border area in Sichuan staged an armed uprising, set up the Eastern Sichuan Guerrilla Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, and gradually built a guerrilla base area centring around Gujunba.

May

Under the leadership of the local Party organization, peasants in an area south of Shangcheng, Henan Province, launched an armed uprising and built the Thirty-second Division of the Eleventh Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Through hard struggle, they set up the Southeastern Henan Base Area.

Late June-early July

The Sixth Central Committee of the CPC held its Second Plenary Session in Shanghai. The session examined and summed up the work since the Party's Sixth National Congress and decided upon various tasks, such as to deepen the agrarian revolution, wage guerrilla warfare, expand the Soviet area, build up the Red Army, correct non-proletarian ideology and strengthen open and underground work. The Party's work in the White areas revived and developed before and after the Second Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee. On November 14, 1928, the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee had decided to set up a Special Committee of the Central Committee, which had been working hard and waging struggle under complex conditions, and made important contributions to ensuring security of the Party's central organs, obtaining information on the enemy's movements, providing the Soviet area with such information, rescuing comrades arrested

by the enemy and punishing traitors. In north China, the Shuntian-Zhili Provincial Party Committee persisted in hard struggle under extremely difficult conditions arising from repeated sabotage by the enemy. During this period, the Central Committee also helped consolidate and reorganize a number of provincial Party committees and strengthened Party organizations in the White areas, so that the Party's grass-roots organizations grew rapidly. Up to 1929, Party branches in different industrial enterprises had increased to more than 100 in the country, which provided a large number of cadres and materials for the Soviet area and supported the struggle in the revolutionary base areas in the countryside.

July

The First Party Congress of Western Fujian was held. Under the guidance of Mao Zedong, the congress correctly analysed the political situation in the country and the social conditions in western Fujian. It was pointed out at the congress that during the agrarian revolution, it was essential to rely on the poor peasants and farm labourers, unite with the middle peasants, treat the big and small landlords and the rich peasants differently, "refrain from attacking the rich peasants" but "concentrate the attack on the landlords," and protect the stores, big or small. In land distribution, the township should be taken as the basic unit and land must be evenly distributed to each person by "taking from those who have a surplus and giving to those who have a shortage" on the basis of their original land holdings; and the landlords who lived in the countryside should also be given "a proper amount of land."

September 28

The CPC Central Committee sent a directive to the Front Committee of the Fourth Army of the Red Army. The directive was drafted by Chen Yi according to a talk given by Zhou Enlai and the proceedings of a Central Committee meeting and approved by Zhou Enlai. In the directive he analysed in detail the internecine wars among the KMT warlords and, in the light of the military experience of the Fourth Army and the Red Armies in various places, charted the basic tasks and the future of the Red Army, and emphasized that for the Chinese revolution, the Red Army operating in the rural areas came before political power was established in the cities; and affirmed Mao Zedong's strategy for the Red Army's operations and his correct idea of building a powerful people's revolutionary army. At the same time, he pointed out that leadership by the Party meant chiefly political leadership and that the Party should not do everything on behalf of other organizations led by it. The directive helped promote the building of the Red Army and the base areas.

November

Under the leadership of the Lu'an Central County Party Committee, peasants in Lu'an and Huoshan counties in Anhui Province launched an armed uprising. Later, the County Party Committee reorganized the insurgent troops as the Thirty-third Division of the Eleventh Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, and gradually built the Western Anhui Base Area around Jinjiazhai.

November 15

In view of the fact that Chen Duxiu clung to his mistakes, attacked the Party's political line, became pessimistic about the future of the revolution, slandered the Red Army as "roving bandits," opposed the establishment of revolutionary base areas, took Trotskyist stand, became a liquidationist and formed a Trotskyist faction, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened a meeting, at which the "Resolution on Expelling Chen Duxiu from the Party and Approving the Decision Made by the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee on Expelling Peng Shuzhi, Wang Zekai, Ma Yufu and Cai Zhende from the Party" was adopted to be circulated Party-wide.

December 11

Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, representative of the Central Committee, Zhang Yunyi, Lei Jingtian and Wei Baqun, the Fourth Brigade and the Training Corps of the Guangxi Garrison, which was under the control and influence of the Communist Party, and the peasant army in Youjiang staged an uprising in Bose and formed the Seventh Army of the Red Army with Zhang Yunyi as commander and Deng Xiaoping as secretary of the Front Party Committee and political commissar. Soon afterwards, the Youjiang Soviet Government was established. In February the following year, Deng Xiaoping, Li Mingrui and Yu Zuoyu led the Fifth Brigade of the Guangxi Garrison under the control and influence of the Communist Party in launching an uprising in Longzhou and formed the Eighth Army of the Red Army with Yu Zuoyu as commander and Deng Xiaoping political commissar. Li Mingrui became the general commander of the Seventh and Eighth Armies. At the same time, the Revolutionary Committee of Zuojiang was set up. So, the Zuojiang-Youjiang Revolutionary Base Area came into existence. Not long after that, the Eighth Army met with defeat and withdrew from the Zuojiang area, and the remaining troops were incorporated into the Seventh Army.

End of December

The Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army (also known as the Gutian Meeting) was held in Gutian, Shanghang County, Fujian Province. In the light of the spirit of the Central Committee's

September letter, the congress summed up the experience in building the Red Army gained since the Nanchang Uprising, criticized various mistaken ideas and insisted on building up the Party and the people's army with proletarian ideology. The congress discussed and adopted a number of resolutions, the most important one being the resolution "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" drafted by Mao Zedong. In the resolution it was emphasized that the Red Army was "an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution" and, therefore, it must obey the leadership of the Party, foster proletarian ideology and correct such mistaken ideas as the purely military viewpoint, ultra-democracy, disregard of organizational discipline, absolute egalitarianism, subjectivism, individualism, the mentality of roving rebel bands, and the remnants of putschism. It added that besides fighting, the Red Army should also shoulder the tasks of doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses and arming them, and that it should establish correct relationship inside and outside the army and adopt a correct policy towards the enemy troops. The resolution was a programmatic document for the building of the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army, and played an important role in such building in the days to come.

1930

January 5

In view of the Right deviationist pessimistic idea of Lin Biao, commander of the First Column of the Fourth Army of the Red Army, Mao Zedong wrote a reply to him (namely, the article entitled "A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire.") In the letter, he criticized the wrong tendency of some people who did not want to do hard work to create rural revolutionary base areas, argued that only the establishment and expansion of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the Red areas constituted the highest form of peasant struggle in a semi-colonial society and the important factor in accelerating a nationwide revolutionary high tide, and held that a single spark would certainly kindle a prairie fire. The theory of winning over the masses before launching a nationwide armed uprising to seize political power did not suit the reality of the Chinese revolution. In the letter, Mao Zedong summed up the experience of various revolutionary base areas, developed the idea of "workers' and peasants' armed independent regime" and formed the idea concerning the road of the Chinese revolution, a road characterized by encircling the cities from the rural areas, setting up and expanding Red political power in the rural areas and seizing national political power when conditions were ripe. This was a major development to the Marxist-Leninist theory on armed seizure of political power. In May the same year, in view of the wrong tendency of dogmatism existing in the Fourth

Army of the Red Army, Mao Zedong wrote an article entitled "The Work of Investigation" (namely, *Oppose Book Worship*.) He emphasized that "we need Marxism in our struggle," that Marxist theory must be integrated with the concrete conditions in China, that "unless you have investigated a problem, you will be deprived of the right to speak on it," and that "victory in China's revolutionary struggle will depend on the Chinese comrades' understanding of Chinese conditions." This article provided a preliminary exposition of the Party's basic thinking on seeking truth from facts, independence and initiative, and the mass line.

February 6-9

A joint meeting (known as the February 7 Meeting) was held in Pitou of Ji'an, Jiangxi Province, by the Front Party Committee of the Fourth Army of the Red Army, the Western Jiangxi Special Party Committee and the Military Commissions of the Fifth and Sixth Armies of the Red Army. Mao Zedong attended the meeting, at which it was decided that the Party's task was to deepen the agrarian revolution, establish the revolutionary political power and expand the workers' and peasants' armed forces. Later, in accordance with the decision of the meeting, the Western and Southern Jiangxi Special Party Committees were merged into the Southwestern Jiangxi Special Party Committee with Liu Shiqi serving as secretary, and the Southwestern Jiangxi Soviet Government was also set up.

February

According to instructions of the Central Committee, the Central Independent Division (formed in 1929 by reorganizing the Western Hubei Guerrilla Contingents and commanded by Duan Dechang) operating in the Honghu Lake area, Hubei Province, under the command of Zhou Yiqun, Duan Dechang and others, was expanded to form the Sixth Army of the Red Army with Sun Deqing as commander (who left the post shortly due to illness and was succeeded by Kuang Jixun) and Zhou Yiqun as political commissar.

March

Under the leadership and encouragement of the Communist Party, the Chinese Left-Wing Writers League was founded in Shanghai. At its inauguration, Lu Xun made an important speech—"Views on the Left-Wing Writers League." Later, the General League of Left-Wing Cultural Circles was set up. The Left-wing cultural workers and their organizations played a very important role in disseminating Marxist thinking, extending the influence of the Communist Party and opposing the KMT's fascist cultural autocracy and cultural "encirclement and suppression."

April

Acting in accordance with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Border Area Special Party Committee was set up with Guo Shushen as secretary. At the same time, the Eleventh Army of the Red Army, which originally belonged to the Hubei-Henan, Southeastern Henan and Western Anhui border areas, was reorganized as the First Army of the Red Army with Xu Jishen as commander and Cao Dajun political commissar and concurrently secretary of the Front Committee. In June, the Soviet Government of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Special Region was established with Gan Yuanjing as chairman, marking the formation of the revolutionary base area in the Hubei-Henan-Anhui border area. Later, the First Army and the Fifteenth Army led by Cai Shenxi and Chen Qi were merged to form the Fourth Army of the Red Army with Kuang Jixun as commander and Yu Dusan as political commissar.

May

Under the leadership of the Dongjiang Special Party Committee and with the gradual revival and development of the revolutionary struggle in the Dongjiang area, Guangdong Province, the First Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Congress was held in Dongjiang, at which the Dongjiang Soviet Government was established with Chen Kuiya as chairman, for the purpose of strengthening leadership over the small base areas in Baxiangshan, Dananshan and other places. At the same time, in line with the instructions of the Central Committee, the Eleventh Army of the Red Army was formed with Gu Dacun as commander. Later, because of the enemy's cruel "encirclement and suppression" and the implementation of "Left" policies by the Dongjiang Special Committee, the revolutionary struggle met with serious setbacks. In 1935, the revolutionary base area in Dongjiang was destroyed and only a few people survived and went underground.

Mao Zedong invited representatives from different sectors in Xunwu County, Jiangxi Province, to a fact-finding meeting, and then wrote the "Survey of Xunwu." At the end of October, he conducted rural social investigations in Yongfeng District of Xingguo County and wrote the "Survey of Xingguo." The large amount of work in rural survey done by Mao Zedong provided the scientific basis for the Party to formulate policies on the agrarian revolution, and at the same time, enriched and further developed Marxist thinking on investigation.

Mid-May

The CPC Central Committee convened the National Conference of Red Army Representatives in Shanghai. The participants discussed such problems as Party organizations in the army, the political commissar system, soldiers' committee and political work, and it was decided that

the Red Army forces in various places be relatively concentrated and that the Red Armies in major strategic areas be incorporated into army groups. The conference served to promote to a certain degree the development and building of the Red Army. In the same month, the CPC Central Committee and the Central Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions convened in Shanghai the First National Congress of the Soviet Areas, at which the problems of the organization of the Red Army and the building of the Soviet areas were discussed and the "Political Resolution," the "Provisional Land Law" and other documents were adopted. Some "Left" mistakes were made at the conference and congress. For instance, they advocated expanding the Red Army unconditionally and continuing to spread the idea of nationalizing land and maintained that the main dangers in the Soviet areas were the Right conservative views and the "rich peasant line" and that the main task was to attack cities.

June 11

Li Lisan, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, presided over the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held in Shanghai, at which the "Resolution on the New Revolutionary High Tide and Winning Victory First in One or More Provinces" was adopted. A whole set of wrong proposals were raised on the situation, character and tasks of the Chinese revolution, which marked the establishment of the dominant rule of "Left" adventurism represented by Li Lisan in the central leading body of the Party. Applying and developing the Communist International's theory of the "third stage" which excessively exaggerated the general crisis of capitalism, and some other "Left" theories, the resolution over-exaggerated the crisis facing the domestic ruling classes, overestimated the expansion of the revolutionary forces, denied the uneven development of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, denied the protracted nature of the Chinese democratic revolution, blurred the distinction between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and unpractically put forward the "Left" "strategic general line" of striving to win victory first in provinces and areas around Wuhan and then overthrowing the political power of the KMT throughout the country to establish a national revolutionary power. Before long, Li Lisan and others worked out an adventurist plan to stage a nationwide general insurrection with Wuhan as its centre and concentrate the Red Army units throughout the country to attack big cities, harbouring the dream of "joining forces in Wuhan" and "having the horses drink the water of Yangtse River." They also set up different levels of action committees by merging the leading organs of the Party, Youth League and Trade Union organizations in preparation for armed insurrection. The implementation of this "strategic general line" in-

curred losses in varying degrees to the Red Army units and base areas.

June

In accordance with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee, the Fourth, Twelfth, and Sixth (renamed in July as the Third) Armies of the Red Army were reorganized in Tingzhou (now Changting), Fujian, as the First Route Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with Zhu De as commander-in-chief and Mao Zedong as political commissar. Soon afterwards, the First Route Army was redesignated as the First Army Group of the Red Army and its Front Committee was set up with Mao Zedong as secretary. This army group had a total strength of more than 20,000 men. The Fifth and Eighth Armies of the Red Army were reorganized as the Third Army Group of the Red Army in Daye, Hubei, with Peng Dehuai as commander-in-chief and Teng Daiyuan as political commissar, and its Front Committee was also set up, with Peng Dehuai as secretary. In July, the Fourth Army of the Red Army which had been formed on the basis of the Fourth Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army of Hunan-Hubei border area joined forces with the Sixth Army of the Red Army in Gong'an, Hubei, to form the Second Army Group (the Fourth Army was renamed the Second Army of the Red Army), with He Long as commander-in-chief and Zhou Yiqun as political commissar. Meanwhile, its Front Committee was set up, with Zhou Yiqun as secretary. In September, the Western Hubei Special Committee was changed into the Western Hubei-Hunan Special Committee. The Central Committee sent Deng Zhongxia to serve as political commissar of the Second Army Group and secretary of its Front Committee and of the Special Committee. At the same time, the Western Hubei and Hunan Soviet Government was established.

July 27

Taking advantage of the opportunity when He Jian, governor of the Hunan Provincial Government of the KMT and commander-in-chief of the Fourth Route Army, directed the bulk of his forces to pursue the troops of Zhang Fakui and Li Zongren, the Third Army Group of the Red Army launched a surprise attack on Changsha and took it, but had to abandon it ten days later. On August 23, after the First Army Group had joined forces with the Third Army Group at Yonghe in Liuyang County, Hunan Province, the two formed the First Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, and the General Front Committee of the First Front Army of the Red Army and the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Committee were also formed, with Zhu De serving as commander-in-chief and Mao Zedong as secretary of the General Front Committee, general political commissar and chairman of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Committee. After its establishment, the First Front Army of the Red Army attacked

Changsha twice but failed each time. Then, it moved to Jiangxi and seized Ji'an and expanded the Red areas in southern Jiangxi and eastern Hunan. In late July, according to instructions of the Party Central Committee, the Red Army in the Northeastern Jiangxi Revolutionary Base Area formed the Tenth Army of the Red Army, with Zhou Jianping serving as commander, Wu Xianmin as acting political commissar and Hu Tingquan as secretary of the Front Committee. Later, the area was further expanded and became the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi Revolutionary Base Area.

September 24-28

The Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Shanghai. Prior to the session, some of the "Left" mistakes had already been corrected under the leadership of Qu Qiubai and Zhou Enlai and in accordance with the instruction of the Communist International. At the session the "Left" mistakes represented by Li Lisan were further criticized, and the adventurist actions planned by Li and others for launching a nationwide insurrection and concentrating the forces of the Red Army of the whole country to attack key cities were stopped. Thus, the CPC Central Committee put an end to the rule of "Left" adventurism represented by Li Lisan.

Late October

A joint meeting was held by the General Front Committee of the First Front Army of the Red Army and the Jiangxi Action Committee at Luofang, Xinyu County, Jiangxi Province. In view of the advent of the "encirclement and suppression" campaign by KMT troops against the Central Soviet Area, the meeting decided that the First Front Army cease its attack on big cities but move eastwards to cross the Ganjiang River and retreat to the base area to fight and smash the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" there. The meeting adopted the "Directive on the Present Political Situation and the Tasks of the First Front Army and the Party Organization in Jiangxi," in which it was emphasized that the First Front Army of the Red Army should use flexible strategy and tactics. On October 30, the strategic principle of "luring the enemy in deep" was formulated at the General Front Committee meeting.

November 1

In accordance with the operational principle of "luring the enemy in deep," the Headquarters of the First Front Army of the Red Army ordered its troops to move to the east bank of the Ganjiang River. On December 16, Chiang Kai-shek who had mustered 100,000 troops started his first "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Central Soviet Area. On December 30, under the command of Mao Zedong and Zhu De, the Red Army troops lured the enemy into the base area and

won the Longgang Battle, killing, wounding and capturing nearly 10,000 enemy troops and 9,000 pieces of arms and capturing Zhang Huizan, commander of the KMT army's Eighteenth Division. The Red Army troops pursued the enemy and wiped out more than one brigade of enemy troops at Dongshao and captured 2,000 pieces of arms. The KMT army's campaign of "encirclement and suppression" was thus smashed.

Early November

The KMT troops, employing the tactics of "launching converging attacks at key points from region to region, consolidating at every step and suppressing the enemy gradually," started their large-scale "encirclement and suppression" against the Western Hubei-Hunan Revolutionary Base Area. Up to the second half of 1931, under the leadership of the Western Hubei-Hunan Special Party Committee, the army and people in the Honghu Lake area had waged three campaigns against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression," in the midst of which the armed forces of the Red Army were expanded.

Early December

About 100,000 KMT troops launched their first "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Revolutionary Base Area. In spring the following year, employing the "strategy and tactics of a people's warfare" and of avoiding the strong and attacking the weak, the Red Army troops there fought a series of battles and wiped out several thousand enemy troops, smashing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign. In March, the Fourth Army of the Red Army switched to the offensive and annihilated over 5,000 enemy troops in Shuangqiao.

1931

January 7

In accordance with the instruction of the Communist International, the Sixth CPC Central Committee held its Fourth Plenary Session in Shanghai. In addition to the 22 members and alternate members of the Central Committee, 37 representatives from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Federation of Seamen's Unions, the Party Group of the All-China Federation of Railway Workers' Unions, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, the Soviet Preparatory Committee and the Party's grass-roots organizations in the White areas attended the session. Pavel Mif, representative of the Communist International, who was also present, resorted to organizational means to control the process of the session. At the session, Chen Shaoyu (Wang Ming) and others, with the support of Mif and under the signboard of

"implementing the line of the International," "opposing the Li Lisan line" and "opposing conciliation," alleged that the mistakes represented by Li Lisan were in fact "Right opportunism" under the cover of "Left" rhetoric, and put forward a series of erroneous views even more "Leftist" than Li Lisan's adventurism. The session adopted the "Resolution of the Fourth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee," elected Wang Ming an additional member of the central leadership, and re-elected the Political Bureau with Xiang Zhongfa, Zhou Enlai, Xiang Ying, Zhang Guotao, Xu Xigen (later arrested and turned traitor), Lu Futan (later arrested and turned traitor), Ren Bishi, Chen Yu and Wang Ming as members, and Guan Xiangying, Luo Dengxian, Mao Zedong, Wen Yucheng, Gu Shunzhang, Liu Shaoqi and Wang Kequan as alternate members. Xiang Zhongfa, Zhou Enlai and Zhang Guotao were elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Through the Fourth Plenary Session, Wang Ming and his followers in fact controlled the central leadership. Since then, the "Left" adventurism represented by Wang Ming dominated the Party for four long years. The Fourth Plenary Session and the subsequent central leadership promoted a number of "Left" dogmatists and sectarianists to leading positions in the central leading body on the one hand and on the other, they excessively attacked those comrades who had made adventurist mistakes represented by Li Lisan, erroneously attacked the comrades headed by Qu Qiubai who were alleged to have made "the error of following the line of conciliation," and attacked He Mengxiong, Lin Yunan, Li Qiushi and others under the slogan of "opposing Right deviation." Shortly afterwards, He Mengxiong and others were arrested by the enemy. They remained faithful and unyielding in prison and finally died a hero's death.

January

The central leadership after the Fourth Plenary Session demanded for persistent opposition to the liquidationist and A-B (Anti-Bolshevik) groups in the Soviet areas "with utmost resolve." Prior to this, the Central Committee had already proposed to step up the fight against the liquidationists and set about eliminating counter-revolutionaries on an extensive scale. Since the first half of 1930, acting on the instruction of the Central Committee, the Central Soviet Area took the lead in waging a struggle against the so-called A-B group, resulting in the "Futian Incident" on January 12, 1931. In February, the Central Committee sent a letter to the General Front Party Committee of the First Front Army of the Red Army, the Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee, all the special Party committees and local Party headquarters respectively, in which it emphasized once again that the A-B group and other such organizations were "most powerful organizational instruments" of Chiang Kai-shek's government and that the Red Army "could not defeat the enemy unless

it purifies its own ranks." It also called on the Soviet areas to "struggle for the elimination of the A-B group and all counter-revolutionaries." Soon a struggle against the reorganization clique and other factions was carried out in the Hubei-Henan-Anhui and Western Hubei-Hunan base areas. In the erroneous struggle against the A-B group and other groups, contradictions among the people and contradictions between the people and the enemy were confused and the scope of attack in eliminating counter-revolutionaries was broadened, leading to serious consequences when quite a number of outstanding cadres and people were killed.

January 15

In conformity with the decision made by the CPC Central Committee before the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee, the Soviet Area Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was set up at Xiaobu in Ningdu County, Jiangxi Province. The Central Committee appointed Zhou Enlai, Xiang Ying, Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Ren Bishi, Yu Fei, Zeng Shan, one member from the Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area Special Committee and one from the Communist Youth League Central Committee as members of the bureau, with Zhou Enlai as secretary. Before Zhou Enlai assumed the post, Xiang Ying served as acting secretary. On August 3, 1931, the Party Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on the Question of the Party Organization in the Central Soviet Area," in which it decided that Zhou Enlai, Xiang Ying, Mao Zedong, Ren Bishi, Gu Zuolin, Deng Fa and Zhu De be members of the Soviet Area Bureau, with Mao Zedong as acting secretary. After the meeting held in southern Jiangxi in early November, Xiang Ying became acting secretary and Wang Jiaxiang was appointed an additional member to the bureau. At the end of December, Zhou Enlai arrived at the Central Soviet Area and took up the post of secretary of the Soviet Area Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

January 27

Luo Zhanglong and others were expelled from the Party for engaging in activities with the aim of splitting the Party by illegally setting up the "Second Central Committee," "second provincial Party committees," "second district Party committees," and "second Party groups in the trade unions."

February 10

Wang Ming's pamphlet *The Two Lines* (later renamed *The Struggle for the Further Bolshevization of the Communist Party of China*) was formally published. In March the following year, he revised and republished it in Moscow for wide distribution. This pamphlet was in fact the general political programme of "Left" adventurism represented by Wang Ming.

February

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International jointly drafted five documents for the First National Congress of the Chinese Soviet—the Land Law, the Labour Law, the Economic Policies, Resolution on the Red Army and the Organic Law of the Soviet. Many ultra-Left policies were embodied in these documents, for instance, “no land to the landlords,” “poor land to the rich peasants,” “restraining the development of capitalism” as well as excessive demands on working conditions and wages. On February 17 and 19, the Central Committee sent written instructions to the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Border Area Special Committee and the Northeastern Jiangxi Special Committee requiring them to execute these policies.

February 27

In line with the principles of Circular No. 9 of the Soviet Area Bureau of the Central Committee issued on February 8—“The Land Question and Tactics Against the Rich Peasants,” Mao Zedong wrote a letter to the Jiangxi Provincial Soviet Government in the name of the director of the General Political Department of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central Committee. In the letter he affirmed the peasants’ ownership of land after the land reform because it was “a necessary process in the revolution for democracy since communism cannot be realized overnight,” and he added that implementation of the policies that were essential in the period of bourgeois-democratic revolution provided “the only genuine and workable approach to communism.”

Late March

Using the tactics of “pursuit and interception,” 100,000 KMT troops were engaged in the second large-scale “encirclement and suppression” campaign against the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Revolutionary Base Area. By late May, the Red Army, employing flexible tactics, avoiding the enemy’s main force, striking at his weak spots and wiping out the enemy piecemeal, smashed the enemy’s “encirclement and suppression” campaign after winning the Jingdushan, Huwan and Taohua battles and annihilating 5,000 enemy troops.

March

The Central Committee, dominated by Wang Ming’s “Left” adventurism, sent Xia Xi to the Honghu Lake area; the Central Committee delegation composed of Ren Bishi, Wang Jiaxiang and Gu Zuolin to the Central Soviet Area; Zhang Guotao, Shen Zemin and Chen Changhao to the Hubei-Henan-Anhui area; and Zeng Hongyi to northeastern Jiangxi—all for the purpose of pushing “Left” adventurism through waging struggles against “Right deviation” and “reforming Party leader-

ship at all levels." In late March, the Western Hubei-Hunan Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee was set up with Xia Xi as secretary. On May 12, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Sub-Bureau was set up, with Zhang Guotao serving as secretary and concurrently as chairman of the Military Commission of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui area. By so doing, the Central Committee assumed leadership of the Party, government and army of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui area.

April

Chiang Kai-shek, after mustering 200,000 troops and appointing He Yingqin as director of the Nanchang Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ground, Navy and Air Forces, launched the second "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Central Soviet Area, using the tactics of "going ahead steadily and striking sure blows, and advancing gradually and entrenching at every step." Under the command of Mao Zedong and Zhu De and following the principle of concentrating superior forces to strike at the enemy's weak spots and destroying the enemy forces one by one in mobile warfare, the Red Army won five battles in succession within 16 days from May 16 to 31. Fighting all the way from Donggu and Futian and then moving eastwards, the Red Army troops swept across 350 kilometres, wiped out 30,000 enemy troops and captured 20,000 pieces of arms, thus smashing the KMT's military "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

May 9

The CPC Central Committee adopted the resolution "On the Current Political Situation and the Urgent Tasks of the Party," in which it stressed the need of reforming the leading organs at different levels in the Soviet areas and called on Party organizations in the White areas to mobilize the masses in demonstrations or lightning gatherings on May 30 in Shanghai, Nanjing and other big cities, indicating that to do otherwise would mean "extremely shameful liquidationism and escapism." In this way, Wang Ming's "Left" adventurism was further implemented and developed in practical work.

July

Chiang Kai-shek, mustering 300,000 troops and serving personally as commander-in-chief, started the third "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Central Soviet Area from three directions, employing the tactics of "launching converging attacks by different routes and driving straight in." Under the command of Mao Zedong and Zhu De and using the strategic principle of "luring the enemy in deep" and "avoiding the enemy's main forces and attacking his weak points," the Red Army troops, 30,000 strong, set out from northwestern Fujian and made a detour of hundreds of kilometres before turning back to Xing-

guo, southern Jiangxi. From August 7 to September 15, it wiped out 30,000 enemy troops and captured 14,800 pieces of arms in Liantang, Liangcun, Huangpi and Laoyingpan, thus smashing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

September 18

The Japanese imperialists invaded and occupied Shenyang. Acting on Chiang Kai-shek's order of "absolute non-resistance," Zhang Xueliang withdrew the bulk of his Northeast Army to areas inside the Shanhai-guan Pass, leaving the rest of his army there to carry out resistance. In the ensuing months, the Japanese troops occupied Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces and began to advance on Rehe Province. The September 18th Incident aroused great indignation of the Chinese people against Japan. People all over the country demanded for fighting against Japan and opposed the policy of non-resistance advocated by Chiang Kai-shek's KMT. Students in Shanghai began to boycott classes and workers went on strike, and students from Beiping, Tianjin, Shanghai and Guangzhou swarmed to Nanjing to submit petitions to the KMT government, demanding that it declare war on Japan. Chiang Kai-shek made a speech on November 30 in which he dished out a reactionary policy of "internal pacification before resistance to foreign invasion." Following this policy, he continued his "encirclement and suppression" against the Red Army that stood for resistance to Japan on the one hand and on the other, suppressed the anti-Japanese patriotic movement, arresting and killing patriotic students. On November 29, Deng Yanda, a patriotic public figure, was murdered. Under the leadership and influence of the CPC, various popular armed forces in northeast China waged heroic struggle against the Japanese imperialists. On December 19, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement on the situation in which she accused Chiang Kai-shek's KMT of "using anti-Communists as a cover for its betrayal of the revolution," adding that "all that the former Northern warlords dared not to do has been ruthlessly done under the cover of the party rule." At that time, the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie also began to change their political attitude, demanding that Chiang Kai-shek's KMT change its political course and stop its anti-Communist and civil war policies. And patriotic generals in the KMT army were against the policy of non-resistance and demanded resistance to Japan. In face of the surging anti-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Japanese movement, Chiang had to resign on December 15.

September

Wang Ming decided to go to Moscow to take up the leading post of the CPC Delegation to the Communist International. The Provisional Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee consisting of Qin

Bangxian (Bo Gu), Zhang Wentian (Luo Fu) and Lu Futan was set up in Shanghai. The Provisional Political Bureau exposed the invasion perpetrated by the Japanese imperialists and the policy of non-resistance adopted by the KMT after the September 18th Incident, and called on the entire Party to form an anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek united front with the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie and mobilize and lead the masses in armed struggle against the Japanese invaders and the KMT reactionary rule. But at the same time, the provisional central leadership continued and developed the "Left" adventurist policies represented by Wang Ming, exaggerated the crisis of the KMT rule and insisted on the seizure of key cities by the Red Army, stressed the possibility of Japan's attack on the Soviet Union, made "armed defence of the Soviet Union" a task of paramount importance to the neglect of the middle classes' demands for resistance to Japan and for democracy, and regarded the middle-of-the-roads as "the most dangerous enemy." As a consequence, it failed to give correct leadership to the anti-Japanese democratic movement.

November 1-5

Presided over by the delegation of the Central Committee, the First Congress (also known as the Southern Jiangxi Meeting) of Party organizations in the Central Soviet Area was held in Ruijin, Jiangxi. The congress dismissed Mao Zedong's correct views as "parochial empiricism," "rich peasant line," and "error of the most serious and consistent Right opportunism," and stressed that "concentrated efforts should be made to fight against Right opportunism," thus gradually casting aside Mao Zedong's correct leadership over the Party and Red Army in the Central-Soviet Area.

November 7

The Fourth and Twenty-fifth Armies of the Red Army in the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Revolutionary Base Area were reorganized at Qiliping, Huang'an, and formed the Fourth Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army with Xu Xiangqian as commander-in-chief and Chen Changhao as political commissar. From November 1931 to June 1932, employing the tactics of besieging the enemy in order to strike at their reinforcements, encircling the enemy from the flanks, and fighting at close range and night battles, the Fourth Front Army successively launched four campaigns in Huang'an, Shangcheng-Hengchuan, Sujiabu and Hengchuan-Guangshan, annihilating 60,000 enemy troops, and thus helped foiling the enemy's third "encirclement and suppression" campaign. The Fourth Front Army had expanded to 45,000 people.

November 7-20

The First National Congress of the Chinese Soviet was convened in

Ruijin, which adopted the "Outline Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic," the "Labour Law of the Chinese Soviet Republic," the "Land Law of the Chinese Soviet Republic," the "Decision Concerning the Economic Policies of the Chinese Soviet Republic" and other important documents, proclaimed the establishment of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and elected the Central Executive Council consisting of 63 members. On the 25th, the Central Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Soviet Republic (also known as the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army) was formed with Zhu De as chairman and Wang Jiaxiang and Peng Dehuai as vice-chairmen. On the 27th, the Executive Council of the Central Government held its first meeting at which Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Central Executive Council of the Chinese Soviet Republic, and Xiang Ying and Zhang Guotao vice-chairmen.

December 14

Influenced by the Red Army's victorious campaigns against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" and urged by the anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek movement, 17,000 men of the KMT's Twenty-sixth Route Army, where some underground Communists had been working, staged a revolt in Ningdu, Jiangxi Province, under the leadership of Zhao Bosheng and Dong Zhentang. They joined the Red Army and were organized as the Fifth Army Group of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with Ji Zhentong as commander-in-chief, Xiao Jingguang as political commissar, Dong Zhentang as deputy commander-in-chief and concurrently commander of the Thirteenth Army, Zhao Bosheng as chief of staff and concurrently commander of the Fourteenth Army, Huang Zhongyue as commander of the Fifteenth Army, and He Changgong, Huang Huoqing and Zuo Quan as political commissar of the three armies respectively.

1932

January 9

The CPC provisional central leadership adopted the "Resolution on the Struggle for the Victory of the Revolution First in One or More Provinces," in which it categorically asserted that the intermediate groups were "the most dangerous enemy" of the Chinese revolution and "we should concentrate our attack on them"; it proposed that the Red Army should seize "key cities" and "win victory first in Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi provinces"; it decided that Party organizations in KMT areas should focus on organizing the workers to stage strikes in coordination with operations of the Red Army. At the same time, it ordered

the First Front Army of the Red Army to "seize Ganzhou first." On January 10, the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central Committee issued an order to attack Ganzhou. The Red Army troops attacked Ganzhou for 33 days from February 4 to March 7 without capturing it. Instead, it suffered heavy casualties and missed the favourable opportunity to expand the base areas and the Red Army.

January 28

The Japanese troops launched an attack on Shanghai. Influenced by the demand of the people throughout the country for resisting Japan, the KMT's Nineteenth Route Army, then stationed in Shanghai, rose in resistance in defiance of KMT government's orders. The CPC led the workers of the Japanese cotton mills in Shanghai to wage a strike and mobilized people of various circles to give all-out support to the Nineteenth Route Army in its resistance to Japan. In mid-February, Zhang Zhizhong at the head of part of his Fifth Army troops arrived in Shanghai and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Nineteenth Route Army. However, succumbing to Japanese imperialist pressure, Chiang Kai-shek's KMT tried hard to sabotage resistance fought at Wusongkou and Shanghai and suppress the anti-Japanese movement. On May 5, KMT government representative signed with Japan the humiliating "Wusongkou-Shanghai Truce Agreement," recognizing Shanghai as a demilitarized zone and relinquishing China's right to stationing troops in the area between Shanghai and Suzhou and Kunshan. But the Japanese side could station "some" troops in this area. On May 2, the Federation of All Organizations in Shanghai published an open telegram to the whole nation protesting against the KMT's betrayal. On the 9th, the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet also sent out a telegram opposing the "Wusongkou-Shanghai Truce Agreement." On the 23rd, the Military Council of the KMT government ordered the Nineteenth Route Army to go to Fujian to "suppress the Communists."

February 3

Forty-three persons including Mao Dun, Lu Xun, Ye Shengtao, Yu Dafu, Ding Ling, Hu Yuzhi, Chen Wangdao, Feng Xuefeng, Zhou Yang, Tian Han, Xia Yan and Yang Hansheng jointly issued a "Message of the Shanghai Cultural Circles to the People of the World," in which they vehemently denounced Japanese imperialist invasion, opposed the KMT's policy of non-resistance and appealed to the proletariat and revolutionary cultural organizations of the world to support China's struggle against Japan.

February 26

The CPC provisional central leadership issued a declaration to the whole nation on winning the war in Shanghai, in which it not only

refused to unite with all the anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek groups but also put forward an erroneous "Left" programme for establishing a revolutionary military commission to lead the anti-Japanese national revolutionary war and to convene a representative assembly of the workers, peasants, soldiers and other labouring people to set up a people's government.

March

The Third Army of the Red Army (the former Second Army Group of the Red Army) fighting in the north of Xiangyang smashed the enemy's plan of "suppression," wiping out two brigades, one regiment and six battalions of the enemy. In the course of successful struggles, the Third Army grew to 15,000 strong.

March 9

Having occupied northeast China, the Japanese imperialists set up a puppet regime called "Manchukuo" in Changchun and propped up the abrogated Emperor of the Qing Dynasty Pu Yi (1906-67) to serve as the "Executive." On March 1, 1934, the "Manchukuo" was renamed the "Manchu Empire" and the "Executive" the "Emperor." This puppet regime lasted until August 1945 when the Chinese people won the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Mid-March

After the Ganzhou campaign, the Soviet Area Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened a meeting in Jiangkou, northeast of Ganzhou, to discuss operational principles of the Central Red Army. Mao Zedong put forward a correct strategic principle, according to which the Red Army should concentrate its forces on developing in areas to the northeast of Jiangxi, where the enemy's rule was weaker, the Party organization and the mass following stronger and the terrain more favourable, and unfold revolutionary war in the vast area east of the Ganjiang River, west of the Fujian-Zhejiang coast, south of the Yangtse River and north of the Wuling Mountain Range. The majority of the members of the Central Bureau, however, clung to the position held by the provisional central leadership, insisting that the main forces of the Red Army should move down along the banks of the Ganjiang River to take the key cities in the Ganjiang River valley. To this end, they decided to divide up the Red Army into the Central Route Army (later renamed the Eastern Route Army, which was composed of the First and the Fifth Army Groups) and the Western Route Army (composed of the Third Army Group.)

Spring

Liu Shaoqi, upholding the correct tactics and principle for the workers' movement, was criticized by the provisional central leadership as

following a "consistent opportunist line" and was removed from the leading post in the Central Labour Department and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Prior to this, he had had a heated dispute on tactics in the workers' movement with the central leaders who pursued the "Left" adventurist line. He was not in favour of organizing Red Trade Unions under stark White terror and opposed the practice of forcing the worker masses to wage struggles regardless of objective conditions but stood for making use of all lawful opportunities to carry on the workers' movement.

April 20

The Eastern Route Army composed of the First and Fifth Army Groups of the Red Army occupied Zhangzhou, capturing 1,600 enemy troops, 2,000 rifles, two planes and a large amount of other military supplies, and raising a big sum of money as well.

June

The CPC provisional central leadership convened in Shanghai a joint meeting of representatives of Party committees of the northern provinces, which adopted "The Mounting Revolutionary Crisis and the Tasks of the Party in North China," the "Resolution on Carrying out Guerrilla Movement and Establishing Soviet Areas in North China," and the "Resolution on the Main Tasks in the Labour Movement in the Northern Provinces." In these documents, the CPC provisional central leadership, regardless of the subjective and objective conditions, stubbornly criticized the "theory of backward north China," and demanded prompt action to set up a "North China Soviet Area" through launching mutiny and workers' and peasants' movement in Shanxi, Henan, Hebei and even in the three northeastern provinces.

July

Chiang Kai-shek, sticking to his reactionary policy of "internal pacification before resistance to foreign invasion," assembled 500,000 troops to launch the fourth military "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Hubei-Henan-Anhui and the Western Hubei-Hunan revolutionary base areas in two columns, the left and the right. Because the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army had won victories in the previous campaigns against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" and the Third Army of the Red Army had won the battle north of Xiangyang, they posed a direct threat to Wuhan. So, the enemy deployed 300,000 troops to attack the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Revolutionary Base Area and 100,000 troops to attack the Western Hubei-Hunan Revolutionary Base Area. The Fourth Front Army in the Hubei-Henan-Anhui area fought back and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy in Qiliping in August. However, owing to Zhang Guotao's errors in strategic guidance and his

enforcement of "Left" policy in the Soviet areas as well as the great disparity of relative strength between the Red Army and the enemy, the commanders and fighters of the Fourth Front Army failed to crush the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" even if they had fought heroically for two months and annihilated nearly 10,000 enemy troops. On October 10, the Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee convened an emergency meeting at Huangchaifan in Huang'an and decided that the main force of the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army, 20,000 strong, should withdraw from the base area and move westwards. The forces left behind were to reorganize themselves into the Twenty-fifth Army to keep up the struggle. Under the erroneous guidance of Wang Ming's "Left" adventurism, the Third Army of the Red Army in the Western Hubei-Hunan Revolutionary Base Area never succeeded in breaking the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" no matter how hard they fought, and had to withdraw from the Honghu Lake area in October and embark on a strategic move towards Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou border area.

Early October

The Soviet Area Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting in Ningdu for the purpose of executing the "Left" adventurist line of attack drawn up by the provisional central leadership and discussing ways of coping with the enemy. Previously, in February and March Mao Zedong had opposed the Red Army's attacking the key cities like Ganzhou. After failure in the Ganzhou battle, he had disagreed with the plan to expand towards the Ganjiang River valley by capturing the key cities there, but stood for expanding towards the areas to the northeast of Jiangxi, where the enemy's rule was weaker, and the Party organization and the mass following stronger. This correct proposal of his was criticized at the meeting and he was condemned as "slack in work" with regard to the principle of "seizing the key cities" and following a "line of pure defence." And the strategic principle of "luring the enemy in deep" that had been proved effective in the previous campaigns against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" was also denounced as "Right deviation, the main danger, characterized by doing nothing but awaiting the enemy's attack." The meeting demanded that the Red Army take the initiative to hit out before the enemy was ready to close in on it so as to seize key cities and win victory first in Jiangxi. Ignoring Zhou Enlai's suggestion to let Mao Zedong remain at the front directing operations and the objection of Wang Jiaxiang and Zhu De, the meeting removed Mao Zedong from the leading post in the Red Army. After the meeting, "Left" deviationist leaders transferred Mao Zedong to do government work and then dismissed him from his post of general political commissar of the First Front Army of the Red Army, and asked Zhou Enlai to hold the post concurrently.

December

In line with the decision of the Party Central Committee, the Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee redesignated the Shaanxi-Gansu guerrillas led by Xie Zichang and Liu Zhidan as the Twenty-sixth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (there was only the Second Regiment.) In November the following year, the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Area Special Committee made another decision to merge this main force of the Red Army with some guerrilla forces and form the Forty-second Division of the Twenty-sixth Army, which constituted the backbone force of the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Base Area.

Soong Ching Ling, Cai Yuanpei and Yang Xingfo started to organize the "China League for Protecting Civil Rights" and issued a declaration to win the people's democratic rights and demand the KMT government to release political prisoners, stop illegal arrests and imprisonment and prohibit cruel torture.

1933**January**

Finding it hard to hold on in Shanghai, the Political Bureau of the CPC provisional central leadership had to move to Ruijin in the Central Revolutionary Base Area.

The main force of the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army, after entering northern Sichuan, set up the Sichuan-Shaanxi Revolutionary Base Area centring around Tongjiang, Nanjiang and Bazhong, with the help of local Party organizations, revolutionary armed forces and the people. On February 7, the Sichuan-Shaanxi Soviet Government was founded in Tongjiang.

January 17

Under circumstances in which the Japanese imperialists continued to expand their invasion by seizing the Shanhaiguan Pass and intruding into north China, the CPC Delegation to the Communist International issued a declaration in the name of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, proposing to enter into agreement for joint resistance to Japan with any armed units under the three conditions of promptly ceasing the attack on the Soviet areas; ensuring the people their democratic rights and arming the people.

February 15

In order to push its "Left" policy and oppose the correct views represented by Mao Zedong, the Soviet Area Bureau of the CPC Central

Committee made the "Decision on the Fujian, Guangdong and Jiangxi Provincial Party Committees," criticizing the Fujian Provincial Committee for "having formed the opportunist line led by Comrade Luo Ming," and announced immediate removal of Luo Ming from his posts as acting secretary of the provincial committee and the committee's plenipotentiary to Shanghang, Yongding and Longyan. Soon afterwards, the provisional central leadership started a struggle against the so-called Luo Ming line in Fujian. In March, it convened a conference of Party activists from Huichang, Xunwu and Anyuan counties in Jiangxi, maintaining that Deng Xiaoping and others, who upheld Mao Zedong's correct views, had pursued the so-called line of pure defence, thus ushering in the struggle against the "Luo Ming line in Jiangxi" represented by Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zetan, Xie Weijun and Gu Bai. On May 4, the conference of the Party and Youth League activists of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army School adopted the "Resolution on the Luo Ming Line in Jiangxi." After that, Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zetan, Xie Weijun and Gu Bai were either sent to the countryside or removed from their posts.

February-March

After its fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Hubei-Henan-Anhui and the Western Hubei-Hunan base areas, the KMT concentrated a force of more than 30 divisions on launching its fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Central Revolutionary Base Area in three columns—the left, central and right, by adopting the tactics of "diverging advance and converging attack." Under the command of Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, the First Front Army of the Red Army, flexibly applying the experience gained in the previous counter-campaigns and employing the tactics of laying ambush with a large army group and concentrating a superior force, won major victories against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" in the Huangpi and Caotaigang battles, destroying approximately three enemy divisions and capturing 10,000 enemy troops and 10,000 rifles. From then on, the Central Soviet Area was linked up with the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi Soviet Area, and the Red Army had grown rapidly and exceeded 80,000 men.

May 26

Under the encouragement and influence of the CPC, patriotic generals Feng Yuxiang, Ji Hongchang and Fang Zhenwu established in Zhangjiakou the Chahar People's Anti-Japanese Allied Army, with Feng Yuxiang serving as commander-in-chief, Fang Zhenwu as front commander-in-chief and Ji Hongchang as front general commander, and sent an open telegram to the whole nation advocating joint resistance to recover lost territory. In November 1932, the CPC set up its Zhangjiakou

Special Committee and dispatched Xuan Xiafu and many other cadres on different occasions to assist Feng Yuxiang in his resistance to Japan. The Anti-Japanese Allied Army received sympathy and support from the people of the whole country and expanded rapidly to over 100,000 men. From June to July, it recovered four county seats of Duolun, Kangbao, Baochang and Guyuan, greatly inspiring the patriots of all circles throughout the country. However, things became increasingly difficult for the Allied Army when it found itself under the pincer attack of the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek's troops. On August 14, Feng Yuxiang left Zhangjiakou. From the end of September to the middle of October, the Allied Army was routed. Fang Zhenwu was forced to go into exile abroad. Ji Hongchang, who had to take refuge in Tianjin, was arrested by the KMT and died a hero's death in Beiping, before this he had already been accepted as a member of the CPC.

Early June

According to decision made by the CPC provisional central leadership, a large-scale campaign was conducted in the Central Revolutionary Base Area to check up on land distribution. Although some successes had been scored in the campaign, "Left" errors had been made in the process. In order to correct these errors, the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic adopted on October 10 the "Decision on Some Questions Concerning the Agrarian Struggle" and approved the document "How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas," drafted by Mao Zedong, as the criteria for differentiating rural classes.

Mid-June

The CPC provisional central leadership put forward an erroneous principle of "dividing the forces to fight," under which it divided the First Front Army of the Red Army into two sections, with one section (later reorganized as the Central Army) fighting between the Fuhe and Ganjiang rivers, and the other forming the Eastern Army to fight in Fujian Province, in an attempt to win victory simultaneously in the two strategic directions and then seize key cities like Fuzhou and Nanchang so as to achieve victory in the revolution first in Jiangxi and its neighbouring provinces and regions. But the result was that fighting in Fujian for nearly three months, the Eastern Army itself was considerably weakened after it had seized a few cities and towns and wiped out a number of enemy troops. The Central Army, for its part, failed to destroy the enemy in large numbers, too. Thus, the Red Army forfeited the golden chance of getting itself prepared for the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

The Independent Seventeenth Division of the Red Army (made up of the Hunan-Jiangxi Eighth Red Army) and the Eighteenth Division

merged to form the Sixth Army Group of the Red Army. Pending the formal establishment of a leading body, the Army Group was put under the unified command of the leaders of the Seventeenth Division.

June 30

The Central Revolutionary Military Commission decided to make August 1st—the day of the Nanchang Uprising, the day on which the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was founded, which was approved by the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic on July 11. Thereafter, "August 1st" became the Army Day of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

August 12-15

The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic convened an economic construction conference of seventeen counties located in the southern part of the Central Soviet Area. Mao Zedong delivered at the conference a report entitled "On Smashing the Enemy's Fifth 'Encirclement and Suppression' Campaign and the Tasks of Economic Construction in the Soviet Areas" ("Pay Attention to Economic Work" included in Volume I of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* is part of this report.) In this report and the report "Our Economic Policy" delivered at the Second National Soviet Congress in January the following year, Mao Zedong advanced the Party's theory and policy on economic construction in the rural revolutionary base areas.

September

Chiang Kai-shek, with German, Italian and American military advisers helping him to draw up the plan, gathered a force of 1,000,000 men to unleash his fifth military "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the revolutionary base areas on a large scale, using half of the troops to make a converging attack on the Central Revolutionary Base Area. The enemy, adopting new tactics of protracted war and "block-house warfare," occupied Lichuan on September 28. In early October, Li De (Otto Braun), sent to China by the Communist International, arrived in Ruijin from Shanghai to serve as a military adviser. Together with Li De, Bo Gu directly controlled command of the Red Army and pursued a military line of pure defence, as manifested in adventurism in offensive at the outset and conservatism in defence when they met with setbacks. From late January to late March in 1934, the Red Army lost many campaigns and battles. Beginning in mid-April, when the enemy attacked Guangchang with a concentrated force, exponents of the "Left" errors assembled the main force of the Red Army to fight a "decisive battle" with the enemy in order to defend it, and ended up with losing it. And then, when faced with fresh attacks mounted by the enemy, they divided the forces into six routes to put up an all-out defence, only to bring great

losses to the Red Army and the Central Revolutionary Base Area.

October 26

The plenipotentiary of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Red Army Pan Hannian initialled in Ruijin a "Preliminary Agreement on Opposing Japan and Chiang Kai-shek" with Xu Minghong, plenipotentiary of the KMT's Fujian provincial government and its Nineteenth Route Army. On November 20, the generals of the Nineteenth Route Army Cai Tingkai, Chen Mingshu and Jiang Guangnai, together with Li Jishen and other anti-Chiang Kai-shek forces in the KMT, staged the Fujian Incident and set up the anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek "People's Revolutionary Government of the Chinese Republic" in Fuzhou. Chiang Kai-shek immediately transferred nine divisions, that were "encircling and suppressing" the Soviet areas, to Fujian and acted himself as commander-in-chief of the "punitive army." Under Chiang Kai-shek's military pressure, the Nineteenth Route Army split up from within, and in January the following year, the Fujian People's Government crumbled, lasting only 53 days. Committing the "Left" error of closed-doorism, the CPC provisional central leadership failed to give any military assistance to the Nineteenth Route Army.

October 28

The Central Military Commission decided to establish the Seventh and Ninth Army Groups of the Red Army. Xun Huaizhou was appointed commander of the Seventh Army Group and Xiao Jingguang its political commissar; and Luo Binghui commander of the Ninth Army Group and Cai Shufan its political commissar.

November

In order to analyse the experience in the revolutionary struggle and the building of political power in the Soviet areas and prepare for the forthcoming Second National Congress of the Chinese Soviet, Mao Zedong went to Changgang Township in Xingguo, Jiangxi Province and Caixi Township in Shanghang, Fujian Province to conduct investigations and wrote "Survey of Changgang Township" (originally entitled "Model for the Work of the Township Soviet (I)—the Changgang Township") and "Survey of Caixi Township" (originally entitled "Model for the Work of the Township Soviet (II)—the Caixi Township.") Having scored outstanding achievements in leading the people in production and construction and in building democracy and supporting the revolutionary war, the governments of the two townships were commended by Mao Zedong as "true model township governments."

1934

Mid-January

The Sixth Central Committee of the CPC convened its Fifth Plenary Session in Ruijin. The participants discussed Bo Gu's report on the current situation and the Party's tasks, Chen Yun's report on the workers' economic struggle and the work of trade unions in the KMT areas and Zhang Wentian's report on the Chinese Soviet movement and its tasks. On January 18, the session adopted the "Political Resolution of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" and other documents. It elected additional members and alternate members to the Central Committee; re-elected the Political Bureau with Qin Bangxian, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Enlai, Xiang Ying, Chen Shaoyu, Chen Yun, Kang Sheng, Ren Bishi, Zhang Guotao, Mao Zedong, Gu Zuolin and Zhu De as members and Liu Shaoqi, Wang Jiaxiang, Guan Xiangying, Deng Fa and He Kequan (i.e., Kai Feng) as alternate members; elected the Secretariat of the Central Committee (also known as the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee) with Qin Bangxian, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Enlai and Xiang Ying as members; and set up the Central Commission on Party Affairs with Dong Biwu as secretary. This plenary session mistakenly concluded that "an immediate revolutionary situation" existed in China, that the fifth campaign against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" constituted for China "the question of 'who conquers whom,' of the road of the Soviet or the road of colonialism" and was a "struggle for complete victory of the Soviet China." It continued with the erroneous tactics of forming united fronts at lower levels. It persisted in its ultra-Left land policy and continued to criticize the "rich peasant line." It required Party organizations in the KMT areas to "make the greatest effort to prepare, organize and lead the working class in strikes" and positively affirmed the erroneous "Left" line pursued since the Fourth Plenary Session, and so on and so forth. Here they had reached the limit of their "Left" deviationist errors.

January 22-February 1

The Second National Congress of the Chinese Soviet was convened in Ruijin. Present at the congress were 693 deputies and 83 alternate deputies. Mao Zedong delivered a report on the work of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic in the past two years, Zhu De made a report on the building of the Red Army, Lin Boqu on economic development and Wu Liangping on the building of the Soviet areas. The congress adopted the "Outline Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic" and other documents, and elected Mao Zedong and other 174 people members of the Second Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, Luo Ronghuan and other 35 people

alternate members of the committee, and Dong Biwu and other 34 people members of the Central Workers' and Peasants' Inspection Commission. On February 3, the Second Central Executive Committee held its first meeting at which Mao Zedong and other 16 people were elected to form the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee with Mao Zedong as its chairman, Xiang Ying and Zhang Guotao as vice-chairmen. Zhang Wentian was elected chairman of the People's Council with 11 departments subordinate to it. Zhu De was elected chairman of the Central Revolutionary Military Commission, and Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang vice-chairmen.

Spring

The Eastern Fujian Soviet Government was established with Ma Lifeng as its chairman. Earlier, the Fuzhou Central Municipal Party Committee had sent on different occasions Deng Zihui and Tao Zhu as well as Ye Fei and Zeng Zhi to eastern Fujian to guide the peasants' movement and wage armed struggle. In the second half of 1933, the Party launched an armed insurrection in the whole of eastern Fujian. In June 1934, the Eastern Fujian Special Party Committee was set up with Su Da as secretary (who was later replaced by Zhan Rubo.) In September, the Eastern Fujian Independent Division of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was formed. Through arduous struggle, they gradually built up the Eastern Fujian Revolutionary Base Area centring around Fu'an and Lianjiang and covering an area of 10,000 square kilometres. After the Central Red Army embarked on the Long March, the army and people in eastern Fujian persevered in their arduous guerrilla warfare for three years under the leadership of the Party.

February

Chiang Kai-shek, in order to coordinate with his counter-revolutionary military "encirclement and suppression" and intensify his fascist dictatorship, stepped up suppression against the progressive cultural and patriotic democratic movements in the White areas. According to incomplete statistics, as early as in 1931, the KMT government had banned 228 kinds of books and periodicals. In February, the KMT killed in Longhua, Shanghai, five revolutionary writers of the Left-Wing Writers League—they were Rou Shi, Hu Yepin, Bai Mang, Li Weisen and Feng Keng. In June 1933, KMT secret agents assassinated Yang Xingfo, executive member and general secretary of the China League for Protecting Civil Rights. In February 1934, in Shanghai alone, the KMT government banned 149 kinds of books of social sciences and progressive literature and art as well as 76 kinds of progressive periodicals. In November, they assassinated Shi Liangcai, representative figure of the national bourgeoisie who preferred resistance and democracy and was in charge of the Shanghai newspaper *Shen Bao*.

April 20

The "Chinese People's Basic Programme for Fighting Japan" was issued, which was put forward by the CPC and signed by 1,779 people including Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and Li Du. It called on the Chinese nation to put up armed self-defence and drive Japanese imperialism out of China. In May, the General Committee for Armed Self-Defence of the Chinese Nation was set up in Shanghai.

June 19

The Central Committee's Sub-Bureau of Western Hubei-Hunan Area held a meeting at Fengxiangxi of Yanhe County, at which it was decided to set up the Eastern Guizhou Soviet Area. Under the leadership of He Long and Guan Xiangying, the Third Army of the Red Army mobilized the masses in eastern Guizhou to distribute land, expand the revolutionary armed forces and establish the Soviet government. In late July of the same year, the First Worker-Peasant-Soldier Congress of the Eastern Guizhou Soviet Area was convened, at which the Revolutionary Committee of the Eastern Guizhou Special Area was formed through election. The area was composed of the five counties of Yinjiang, Dexian, Yanhe, Songtao and Youyang, with an area of 100 square kilometres and a population of about 100,000.

July

In order to resist Japanese imperialist invasion and thwart the KMT's "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Central Soviet Area, the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission decided to reorganize the Seventh Army Group of the Red Army led by Xun Huaizhou, Yue Shaohua and Su Yu as the Northward Anti-Japanese Advance Corps. Leaving Ruijin, Jiangxi Province, on July 7, the corps joined forces with the Tenth Army of the Red Army led by Fang Zhimin in Taiping County, southern Anhui, and they formed the Tenth Army Group of the Red Army, established the Military and Political Commission with Fang Zhimin as chairman, and continued to advance northward to resist Japanese aggression. In December, Xun Huaizhou was killed in action; in January the following year, Fang Zhimin was captured and killed in Nanchang on August 6. The remaining troops under the command of Su Yu and Liu Ying, after breaking through the encirclement, fought all the way to southern Zhejiang, where they set up a base area and kept up guerrilla operations.

August 7

The Sixth Army Group of the Red Army, under the command of its Military and Political Commission composed of Ren Bishi, secretary of the Hunan-Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee and representative of the Central Committee, Xiao Ke and Wang Zhen, broke through the encir-

clement from the Hunan-Jiangxi Base Area and marched westward to fight in support of the Central Red Army in the campaign against the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression." On August 12, the leading body of the army group was established with Xiao Ke as commander and Wang Zhen as political commissar. On October 24, the Sixth Army Group reached the Eastern Guizhou Base Area and joined forces with the Third Army of the Red Army led by He Long at Muhuang of Yinjiang County. On the 26th, the two armies celebrated their rendezvous at Nanyaojie of Youyang, Sichuan Province. The Third Army of the Red Army resumed its designation of the Second Army Group of the Red Army with He Long as commander and Ren Bishi political commissar. Under the command of Ren Bishi, He Long, Xiao Ke, Guan Xiangying and Wang Zhen the Second and Sixth Army Groups built the Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou Revolutionary Base Area. During this period, the Sixth Army Group grew to 11,000 strong, and the Second Army Group to 9,000 men, adding up to 20,000 men altogether.

August

The Fourth Front Army of the Red Army, with the vigorous support of the people of the Sichuan-Shaanxi Revolutionary Base Area, crushed the enemy's converging attacks in six routes after ten months' bitter fighting, annihilating about 25 enemy regiments.

September 21

The Central Revolutionary Military Commission decided to reorganize the newly formed Twenty-first and Twenty-second Divisions in the Central Revolutionary Base Area into the Eighth Army Group of the Red Army with Zhou Kun as commander and Huang Su political commissar. In November, the Eighth Army Group suffered heavy losses in the Xiangjiang Campaign. In December, the designation of the army group was annulled, and the remaining troops were incorporated into the Fifth Army Group of the Red Army.

September

The Northern Shaanxi Special Party Committee decided to redesignate the guerrillas operating in northern Shaanxi as the Northern Shaanxi Independent Division of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. In January the following year, it was redesignated once again as the Eighty-fourth Division of the Twenty-seventh Army of the Red Army, serving as the backbone force in the Northern Shaanxi Revolutionary Base Area.

Early October

Xingguo, Ningdu and Shicheng counties in the Central Revolutionary Base Area fell into enemy hands one after another, dashing the hopes of thwarting the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression." Frightened

out of their wits, Bo Gu and other central leaders decided, without any discussion by the Political Bureau, that the main forces of the Central Red Army (the First Front Army) withdraw from the Central Revolutionary Base Area and shift to western Hunan to join forces with the Second and Sixth Army Groups. On the evening of the 10th, at the head of the main force of the Red Army along with the organs in the rear area, exceeding 86,000 men, the Party Central Committee and the General Headquarters of the Red Army left Ruijin, advanced towards western Hunan and began the Long March.

October

After the Central Red Army set off on the Long March, the Sub-Bureau (later changed into the Southeastern Sub-Bureau) of the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Area, both headed by Xiang Ying, were formed in the Central Soviet Area. At the same time, the Office of the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic was also formed with Chen Yi and Liang Botai as director and deputy-director respectively, in order to lead the Red Army and the guerrillas left behind in the base areas in south China to keep up the struggle. These forces, led respectively by Xiang Ying, Chen Yi, Zhang Dingcheng, Deng Zihui, Tan Zhenlin, Su Yu, Ye Fei, Fang Fang, Fu Qiutao and Gao Jingting, persisted in arduous guerrilla operations for three years in a dozen of areas in eight provinces. Staying behind in the Central Soviet Area were also leaders of the Provisional Chinese Soviet Central Government such as Qu Qiubai, Chen Tanqiu and He Shuheng. In February 1935, He and Qu were besieged by KMT troops in Changting County, Fujian Province. When trying to break out of the encirclement, He Shuheng was killed and Qu Qiubai was captured and died a martyr's death in Changting.

November

After the Long March had begun, the CPC central leadership committed the error of flightism militarily, making the Red Army suffer colossal losses. By late November, when breaking through the enemy's blockade line along the Xiangjiang River, more than half of the Central Red Army and other personnel were lost, and the total number was reduced to about 30,000. In December, the enemy concentrated massive forces in an attempt to surround and annihilate the Red Army troops that were on its way to western Hunan. At this critical moment, the Red Army seized the passage to Hunan on the 11th, and leaders of the Central Committee immediately convened an emergency meeting to discuss the orientation of the Red Army's movements. Mao Zedong proposed to abandon the plan of joining forces with the Second and Sixth Army Groups and to advance in the direction of Guizhou where the enemy's forces were relatively weak. The majority of the participants

agreed to his proposal with the exception of Bo Gu and Li De, who insisted on carrying out the original plan. On the 15th, the Red Army captured the county seat of Liping. On the 18th, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting in Liping, at which it affirmed Mao Zedong's correct idea, adopted the "Resolution on Establishing a Base Area in the Sichuan-Guizhou Border Area," and decided to give up the plan of moving towards western Hunan but, instead, to advance on northern Guizhou where the enemy's forces were weak. At the end of December, the Red Army occupied Houchang on the south bank of the Wujiang River. On January 1, 1935, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee convened a meeting at Houchang, at which it adopted the "Resolution on the Principle for Operations After Crossing the Wujiang River," deciding to force the Wujiang River and set up the Sichuan-Guizhou Revolutionary Base Area centring on Zunyi. In early January, the Central Red Army forced the Wujiang River and took Zunyi on the 7th.

November 7

The First Army of the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army was formally established with Yang Jingyu as both commander and political commissar. Beginning in 1935, the Second, Third and Sixth Armies of the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army, the Fourth Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Army, the Fifth Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army and the Tangyuan Guerrilla Corps were formed one after another. These forces—all led by the CPC—later became the mainstay of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army.

November 11

Amidst the enemy's converging attacks, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Provincial Party Committee decided that the main forces of the Twenty-fifth Army of the Red Army move out of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Revolutionary Base Area to the exterior line to set up new base areas. On the 13th, the Twenty-fifth Army totalling 2,900 was reorganized, with Cheng Zihua as commander and Wu Huanxian political commissar. On the 16th, it left Luoshan County in Henan and began to march westward. It entered southern Shaanxi in December and set up the Hubei-Henan-Shaanxi Guerrilla Base Area. When Wu Huanxian was killed in August the following year, Xu Haidong became army commander and Cheng Zihua political commissar.

1935

January 15-17

An enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee was convened in Zunyi. Attending the meeting were mem-

bers of the Political Bureau Mao Zedong, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun and Bo Gu and alternate members Wang Jiaxiang, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Fa and He Kequan. The meeting was also attended by leading members of the Red Army Headquarters and various army groups Liu Bocheng, Li Fuchun, Lin Biao, Nie Rongzhen, Peng Dehuai, Yang Shangkun, Li Zhuoran as well as Deng Xiaoping, secretary-general of the Party Central Committee. Li De (Otto Braun), military adviser of the Communist International to China, and his interpreter Wu Xiuquan attended the meeting as observers. At the meeting the mistakes made by the Central Committee in guiding military operations during the campaign against the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" and since the start of the Long March were exposed and criticized, Bo Gu's mistake in defending himself in his report for the failure of the campaign was repudiated, the "General Resolution on the Fight Against the Enemy's Fifth Campaign of 'Encirclement and Suppression'" of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was adopted and some necessary organizational adjustments were made. The resolution explicitly pointed out that the Red Army's failure in its campaign against the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" and the heavy losses it suffered after leaving the Soviet areas should be attributed chiefly to the grave mistakes committed by Bo Gu and Li De in their direction of the military operations. The meeting affirmed the fundamental operational principles formulated by Mao Zedong and others for the Red Army. It elected Mao Zedong member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, deprived Bo Gu and Li De of their supreme military command, decided that Zhu De and Zhou Enlai, principal leaders of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, remain in command of military affairs, and entrusted Zhou Enlai with the responsibility of making the final decision with regard to military affairs on behalf of the Party. In the course of the march after the meeting, the members of the Standing Committee divided up the work among themselves in the light of the spirit of the meeting, with Zhang Wentian holding responsibility in general in place of Bo Gu. After that, the Military Commission decided to set up the Front Headquarters with Zhu De as commander and Mao Zedong political commissar. Then, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang formed the Group of Three to take charge of military operations. Thus, the Zunyi Meeting ended the rule of Wang Ming's "Left" adventurism in the Central Committee and established the correct leadership of the new Central Committee represented by Mao Zedong. It was a meeting at which the CPC laid down its political line, principles and policies independently by applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Saving the Party and the Red Army at an extremely critical moment, it constituted a turning point on which hinged their survival in the history of the CPC and marked the maturity of the Party from its infancy.

January 19

The Red Army left Zunyi and marched northward. In the light of constant changes on the enemy's side, Mao Zedong and others adopted the principle of highly flexible mobile warfare. On January 29, the Red Army entered southern Sichuan Province after passing through Tucheng and Yuanhou and crossing the Chishui River. On February 18, it marched eastward and re-entered Zunyi after crossing the Chishui River for the second time from Taipingdu and Erlangtan, annihilating two divisions and eight regiments of the enemy and thus winning the first major victory since the beginning of the Long March. In mid-March, the Red Army crossed the Chishui River for the third time from Maotai and re-entered Sichuan Province. Soon after that, on March 21, before the enemy knew where it was, it crossed the Chishui River for the fourth time from Taipingdu and Erlangtan and then the Wujiang River in the south, and made a feint attack on Guiyang. Then taking advantage of the chance when the enemy in Yunnan was sending reinforcements to Guiyang, it thrust straight into Yunnan, posing a threat to Kunming. Then, it advanced swiftly towards the northwest and crossed the Jinsha River by means of ingenious tactics in early May. In this way, it got neatly away from the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by several hundred thousand enemy troops and won the decisive victory in the strategic shift, which fully manifested the immense prowess of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

May

The Fourth Front Army of the Red Army began the Long March. Earlier, in November 1934, it had held a meeting at Qingjiangdu of Bazhong County and adopted the principle of advancing on the west and expanding the base area along the Sichuan-Shaanxi border. On January 22, 1935, after the Zunyi Meeting, the Party Central Committee had cabled Zhang Guotao asking him to order the Fourth Front Army to make an attack on the west in support of the Central Red Army that was to cross the Jinsha River and march north. Through fierce fighting at the end of March, the main force of the Fourth Front Army had successfully crossed the Jialing River although it was tightly blockaded by the enemy, thus creating a very favourable situation. However, Zhang Guotao presumptuously abandoned the Sichuan-Shaanxi Base Area and crossed the Fujiang River in April and then the Minjiang River in May, finally arriving at Lifan (now Lixian County). In June, part of the Fourth Front Army reached Maogong (now Xiaojin County).

Part of the Forty-second Division of the Red Army's Twenty-sixth Army and the Eighty-fourth Division of its Twenty-seventh Army joined forces in Anding, northern Shaanxi and set up the General Headquarters of the Northwest Military Commission with Liu Zhidan as commander-

in-chief. From early May to mid-July, under the unified command of Liu Zhidan, the Red Army and the guerrilla forces smashed the enemy's second military "encirclement and suppression" against northern Shaanxi and linked up the Shaanxi-Gansu and Northern Shaanxi base areas to form the Shaanxi-Gansu Revolutionary Base Area. In mid-September, the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Armies and the Twenty-fifth Army from southern Shaanxi joined forces and were reorganized as the Fifteenth Army Group of the Red Army, with Xu Haidong serving as commander, Cheng Zihua political commissar and Liu Zhidan deputy commander and chief of staff.

After crossing the Jinsha River and thanks to its implementation of the correct policy towards the minority nationalities, the Central Red Army smoothly entered Liangshan area inhabited by the Yi nationality in Sichuan Province. In late May it crossed the Dadu River and seized the Luding Bridge by a surprise attack. In early June it crossed the Jiajin Mountain, the first snow-covered mountain along the Long March. On June 12, the vanguard troops of the First and Fourth Front Armies joined forces in Dawei area southeast of Maogong. The rendezvous helped increase the strength of the revolution. On June 14, the two armies celebrated the rendezvous in Maogong area. In the light of the situation after the two armies joined forces, the Party Central Committee formulated the strategic principle of going northward to establish the Sichuan-Shaanxi-Gansu Base Area. But running counter to the Central Committee's principle, Zhang Guotao advocated retreat to the Sichuan-Xikang border. On June 26, for the sake of unifying the strategic principle, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting at Lianghekou and made the "Decision on the Strategic Principle After the First and Fourth Front Armies Joined Forces," rejecting Zhang Guotao's wrong proposition. In the decision it was clearly pointed out that the strategic principle after the two armies joined forces was to "concentrate the main forces to advance on the north, wipe out large numbers of the enemy in mobile warfare and seize southern Gansu first so as to build the Sichuan-Shaanxi-Gansu Soviet Base Area," with a view to leading and promoting the nationwide anti-Japanese movement. Shortly afterwards, for the sake of unity of the entire army, the Central Committee appointed Zhang Guotao general political commissar of the Red Army.

Japanese imperialists began creating disturbances in north China and raised the demand to the KMT for administrative authority over north China. In July, Umezu Yoshijiro, commander of the Japanese troops

stationed in north China, and He Yingqin, acting chairman of the military sub-council of the KMT in north China, signed an agreement (generally known as the "He-Umezu Agreement") through which Japan usurped most of China's sovereignty over Hebei and Chahar provinces.

August 1

In the name of the Chinese Soviet Central Government and Central Committee, the CPC Delegation to the Communist International issued "An Appeal to All Fellow-Countrymen for Resistance Against Japan and for National Salvation," calling on the Chinese people to get united, stop the civil war, fight Japan, save the nation and organize the national defence government and anti-Japanese united army. This appeal played a positive role in promoting the work of the anti-Japanese united front and the anti-Japanese movement for national salvation.

Early August

The Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a meeting at Shawo near Mao'ergai, at which it continued to persuade Zhang Guotao patiently, adopted the "Resolution of the Central Committee on the Political Situation and the Tasks After the First and Fourth Front Armies Joined Forces" and reiterated the strategic principles laid down at the Lianghekou Meeting. After the meeting, in accordance with the suggestion to reorganize the First and Fourth Front Armies into two columns, the Right Column and the Left Column, which was put forward in the "Plan for the Xiahe (River)-Taohe (River) Campaign" drawn up by the Central Revolutionary Military Commission on August 3, the Party Central Committee decided that both the Left and Right Columns march northward under the unified leadership of the Central Committee and its Revolutionary Military Commission. The troops of the Right Column were put under the command of Xu Xiangqian, general commander of the Front Committee, Chen Changhao, political commissar, and Ye Jianying, chief of staff, with Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhang Wentian, Bo Gu and others going along with them. The troops of the Left Column were led by Zhu De, commander-in-chief of the Red Army, Zhang Guotao, its general political commissar, and Liu Bocheng, chief of the general staff. The troops set off from Zhuokeji and Mao'ergai respectively and, through arduous march across the uninhabited, boundless grasslands, finally reached Aba and Baxi in late August.

August 20

The Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held an enlarged meeting at Mao'ergai to continue its discussion on the question of the Red Army's strategy. At the meeting Mao Zedong made a report on the operations after the Xiahe-Taohe Campaign, and a "Supplementary Decision on the Current Strategic Principles" was made, in which Zhang

Guotao's erroneous proposal for the Red Army to march westward, cross the Yellow River and go deep into the desolate Qinghai, Ningxia and Xinjiang provinces was criticized, and the Fourth Front Army was called on to rally around the Central Committee, combat Zhang Guotao's mistakes and persist in marching up north.

September 9

Refusing to carry out the Central Committee's principle of marching north, Zhang Guotao presumptuously ordered the Right Column to march down south in an attempt to split and undermine the Party Central Committee. Ye Jianying, seeing through Zhang's scheme, reported it to Mao Zedong immediately. So, the Central Committee promptly discussed the matter and decided to leave the dangerous area right away and lead the First and Third Armies to move up north. On the 12th, the Political Bureau held another enlarged meeting in Ejie (i.e., Gaoji) in Diebu County, Gansu Province to listen to Mao Zedong's report on "The Controversy with the Leaders of the Fourth Front Army and Future Strategic Principles." After the meeting, the "Decision on Comrade Zhang Guotao's Mistakes" was made and another telegram was sent to him demanding him to correct his mistakes and lead the troops to the north. However, stubbornly sticking to his erroneous position, Zhang Guotao led the Fourth and Thirtieth Armies of the former Fourth Front Army of the Red Army, that now belonged to the Left or Right Columns, to move southward and openly set up a separate central committee in October in Zhuomudiao of Ma'erkang County, Sichuan Province. Upholding unity of the Party, Zhu De, Liu Bochong and others waged a struggle against Zhang Guotao's anti-Party schismatic mistakes under very difficult circumstances. Zhu De had sternly pointed out at a cadres' conference called by Zhang Guotao earlier in Aba: "A southward move will get us nowhere."

September

After the Ejie Meeting, the Central Committee led the First and Third Armies of the Red Army to continue the northward march, and after swiftly breaking through Lazikou, a natural barrier in the southern part of Gansu, and climbing over the Minshan Mountains, finally occupied Hadapu. In accordance with the decision made at the Ejie Meeting, the First and Third Armies and the detachment directly under the Military Commission were then reorganized into the Shaanxi-Gansu Detachment with Peng Dehuai as commander and Mao Zedong political commissar. In late September, the Political Bureau held a meeting at Bangluo Town and formally decided to make northern Shaanxi the headquarters for leading the Chinese revolution.

October 19

The Red Army arrived at Wuqi Town (now the county seat of Wuqi)

in northern Shaanxi. At this point, the First Front Army had triumphantly reached its destination in the Long March. To the rescue of the Party organization, the Red Army and the revolutionary base area in northern Shaanxi, the Central Committee promptly corrected the mistakes made in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries there and released Liu Zhidan and many other cadres who had been wrongly arrested or put under custody.

November 13

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Declaration on the Annexation of North China by Japanese Imperialists and the Sell-out of North and the Whole of China by Chiang Kai-shek." On the 28th, the Chinese Soviet Republic Central Government and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army issued the "Declaration on Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation," calling on all the Chinese people to get united and fight against Japan and Chiang Kai-shek. Earlier in October, Japan had instigated Chinese collaborators in Xianghe of Hebei Province to stage a rebellion and occupy the county seat. In November it incited them to start the "movement for autonomy in the five provinces of north China" and set up the "Eastern Hebei Anti-Communist Autonomous Administration," while the KMT government, in order to meet Japan's demand for "special administration for north China," instructed Song Zheyuan and others to make preparations for the establishment of the "Hebei-Chahar Political Council." In January the following year, Hirota Koki, then foreign minister of Japan, promulgated the "Three Principles for Dealing with China," namely, (1) China must stop all anti-Japanese movements, abandon its pro-European and American stand, and support Japan; (2) recognition of "Manchukuo"; and (3) joint defence by China and Japan against communism. These events demonstrated that the Japanese militarists had gone a big step further in pushing their plan to subjugate China.

November

Under the direct command of the Central Committee and Mao Zedong, the Red Army completely smashed the enemy's third "encirclement and suppression" against the revolutionary base area in northern Shaanxi after annihilating the 109th Division of the KMT's Northeast Army in Zhiluo Town of Fuxian County, Shaanxi Province and then a regiment of its 106th Division in Zhangjiawan area, thus setting up the headquarters of the Central Committee in northwest China, the cornerstone for the nationwide revolution.

December 6

In face of the changes in the domestic political situation, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting at Wayaobao, Anding

County (now Zichang County) in Shaanxi Province, discussing changes to be made in the policy towards the rich peasants and adopting the "Decision on Changing the Policy Towards the Rich Peasants." According to this decision, the rich peasants would be deprived of only their right to feudal exploitation while they could retain their land, commercial businesses and property, and that the Soviet government should ensure the rich peasants the freedom of expanding reproduction and developing industry and commerce.

December 9

With national crisis deteriorating every day, several thousand patriotic students, led and organized by the CPC Provisional Working Committee in Beiping(Beijing), broke through KMT government's reign of terror and held a forceful demonstration for resistance against Japan and for national salvation. They shouted "Oppose the North China Autonomous Administration!" "Down with Japanese imperialism!" "Stop the civil war and unite against Japan!" and other slogans. On the 16th, over 10,000 students and citizens of Beiping held a mass rally at Tianqiao and staged a demonstration on a still larger scale. This movement, known as the December 9th Movement, won the warm support of the people all over the country and brought about a new upsurge across the land for resistance against Japan and for national salvation.

December 17

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting at Wayaobao in Anding County, Shaanxi Province. The meeting was attended by Mao Zedong, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Fa, Zhang Hao (Lin Yuying) and others. On the 23rd, they adopted the "Resolution on the Question of Military Strategy," in which were contained the principles of "combining the civil war with the national war," "preparing forces to fight directly against Japan" and "expanding the Red Army." At the same time, stress was placed on the important strategic role played by the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. On the 25th, the "Resolution on the Current Political Situation and the Party's Tasks" was adopted, in which tactical principles for the anti-Japanese national united front were set forth. After the meeting, on the 27th, Mao Zedong made a report at the conference of Party activists entitled "On the Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," in which he systematically expounded the Party's tactical principles for the anti-Japanese national united front. In both the resolution and the report, it was pointed out that under the new circumstances the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the large numbers of intellectuals were the basic forces resolute in resistance to Japanese aggression, and it was also explained fully that it was possible to form an anti-Japanese national united front with the national bourgeoisie as well. Even the camp of the

landlords and compradors could possibly disintegrate. The Party's basic tactics were to "organize millions upon millions of the masses and mobilize a mighty revolutionary army" to form a broad anti-Japanese national united front. Therefore, it was essential to combat "Left" closed-doorism and at the same time uphold leadership by the proletariat in the united front.

1936

January

Under the leadership of the Manchuria Provincial Party Committee, the Party committees of the Second and Fifth Armies of the People's Revolutionary Army held a meeting in Ning'an County, Heilongjiang Province, discussing coordinated operations among the People's Revolutionary Army units and the setting up of anti-Japanese base areas and the Northeast Anti-Japanese United General Headquarters. Soon after that, the Third Army of the People's Revolutionary Army, the Fourth Army of the Anti-Japanese Allied Army, the Tangyuan Guerrillas, the United Northeast Anti-Japanese People's Army and the Self-Defence Corps had another meeting in Tangyuan County, Heilongjiang Province, and decided to establish the "General Headquarters of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Army."

February

The First to the Sixth Armies of the People's Revolutionary Army that had persisted in anti-Japanese struggle in the Northeast and the Tangyuan and Hailun Guerrillas jointly issued the "Statement on Unifying the Organizational System of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army," announcing that all the anti-Japanese armed forces in the Northeast had been incorporated into the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army. Prior to the outbreak of the nationwide War of Resistance Against Japan, ten armies of the Anti-Japanese United Army were organized or expanded, and the First and Second Armies were grouped together to form the First Route Army, with Yang Jingyu serving as its commander and political commissar.

February 1

The Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps, a mass organization of progressive youth under the leadership of the CPC and with the objective of fighting against Japan and for democracy, was formed in Beiping.

February 20

In order to expand the anti-Japanese armed forces and base areas and make preparations for marching eastward to fight directly against the

Japanese troops, the First Front Army of the Red Army, under the name of the "Anti-Japanese Vanguard of the Chinese People's Red Army" and under the leadership and command of Mao Zedong and Peng Dehuai, crossed the Yellow River at Goukou, Hekou and other places east of Qingjian in northern Shaanxi and launched the eastern expedition. But it was intercepted by Yan Xishan's troops. The Red Army troops fought heroically and won great victories. Unfortunately, Liu Zhidan laid down his life in action. From early March to late April, Chiang Kai-shek mustered ten divisions to reinforce Yan Xishan in an attempt to totally wipe out the Red Army and destroy the Shaanxi-Gansu Revolutionary Base Area. Taking into consideration the overall situation in the war of resistance and for the sake of preserving national defence strength and carrying out the CPC's proposition for stopping the civil war and uniting to fight Japan, the Red Army, on May 5, withdrew all its troops to the west bank of the Yellow River and issued the "Open Telegram for Stopping the Civil War, Holding Peace Talks and Uniting to Resist Japanese Aggression," openly abandoning its anti-Chiang Kai-shek slogan and calling on Chiang and all patriotic armymen under his command to "end the civil war and conduct peace negotiations with the Communist Party for unity against Japan."

Late March

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting in western Shanxi and discussed: one, the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the question of setting up and expanding the anti-Japanese national united front; and two, the CPC's military strategic principles and the question of trying to directly engage the Japanese aggressors as soon as possible.

End of March

In order to improve the Party's leadership over the work in north China, the Party Central Committee sent Liu Shaoqi to Tianjin to take charge of the work of its Northern Bureau. The bureau did a great deal to eradicate the influence of "Left" errors within the Party, correctly implement the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front and unite with all the political parties and class strata that were possibly in favour of resistance to Japan, including the KMT's Twenty-ninth Army in north China, thus consolidating and expanding the achievements of the December 9th Movement and pushing forward the movement waged by the people from all walks of life throughout the country for resisting Japan and saving the nation. At the same time, by adopting the policy of having well-selected cadres working underground and by drawing a clear distinction between the Party's covert work and the overt and semi-overt activities of the masses while correctly combining the two, the Northern Bureau enforced the Party's organization and work in Beiping

and Tianjin. Furthermore, it formed the Shandong Provincial Party Committee, the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee, the Henan Working Committee and a number of Party organizations in central and south China, and sent cadres to Shanghai, Hankou, Guangzhou, Hong Kong and other places to unfold work there. Thus work in the White areas was restored and extended.

April

When the Japanese troops invaded north China and the national movement for resisting Japan and saving the nation surged ahead, the Northern Bureau, in order to unfold work and meet the need of cadres, decided with the approval of the Central Committee that Party members, who had been imprisoned in the Branch Institute for Army-men's Self-Examination in Beiping and had long persisted in heroic struggles there, should go through the formalities to get out of the prison. Subsequently, Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen and others were set free one after another and soon assigned work by the Party. Wang Ruofei and others, who had carried on heroic struggle in the Taiyuan Army Prison, were also rescued from prison in 1937. Besides, many other comrades who had kept up the struggle in KMT's prisons, including Tao Zhu, were released through negotiations held between the CPC and the KMT after the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

April 9

Zhou Enlai and Zhang Xueliang held talks in Fushi (Yan'an), northern Shaanxi on united resistance against Japan for national salvation and the two sides reached an agreement to this end.

May 31

The All-China Federation of All Circles for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation was founded in Shanghai with Shen Junru, Zou Taofen and others as principal leaders. It worked out "Preliminary Policies for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation" and issued a statement in response to the CPC's proposition for "stopping the civil war and uniting to resist Japan."

August

The Japanese and puppet troops began to attack Suiyuan, and Fu Zuoyi, a KMT general, led his troops in putting up resistance. In November, the anti-Japanese war in Suiyuan extended. The Chinese army defeated the joint offensive by Japanese and puppet troops and recovered Bailingmiao. The people throughout the country launched a movement to support Suiyuan.

August 25

The CPC Central Committee addressed an appeal again to the KMT

for stopping the civil war, uniting to resist Japan, working in cooperation with the CPC for the second time and helping form the anti-Japanese national united front based on cooperation between the two parties. On September 1, the CPC Central Committee issued an inner-Party "Directive Concerning the Question of Compelling Chiang Kai-shek to Resist Japan," in which it pointed out that "since Japanese imperialism has been continuing its attack and the national revolutionary movement has been continuing to grow, it is possible for all or the greater part of the KMT's Central Army to join in the resistance. The Party's general policy should therefore be designed to compel Chiang Kai-shek to resist Japan." In the meantime, the CPC Central Committee was preparing to send representatives to negotiate with the KMT.

October 19

Lu Xun, China's great revolutionary writer and thinker, passed away in Shanghai. On the 22nd, to mourn Lu Xun's death, the CPC Central Committee and the Central Government of the Chinese People's Soviet Republic sent a message to fellow countrymen throughout the country and people of the world, calling on all the Chinese people to carry on Lu Xun's behest and strive for the liberation of the Chinese nation and for world peace.

October 22

The three main forces of the Red Army joined forces. Since September 1935 when Zhang Guotao led the troops down south, the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army had wiped out large numbers of enemies, but it had also suffered heavy losses with its total number reduced by half. To avoid encirclement and attack by a strong enemy, it had to withdraw from the Tianquan, Lushan and Baoxing area in February 1936 and shift to the northeastern part of Xikang. In June, Zhang Guotao announced dissolution of the second "central committee." In November 1935, the Second and Sixth Army Groups of the Red Army set off on the Long March from Sangzhi, Hunan. In June 1936, it reached the Ganzi area in Sichuan Province and joined forces with the Fourth Front Army that had arrived there earlier. In early July, they held a meeting to celebrate this event. On the 5th, the two army groups were reorganized, upon orders, as the Second Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with He Long as its commander-in-chief and Ren Bishi political commissar. After the Second and Fourth Front Armies joined forces, thanks to the hard work done by the Central Committee to win him over, the struggle waged by Zhu De, Ren Bishi, He Long, Guan Xiangying and Liu Bochong and the pressure exerted by the commanders and fighters of the Fourth Front Army in favour of a northward march to join the Central Committee, Zhang Guotao could not but agree to march northward along with the Second Front Army.

On October 22, the First, Second and Fourth Front Armies of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army joined forces in the Huining-Jingning area of Gansu, thus bringing the great Long March to a triumphant conclusion.

October

Bo Yibo and Yang Xianzhen were dispatched to Shanxi by the Northern Bureau of the Party Central Committee to establish the anti-Japanese united front with Yan Xishan. After taking over the "League of Self-Sacrifice for National Salvation in Shanxi" founded by Yan Xishan, they turned it into an anti-Japanese progressive body and, making use of this legal organization, propagated the Party's propositions for resistance to Japan, mobilized and armed the masses, started various training courses and training corps and trained a great number of backbone members to lead the work for resisting Japan and saving the nation.

November 10

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Youth Work," according to which the Chinese Communist Youth League was to undergo a fundamental reform so as to function as a mass organization of the youths, and it recruited large numbers of its members into the CPC.

November 23

Seven leaders of the All-China Federation of All Circles for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation, Shen Junru, Zhang Naiqi, Zou Taofen, Li Gongpu, Wang Zaoshi, Sha Qianli and Shi Liang were illegally arrested and put into prison in Shanghai by the KMT government. This incident aroused the indignation and protest of the people throughout the country, who strongly demanded that the KMT government release them immediately. But it was not until July the following year that they were set free.

December 7

After the First, Second and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army joined forces, the unified Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central Committee was formed comprising 23 members with Mao Zedong as chairman and Zhou Enlai and Zhang Guotao as vice-chairmen.

December 12

The KMT's Northeast Army headed by Zhang Xueliang and its Seventeenth Route Army headed by Yang Hucheng, who had made many pleas to Chiang Kai-shek for stopping the civil war and uniting to fight Japan but were reprimanded instead, were compelled to stage the well-known Xi'an Incident by taking into custody Chiang Kai-shek who had come to Xi'an to make arrangements for "suppressing the Commu-

nists." The CPC Central Committee correctly analysed the complicated situation and conducted repeated discussions before it worked out the principle for a peaceful settlement of the incident and sent Zhou Enlai, Qin Bangxian, Ye Jianying and others to Xi'an to take part in the negotiations. On the 24th, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to accept the terms of uniting with the CPC to resist Japan. Afterwards, Zhang Xueliang accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to Nanjing, where he was imprisoned by Chiang. The peaceful settlement of the Xi'an Incident served to promote another Kuomintang-Communist cooperation for united resistance to Japan and represented a turning point from civil war to national War of Resistance Against Japan.

December

Mao Zedong gave a lecture at the Northern Shaanxi Red Army College entitled "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," in which he analysed the experience gained by the CPC in leading armed struggle during the period of the Agrarian Revolutionary War, criticized the mistakes made by "Left" opportunists in military affairs and, basing himself on the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism, thoroughly and systematically expounded the characteristics of the Chinese revolutionary war as well as the thinking and strategy of the people's war, thus enriching and further developing the Marxist military science.

1937

Mid-January

The leading organs of the CPC Central Committee moved from Bao'an in northern Shaanxi to Yan'an.

February 10

The CPC Central Committee sent a telegram to the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Committee of the KMT, in which it raised five demands: end all civil wars and make a united effort to meet foreign aggression; guarantee freedom of speech, assembly and association, and release all political prisoners; call a conference of representatives of all political parties, people of all walks of life and all armies, and concentrate the nation's talents in a common endeavour to save the country; speedily complete all preparations for resisting Japan; and improve the livelihood of the people. It added that if the KMT agreed to make the five demands state policies, the CPC would undertake the following four pledges: the policy of armed insurrection to overthrow the KMT government would be discontinued; the Workers' and Peasants' Government would be renamed the Government of the Special Region of the Republic of China and the Red Army would be redesignated as part of the

National Revolutionary Army; a thoroughly democratic system would be put into effect in the areas under the Government of the Special Region; and the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords would be discontinued and the common programme of the anti-Japanese national united front resolutely carried out. On the 15th, at the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Committee of the KMT, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Feng Yuxiang and others tabled an emergency bill on restoring Sun Yat-sen's Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, in response to the proposal of the CPC for Kuomintang-Communist cooperation and united resistance to Japan.

February to mid-June

The CPC representatives Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying and Lin Boqu and the KMT representatives Gu Zhutong, Zhang Chong, He Zhonghan and Chiang Kai-shek held a number of negotiations in Xi'an, Hangzhou and Lushan on cooperation between the two parties to resist Japan. During the negotiations, Zhou Enlai reiterated on many occasions the five demands and the four pledges put forward by the CPC Central Committee to the KMT's Third Plenary Session and proposed the common programme for Kuomintang-Communist cooperation to resist Japan drafted by the CPC. Chiang Kai-shek and the others tried every means to play for time in an attempt to check the growth of the CPC, the Red Army and the revolutionary base areas so as to achieve his aim of "dissolving the Communist Party," but in the end they had to accept in principle cooperation between the KMT and the CPC for resistance to Japan and agree to the redesignation of the Red Army troops into three divisions with a total strength of 45,000 men.

March

The West Column ended up in defeat in the northern part of Gansu. This column was formed on November 11, 1936, after the three principal armies of the Red Army joined forces, by the main forces of the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army and its Fifth Army, totalling 20,000 men, who had marched westward to cross the Yellow River. After its formation it moved westward to northern Gansu. On their way, the commanders and fighters fought heroically but were finally defeated in March 1937 due to lack of base areas, reinforcements of soldiers and material supplies as well as to fighting against great odds. The majority of the commanders and fighters of the Red Army, including Dong Zhentang, Sun Yuqing and Chen Haisong, laid down their lives heroically, and the remaining troops continued their arduous fighting from place to place in three detachments. The Party Central Committee and its Military Commission showed greatest concern over the difficulties and dangers confronting the West Column and formed in late February the Assisting-

the-West-Column Corps, appointing Liu Bocheng its commander and Zhang Hao its political commissar, ready to go to its rescue. When the corps reached Zhenyuan and Pingliang, it came to a halt when it found that the West Column had already been defeated. Having survived all the hardships and dangers, the Left Detachment of the West Column led by Li Xiannian arrived at Xingxingxia on the border of Gansu and Xinjiang in April. The remaining 400 men entered Dihua (now Urumqi) of Xinjiang with the help of Chen Yun and Teng Daiyuan, representatives of the CPC Central Committee. After the outbreak of the all-out War of Resistance Against Japan, these commanders and fighters and the ones who had kept fighting in the Qilian Mountains, got to Yan'an. In addition, the several thousand commanders and fighters of the West Column, who had been taken prisoner by the enemy and were rescued with the succour of the Party Central Committee also went back to Yan'an in succession.

March 23-31

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Yan'an, discussing the current domestic political situation and the Party's tasks and criticizing, in particular, Zhang Guotao's mistakes. On the 31st, the Political Bureau adopted the "Decision on Comrade Zhang Guotao's Mistakes." The Central Committee still allowed Zhang Guotao sufficient time to correct his mistakes, appointing him vice-chairman of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Government. Admitting his mistakes superficially, Zhang Guotao was preparing to betray the Party. In April the following year, he escaped from the border region and joined the KMT's secret service in Wuhan. On April 18, the CPC Central Committee made the "Decision on Expelling Zhang Guotao from the Party."

April 15

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Appeal to All Comrades in the Party," calling on the entire Party membership to "work hard to consolidate domestic peace, win democratic rights and carry out resistance to Japan" and pointing out, "one of the Party's central tasks at the present stage is to develop the anti-Japanese democratic movement."

May 2-14

The CPC Central Committee held in Yan'an the Party's National Conference (known at the time as the Soviet Areas Representative Conference), which was attended by representatives from the Soviet areas, the White areas and the Red Army. Mao Zedong made the report "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan" and the closing speech "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front," in which he emphasized the

importance of upholding leadership by the proletariat in the united front. The conference affirmed the political line followed by the Party since the Zunyi Meeting and made important preparations for the nationwide War of Resistance Against Japan. After the conference, the Central Committee convened in Yan'an a meeting of the White areas. At the meeting, Liu Shaoqi delivered a report "On the Party and Its Mass Work in the White Areas." The participants analysed the experience and lessons gained in the Party's work in the White areas, criticized the mistakes of "Left" closed-doorism and expounded the Party's basic principles and tactics for struggle concerning its work in the White areas.

July-August

Mao Zedong gave lectures on Marxist philosophy at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yan'an and wrote *On Practice* and *On Contradictions*. In these two philosophical essays, by applying Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism he analysed the Party's historical experience and lessons, exposed and criticized "Left" and Right mistakes, especially the "Left" dogmatist ones, and laid down the correct line of thinking, methods of leadership and methods of work for the CPC, thus enriching and developing Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

IV. The Period of the War of Resistance Against Japan

July 1937—August 1945

1937 (July—December)

Evening of July 7

The Japanese aggressor troops launched an attack on the Chinese troops stationed at the Lugouqiao (Marco Polo Bridge) Bridge in Wanping County on the outskirts of Beiping. A section of the Chinese Twenty-ninth Army garrisoned there rose in resistance, thus ushering in the nationwide War of Resistance Against Japan.

July 8

The CPC Central Committee issued an "Open Telegram on the Japanese Army's Attack at the Lugouqiao Bridge," in which it pointed out that a war of resistance by the whole nation was the only way out for China, calling on the people of the country, the government and the armed forces to unite and build up a national united front as an impregnable great wall of resistance to Japanese aggression. On the 9th, Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Peng Dehuai and He Long, leaders of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, sent a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek demanding for a nationwide general mobilization for resistance to Japan and requesting on behalf of the Red Army soldiers to be sent to the front to fight the enemy. On the 15th, the representative of the CPC handed the "Declaration of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Announcing the Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation" to Chiang Kai-shek on the Lushan Mountains. In the declaration the CPC stressed, "We cannot defeat Japanese imperialist aggression unless the Chinese nation is united." It also set forth to all the countrymen the following general objectives of struggle: to fight for the independence, freedom and liberation of the Chinese nation, to put democracy into effect, and to enable the Chinese people to lead a happy and prosperous life. At the same time, it solemnly declared: the Party was ready to fight for the complete realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, to abolish the Soviet governments and have them changed into governments of special regions, to give up the Red Army's designation and reorganize it as part of the National Revolutionary Army, and to

introduce thoroughly democratic systems in the special regions and discontinue the policy of forcible confiscation of the land of the landlords.

July 17

Representatives of the Chinese Communist Party Zhou Enlai, Qin Bangxian and Lin Boqu held negotiations on the Lushan Mountains with KMT representatives Chiang Kai-shek, Zhang Chong, Shao Lizi and others. The Communist Party representatives proposed to make the "Declaration of the CPC Central Committee on Announcing the Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation" the political basis for cooperation between the two parties. On the same day, Chiang Kai-shek made a statement at Lushan concerning the Lugouqiao Incident, saying, "Once the war breaks out, every person, young or old, in the north or in the south, must take up the responsibility of resisting Japan and defending our homeland, and make up his mind to sacrifice everything." As a matter of fact, he had not made up his mind yet but cherished the "hope to settle the Lugouqiao Incident peacefully through diplomatic channels," shelving the proposal raised by the Communist Party.

August 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive Concerning Work in the Guerrilla Zones in South China," in which it analysed the domestic situation since the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, explained in principle the need to abolish the Soviet system, stop confiscating the land of the landlords, change the designation of the Red Army and strengthen the Party organization and mass work, asked comparatively sizable Red Army and guerrilla units to hold negotiations with the KMT garrison troops or local governments in their vicinities on matters of cooperation, and stressed, "We must explain to people both inside and outside the Party the need to make the changes mentioned above in order to form a national united front. But at the same time we must also point out that long-term patient work and unremitting hard struggle are likewise necessary in order to reach a compromise with the Kuomintang by peaceful means."

August 13

As Japan was expanding its war of aggression, the "August 13th Incident" took place. The Japanese invading troops launched a massive attack on Shanghai and threatened to subjugate China in a few months' time. The army and people in Shanghai rose in resistance. Since the centre of KMT rule was under direct menace, the Foreign Ministry of the KMT government issued on the 14th a statement of "self-defence." And at this point Chiang Kai-shek expressed his consent that the main force of the Red Army in the northwest be redesignated as the Eighth

Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army and that it set up a general command.

August 20

The headquarters of the First Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army issued a proclamation calling on the workers, peasants, merchants and students in northeast China to "rise and plunge into the Sino-Japanese war, defeat the Japanese imperialists, overthrow the puppet 'Manchukuo' government and fight for an independent, free and prosperous China." After that, units of the Anti-Japanese United Army and Communist organizations fighting in Jilin and north Manchuria issued similar calls in different forms. In the same month, the Eleventh Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army was formed. To deal more effective blows at the enemy and strengthen unified leadership, the Standing Committee of the CPC Jilin Provincial Committee held a meeting on September 29 and decided to establish the Second Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army with Zhou Baozhong as its general commander. Later, in April 1939 the CPC Provisional Provincial Committee of North Manchuria decided to reorganize the headquarters of the North Manchuria Anti-Japanese United Army and formed the Third Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army with Zhang Shouqian (Li Zhaolin) as its general commander. During its heyday, the troops of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army exceeded 30,000.

August 21

The Chinese and Soviet governments signed a treaty of mutual non-aggression. The two sides "condemned the settlement of international disputes by means of war" and committed themselves not to ally with one or several other countries to invade each other. The Soviet Union for its part promised to give extensive support to China in its anti-Japanese war and offered the Chinese government loans with which to buy Soviet arms and other army supplies.

August 22-25

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting in Luochuan, northern Shaanxi. Attending the meeting were members of the Political Bureau, members of the Central Committee and principal leaders from various fields of work, totalling 23. They were: Mao Zedong, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Ren Bishi, Guan Xiangying, Liu Bocheng, He Long, Bo Gu, Peng Dehuai, Zhang Hao, Lin Biao, Nie Rongzhen, Luo Ronghuan, Zhang Wenbin, Xiao Jingguang, Lin Boqu, Xu Xiangqian, Zhou Jianping, Fu Zhong, Kai Feng, Zhang Guotao and Zhou Kun. Mao Zedong delivered a report on military affairs and on relations between the KMT and the CPC. The

meeting adopted the "Decision on the Current Situation and the Party's Tasks" and the "Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation." The meeting analysed the new situation since the outbreak of the nationwide war of resistance and the protractedness of the war and pointed out that the dispute between the CPC and the KMT was no longer on whether or not a war of resistance should be waged but on how to win victory in the war and that the key to winning the war hinged on the implementation of the line of total resistance put forward by the CPC and opposition to the line of partial resistance advocated by the KMT. Therefore, the meeting decided to uphold leadership by the proletariat in the united front; to wage an independent guerrilla warfare extensively in the mountainous regions in the enemy's rear in order to achieve the strategic tasks of coordinating with the front, opening up battlefields in the enemy's rear and setting up anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines; to give free rein to anti-Japanese mass movements in the KMT areas and win political and economic rights which the people of the whole country were entitled to; and to make reduction of rent and interest rates the basic policy of solving the peasant question during the period of anti-Japanese war. The meeting decided that the new Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee be composed of 11 members with Mao Zedong as secretary and Zhu De and Zhou Enlai as deputy secretaries. During the meeting (on August 23), the Standing Committee of the Central Committee decided to establish the "Yangtse River Area Committee" with Zhou Enlai, Qin Bangxian, Ye Jianying, Dong Biwu and Lin Boqu as members and Zhou Enlai as secretary.

August 25

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued the order to reorganize the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army as the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army with Zhu De as general commander, Peng Dehuai deputy general commander, Ye Jianying chief of staff, Zuo Quan deputy chief of staff, Ren Bishi director of the Political Department and Deng Xiaoping deputy director. With a total strength of 45,000 men, the Army was comprised of three divisions: the 115th Division, formed on the basis of the First Front Army and the Fifteenth Army Group of the former Red Army, with Lin Biao as commander (after he was injured in March 1938 and left the post, Chen Guang became acting commander), Nie Rongzhen as deputy commander and Luo Ronghuan as director of the political training department; the 120th Division, formed on the basis of the Second Front Army of the former Red Army, with He Long as commander, Xiao Ke as deputy commander and Guan Xiangying as director of the political training department; and the 129th Division, formed on the basis of the Fourth Front Army of the former Red Army, with Liu Bocheng as commander, Xu Xiangqian as deputy commander and Zhang Hao as

director of the political training department. At the same time, the Party Central Committee decided to set up the Front Sub-Committee of the Military Commission (later known as the North China Military Sub-Committee) with Zhu De as secretary and Peng Dehuai deputy secretary. From late August to the end of September, the main forces of the three divisions moved to the anti-Japanese front in Shanxi Province, the 385th Brigade (not including the 769th Regiment) of the 129th Division leaving behind to defend the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. On September 11, the Military Council of the National Government had the Eighth Route Army changed into the Eighteenth Group Army and the general command into headquarters and general commander and deputy general commander into commander-in-chief and deputy commander-in-chief. In October, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee decided to resume the political commissar system in the Eighth Route Army and appointed Nie Rongzhen political commissar of the 115th Division (the post was taken over by Luo Ronghuan when Nie was transferred to serve as commander and political commissar of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Military Area), and Guan Xiangying as political commissar of the 120th Division and Zhang Hao of the 129th Division (succeeded by Deng Xiaoping in January 1938). Before the Eighth Route Army went to the front, the CPC set up liaison or communications offices of the Eighth Route Army in Xi'an, Taiyuan, Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan, Changsha, Guilin, Lanzhou, Dihua (now Urumqi), Chongqing, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Nanning, Luoyang and Guiyang. Through these legal organs, the CPC improved its work in the KMT areas, mobilizing the masses and uniting with the patriots from all circles, who took part in the anti-Japanese war in support of the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines.

September 17

Mao Zedong sent a telegram to Zhu De, Peng Dehuai and the commanders and deputy commanders of the divisions of the Eighth Route Army, in which he pointed out, "As a detachment, the Red Army is not playing a decisive role in a decisive battle. However, if properly deployed, it can play a decisive role in supporting the guerrilla warfare in north China (chiefly in Shanxi)." In view of the fact that the Japanese army mustered quite a large number of troops to attack Shanxi along the Beiping-Suiyuan Railway in an attempt to seize Taiyuan and threaten the friendly forces from the flanks and the rear, and in order to deploy our troops strategically on the flanks of the enemy and check the enemy's attack on Taiyuan and its southward movement, support the friendly forces and carry out an independent guerrilla warfare in the mountainous regions, the CPC Central Committee decided to disperse the three divisions of the Eighth Route Army instead of dispatching them all to the Hengshan Mountains.

Mid-September

The North Bureau of the Party Central Committee convened a meeting in Taiyuan, discussing plans for Party organizations in various places to mobilize the masses to assist the Eighth Route Army in its actions and for waging guerrilla warfare in north China.

September 21

The headquarters of the Eighth Route Army led by Zhu De, Ren Bishi, Deng Xiaoping and Zuo Qian arrived at Taiyuan. In the evening, leading members of the North Bureau of the Central Committee and the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army held discussions on the situation in the war of resistance in north China and on principles for guiding the actions of the Eighth Route Army. On the same day, Mao Zedong cabled to Peng Dehuai, reiterating that the Red Army must implement the strategic principle of waging an independent guerrilla warfare in the mountainous regions. He pointed out, "Although the Red Army is not playing any decisive role in a decisive battle, it has one strong point with which it can undoubtedly play a decisive role, that is, it can wage a truly independent guerrilla warfare (not mobile warfare) in the mountainous regions. To do this, it has to deploy a strategically superior force against the flanks of the enemy, to disperse its troops to build base areas and mobilize the masses, instead of concentrating them for battles." On September 25, Mao Zedong cabled to the North Bureau of the Central Committee, pointing out, "In your work in north China as a whole, you should concentrate solely on guerrilla warfare."

September 22

After a delay of more than two months the Central News Agency of the KMT published the "Declaration of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Announcing the Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation." On the 23rd, Chiang Kai-shek made a statement in which he apparently recognized the legal status of the CPC. The publication of the Communist Party's declaration and Chiang Kai-shek's statement proclaimed the realization of the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation for the second time and indicated the formal formation of the anti-Japanese national united front with cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party as the mainstay.

September 23

The headquarters of the Eighth Route Army which had moved to Wutai County, Shanxi Province, instructed the 120th Division to march swiftly to Yanmenguan from the left to assist friendly troops there and the 115th Division from the right to fight in cooperation with them. On the 25th, a section of the 115th Division ambushed the enemy at Pingxingguan in northeastern Shanxi and won the first battle, wiping out

more than 1,000 Japanese troops of the Twenty-first Brigade of the Itagaki Division and destroying over 100 trucks. The major victory won by the Chinese troops that took the initiative to attack the enemy in the north China battlefield smashed the myth that the "Imperial Army" was invincible and greatly enhanced the confidence of the army and people throughout the country in victory.

September 25

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Draft Resolution on the Communist Party's Participation in the Government," in which it stated that before the national government was changed from a one-party dictatorship of the KMT into an anti-Japanese united front government of the whole nation, in general the Communist Party must not participate in such a government or in any of its administrative councils or committees, "for such participation would only obscure the distinctive features of the Communist Party, help prolong the KMT's autocratic rule and impede rather than further the effort to bring a unified democratic government into existence." It pointed out that only when the national government promulgated an administrative programme in accordance with the Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation put forward by the Communist Party and began to show in deed its sincerity to carry out this programme and only when it recognized the legal status of the Communist Party and guaranteed it freedom to mobilize, organize and educate the masses, would the Communist Party participate in the government and undertake administrative responsibilities.

September 29

Mao Zedong published his article "Urgent Tasks Following the Establishment of Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation," in which he pointed out that the re-establishment of the united front between the two parties had ushered in a new period in the Chinese revolution and would play a decisive role in defeating Japanese imperialism. However, as things stood, the united front was not fully developed or consolidated. It was essential to develop and broaden it by drawing in the masses, pursuing a common programme and carrying out necessary reforms. These were the urgent tasks confronting the Chinese revolution today. Accomplishment of these tasks would definitely make it possible to defeat Japanese imperialism.

September

In accordance with the verbal agreement reached during the negotiations between the KMT and the CPC, the CPC changed the Soviet Government in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Revolutionary Base Area into the Government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region with

23 counties in the three provinces under its jurisdiction. The border region with Yan'an as its capital was the seat of the CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission as well as the centre guiding the revolutionary struggle of the people throughout the country. Thousands upon thousands of patriotic youths, in pursuit for revolutionary truth, went to Yan'an from all parts of the country, crossing mountains and rivers and defying obstructions and persecutions by the KMT army and police. After studying in the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, the Northern Shaanxi College, the Lu Xun Academy of Arts or other schools in Yan'an, they went to the battlefield behind the enemy lines or took up other posts, many of them becoming outstanding members of the CPC and backbone activists in uniting the people of various nationalities to persist in the war of resistance.

Late September

The General Battlefield Mobilization Committee of the Second War Zone in the National Revolutionary War was set up in Taiyuan. This was the product of the negotiations held between Zhou Enlai and Peng Dehuai with Yan Xishan, the strongman in Shanxi. With Xu Fanting serving as chairman and Deng Xiaoping, Nan Hanchen, Peng Xuefeng and others participating in leadership work, this committee played an important role in recruiting soldiers, organizing people's self-defence corps and mobilizing the masses to take part in the war of resistance.

October

The CPC and the KMT negotiated and reached an agreement on redesignating the Red Army units and guerrilla forces operating in a dozen of places in the border areas of Hunan, Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Hubei, Henan and Anhui provinces (not including the Qiongya Red Army Guerrillas in Guangdong) into the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. The headquarters of the New Fourth Army was formed in late December in Wuhan and moved to Nanchang on January 6, 1938. With Ye Ting as commander, Xiang Ying deputy commander, Zhang Yunyi chief of staff, Zhou Zikun deputy chief of staff, Yuan Guoping director of the Political Department and Deng Zihui its deputy director, the army was comprised of four detachments with a total strength of 10,300 men. At the same time, the CPC Central Committee decided to set up a Southeast Sub-Bureau and the New Fourth Army Sub-Commission of the Military Commission, with Xiang Ying serving as secretary of the sub-bureau and of the sub-commission and Chen Yi as deputy secretary of the sub-commission.

October 16

Liu Shaoqi wrote "Some Basic Problems Concerning the Guerrilla War Against Japan," pointing out that after the regular war waged by

the KMT troops as the main force in north China suffered setbacks and vast areas fell into the hands of the Japanese army, the guerrilla war led by the CPC would become the principal form of struggle for the people there in their fight against Japanese imperialism. To persist in guerrilla war for a long period of time, it was imperative to establish base areas and transform the government of one-party dictatorship of the KMT into a genuine anti-Japanese government of the people and implement the specific policies put forward by the CPC in the "Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation."

October 19

The 769th Regiment of the 129th Division made a night raid upon the Yangmingpu Airfield in Daixian County, destroying 20 enemy planes at least and killing more than 100 enemy troops. To check the two Japanese divisions that were moving west to Taiyuan and coordinate with the Xinkou Operation, the 129th Division marched to the vicinity of Niangziguan and fought battles at Changshengkou, Qigencun and Huangyadi, annihilating nearly 1,000 enemy troops. And the 115th Division also wiped out more than 1,000 enemy troops in an ambush in the town of Guangyang. These battles constituted effective support to the defensive operation at Xinkou.

Starting from November, the three divisions of the Eighth Route Army spread to the rear areas of the enemy in a strategic move and carried out the strategic task of building anti-Japanese base areas by cooperating with the local Party organizations and mobilizing the masses. Part of the 115th Division, under the command of Nie Rongzhen, worked to create the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Anti-Japanese Base Area with the Hengshan region in northeastern Shanxi as its centre, while the main force of the division moved to southwestern Shanxi to build the Southwestern Shanxi Base Area there. The 120th Division marched to the Guancen Mountain Range and set to building the Northwestern Shanxi Anti-Japanese Base Area. And the 129th Division entered southeastern Shanxi with the Taihang Mountains as its defence and established the Shanxi-Hebei-Henan Anti-Japanese Base Area. At the same time, the CPC Shandong Provincial Committee held a meeting in mid-October in Jinan, at which the participants discussed the Party Central Committee's directive on mobilizing the masses in Shandong for the war effort. The committee worked out plans for the military sub-area to launch an armed uprising. It then led the people to stage armed uprisings and wage guerrilla war against the Japanese aggressors in northwestern Shandong, the border area between Hebei and Shandong, the Tianfu, Heitie and Culai mountains, Taixi, Jiaodong, Southeastern Shandong and west of the Weishan Lake, recovering a large tract of territory and establishing anti-Japanese base areas.

November 12

At a meeting of Party activists in Yan'an Mao Zedong made a report entitled "The Situation and Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan," in which he stressed the need to uphold the principle of independence and initiative within the united front and pointed out in clear-cut terms that capitulationism must be combated both inside the Party and throughout the country.

November

The New Army of Shanxi Province, with the Shanxi Youth Resistance Dare-to-Die Corps as its backbone force, moved to the southeastern, southwestern and northwestern areas of Shanxi and worked together with the Eighth Route Army in mobilizing the masses to wage guerrilla warfare and building anti-Japanese base areas. The Dare-to-Die Corps was organized in August 1937 after obtaining approval from Yan Xishan by Communists headed by Bo Yibo and it consisted in the main of people attending the courses for military and political cadres which had been sponsored by the former League of Self-Sacrifice for National Salvation. With one regiment to start with, it developed to four contingents (regiments) and then expanded to four columns (brigades). Founded during the upsurge of the anti-Japanese war, the Shanxi New Army also consisted of such units as the Workers' Armed Self-Defence Column, the Political Security Column and the First Provisional Division. Belonging to Yan Xishan's army organizationally, the New Army constituted a special form of the united front and was in fact a people's armed force led by Communists.

December 9-14

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened a meeting. Wang Ming, the CPC representative to the Communist International and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of its Presidium, who had just come back from the Soviet Union at the end of November, made a report entitled "How to Carry on the Nationwide War of Resistance and Win the War?" in which he raised some correct views on uniting with the KMT in the war of resistance, but he also put forward a series of Right capitulationist ideas on the question of how to consolidate and broaden the anti-Japanese national united front. He criticized the Luochuan Meeting for laying too much stress on independence and initiative, democracy and people's livelihood, obliterated the difference in principle between the CPC and the KMT in regard to the anti-Japanese war, belittled the great role of the guerrilla warfare led by the CPC, cherished the illusion to achieve quick victory by relying on the KMT troops, stressed the need to do "everything through the united front" and "submit everything to the united front," and advocated relinquishing of leadership by the proletar-

iat. For a period of time his erroneous ideas influenced some comrades but they were not adopted by the meeting in the form of a resolution thanks to resistance by Mao Zedong and others. The meeting decided to add Wang Ming, Chen Yun and Kang Sheng to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. It also decided to appoint a delegation of the CPC Central Committee, with Zhou Enlai, Wang Ming, Bo Gu and Ye Jianying as its members, in order to negotiate with the KMT, to set up a Changjiang Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, with Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu, Xiang Ying and Dong Biwu as its members, in order to lead the Party's work in south China, and to set up a Southeast Sub-Bureau composed of Xiang Ying, Zeng Shan, Chen Yi, Fang Fang and Tu Zhenrong, with Xiang Ying serving as secretary, in order to guide work in the New Fourth Army.

December 13

The Japanese troops occupied Nanjing, capital of the KMT government. Directed by Matsui Iwane, commander of Japan's expeditionary army in central China, and Tani Toshio, commander of the Sixth Division, the Japanese troops executed a brutal massacre in Nanjing that lasted for nearly six weeks, killing over 300,000 Chinese army men and civilians, which became known as the Nanjing Massacre that shocked the world.

December 23

The CPC Central Committee delegation and the Changjiang Bureau of the Central Committee convened the first joint meeting at which it was decided to merge the two into one organization consisting of Zhou Enlai, Xiang Ying, Bo Gu, Ye Jianying, Wang Ming, Dong Biwu and Lin Boqu, with Wang Ming as secretary and Zhou Enlai deputy secretary. Outside the Party it was called the CPC Central Committee Delegation, while inside the Party it was the Changjiang Bureau. During the period when he was in charge of the work of the Changjiang Bureau, Wang Ming issued a number of statements, resolutions and articles that contained erroneous views and spread his erroneous ideas without approval from the Central Committee. At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held from February 27 to March 1, 1938, Wang Ming advocated "unified command, unified organizational lineup, and unified arms, discipline, pay, operational plans and combat operations" to second the KMT's proposal for "one army only." Wang Ming's errors produced some adverse effect on the Party's work in the KMT areas that was in the process of recovery and development, impeding the spread of anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare and the work of setting up base areas behind the enemy lines in central China. However, the work of the Changjiang Bureau of the CPC Central Committee should not be placed on a par with the Right errors made by Wang Ming.

The bureau achieved enormous successes in its work when the war of resistance was surging ahead nationwide.

1938

January 2

The Federation of Overseas Chinese in Europe for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation sponsored a New Year's forum in Paris, at which Wu Yuzhang spoke on the situation of China's war of resistance. On the 9th, the federation held a second forum, at which a resolution was adopted to express sympathy and solicitude to officers and men fighting the enemy at the front in the motherland and the families of the ones who laid down their lives for the country, to request the National Government to immediately sever diplomatic relations with Japan, eliminate Chinese collaborators, confiscate all the property of the Japanese and the Chinese collaborators in China, arm the masses, expand international propaganda, improve the people's living conditions and build up the national defence industry; and to call on the overseas Chinese throughout Europe to boycott Japanese goods and buy treasury bonds for saving the nation.

January 10

The Congress of Armymen, Government Officials and Civilians of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Area was convened in Fuping, western Hebei. Present were more than 140 delegates, who elected the Provisional Administrative Council of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Area with Song Shaowen serving as chairman. This was the first anti-Japanese democratic government in the nature of a united front led by the CPC and established behind the enemy lines. Situated in between the Beiping-Suiyuan, Beiping-Hankou, Datong-Puzhou and Zhengding-Taiyuan railways, it was of great strategic importance.

February

To strengthen military and political cooperation between the KMT and the CPC, the CPC Central Committee approved of Zhou Enlai's serving as deputy director of the Political Department of the National Government's Military Council. Zhou correctly implemented the CPC Central Committee's principle of consolidating and expanding the anti-Japanese national united front and waged a resolute struggle against the KMT's line of partial resistance and anti-Communist policy. Meanwhile, under the direct leadership of Zhou Enlai, Guo Moruo, director of the Third Division of the Military Council's Political Department, did a great deal of propaganda work in favour of resistance to Japan, thus uniting with and organizing people of the progressive cultural circles.

February-March

The troops of the New Fourth Army's Fourth Detachment, led by Gao Jingting, set out from Qiliping, Huang'an County in Hubei and Zhugou, Queshan County in Henan and assembled in an area west of Huoshan in Anhui. In March and April, the First, Second and Third Detachments of the New Fourth Army arrived at Yansi in southern Anhui, and the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army also moved there from Nanchang. Acting in compliance with the Central Committee's directive for the New Fourth Army to move to areas behind the enemy lines immediately to set up base areas there, Su Yu led an advance detachment to march to the enemy's rear area in southern Jiangsu in April and won the first battle at Weigang. From May to July, the First and Second Detachments, led respectively by Chen Yi and Zhang Dingcheng, entered the enemy's rear area in southern Jiangsu to launch guerrilla warfare and build an anti-Japanese base area with Maoshan as its centre. Led by Zhang Yunyi and Tan Zhenlin, the Third Detachment moved to areas along the Yangtse River in southern Anhui to fight the Japanese invaders in support of the First and Second Detachments that were moving towards southern Jiangsu. In May, the Fourth Detachment, stationed north of the Yangtse River, moved eastward to Shucheng, Tongcheng, Lujiang and Wuwei to wage guerrilla warfare against Japan and won its first battle in an ambush at the ferry of the Jiangjia River, Chaoxian County. In July, the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army moved from Yansi to Yunling in Jingxian County.

Early April

More than 30,000 Japanese troops launched a converging attack on southeastern Shanxi along nine routes in an attempt to wipe out the main force of the Eighth Route Army that had just arrived at the Taihang Mountain region. With the cooperation of the masses, the 129th Division and a part of the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army as well as the First and Third Columns of the Dare-to-Die Corps attacked and harassed the enemy troops, landing them in a state of fatigue and panic and finally forcing them to withdraw. Following up the victory with hot pursuit, the troops recovered 18 county towns including Liaoxian and Licheng, wiping out 4,000 enemies. In the face of Japanese attacks, a part of the KMT troops put up resistance while some units shifted to northern Henan and the Zhongtiao Mountain region. This victory created favourable conditions for the consolidation and expansion of the Shanxi-Hebei-Henan Border Area.

April 21

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive Concerning Guerrilla Warfare in the Plains," in which it pointed out that the experience gained since the war of resistance showed that it was also possible to

conduct guerrilla warfare in the plains and that Party organizations and the Eighth Route Army should firmly adopt the policy of carrying out extensive guerrilla warfare in the plains of Hebei and Shandong to arouse the largest number of people to engage in open armed struggle, organize guerrilla units and self-defence corps that did not divorce themselves from production, establish anti-Japanese democratic government as soon as possible and create and develop base areas.

Late April

In order to wage anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare in the plains and to coordinate with the KMT troops in the Xuzhou Battle, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and the Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army decided that Xu Xiangqian lead the 769th Regiment of the 129th Division, the 689th Regiment of the 115th Division and the 5th Detachment to march to southern Hebei, where they eliminated large numbers of Japanese and puppet troops as well as armed bandits, recovered some county towns and set up in August the Southern Hebei Administrative Office with Yang Xiufeng as its director.

May 4

Mao Zedong sent a telegram to Xiang Ying, secretary of the Southeast Sub-Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, instructing the New Fourth Army to wage guerrilla warfare in the vast area between Guangde, Suzhou, Zhenjiang, Nanjing and Wuhu, organize and arm the masses, and build base areas.

May

Mao Zedong published his "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan" and "On Protracted War," in which he comprehensively analysed the era in which the Sino-Japanese war took place and the basic characteristics of Japan and China, expounded the general principle for the protracted war of resistance, the strategic role of the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare and the strategies and tactics of the people's war, made a scientific prediction on the development of the anti-Japanese war, and refuted the "theory of national subjugation," the "theory of quick victory" and the erroneous ideas of belittling the guerrilla warfare. As brilliant classics on solving the problems in the anti-Japanese war by dialectical materialism and historical materialism, these two articles enriched and further developed Marxist military science.

June

Soong Ching Ling founded the China Defence League in Guangzhou and Hong Kong respectively, with the aim of publicizing the Chinese people's anti-Japanese movement among people of various countries as well as the overseas Chinese, collecting medicine and other materials and introducing medical teams organized by international friends to take

part in rescue work in the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines.

July

The CPC Hebei-Rehe Border Area Special Committee, under coordination of the Fourth Column of the Eighth Route Army, mobilized broad sections of workers and peasants in 20-odd counties in eastern Hebei and the Tangshan mine area and launched an anti-Japanese armed uprising, thus placing the vast rural areas in eastern Hebei under its control. But shortly afterwards, the insurgent units suffered great losses under attacks of Japanese reinforcements. Consequently, the Fourth Column had to retreat to the area west of Beiping, while Li Yunchang led 2,000 men remaining there to carry on the struggle.

August

Led by Li Jingquan, the newly formed Daqingshan Detachment of the 120th Division left northwestern Shanxi for Suiyuan to wage guerrilla warfare there in coordination with local Party organizations. Towards the end of the year, the Daqingshan guerrilla base area comprising western, southern and central Suiyuan was built.

September 14

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened a meeting at which Wang Jiaxiang conveyed the decision of the Communist International and the views of Georgi Dimitrov to the effect that the Chinese Communist Party had been following a correct political line in forming, in the past year, the anti-Japanese national united front and had truly practised Marxism-Leninism under complicated and difficult conditions, and that the leading body of the CPC Central Committee should solve the problem of unified leadership headed by Mao Zedong and bring about an atmosphere of close unity. On September 26, the Political Bureau held another meeting at which it was decided that the main items on the agenda of the Sixth Plenary Session should be as follows: one, Zhang Wentian to preside over the opening ceremony; two, Wang Jiaxiang to convey the instructions of the Communist International; and three, Mao Zedong to make a political report.

September 29-November 6

The Sixth Central Committee of the CPC held the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session in Yan'an. At the session Wang Jiaxiang relayed the instructions of the Communist International. Mao Zedong delivered a political report under the title "On the New Stage" and made a summary of the session, in which he requested comrades of the entire Party to shoulder the great historic duty of leading the War of Resistance Against Japan. The session adopted the "Political Resolution of the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Commu-

nist Party" and approved the line of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee represented by Mao Zedong. It decided to make constant efforts to consolidate and expand the anti-Japanese national united front and to support the long-term war with long-term cooperation. At the same time, it criticized the practice of accommodation which stressed unity to the neglect of struggle in the united front and the error of pinning the hope of victory in the war of resistance on the KMT troops and placing the destiny of the people on legal movements in the KMT areas. The session reiterated the Party's principle of boldly and independently organizing the people to wage armed struggle against Japanese invaders and decided to shift the focus of the Party's work to the war zones and the areas behind the enemy lines, and to consolidate north China and develop central China with redoubled efforts. The session stressed that all the Party membership, from the top to the bottom, should conscientiously study the theories of Marxism-Leninism, skilfully apply Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to the concrete conditions in China and oppose dogmatism. In view of the fact that the Party was in a new environment of the war of resistance, that Right capitulationists in the Party violated organizational discipline and that Zhang Guotao, who first conducted schismatic activities against the Party and its Central Committee and finally betrayed the Party and went over to the KMT in April 1938, the session adopted documents on organizational building, such as "Decision on the Rules and Discipline Governing the Work of the Central Committee," "Decision on the Provisional Organizational Set-ups of Party Committees at Various Levels" and "Decision on the Rules and Discipline Governing the Work of the Party Headquarters at Various Levels"—all for the purpose of improving the system of democratic centralism and consolidating the Party's unity. The session decided to dissolve the Changjiang Bureau and establish the Central Plains Bureau and the South Bureau, and change the Southeast Sub-Bureau into the Southeast Bureau. Having basically overcome Wang Ming's Right capitulationist errors and unified the actions of the whole Party, the session made an all-round strategic programme for the Party's leadership over the War of Resistance Against Japan and greatly promoted progress of work in various fields.

October 21-25

Guangzhou and Wuhan fell into enemy hands, and the nationwide war of resistance switched from the stage of strategic defence to the stage of strategic stalemate. During the initial period of the war, the KMT was comparatively enthusiastic in resisting Japan, waging the Beiping-Tianjin, Wusong-Shanghai, Northern Shanxi and Xuzhou campaigns and fighting the battle to defend Wuhan, and winning a major victory in the Tai'erzhuang Campaign in which over 10,000 Japanese troops were

annihilated. But during the 15 months from July 1937 to October 1938, the KMT troops lost large tracts of territory in north, central and south China. True, it was unavoidable for China to lose some territory when fighting a stronger enemy, but the speedy advance of the Japanese troops was undoubtedly the result of implementing Chiang Kai-shek clique's line of partial resistance and principle of pure defence.

October-December

In accordance with the decision of the CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission, the main force of the 115th Division marched to Shandong, that of the 120th Division to central Hebei and part of that of the 129th Division to southern Hebei and northwestern Shandong. This strategic deployment was made against the new situations that arose after the advent of the stage of strategic stalemate when the Japanese army shifted its focus of attack to the liberated areas behind the enemy lines and the KMT diehards set up the headquarters of the Shandong-Jiangsu and Hebei-Chahar war zones in the enemy's rear area to suppress and restrict the development of the anti-Japanese armed forces led by the CPC. Under the command of Peng Xuefeng, the newly formed guerrilla detachments of the New Fourth Army moved in October from Zhugou in Queshan County to the enemy's rear area in eastern Henan, where later they set up the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu Guerrilla Base Area and they themselves expanded greatly.

November

Local organizations of the CPC in Guangdong actively aroused the people in the lower reaches of the Dongjiang River, the Pearl River Delta and the Leizhou Peninsula to resist Japanese invasion. Anti-Japanese guerrilla units were set up in Dongguan, Bao'an and Huiyang and they waged struggle on both sides of the Guangzhou-Kowloon Railway under the leadership of Zeng Sheng and Wang Zuoyao. In December, the Red Army guerrilla units led by Feng Baiju that had been operating on the Hainan Island for a long time were reorganized as the Independent Detachment of the Fourteenth District of the Guangdong People's Anti-Japanese Self-Defence Corps. Thenceforth, these units worked to create and expand anti-Japanese democratic base areas on both sides of the Guangzhou-Kowloon Railway, in the Pearl River Delta and on the Hainan Island. By implementing the Party's policy of building an anti-Japanese national united front and uniting with and relying on the people of the Han, Li and Miao peoples there, they persisted in the protracted and arduous guerrilla war against Japan and opened up the south China battlefield behind the enemy lines.

1939

January 2

Mao Zedong wrote the Introduction for the *Military and Political Journal of the Eighth Route Army*, pointing out that publication of this magazine was designed to raise the fighting capacity and morale of the Eighth Route Army and at the same time provide for friendly armies and people fighting Japanese aggressors reference material on the Eighth Route Army's experience in the war of resistance.

January 5

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Situation After Wang Jingwei's Desertion," pointing out that the task was to deal resolute blows at the traitor and collaborator Wang Jingwei and all capitulationist and anti-Communist activities. The open defection to the enemy in December the preceding year by Wang Jingwei, ringleader of the KMT's pro-Japanese faction, chairman of the Central Political Council of the KMT, deputy director-general of the KMT and president of the Executive Yuan of the National Government, revealed serious vacillation and split of the KMT ranks under Japan's inducement to surrender. Capitulation and betrayal by the Wang Jingwei clique was described as "saving the nation by a devious path" by capitulationists hidden in the KMT, which later on was used by a large number of high-ranking military and political personnel and some army units of the KMT as a pretext for their open surrender to the enemy and their alliance with the Japanese against the CPC.

January 13

The Party Central Committee approved the setting up of its South Bureau in Chongqing with Zhou Enlai, Qin Bangxian, Kai Feng, Wu Kejian, Ye Jianying and Dong Biwu as members of its Standing Committee and Zhou Enlai as secretary. The bureau consisted of ten departments, including the departments of organization, propaganda and social work, the committees of united front work and cultural work, the office of research on international issues, the Ye Jianying work team, the Nanyang work team and the secretariat.

January 15-February 4

The First Session of the First Assembly of Representatives of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region was convened. Attending the session were 145 representatives elected from among 2 million workers, peasants, intellectuals, merchants and enlightened gentry in the border region. The session heard reports on work made by various departments of the border region government and discussed problems concerning the building of the border region and the war of resistance. It adopted such important documents as the "Administrative Programme of the Shaanxi-

Gansu-Ningxia Border Region in the Period of the War of Resistance" and elected a 15-member council of the border region government with Lin Boqu as chairman of the government.

January 21-30

The KMT convened its Fifth Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee. It published documents professing to persist in the war of resistance, but in his talks inside the KMT Chiang Kai-shek declared that by "to the very end" in the slogan "Carry the War of Resistance Through to the Very End" he meant "to restore the *status quo* before the Lugouqiao Incident." The session also adopted specific measures to "corrode," "contain," "restrict" and "combat" the Communist Party. On January 24 and 25, the CPC Central Committee cabled to the Fifth Plenary Session of the KMT and Chiang Kai-shek respectively, reiterating the desire to develop cooperation with the KMT and pointing out the need of consolidating and expanding the anti-Japanese national united front at a time when Japanese invaders were trying to split the forces within China.

January 25

The main force of the 120th Division, led by He Long and Guan Xiangying, arrived at Huibokou, northwest of Hejian in central Hebei and rendezvoused with the leading bodies of the Party, government and army there. Soon afterwards, the main force of the 120th Division fought in coordination with the forces in central Hebei and smashed many an onslaught launched by the Japanese and puppet troops on the central Hebei area.

January 28

Liu Shaoqi arrived at the town of Zhugou, Queshan in Henan and officially set up the leading body of the Central Plains Bureau of the Central Committee. After the Sixth Plenary Session, the CPC Central Committee appointed him secretary of the bureau and him, Zhu Rui (who did not take up the post), Zhu Lizhi, Peng Xuefeng and Zheng Weisan members of the bureau. Its principal tasks were to guide work in Henan, Hubei, Anhui and Jiangsu that were located north of the Yangtse River and south of the Longhai Railway and to mobilize the masses in the Central Plains to wage a guerrilla war against Japan. When Liu Shaoqi was transferred to Yan'an in April, Zhu Lizhi became acting secretary.

February 10

The Central Committee issued to the entire Party the "Directive of the Central Committee Concerning Frictions in Hebei and Other Areas," in which it pointed out that the KMT's unreasonable attacks must be repulsed and no compromise should be made indiscreetly.

February

The North Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and the General Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army issued the first order for army rectification, which was designed to raise the combat effectiveness of the armed units and consolidate the fruit achieved after moving into the rear of the enemy. In June, the General Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army issued the second order for army rectification, requiring that after the second order was executed, 60 regiments should have been reorganized to strengthen the main force. The rectification of the Eighth Route Army played an important role in the expansion of the people's armed forces operating behind the enemy lines and the consolidation and expansion of the anti-Japanese base areas.

Late February-early March

In his capacity as the CPC Central Committee's representative Zhou Enlai arrived at the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army and relayed its directive for carrying the war to the rear area of the enemy, and it was decided that the strategic principle for the New Fourth Army was to consolidate the south, fight battles in the east and expand towards the north. On April 21, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Developing the Armed Forces in Central China," in which it pointed out that while the central task for north China was to consolidate, main efforts should be made to develop the armed forces in central China which, strategically linking north and south China, had a vital bearing on the prospects of the war of resistance.

Early March

Under the command of Luo Ronghuan, part of the 115th Division entered western Shandong and, after wiping out a regiment of the puppet troops entrenched at Fanba, Yuncheng, the main force marched on eastward and joined forces with the units of the Shandong Column west of Mount Tai. In May, it won a battle at Lufang, smashing the converging attack by more than 5,000 Japanese troops in nine routes and bringing about a new situation in western and southern Shandong.

May 26

Mao Zedong published an article to mark the third anniversary of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, in which he said, "The educational guidelines for the Anti-Japanese College are: firm and correct political orientation, industrious and plain style of work, and flexible strategy and tactics."

June

The KMT troops under the command of Zhang Yinwu made a surprise attack on the organs of the Eighth Route Army in the rear area in Shexian County, central Hebei, killing 400 cadres and soldiers. The

KMT troops under Yang Sen surrounded the New Fourth Army's Liaison Office at Pingjiang, Hunan, and murdered in cold blood Tu Zhengkun, cadre of the office, and five others. From March to August, KMT troops led by Qin Qirong and others conducted repeated "frictions" in Shandong, killing hundreds of Eighth Route Army officers and men.

June 30

Mao Zedong published his article "Oppose Capitulationist Activities," calling on the people to "strengthen unity and strengthen the national united front and KMT-Communist cooperation," and warning that they must "keep a close watch over the capitulationists' activities, understand the main characteristics of the present situation, namely, that capitulation is the chief danger and that anti-communism is the preparatory step to capitulation, and do their utmost to oppose capitulation and a split."

July 3-August 25

An enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was convened, which was attended by Mao Zedong, Luo Fu, Wang Ming, Kang Sheng, Chen Yun, Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu, Wang Jiaxiang, Deng Fa, Liu Shaoqi, Li Fuchun, Li Weiham, Zhang Hao, Kong Yuan, Lin Boqu, Zhang Dingcheng, Deng Xiaoping, Gao Gang, Tan Zheng, Teng Daiyuan and others. Zhou Enlai delivered a long speech in which he summed up the war of resistance that had gone on for two years, analysed the characteristics of the situation at the time, expounded the nature, characteristics and crisis of the united front as well as the Party's principle for work in the united front, and reported on the work of the Party and army in south China. Bo Gu gave the "Report on Work in South China," in which he analysed and explained the working conditions, the state of the Party organizations and the problems in work there. Zhang Dingcheng made the "Report on the Work of the New Fourth Army and the Party Organizations in Southeast China," in which he gave a brief account of the Party's work in the New Fourth Army over the preceding year. Mao Zedong made a concluding speech. The participants held that the South Bureau led by Zhou Enlai was successful in its work—it consolidated the united front, expanded the Party organization, promoted mobilization for the war effort, started work among the youth and women, developed workers' and peasants' movement and cooperated in the building of the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines. They also pointed out that the Southeast Bureau led by Xiang Ying had likewise scored numerous achievements.

July 7

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Manifesto on Current Situation Marking the Second Anniversary of the War of Resistance," in which it raised three major political slogans—"persist in resistance and

oppose capitulation, persist in unity and oppose a split and persist in progress and oppose retrogression," arousing the entire Party membership and people to stem the adverse current in the KMT for capitulation and against Communist Party and to bring about a turn for the better in the situation.

July 8-12

Liu Shaoqi gave a long lecture at the College of Marxism-Leninism in Yan'an entitled "How to Be a Good Communist." Mao Zedong wrote a letter to the editorial board of the magazine *Liberation* in Yan'an, holding that the lecture, encouraging healthy practices and opposing unhealthy ones, was well written and very important, and should be published as soon as possible.

August 7

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee sent a telegram to the General Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army and the 120th Division, pointing out that in order to crush the KMT's anti-Communist plot, consolidate the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, reinforce the river defence and get prepared against any contingencies, the guard troops of the army must be redeployed. In compliance with this order, the main force of the 359th Brigade under the command of Wang Zhen moved from the Hengshan Mountain region to the Suide garrison, and the main force of the 120th Division in central Hebei shifted to northwestern Shanxi.

August 25

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee made the "Decision on the Consolidation of the Party," pointing out that since the outbreak of the war of resistance the Party had grown considerably and had been confronted with the arduous task of resistance, and that its ideological, political and organizational consolidation had become the decisive factor in accomplishing its political tasks.

September 16

In his "Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the *Sao Dang Bao* and the *Xin Min Bao*," Mao Zedong warned the KMT diehards that were launching a military offensive against the liberated areas by announcing the principle for self-defence, "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."

Late September

The Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei units fought in coordination with the main force of the 120th Division that was passing through northeastern Shanxi and won the annihilation battle at Chenzhuang, wiping out 1,200 Jap-

anese troops attacking the anti-Japanese base area Chenzhuang, a place of strategic importance, from Lingshou. Later, from October to December, they smashed the large-scale winter "mopping-up" campaign launched against the Beiyue District by the Second Independent Mixed Brigade and the 110th Division of the Japanese army with a total strength of 20,000. Employing the tactics of flexible movements, ambush, surprise attack and raid on the communications lines and strongholds in the enemy's rear in 108 battles, the Eighth Route Army foiled the Japanese army's attempt to annihilate its main force, killing 3,600 Japanese troops including Lieutenant-General Abe Norihide, commander of the Brigade.

November

Led by Liu Shaoqi a group of military and political cadres arrived from Yan'an at the Dingyuan and Chuxian area in the Eastern Anhui Base Area and helped move there the leading body of the Central Plains Bureau from Zhugou. From December to February the following year, the Central Plains Bureau convened a series of meetings to discuss questions concerning the future development of central China, the building of base areas and the united front, and finally decided upon the strategic tasks of defence in the west, expansion in the east and opening up northern Jiangsu, and at the same time made a proposal to the CPC Central Committee to develop central China in a big way by dispatching part of the Eighth Route Army down south and moving the main force of the New Fourth Army up north.

December 1

The Party Central Committee issued the "Decision on Recruiting Large Numbers of Intellectuals," in which it pointed out that comrades throughout the Party should understand that a correct policy towards the intellectuals was one of the important conditions for winning victory in the revolution, requiring all localities and armed units to recruit large numbers of intellectuals for the Party's work.

December

Induced by Japan and persuaded by Britain and the United States to capitulate, the KMT diehards escalated armed friction to a new high. In Shanxi, Yan Xishan attacked the Communist-led Shanxi New Army, devastated the anti-Japanese democratic government and murdered large numbers of Communists and progressives. The KMT troops encircling the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region raided and took Ningxian, Zhenyuan and three other county seats in the border region. Meanwhile, He Shaonan, KMT commissioner at Suide, organized peace preservation corps to attack the Eighth Route Army. At the beginning of 1940, the KMT troops commanded by Shi Yousan attacked the Eighth Route

Army in southern Hebei and along the borders of Hebei, Shandong and Henan. The 97th Army under the command of Zhu Huaibing and other troops attacked the Taihang Mountain region where the General Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army was located. Led by the CPC, the army and people in the base areas adhered to the principle of self-defence and repelled all the attacks launched by the diehards. In Shanxi, they smashed the attack by the old army of Yan Xishan. In Shaanxi, the garrison troops in Suide drove away He Shaonan, a past master in making anti-Communist friction and exploiting the masses. Between February and March, the army and people in the base areas wiped out the better part of Shi Yousan's troops and of Zhu Huaibing's two divisions attacking the Taihang Mountain region. After dealing effective blows at the reactionary activities of the KMT diehards, the CPC, setting great store by the overall situation in the war of resistance, took the initiative and stopped fighting, released the prisoners of war, sent representatives to negotiate respectively with Yan Xishan and Wei Lihuang and reached agreements with them on dividing the areas for stationing troops and for resisting Japanese aggression.

In 1939 the New Fourth Army in central China accomplished the task of strategic expansion behind the enemy lines. In early May, Ye Ting, commander of the army, crossed the Yangtse River and organized the Jiangbei (north of the Yangtse River) Command with Zhang Yunyi as commander and Xu Haidong and Luo Binghui deputy commander. In the meantime, the Front Committee of the Jiangbei Command was set up with Zhang Yunyi as secretary. The Front Committee reorganized the Fourth Detachment and the troops north of the Yangtse River, appointing Xu Haidong to serve concurrently as commander of the Fourth Detachment. It formed the Fifth Detachment on the basis of the Eighth Regiment of the former Fourth Detachment, with Luo Binghui as commander. After fighting for two consecutive months and efforts made to mobilize the masses, they laid the foundation for the war of resistance behind the enemy lines in eastern Hubei. The Fourth Detachment built an anti-Japanese base area west of the Tianjin-Pukou Railway with Outang, southeast of Dingyuan, Anhui Province, as its centre, while the Fifth Detachment set up a base area east of the railway with Bantaji, northeast of Lai'an, Anhui Province, as its centre. The Jiangbei Guerrilla Column persisted in the war in the Chaoxian and Wuwei area of Anhui, while part of it moved to the Hexian and Hanshan area to conduct guerrilla operations. In November, the leading organs of the First and Second Detachments merged to form the Jiangnan (south of the Yangtse River) Command of the New Fourth Army, with Chen Yi as commander and Su Yu deputy commander. The command extended guerrilla warfare to the Yangtse River Delta and at the same time organized the Jiangsu-Anhui Detachment, which moved to the Yizheng-Yangzhou-

Tianchang-Liuhe area north of the Yangtse River to build base areas in northern Jiangsu. The Henan-Hubei Independent Guerrilla Detachment led by Li Xiannian and some of the guerrilla units in Hubei, Henan, Anhui and Hunan were formed into the Hubei-Henan Forward Detachment (which later became a column) of the New Fourth Army, with Li Xiannian serving concurrently as commander and political commissar.

1940

January

Refuting the KMT diehards' anti-Communist clamour and answering the question of "Whither China," Mao Zedong published his article "On New Democracy." Earlier, he had written "Introducing *The Communist*," "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" and other important theoretical essays. In these writings he scientifically analysed the nature of Chinese society, the historical characteristics of the Chinese revolution and the basic rule governing the development of this revolution; explained why the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages, i.e., the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, with the former as the necessary preparation for the latter and the latter as the inevitable sequel to the former; criticized the view of accomplishing the revolution at one stroke, a view that confused the different tasks to be performed at the two stages of revolution, and the fallacy advocating the establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China; pointed out that the new-democratic revolution was, in essence, an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the broad masses of the people based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat; formulated the political, economic and cultural programmes for the new-democratic revolution; concluded that the united front, armed struggle and Party building were the three chief magic weapons with which to defeat the enemy; and further expounded the revolutionary road of encircling the cities from the countryside and finally taking the cities. These works showed that the Party had formed a complete system of theory, line and corresponding specific policies, and marked the further development of Mao Zedong Thought that integrated Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice in China.

January 28

The Party Central Committee telegraphed Xiang Ying, the Shandong Sub-Bureau, the 115th Division, etc., pointing out that only by extensively developing the revolutionary armed forces in coordination with the work of the whole country would it be possible for them to check capitulationist and anti-Communist activities, consolidate the united front and bring about a turn for the better in the situation, and that since

at the moment the areas where armed forces could be built were only Shandong and central China, it was their primary task to concentrate their forces on building armed forces and base areas.

February 10

In accordance with the principles of "self-reliance" and "using our own hands to produce for self-support" formulated by Mao Zedong in spring 1939 for the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee issued a directive to all the armed units, requiring them to launch a production campaign in the light of their own conditions, while at the same time accomplishing the tasks of fighting and study.

February 23

Yang Jingyu, commander-in-chief of the First Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army, laid down his life heroically in a battle fought in Mengjiang County (now Jingyu County, Jilin Province). To stabilize northeast China, the base from which it planned to invade the rest of China, the Japanese army launched fierce "punitive expeditions" against the united army and stepped up the implementation of its plan to "build up public security." As a result, the united army that had lost contact with the CPC Central Committee was landed in a very difficult position. In spite of all this, it dispersed its forces and courageously carried on guerrilla operations.

March 6

The Party Central Committee issued a directive "On the Question of Political Power in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas," in which it made it clear that the anti-Japanese democratic government set up in north and central China was of a united front character, it was a joint democratic dictatorship of several revolutionary classes over the Chinese collaborators and reactionaries. As was prescribed in the directive, the "three-thirds system" should be implemented with regard to the allocation of places in the government, that is, it should be one-third for Communists, one-third for non-Party Left progressives and one-third for the intermediate sections who were neither Left nor Right. This system was designed to ensure that the Communist Party play the leading role in the government and at the same time unite with the broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie and win over the middle bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry—for the purpose of further developing the anti-Japanese national united front and arousing the initiative of all sectors to strive for victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

March 11

At a meeting of senior cadres in Yan'an Mao Zedong made a report entitled "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United

Front," in which he summed up the experience in united front work since the war of resistance and, in view of the "Left" tendency that had appeared in the Party, made a comprehensive exposition of the need for the Communist Party to adhere to the policy it adopted with regard to the KMT—the policy of "unity and struggle and unity sought through struggle," and profoundly elucidated the strategic principle of "developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the diehard forces" as well as the principle of fighting "on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint" in the struggle against the diehards.

April-July

In accordance with the principle of mobilizing the people of all nationalities in the fight against Japanese aggression laid down in the "Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation," the Northwest Working Committee of the Party Central Committee drafted the "Outline on the Question of the Hui Nationality" and the "Outline on the Question of the Mongolian Nationality in the War of Resistance" and submitted them to the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee for approval. These were documents of the CPC for guiding work among minority nationalities at the time. Since the war of resistance began, Party organizations in various places had worked hard to implement the policy on nationalities, namely, the policy of equality among all nationalities and unity against Japan, mobilizing the people of various nationalities in the struggle against Japanese aggression and developing a great number of anti-Japanese armed forces among the minority nationalities. The Moslem Detachment in central Hebei, led by a Communist Party member Ma Benzhai, won outstanding military exploits. People of the Mongolian, Hui, Manchu, Korean, Zhuang, Li, Miao, Yao and other nationalities all made their contributions in waging anti-Japanese guerilla warfare and establishing anti-Japanese base areas.

May 4

The Party Central Committee sent to its Southeast Bureau the directive "Freely Expand the Anti-Japanese Forces and Resist the Onslaughts of the Anti-Communist Diehards," in which it pointed out that in all regions behind the enemy lines and in all the war zones, stress should be laid not on particularity, but on identity, that the bureau should go beyond the limits allowed by the KMT and freely and independently expand the armed forces and base areas; that at a time when anti-Communist diehards in the KMT were obstinately persisting in their policy of containing, restricting and combating the Communist Party in preparation for capitulation to Japan, stress should be placed on struggle; and that only by adhering to the principle of fighting "on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint" in the struggle against the diehards would it be possible to consolidate and expand the progressive forces, win

over the middle forces, cope with any possible emergency on a nation-wide scale, avert the danger of capitulation and achieve a turn for the better in the situation.

Late May

To support the struggle in central China, the 344th Brigade, the main force of the Eighth Route Army's Second Column, and the New Second Brigade moved from the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Border Area down south to the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu Border Area, where they joined forces with the New Fourth Army and formed into the Fourth Column (the original designation of the Fourth Column organized in the region west of Beiping had been abolished) and the Fifth Column. The Fourth Column, with Peng Xuefeng as commander and Liu Zijiu as political commissar, persisted in struggle in the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu Border Area while the Fifth Column, with Huang Kecheng serving concurrently as commander and political commissar, moved eastward to open up the Huai-Hai anti-Japanese base area in northern Jiangsu together with the local Party organizations.

May 31

Tan Kah Kee, at the head of the "Delegation of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia Returning to the Motherland to Express Sympathy and Make an Inspection Tour," arrived at Yan'an and extended solicitude to army men and people of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region fighting against Japanese invasion. In July, he gave a talk in Chongqing under the title of "Impressions of the Northwest," in which he described how people of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region resisted Japanese invasion and built up democracy. As early as in October 1938, Tan Kah Kee had founded in Singapore the "General Association of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia for Aid to Refugees of the Motherland" and had been elected its chairman. The association launched an anti-Japanese patriotic movement among the overseas Chinese, collecting donations, publicizing boycott of Japanese goods and encouraging drivers and technicians to return and serve the motherland. After going back to Singapore upon completion of the inspection tour, Tan Kah Kee and others led the association to uphold democracy, persist in the war effort and combat capitulation and autocracy, promoting the anti-Japanese patriotic movement of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia.

July 7

The Party Central Committee issued the "Statement on the Situation on the Third Anniversary of the War of Resistance," once again calling on the people throughout the country to unite and overcome the danger of capitulation and surmount difficulties. Over the three years, the CPC had extensively mobilized the masses and waged anti-Japanese guerrilla

warfare, so that the revolutionary forces of the people had grown enormously. In areas behind the enemy lines were set up the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei, Shanxi-Hebei-Henan, Hebei-Shandong-Henan, Shanxi-Suiyuan, Shandong, Central China and South China liberated areas with a population of 90 million (including people in guerrilla zones contested by both sides). The Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies had grown to 500,000 strong, engaging half of the Japanese troops in China. The membership of the CPC had increased from 40,000 to 800,000.

August 20-early December

The Eighth Route Army launched in north China the "Hundred-Regiment Campaign," which was fought by 105 regiments. During the campaign, about 1,820 battles, big or small, were fought, killing and wounding 25,800 Japanese and puppet troops, capturing a great number of them, destroying 470 kilometres of railway, 1,500 kilometres of highway, 260 stations, bridges and tunnels, and a great number of fortifications and strongholds, and severely devastating the Zhengding-Taiyuan Railway and the Jingjing Coal Mines. On the part of the Eighth Route Army, 17,000 were killed or wounded, with fairly big losses suffered in some assaults on heavily fortified enemy strongholds in the second phase of the campaign. This campaign dealt heavy blows at the Japanese and puppet troops, fostered the people's confidence in victory in the war of resistance, enhanced the prestige of the CPC and the army under its leadership and encouraged people to persist in the war effort, check the adverse current of compromise and capitulation, and work for a turn for the better in the situation. After the campaign, Japanese imperialists cried out in alarm, "We should re-assess the situation in north China, carry out retaliative operations on a still larger scale" against the liberated areas.

Early October

The units of the KMT army commanded by Han Deqin attacked the New Fourth Army units under the command of Chen Yi at Huangqiao, central Jiangsu. Implementing the correct policy of the united front, uniting with the friendly armies and enlightened gentry and adhering to the principle of self-defence, the New Fourth Army dealt head-on blows at the attackers and won the Huangqiao Battle, annihilating 11,000 of Han Deqin's diehard troops. On October 10, the New Fourth Army units under Chen Yi joined forces at Baiju, Dongtai County, with the Fifth Column of the Eighth Route Army that had been marching down south, thus accomplishing the strategic task of expanding to the north to set up the Northern Jiangsu Anti-Japanese Base Area.

October 19

The chief of general staff He Yingqin and deputy chief of general

staff Bai Chongxi of the Military Council of the National Government sent Zhu De, Peng Dehuai and Ye Ting a telegram, wantonly smearing the CPC and the armed forces under its leadership who persisted in resistance, unity and progress, and arbitrarily ordering the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies stationed south of the Yellow River to move to the north bank of the river. On November 9, Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, Ye Ting and Xiang Ying sent a telegram in reply refuting the KMT diehards' absurd orders and their smearing of the CPC and its armies while at the same time expressing that for the benefit of the overall interest of unity and the war of resistance the New Fourth Army units in southern Anhui could move to north of the Yangtse River. On December 8, He and Bai sent another telegram to Zhu, Peng, Ye and Xiang in reply to the latter's telegram of November 9, again in an attempt to mobilize anti-Communist public opinion.

December 25

The CPC Central Committee issued an inner-Party directive "On Policy." In view of the ultra-Left tendency existing in the Party, it stressed in the directive: "In no circumstances will the Party change its united front policy for the entire period of the War of Resistance Against Japan." It criticized the Right and "Left" deviationist views found in the Party since the outbreak of the war, pointing out that the Party's Anti-Japanese National United Front policy was neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but one that combined alliance and struggle. It further explained the principle of the united front tactics, and, in particular, the need of making concrete analysis of the diehard forces in different imperialist countries, differentiating between them and formulating policies on the basis of such differentiation. It also reiterated that "our tactics are guided by one and the same principle: to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one." In the light of these principles, the directive expounded in a comprehensive way the concrete policies, namely, the policy concerning the organs of political power, the labour policy, the land policy, the tax policy, the anti-espionage policy, the policy concerning the rights of the people, the economic policy, the cultural and educational policy and the military policy.

1941

January 4

In accordance with instructions to move northward, the New Fourth Army Headquarters and the 9,000 troops under its direct command left Yunling where they had been stationed and made a detour in their advance. On the 6th, when reaching Piling in Jingxian County, they were

ambushed by seven divisions of the KMT totalling 80,000 men. Being greatly outnumbered by the enemy, the New Fourth Army was compelled to put up resistance and fought stubbornly for seven days and nights until they used up their grain and ammunition. Only 2,000 of them broke through enemy encirclement, while the rest laid down their lives heroically or were captured. Commander Ye Ting was unreasonably put under custody, deputy commander Xiang Ying and chief of staff Zhou Zikun were murdered by traitors after breaking through the siege, and director of the Political Department Yuan Guoping was killed. On the 17th, Chiang Kai-shek went so far as to spread the slander that the New Fourth Army had staged a "mutiny," cancel its designation and clamour to hand Ye Ting over to the military court for trial. This is the "Southern Anhui Incident" that shocked the country and the rest of the world. The CPC waged a tit-for-tat struggle against this atrocity committed by the reactionary KMT. On the 20th, the Revolutionary Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued the order to re-establish the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army, appointing Chen Yi acting commander, Zhang Yunyi deputy commander, Liu Shaoqi political commissar, Lai Chuanzhu chief of staff and Deng Zihui director of the Political Department. On the 22nd, the spokesman of the Military Commission issued a statement, exposing the KMT's scheme of undermining the war of resistance and opposing the CPC and proposing 12 measures for the KMT to adopt, which included rescinding the reactionary order of January 17, punishing the chief culprits, releasing Ye Ting, abolishing the one-party dictatorship by the KMT and introducing democratic government. The South Bureau headed by Zhou Enlai also gave a stern rebuke in Chongqing by exposing and protesting against the KMT's atrocities. The just stand of self-defence taken by the CPC won the sympathy and support of the people, the democratic parties and world public opinion. Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and others sent a joint telegram to denounce Chiang Kai-shek, demanding him to stop all armed attacks and repressive activities against the CPC. The Chiang Kai-shek clique was landed in an unprecedentedly isolated position. On the 28th, the Headquarters of the New Fourth Army was founded in Yancheng, northern Jiangsu and immediately set to reorganizing the units in accordance with instructions of the Central Committee, expanding the army to seven divisions and one independent brigade, with Su Yu serving as commander and Liu Yan political commissar of the First Division, Zhang Yunyi commander (concurrently) and Zheng Weisan political commissar of the Second Division, Huang Kecheng commander and political commissar of the Third Division, Peng Xuefeng commander and political commissar of the Fourth Division, Li Xiannian commander and political commissar of the Fifth Division, Tan Zhenlin commander and political commissar of the Sixth Division, and Zhang

Dingcheng commander and Zeng Xisheng political commissar of the Seventh Division. With a total strength of 90,000, the New Fourth Army persisted in resistance on both sides of the Yangtze River.

March 1

The First Session of the Second People's Political Council was convened in Chongqing. On the 2nd, in accordance with instructions of the CPC Central Committee, Dong Biwu and Deng Yingchao put forward to the KMT authorities another 12 measures as conditions for members of the council from the CPC to attend the People's Political Council, which included recognizing the legal status of the CPC, the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the democratic parties, and releasing all cadres and soldiers arrested during the "Southern Anhui Incident." On the 6th, Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to pledge at the session that "there will be absolutely no military actions to suppress the Communists." On the 8th, Dong Biwu was elected resident member of the council. By then the large-scale anti-Communist onslaught by the KMT diehards had been repulsed.

March

Acting on instructions of the Party Central Committee and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De, the 359th Brigade of the Eighth Route Army entered Nanniwan, a wilderness with fertile soil southeast of Yan'an, to reclaim land and engage in production. In December, the Party Central Committee issued directives on "simplifying administration and practising economy" and "producing for self-support," requesting the army and people in the liberated areas to engage in production, guarantee supplies to the army and reduce the burdens on the people so as to persist in the long-term war of resistance. In the Great Production Campaign, the 359th Brigade became a standard-bearer of the whole army.

May 1

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee approved the "Administrative Programme of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region," making it a rule that in the people's organizations and the government of the border region, Communist Party members should make up only one-third, cooperate in a democratic manner with people outside the Party and refrain from doing things arbitrarily or monopolizing everything. In November, the First Session of the Second Assembly of Representatives of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region was held. Only one-third of the elected resident representatives and members to the government were Communist Party members. Li Dingming, a member of the enlightened gentry, was elected vice-chairman of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Government.

May 13

The Party Central Committee decided to merge its Northwest Working Committee and Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Central Bureau to form its Northwest Bureau, with Gao Gang, Wang Shitai, Zhang Bangying, Lin Boqu, Xie Juezai, Chen Zhengren and Xiao Jingguang as members, Jia Tuofu and Li Zhuoran as alternate members and Gao Gang as secretary.

May 19

At a cadres' meeting in Yan'an Mao Zedong delivered a report entitled "Reform Our Study," in which he profoundly criticized the undesirable approach of subjectivism and called on the entire Party membership to foster the Marxist approach of integrating theory with reality and seeking truth from facts. On July 1, the CPC Central Committee adopted the "Decision on Strengthening Party Spirit," and on August 1, it adopted the "Decision on Conducting Investigation and Study." From September 10 to October 22, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held an enlarged meeting, at which the question of political lines pursued in the past, particularly during the period of the Agrarian Revolutionary War, was discussed and acknowledged that the "Left" deviationist errors made by the Party Central Committee led by Wang Ming, Bo Gu and others during the later period of the Agrarian Revolutionary War were "errors in line." Some comrades who had made mistakes under the influence of Wang Ming conducted self-criticism. It was decided to launch a Party-wide ideological revolution against subjectivism and sectarianism. On September 26, the Party Central Committee decided to set up a study and research group, with Mao Zedong as leader and Wang Jiaxiang as deputy leader, whose main task was to study Marxist theory and the historical experience of the Party in order to help overcome subjectivism, formalism and other erroneous ideas. At the same time it decided to form advanced study groups among senior cadres in various localities.

May 20

In compliance with the Party Central Committee's decision, the Southeast Bureau and the Central Plains Bureau were amalgamated to form the Central China Bureau of the Party Central Committee, and the Central China Military Sub-Commission was founded at the same time. The Central China Bureau was formed by Liu Shaoqi, Rao Shushi, Zeng Shan, Chen Yi, Deng Zihui, Zhang Yunyi, Zheng Weisan, Guo Shuxun, Peng Xuefeng, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Dingcheng, Tan Zhenlin and Liu Ying, with Liu Shaoqi as secretary and Rao Shushi as deputy secretary. On the Central China Military Sub-Commission were Liu Shaoqi, Chen Yi, Zhang Yunyi, Deng Zihui, Rao Shushi, Lai Chuanzhu, Luo Binghui, Liu Yan, Su Yu, Huang Kecheng, Peng Xuefeng, Li Xiannian, Zhang

Dingcheng, Tan Zhenlin, Zeng Xisheng, Fu Qiutao, Peng Mingzhi, Tan Xilin, Ye Fei, Zhou Junming, Zhang Aiping and Zheng Weisan, with Liu Shaoqi as secretary (concurrently) and Chen Yi, Deng Zihui, Lai Chuanzhu, Zhang Yunyi, Huang Kecheng, Rao Shushi and Liu Yan as members of the Standing Committee.

June 22

German fascists launched a war of aggression against the Soviet Union. To coordinate with Germany's offensives in Europe and turn China into the "rear base" for expanding their war of aggression, Japanese imperialists stepped up their "mopping-up" and "nibbling" operations against the liberated areas and especially those in north China, started a large-scale "campaign to tighten public security," while continuing to induce the KMT to capitulate. Under converging attack and blockade by Japanese, puppet and diehard troops, the liberated areas behind the enemy lines were subjected to unprecedented hardships, with the number of the people's anti-Japanese armed forces and the size and population of the anti-Japanese base areas dwindling from day to day. From July to November, Japanese and puppet troops launched extensive "mopping-up" and "nibbling" operations against the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei, Shanxi-Hebei-Henan, Hebei-Shandong-Henan, Shandong, Northern Jiangsu, Central Jiangsu and Southern Jiangsu base areas. Fully displaying the might of the people's war, the army and people in the base areas created many forms of armed struggle—tunnel warfare, land-mine warfare, sparrow warfare, sabotage operations and besieging operations, dealing effective blows at the enemy. Meanwhile a great number of armed working teams were sent to penetrate into enemy-occupied areas, where they advanced when the enemy advanced, and mobilized the masses to attack the enemy cleverly, thus smashing the enemy's "campaign to tighten public security."

September 25

Three thousand five hundred Japanese troops launched a fierce attack on Eighth Route Army units in Yixian, Hebei Province. Ma Baoyu, leader of the Sixth Squad of the Seventh Company of the First Regiment of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Military Region's First Sub-Region, together with Hu Delin, Hu Fucai and other two soldiers, drew the enemy to the brink of the precipice of the Langya Mountains for the purpose of covering the main force's shift to the exterior line and protecting the masses to move to safe areas. Taking advantage of the precipice, they put up a stubborn fight, hitting the enemy with stones when their ammunition was used up. Rather to die than surrender, they finally smashed their rifles and jumped down the steep valley, with three of them sacrificing their lives heroically and two getting wounded. This heroic

deed manifested the noble character of the people's army led by the CPC and the indomitable heroic spirit of the Chinese nation.

November 7

The Revolutionary Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Military Building of Anti-Japanese Base Areas," in which it pointed out that under the new situation the principle for struggle in the enemy's rear was to persist in long-term dispersed guerrilla operations, deal with the enemy in various forms of struggle and conserve and preserve the strength of the base areas. It decided that the people's armed forces should be composed of the main forces, the local troops, and the armed forces of the masses (namely, self-defence corps and militia who did not divorce from production); that at present stress should be laid on expanding and consolidating local troops and the armed forces of the masses while the main forces should be fewer but better. In this way a three-in-one military structure for the people's war became complete in favour of the guerrilla warfare to be conducted on an unprecedentedly wide scale.

December 8

The United States and Britain declared war on Japan after Japanese fascists launched a surprise attack against them on the Pacific Ocean, hence the outbreak of the Pacific War. On the 9th, the CPC issued a declaration with regard to the Pacific War, stating that it had finally become clear that the world was divided into the fascist front that unleashed the war of aggression and the anti-fascist front that waged the war of liberation. On the same day, the Chinese government formally declared war on Japan and at the same time on Germany and Italy. The outbreak of the Pacific War pushed the Second World War to its widest scale, and China's war of resistance and the war of the Allied Powers converged.

December 17

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Work in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas After the Outbreak of the Pacific War," calling on the entire Party and army to adhere to the principle of "better troops and simpler administration," requiring them to consolidate the organizational set-ups at various levels, streamline the leading organs, augment the army units, strengthen the grass-roots organizations, raise efficiency, economize on the use of manpower and material resources, and oppose bureaucracy. "Better troops and simpler administration" was an extremely important policy at a time when the base areas were dwindling, when finance and the economy were beset with grave difficulties, and when efforts were made to build up the people's energy.

December-January 1941

The South Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a meeting in Chongqing to sum up work in the previous two years. Zhou Enlai made a speech at the meeting. In accordance with the Central Committee's correct principle of "working underground for a long period, accumulating strength and biding our time" in the KMT areas, he demanded efforts to make the Party organizations in southwest China stronger and more combat-worthy and he stressed that leading bodies of the Party should be familiar with various aspects of the KMT areas and make correct assessment of the situation, employ the right tactics and devise different methods to coordinate (not to expose) work at the upper level with that at lower level, open work with underground work, and contacts outside the Party with contacts inside. Shortly afterwards, in view of the KMT's high-handed policy and lack of confidence in work on the part of some Communist Party members, Zhou Enlai set three tasks, namely, to be diligent in work, in study and in making friends. Headed by Zhou Enlai, the South Bureau did a great deal of effective united front work among various democratic parties, people in the cultural and educational circles, national industrialists and merchants, democrats inside the KMT and local power groups; it provided guidance to the *Xinhua Daily* and other newspapers and periodicals in propagating the Party's principles and policies, winning over the intermediate forces and promoting the development of democratic movement in the KMT areas under extremely difficult circumstances; and it built Communist Party organizations in southwest China and preserved and increased the Party's forces in KMT areas. Through its work, the South Bureau of the CPC Central Committee helped enhance the political prestige of the CPC and isolate the KMT diehards, making its contributions to perseverance in the national war of resistance and coordination with the fight on the battlefield in the liberated areas behind the enemy lines.

1941

In order to consolidate its occupied areas, the Japanese army launched a few small-scale offensives on KMT's front battlefield, namely, the Southern Henan Campaign in January, the Shanggao Campaign in March, the Southern Shanxi Campaign in May, the Second Changsha Campaign in September and the Third Changsha Campaign in December. In these campaigns, the Japanese troops failed to advance on a large scale because of resistance by KMT troops. The pinning down of some Japanese aggressor troops on KMT's front battlefield served to cooperate with the struggle against the enemy's "mopping up" and "nibbling" operations in the liberated areas.

1942**January 28**

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on the Land Policy in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas." On February 6, it issued the "Directive on the Enforcement of the Decision on the Land Policy." In both documents it was made clear that the policy of rent and interest reduction was designed to assist the peasants, weaken feudal exploitation and improve their living conditions, so as to enhance their enthusiasm for the war effort and for production; that after rent and interest rates were reduced, necessary rent and interest must be paid and the landlords' rights of land ownership, property and person should be guaranteed so as to unite the landlords against Japanese aggression; and that with regard to rich peasants, their feudal sector should be weakened and their capitalist sector encouraged to develop.

February 1

At the inauguration of the Central Party School Mao Zedong made a report entitled "Rectify the Party's Style of Work." On the 8th, he delivered a report at a cadres' meeting in Yan'an under the title of "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing." On April 3, the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee made the "Decision Concerning Discussion in Yan'an of the Decision of the Central Committee and the Three Reports Made by Comrade Mao Zedong on Rectifying the Party's Three Styles." In late May, the Political Bureau decided to set up a General Study Committee of the Central Committee to guide the rectification movement. The General Study Committee was composed of Mao Zedong, Kai Feng, Kang Sheng, Li Fuchun and Chen Yun, with Mao Zedong as chairman and Kang Sheng vice-chairman. On June 8, the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee issued the "Directive on Launching a Party-wide Study Movement to Rectify the Three Styles." This set in motion throughout the Party a campaign to fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style in Party relations, and fight Party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing. The principle guiding this movement was "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," for the purpose of achieving the dual objective of clarifying ideas and uniting comrades.

February 14-March 5

The Central China Bureau of the Party Central Committee convened its first enlarged meeting, at which Liu Shaoqi made a report on the basic experience in the three years' work in central China and the tasks for the future. He emphasized that the general task of the CPC in central China was to persist in the war of resistance in areas behind the enemy lines

and to consolidate and develop anti-Japanese base areas. After the meeting, efforts were redoubled in the base areas in central China in the building of Party organizations, governments, the economy, the militia, and in the work for "better troops and simpler administration" and for "supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of revolutionary armymen and martyrs."

February

The National Government, in order to defend the Yunnan-Burma Highway, formed the Chinese Expeditionary Army to support the anti-fascist allied countries in the war against Japan.

May

KMT troops put up resistance when Japan launched the Zhejiang-Jiangxi Campaign in an attempt to occupy the coastal areas in east China so as to guard against the threat of air raid on Japan proper. From May 1, more than 50,000 Japanese and puppet troops launched a large-scale "mopping-up" operation of unprecedented brutality against the Central Hebei Base Area, trying to eradicate all conditions for the survival of the base area by pushing the policy of "burn all, kill all, loot all." The Japanese troops used poisonous gas, killing at least 800 Chinese troops and villagers in the tunnels of the Beiting Village, Dingxian County, Hebei Province. The armymen and civilians in central Hebei waged a very arduous counter-"mopping-up" operation and foiled the enemy's attempt to "secure north China by seizing the plains first." In May and June, the armymen and people in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei region wiped out 10,900 Japanese and puppet troops. In the Taihang Mountain region, deputy chief of staff of the Eighth Route Army Zuo Quan laid down his life heroically in the May operation against the enemy's "mopping-up" campaign in defence of the Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army.

May 2

The Party Central Committee held the Forum on Literature and Art at Yangjialing in Yan'an, at which Mao Zedong delivered important talks. He said the purpose of the forum was to exchange views and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and the revolutionary work in general so as to ensure wholesome development of revolutionary literature and art, which would then facilitate other revolutionary work, the overthrow of the national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation. To achieve this objective, it was necessary to solve the problems of the class stand of writers and artists, their attitude, their audience and their study. The participants discussed the problems enthusiastically. On the 23rd, Mao Zedong made a conclusion in which he profoundly elucidated the basic orientation of revolutionary literature and art, i.e., to serve the people, analysed

the importance for literary and art workers to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers, apply theory to reality, study Marxism and remould their world outlook, and answered a number of controversial questions prevailing in the modern literary and art movement. Mao Zedong's talks at the forum not only served to promote the rectification movement in literary and art circles but also enhanced the awareness on the part of Party members and cadres of the need to study dialectical materialism and historical materialism and to remould their world outlook.

May 13

With the aim of unifying military command of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia and Shanxi-Suiyuan regions, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee decided to set up the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia-Shanxi-Suiyuan Joint Defence Command with He Long as commander, Xu Xiangqian as deputy commander and chief of staff, Guan Xiangying as political commissar (during his recuperation, Gao Gang served as acting political commissar), and Lin Feng as deputy political commissar.

August

Japanese anti-war organizations in China held in Yan'an a Conference of Representatives of Japanese Anti-War Bodies in North China. At the meeting it was decided that the Awakening League, founded in November 1939, and the Anti-War League, founded in March 1940, merge to form the North China Federation of Anti-War Leagues. The conference adopted the "Working Principle of the North China Federation of Japanese Anti-War Leagues," which stipulated that the leagues' central task was to oppose Japan's war of aggression against China and work for the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China. The Japanese anti-war organizations gave China a great deal of assistance in propaganda and education among Japanese troops and in the work among Japanese prisoners of war, thus cultivating a comradeship-in-arms with the Chinese people.

September 1

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee adopted the "Decision on Unifying Party Leadership in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas and Regulating Relations Among Various Organizations," in which it stressed the need of unified Party leadership, pointed out that Party committees at different levels were the highest leading bodies in the localities, exercising unified leadership over the work of the Party, the government, the army and the people, and required the Party committees to strictly practise the system of democratic centralism and the principle of the lower level being subordinate to the higher level and the entire Party membership being subordinate to the Central Committee and at

the same time to guard against or rectify the tendency towards doing everything on behalf of the governments and popular organizations. The decision served to strengthen the unity of the Party, coordinate the actions of the various organizations in the liberated areas and ensured correct implementation of the Party's principles and policies.

October 19-January 14, 1943

The Northwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting of senior cadres, at which Mao Zedong delivered a speech. He pointed out profoundly that the aim in making revolution was to defeat the enemy, but if people acted like trying to catch the sparrow with their eyes closed, that is, without knowing themselves nor our enemy, then the Party, the state and people themselves would perish. Under the direct leadership of the Central Committee, the participants concentrated on reviewing the history of the Party organization in the border region; criticized the errors made by a few comrades in the Party in northern Shaanxi under the influence of Wang Ming's "Left" adventurism, especially the error of enlarging the scope of attack in the movement to eliminate counter-revolutionaries; conducted criticism and self-criticism of the prevailing tendencies of asserting "independence" in the Party, bureaucracy in local work and warlordism in army work, thus strengthening unified leadership of the Party; and discussed and formulated correct principles for the work of the border region government and for economic and financial work. During this period, Mao Zedong announced at a session held in November 1942 that in the course of the rectification movement it was necessary not only to distinguish between the proletarian ideology and non-proletarian ideology (half-heartedness) but also between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary (not of one mind). Beginning in December, all the departments and commissions of the CPC Central Committee and a number of government bodies and schools in Yan'an set about examining the cadres.

December

At a conference of senior cadres of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Mao Zedong made a report on "Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War," in which he expounded that the general policy guiding economic and financial work was to "develop the economy and ensure supplies." He severely criticized the mistaken notion of concentrating on public revenue and expenditure to the neglect of economic development and the wrong practice of making demands on the people without mobilizing and helping them to develop production and tide over the difficulties. The Party's correct policy of "developing the economy and ensuring supplies" enabled the production campaign in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and various liberated areas behind the enemy lines to achieve great successes. In the spring of 1943,

Mao Zedong wrote an inscription for the Exhibition of Achievements in Industrial and Agricultural Production in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, which read: "Use our own hands to get ample food and clothing."

1943

March 16-20

The CPC Central Committee convened a Political Bureau meeting, which was attended by Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Ren Bishi, Zhu De, Kang Sheng, Kai Feng, Bo Gu, Deng Fa, Zhang Wentian, Yang Shang-kun, Peng Zhen, Gao Gang and Ye Jianying. At the meeting the "Decision of the Central Committee on Reorganizing and Streamlining the Central Organs" was made, and Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. It was decided that the Secretariat of the Central Committee be composed of Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and Ren Bishi to attend to the day-to-day work in accordance with the principles formulated by the Political Bureau; that Liu Shaoqi be on the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and serve as vice-chairman; and that the Central Propaganda Commission and the Central Organization Commission be set up as assistant organs to the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The Central Propaganda Commission was composed of Mao Zedong, Wang Jiaxiang, Bo Gu and Kai Feng, with Mao Zedong as secretary concurrently. The Central Organization Commission consisted of Liu Shaoqi, Wang Jiaxiang, Kang Sheng, Chen Yun, Zhang Wentian, Deng Fa, Yang Shangkun and Ren Bishi, with Liu Shaoqi as secretary concurrently.

March 27

Zhang Wentian published an article "Notes Written After an Investigation Tour," in which he discussed the attitude a Communist should adopt towards investigation and study and the basic methods to be used. From January 26, 1942 to March 3, 1943, he led a group of people to make investigations in Hejiachuan, a township directly under the jurisdiction of Shenfu County; Yangjiagou Village, Mizhi County; Xichuan, Suide County; Shizhen Township, Shuanghuyu, Zizhou County—all in northern Shaanxi; and Gaojia Village, Xingxian County in northwestern Shanxi. They compiled the results of their investigations into a series of reports, such as "Survey of the Eight Natural Villages in Hejiachuan," "Survey of the Conditions of Landlords in Yangjiagou" and "A Study on the Land Question in Fourteen Natural Villages in Xingxian County," setting a good example in adhering to the principle of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

March

China's Destiny, a book written by Tao Xisheng, was published in the name of Chiang Kai-shek. The author fabricated and altered Chinese history, eulogized feudalism, advocated fascism, attacked communism and the doctrine of freedom, and slandered the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by the CPC as "warlords of a new type" and "separatist regime in disguise," and hinted that the CPC would be eliminated within two years. Publication of the book was designed to prepare public opinion for the Chiang Kai-shek clique to unleash an anti-Communist civil war. From May to July, the CPC scathingly denounced the book. The *Liberation Daily*, organ of the CPC Central Committee, published a series of articles, showing that the aim of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in advocating feudalism and fascism was to push the KMT's one-party dictatorship; stated that the ideology guiding the CPC was Sinicized Marxism-Leninism, that the CPC and the people's armed forces under its leadership had become the mainstay in the war of resistance and that without the CPC there would be no China; and requested all true patriots of the KMT, all anti-Japanese parties and patriotic fellow countrymen to persist in the war of resistance and oppose a civil war, and persist in unity and oppose a split. These articles helped heighten the vigilance of the people against the danger of a civil war that might be unleashed by KMT diehards and promoted development of the democratic movement in the KMT areas.

April 3

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Carrying on the Rectification Movement." In this decision infiltration by KMT secret agents into the CPC was exaggerated, which led to enlarged scope of attack in the anti-espionage struggle waged later on. It was stated that "since the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front and the recruitment of Party members in large numbers, and as a result of the extensive implementation by the Japanese invaders and the KMT of their secret agent policy, a great number of spies have infiltrated into the Party, government, army, and civilian and student organizations led by our Party in various places. The methods they used are extremely cunning and the number of spies infiltrated is astonishing." It was made clear in the decision, "The chief goals of the rectification movement are to correct non-proletarian ideas (namely, feudal, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas) among the cadres and weed out counter-revolutionaries hidden in the Party." From the 9th to the 12th, a meeting attended by over 20,000 people from the units directly under the Central Committee in Yan'an was convened to mobilize for struggle against secret agents. The issuance of the decision and the convocation of the meeting indicated that examination of cadres originally conducted in a few govern-

ment departments and schools in Yan'an had been turned into a mass struggle against secret agents in all departments, schools and army units.

May 15

In view of development of the anti-fascist war, the complicated conditions of struggle in each country and the need of the Communist Party in various countries to deal with their own problems independently, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International made the "Decision on the Proposal for the Dissolution of the Communist International." The decision was made public throughout the world on the 22nd. On the 26th, the CPC Central Committee decided to fully agree to the decision, stating, "The Communist Party of China has obtained much help from the Communist International in its revolutionary struggle. But the Chinese Communists have long been able to make decisions completely on its own, on its political principles, policies and actions in the light of the concrete and particular conditions of the nation." After the Communist International's formal dissolution on June 10, the CPC freed itself from its obligations to the Charter and Resolutions of the Communist International and from the influence of the Communist International.

June 1

The CPC Central Committee adopted and issued the "Decision on Methods of Leadership" drafted by Mao Zedong. The decision expounded the two methods of leadership, namely, to combine general calls with particular guidance and to combine the leadership with the masses, pointing out that "in all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily from the masses, to the masses. This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge."

June

Taking advantage of dissolution of the Communist International, the KMT clamoured for "dissolution of the Communist Party" and "abolition of the Northern Shaanxi Special Region." On June 18, the KMT general Hu Zongnan held an anti-Communist military conference in Luochuan and mustered part of the river garrison troops in preparation

for attack on the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. On July 4 and 6, commander-in-chief of the Eighth Route Army Zhu De sent a telegram to Hu Zongnan and to Chiang Kai-shek respectively, sternly protesting the KMT troops' anti-Communist activities against the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. On the 9th, over 30,000 people from all walks of life in Yan'an rallied for emergency mobilization and sent an open telegram nationwide calling for unity and opposition to a civil war. In face of strong protest by people in the liberated areas and opposition of progressives throughout the country and of world public opinion, the KMT diehards were compelled to stop this large-scale anti-Communist friction.

July 1

Mao Zedong wrote a letter to Kang Sheng, asking him to publish the following statement in the No. 6 issue of *Experience in Guarding Against Traitors*, "There are two lines to be followed in the work of guarding against traitors. Where the correct line prevails, leading cadres will take charge and plunge in the work themselves, efforts made by the leaders and backbone elements will be combined with those made by the masses, and general calls with particular guidance, investigation and study will be stressed, distinction will be made between right and wrong and between minor and major mistakes—all for the purpose of winning over those who have made mistakes, training the cadres and educating the rank and file. Where the erroneous line prevails, people will try to obtain confessions by compulsion and give them credence. We should follow the correct line and oppose the erroneous one." However, because the Party Central Committee overestimated the enemy's infiltrations, it failed to set right in time the wrong practice of obtaining confessions by compulsion and giving them credence in the work of cadre examination. On July 15, Kang Sheng made a report "Rescue the Ones Who Have Made Mistakes," in which he emphasized that "to weed out hidden traitors is our urgent task at present.... There are still some who have not made confessions to the Party.... These people should lose no time in saving themselves and Communist Party members should give them a helping hand without delay." Before and after the report, an extensive movement to "rescue those who have made mistakes" was unfolded, in which an excessive struggle was waged to obtain confessions by compulsion and give them credence, a large number of "secret agents" were ferreted out within a dozen days. Many comrades were taken as enemies, being wronged or framed up. On July 30, Mao Zedong instructed to stop the movement, and in accordance with the correct line for guarding against traitors put forward by Mao Zedong, the CPC Central Committee formulated in clear-cut terms nine principles for cadre examination. On August 15, it adopted the "Decision on Examination of Cadres," in which the nine principles for cadre examination were reiterated. On

October 9, Mao Zedong said, "Killing none and arresting few is a policy to be adhered to in this struggle against secret agents." This prevented the Party from suffering irretrievable, great losses. In spring 1944, the CPC Central Committee began to re-examine the cases and rehabilitate and make apologies to those comrades who had been wronged. Mao Zedong held himself chiefly responsible for the mistake of enlarging the scope of attack in the struggle against secret agents and made self-criticism, saying, "The basic error in the rescue movement is lack of investigation and distinction between right and wrong."

Early September-early October

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting to criticize Right capitulationist errors made by Wang Ming during the initial period of the war of resistance. At the meeting a summary was made of the manifestations of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist errors, pointing out that the essence of his errors lay in abandonment of leadership by the proletariat in the anti-Japanese national united front, and the root cause of the errors was analysed. Mao Zedong emphasized that when reviewing mistakes, it was necessary to take a historical approach, a realistic and practical approach and make criticism and self-criticism, and towards the comrades who had erred, adhere to the principle of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient.

October 10

The CPC Central Committee decided that the Party's senior cadres should study afresh the history of the Party and the question of right and wrong concerning its line, bringing the rectification movement to the stage of summing up experience and arriving at a better understanding, which marked the end of the Party-wide rectification. This rectification movement was an education movement in Marxism-Leninism, an ideological revolutionary movement to overcome mistaken views with correct views and non-proletarian ideas with proletarian ideas, and also a great ideological emancipation movement to break the fetters of dogmatism represented by Wang Ming in the Party. It was of great significance in promoting integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and was a successful practice in correctly solving the question of building a proletarian political party.

November 26

The Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Government convened in Yan'an a conference of labour heroes and held at the same time a production exhibition. During the conference, Mao Zedong made a speech entitled "Get Organized!" In the great production campaign of the army and people, outstanding achievements were scored in the

anti-Japanese base areas. In some guerrilla areas, such a campaign was also launched and a new form of struggle that "combined farm work with military operations" was created. At the same time preliminary forms of cooperation in production, such as mutual aid teams and teams for the exchange of labour, had emerged. Mao Zedong stressed that to get organized was the only road for the peasants to shake off poverty and become prosperous. In the great production campaign, the army and people in the liberated areas carried forward the fine tradition of self-reliance and hard struggle and laid the material foundation for overcoming the serious difficulties resulting from the attack launched and the blockade imposed by Japanese, puppet and diehard troops against the liberated areas and for winning the War of Resistance Against Japan.

In 1943 great changes took place in the world anti-fascist war. In February, the Soviet army won a great victory in the Battle of Stalingrad and launched counter-offensive on the German army not long afterwards. In July, after the Anglo-American Allied Army occupied south Italy, a coup d'etat took place in Italy. In September, Italy surrendered to Britain and the United States and renounced the fascist alliance. In the same month, China, the United States and Britain mounted a counter-offensive against the Japanese army in Burma, landing it in an unfavourable position.

This year, the army and people in the liberated areas continued to wage heroic struggles against the enemy's "suppression," "mopping-up" and "nibbling" campaigns and recovered a large number of base areas, gradually tiding over the grave difficulties. From March to September, the army and people in central, southern and northern Jiangsu in central China, by coordinating attacks against the enemy on exterior lines with struggles on interior lines, smashed "military suppression" and "political suppression" by Japanese and puppet troops, preserved the effectiveness of the army and held fast to their positions. In July and August, the troops in the Shandong Military Area foiled pincer attacks by Japanese, puppet and diehard troops, controlled in the main the Yishan-Lushan mountain region and the Zhucheng-Rizhao-Juxian mountain region and established links between central Shandong, Binhai and Jaodong, thus greatly improving the situation in the struggle against the enemy. Immediately after that, they frustrated the winter "mopping-up" campaign launched by Japanese and puppet troops against the Qinghe and central Shandong regions. From late September to mid-November, the army and people in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Area crushed a big "mopping-up" campaign waged by over 30,000 Japanese and puppet troops. From the beginning of October to the end of November, the army and people in the Taiyue region shattered a large-scale "mopping-up" campaign launched by 20,000 Japanese and puppet troops. Meanwhile, the South

China Anti-Japanese Column also smashed Japanese troops' besieging, "mopping-up" and "suppression" operations against the coastal areas of Dongguan and Bao'an counties and the Hainan Island, thus consolidating and expanding the Dongjiang and Qiongya liberated areas.

1944

April 12

At a meeting of senior cadres in Yan'an Mao Zedong made a speech entitled "Our Study and the Current Situation," in which he relayed to the participants the conclusion drawn by the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on a few important questions, including the attitude to be taken in studying the Party's historical experience. He emphasized, "The Central Committee holds that we should enable the cadres to become perfectly clear ideologically on the questions which arose in the history of the Party and that at the same time we should adopt a lenient policy in arriving at decisions about comrades who formerly committed errors, so that on the one hand the cadres should thoroughly understand the historical experience of our Party and avoid repeating past errors, and on the other hand all comrades can be united for our common endeavour. In the history of our Party there were great struggles against the erroneous lines of Chen Duxiu and of Li Lisan, and they were absolutely necessary. But there were defects in the methods employed. For one thing, the cadres were not brought to a full ideological understanding of the causes of these errors, the circumstances in which they were committed and the detailed ways and means of correcting them, so that errors of a similar nature came to be repeated; and for another, too much stress was placed on the responsibility of individuals, so that we failed to unite as many people as we could have done for our common endeavour. We should take warning from these two defects." In his speech, Mao Zedong also summed up the experience gained in the War of Resistance Against Japan, pointing out that during the war of resistance the people's revolutionary forces under the leadership of the CPC had gone through three phases—a rise, a decline and a new rise and that they had already made the ideological and material preparation necessary for defeating Japanese invaders and liberating the whole of China. He stressed that in order to win still greater victories it was imperative to call on Party cadres to "get rid of the baggage and start up the machinery."

April 18

In order to offset the setbacks they had suffered in the Pacific theatre of war, support their troops isolated in Southeast Asia and destroy U.S. air bases in east and south China, Japanese imperialists unleashed new

attacks from Henan on the KMT battlefields along the Beiping-Hankou, Guangzhou-Hankou and Hunan-Guangxi railways, which they called "Operation No. 1." Between April and May, Japanese troops took Zhengzhou and Xuchang from the KMT army and cleared the Beiping-Hankou Railway. Between June and August, the Japanese troops attacking Hunan occupied Changsha and Hengyang. Those attacking Guangxi took Guilin, Liuzhou and Nanning in November. By then, the Japanese army had fulfilled its plan to clear the transportation lines on the mainland. In the face of Japanese attacks, the KMT troops put up fierce resistance only in a few battles while in most cases they collapsed at the first encounter, so that all of them were utterly routed on their battlefields, losing vast stretches of territory in Henan, Hunan and Guangxi in a period of eight months. Their operations in these provinces fully exposed the corruption of the KMT army. As the KMT authorities became more and more corrupt politically, were landed in an all-round crisis economically and adopted the policy of avoiding fighting and looking on during the war of resistance, their armies forfeited almost all their combat effectiveness in face of the enemy.

May 11

The Party Central Committee sent to its Central China Bureau and North Bureau the "Directive Concerning the Policy of Expansion in Henan," requiring them to organize guerrilla units and people's armed forces and set up base areas in Henan. On July 25, it issued the order for the army to advance to areas behind the enemy lines in Henan. In the light of the CPC Central Committee's strategic plan to control the Central Plains, the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area sent part of its troops to march down south, which built the Eastern Henan Base Area. On August 15, Peng Xuefeng led the main force of the New Fourth Army's Fourth Division to move westward and recovered the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu Anti-Japanese Base Area in September. In the battle at Balizhuang, Xiayi, Division Commander Peng Xuefeng laid down his life. From September to October, the Taihang, Taiyue and Shanxi-Suiyuan military areas of the Eighth Route Army and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region dispatched troops to cross the Yellow River and enter western Henan. Later, they built new liberated areas in the Songshan and Jishan region and in areas on both sides of the Xin'an-Mianchi Section of the Longhai Railway, and established the Henan Administrative Office and the Henan Military Area.

May 21

The Sixth Central Committee of the CPC convened its Seventh Plenary Session at Yangjialing, Yan'an. At the first meeting a Presidium was elected composed of Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Ren Bishi and Zhou Enlai, with Mao Zedong as its chairman. It was decided that

during the session the Presidium take charge of the day-to-day work of the Party and that the Secretariat and the Political Bureau stop functioning.

July 1

The Party Central Committee issued to the whole army the "Directive on Consolidating and Training the Troops" with the aim of raising the political and military quality of the troops and preparing conditions for expanding the army by one or more times in future. Beginning in October, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies started consolidation and training in accordance with the directive. In political consolidation and training, a campaign to oppose warlord practice, improve relations between officers and men and show respect to cadres and love to soldiers was unfolded, while in military training, a campaign was set going, focusing on target shooting, hand-grenade throwing and bayonet fighting, supplemented by tactics of guerrilla warfare and storming heavily fortified points.

September 15

At the Third Session of the Third People's Political Council held in Chongqing, representative of the CPC Lin Boqu proposed abolition of the one-party dictatorship by the KMT, convening of a conference attended by various parties and establishment of a democratic coalition government. Later, the CPC raised to the KMT authorities again the proposal of establishing such a government in written form. On October 10, Zhou Enlai made a speech in Yan'an entitled "What is the Solution?" in which he further expounded the concrete steps and methods for convening an emergency meeting of representatives from various sectors of society to discuss state affairs and for establishing a democratic coalition government. The CPC's proposal concerning the democratic coalition government reflected the common desire and demand of the people of all strata in the country and aroused enthusiastic response from among the masses and democratic parties.

September 24

Over 500 patriots from all circles in Chongqing and representatives of various parties, including Dong Biwu, Zhang Lan, Shen Junru and Feng Yuxiang, held a meeting, demanding introduction of democracy and an end to the one-party dictatorship by the KMT. In October, 72 persons, including Soong Ching Ling, Guo Moruo and Zhang Lan, sponsored a meeting in memory of Zou Taofen, advanced fighter of the cultural circle, who died of illness in exile on July 24 due to persecution by the KMT and was admitted posthumously as a member of the CPC by its Central Committee on September 28 in accordance with his request during his lifetime. The meeting was attended by several thousands of

people from different walks of life who expressed strong indignation at the dictatorial regime of the KMT. On October 10, the China Democratic League (founded in March 1941, originally called the China Democratic League of Political Groups and changed into the present name in September 1944) issued its "Political Position for the Final Stage of the War of Resistance," demanding "an immediate end to the one-party dictatorship, establishment of a coalition government formed by various parties and introduction of democracy." The proposal of the CPC for a democratic coalition government enabled the patriotic democratic movement in KMT areas to develop towards a definite political goal, pushing it to a new upsurge.

September

The U.S. Government sent Patrick J. Hurley to China in his capacity as the personal representative of the U.S. president, starting to implement a China policy of aiding Chiang Kai-shek and opposing the Communists. In October, the U.S. Government, at the request of Chiang Kai-shek, recalled Joseph W. Stilwell, commander of the U.S. army in the China-Burma-India war zone and Chiang Kai-shek's chief of staff, who stood for Kuomintang-Communist cooperation against Japanese invasion. In November, Hurley was appointed U.S. ambassador to China entrusted with the mission of propping up Chiang Kai-shek's rule in China, helping him to "unify all military forces within the territory of China" and "preventing the collapse of the National Government." On November 7, Hurley arrived at Yan'an by air and, after three days of talks with the leaders of the CPC, expressed agreement with the CPC's proposal for abolishing the KMT one-party dictatorship and establishing a democratic coalition government, and the two sides jointly drafted the "Agreement of the National Government of China and the Chinese Kuomintang with the Communist Party of China." But, when Chiang Kai-shek rejected this agreement, Hurley also changed his tune and went back on what he had said in Yan'an.

September-November

Dissatisfied with the corrupt rule of the KMT government, the Uygurs and the Kazaks in Xinjiang launched armed uprisings in Ili, Nilka and other places and set up a provisional revolutionary government.

October 31

The main force of the 359th Brigade of the Eighth Route Army's 120th Division, 4,000 strong, was formed into a contingent to move down south, with Wang Zhen as commander and Wang Shoudao political commissar. After the oath-taking rally held on November 1, they set out from Yan'an on the 10th to advance to areas behind the enemy lines in

Henan, Hubei, Hunan and Guangdong and build new anti-Japanese base areas there. In December, Su Yu led the main force of the New Fourth Army's First Division to cross the Yangtse River from central Jiangsu and press south to execute the Central Committee's strategic task of expanding to areas behind the enemy lines in southeast China, controlling the Jiangsu-Zhejiang-Anhui border area and developing the coastal region of eastern Zhejiang.

December 15

Mao Zedong made a speech at the Assembly of Representatives of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, in which he pointed out that the only task for 1945 was to defeat the Japanese invaders, that only by bringing about through the people's strength the convocation of a conference to discuss state affairs and establishment of a coalition government by the KMT, the CPC, other anti-Japanese parties and public figures without party affiliation on the basis of democracy was it possible to achieve this goal, and that the Chinese people, whether in the great rear area, enemy-occupied areas or liberated areas, should all work hard for this goal.

In 1944, the Soviet army launched ten devastating onslaughts in succession against the German army, recovering all the lost territory and pushing the war to Germany and its occupied areas. In spring, American troops launched an offensive from the Philippines and islands on the Pacific Ocean and approached Japan proper, landing Japan in a more and more difficult position. On June 6, the Anglo-American Allied Army landed at Normandy in northern France and on August 15, at Toulon and Marseille, finally opening up the second front in Europe.

In early 1944 units of the Eighth Route Army, New Fourth Army and South China Column launched local counter-offensives on Japanese and puppet troops everywhere in northern, central and southern China, concentrating on enemy-occupied cities and towns and on the strongholds of Japanese and puppet troops around the liberated areas, annihilating Japanese and puppet troops in large numbers, and recovering and expanding the liberated areas. In the local counter-offensives throughout the year, the army and people in the liberated areas fought 11,000 battles, wiping out nearly 200,000 Japanese and puppet troops, taking prisoner 60,000 and winning over 30,000 puppet troops. The army and people in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Liberated Area liberated 9,900 villages, extended the Beiyue region, consolidated the regions to the north and west of Beiping, held fast to the eastern Hebei region and recovered the central Hebei region. In the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Area, the army and people recovered 11 county towns, with a population of five million, and ended the situation in which the liberated areas were cut from each other. In the case of the Shanxi-Suiyuan

Liberated Area, the army and people there liberated 3,100 villages and the situation in western and southern Suiyuan was restored to what it had been before 1942. As to the Shandong Liberated Area, the army and people took eight county towns and liberated five million people, bringing into existence five strong base areas of Bohai, Jiaodong, central Shandong, southern Shandong and Binhai. The army and people in the Central China Liberated Area liberated 7,400 square kilometres of territory and redivided the area into the eight liberated areas of Huaibei, Huainan, northern Jiangsu, central Jiangsu, southern Jiangsu, central Anhui, eastern Zhejiang and Hubei-Henan-Anhui. And the army and people in the South China Liberated Area controlled most of the area east of the Guangzhou-Kowloon Railway, set up an anti-Japanese democratic government west of the railway and built strong base areas in Qiongya, Wenchang, Chengmai and other counties.

1945 (January—August)

Spring

The Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies continued their offensive against Japan, and the people's anti-Japanese forces kept growing. By then, there were already 19 liberated areas throughout the country—the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia, Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei, Shanxi-Hebei-Henan, Hebei-Shandong-Henan, Shandong, Shanxi-Suiyuan, Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning, Northern Jiangsu, Central Jiangsu, Jiangsu-Zhejiang-Anhui, Eastern Zhejiang, Huaibei, Huainan, Central Anhui, Henan, Hubei-Henan-Anhui, Hunan-Hubei, Dongjiang and Qiongya liberated areas, covering a total area of 950,000 square kilometres inhabited by 95.5 million people, and the strength of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other people's armed forces growing to 910,000 and the militia to 2.2 million.

February 2

Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, raised a proposal to the National Government, the Chinese Kuomintang, and the China Democratic League to call a meeting of various parties to discuss matters of ending the one-party rule and reforming the government as well as drawing up a common administrative programme. The KMT rejected the proposal for convening such a meeting and forming a democratic coalition government but insisted on organizing a Group of Three with an American in it to "reorganize" the armies of the CPC. On April 2, Hurley issued a statement in Washington announcing that the U.S. Government would "cooperate" only with the KMT but not with the CPC.

February 4-11

Heads of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union held a meeting at Yalta and signed a secret agreement on conditions for the Soviet Union to declare war on Japan at the expense of China's sovereignty. On May 2, the Soviet army took Berlin. On the 8th, the representative of the supreme command of Germany signed a statement announcing Germany's unconditional surrender. Finding itself isolated and helpless, Japan made two "military mobilizations" from February to May and rigged up 40 odd divisions of 2.4 million strong, preparing to defend Japan proper and trying to put up a last-ditch struggle by linking northeast China and north Korea up with Japan. Starting from May, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies on the Chinese battlefield launched a large-scale summer offensive against Japanese and puppet troops, destroying their strongholds, liberating a number of county towns and market towns, establishing contacts between many liberated areas and forcing the bulk of the enemy to areas along the railways and some major highways, thus creating favourable conditions for launching an all-out offensive.

April 20

At its Enlarged Seventh Plenary Session, the Sixth Central Committee of the CPC discussed and adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party." While summing up the historical experience since the founding of the Party and drawing conclusions on some major historical questions, it emphatically criticized the political, military, organizational and ideological errors made by "Left" deviationist leadership represented by Wang Ming during the period of the Agrarian Revolutionary War; paid high tribute to the outstanding contribution made by Mao Zedong in solving the problems arising in the Chinese revolution by applying Marxism-Leninism; systematically worked out a series of theory, line, principles and policies suited to the reality of the Chinese democratic revolution; and stressed in clear-cut terms the need to adhere to the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" with regard to comrades who had made mistakes. An important product of the rectification movement, the resolution helped the entire Party membership, especially senior cadres, to achieve unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and fully prepared ideological conditions for the convening of the Seventh National Congress of the CPC.

April 21

The CPC convened a preliminary meeting for its Seventh National Congress, at which Mao Zedong made a speech entitled "Principle for the Work of the Seventh Congress," namely, unity to win victory. He pointed out that the participants should look forward but not backward

and should concentrate their attention on the 400 million people so as to organize the ranks; that victory had not been achieved yet, there were still many difficulties and the enemy was still very strong; and that it was essential to be modest and prudent, and guard against arrogance and rashness. He called on the entire Party to get united as a harmonious family, but he said that there would be strife in a new family, which should be overcome by democratic means.

April 23-June 11

The Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was convened in Yan'an. Attending the congress were 547 full deputies and 208 alternate deputies, representing 1.21 million Party members. Mao Zedong presided over the congress. In his opening address he pointed out that China was confronted with a struggle between two prospects and two destinies and the Party's task was to strive with all its might for a bright future, a destiny of light, and against a dark future, a destiny of darkness. At the congress, he made the political report "On Coalition Government," the report on the situation and the ideological and political problems, the conclusion on the discussion of the political report and a speech on the question of election; Zhu De delivered the military report "On the Battlefield in the Liberated Areas" and the conclusion on the discussion of military problems; Liu Shaoqi made the report "On the Revision of the Party Constitution" and the conclusion on the discussion of the organizational question; and Zhou Enlai made an important speech "On the United Front." Ren Bishi, Chen Yun, Peng Dehuai, Zhang Wentian, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Yang Shangkun, Peng Zhen and Nie Rongzhen also spoke at the congress. The congress adopted the political resolution, the military resolution and the new Party Constitution. It systematically summed up the Party's experience in leading the Chinese revolution in the past 24 years, profoundly expounded the basic theory of new-democracy, pointing out that the Party's line was to "boldly mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China." The congress summed up the experience in armed struggle, united front and Party building and profoundly expounded these "three magic weapons" with which to carry out the new-democratic revolution, and the Party's three important styles of work—integrating theory with practice, forging close ties with the masses and conducting self-criticism. In the new Party Constitution adopted at the congress Mao Zedong Thought that integrated Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution was made the guideline for all the Party's work. In accordance with the principle of developing democracy and strengthening unity and proceeding from the desire for unity, the participants carried out criticism and self-criticism against the mistakes made in the past and, adopting the

conception that "one divides into two," they patiently helped and explained things to errant comrades for the purpose of uniting and working together with them. The congress elected a new Central Committee. The Seventh Congress had gone down in history as a congress of unity and victory.

June 19

The First Plenary Session of the CPC Seventh Central Committee was held, at which Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Ren Bishi, Chen Yun, Kang Sheng, Gao Gang, Peng Zhen, Dong Biwu, Lin Boqu, Zhang Wentian and Peng Dehuai were elected to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Central Committee, of its Political Bureau and of its Secretariat; and Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi were elected members of the Secretariat.

July 26

China, the United States and Britain proclaimed the Potsdam Declaration, urging Japan to surrender unconditionally. On August 6 and 9, the United States dropped atom bombs respectively on Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On August 8, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On the 9th, the Soviet army entered China's northeast, launching large-scale offensives on the Japanese Guandong Army. This precipitated Japanese fascists' doom and speeded the triumphant conclusion of China's War of Resistance Against Japan and of the anti-fascist Second World War.

August 9

Mao Zedong issued a statement "The Last Round with the Japanese Invaders," in which he said, "the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the other armed forces of the people should seize every opportunity to launch extensive attacks on all the invaders and their running dogs who refuse to surrender." On the 10th, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Preparing to Seize Cities and Vital Communications Lines After the Soviet Union's Entry into the War." On the 10th and 11th, Commander-in-Chief Zhu De issued seven orders on accepting the surrender of the enemy and starting an all-out counter-offensive, ordering the people's armies in various liberated areas in north, central and south China to advance swiftly, take over the arms of Japanese and puppet troops and accept the surrender of the Japanese troops, and the people's army in the Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning Border Area to thrust into the northeast promptly. The armies led by the CPC started an all-out offensive against Japanese and puppet troops at various fronts in the northeast, along the Beiping-Tianjin, Guihua-Suiyuan railways, in Taiyuan, along the Beiping-Hankou and Longhai railways, in Jinan and

Jiaodong, along the Tianjin-Pukou and Shanghai-Nanjing railways, the Grand Canal and the Guangzhou-Kowloon Railway.

August 11

Chiang Kai-shek issued three "orders": one, demanding the people's armies in the liberated areas to "stay where they are, pending further orders" and to refrain from "taking actions on their own" against Japanese and puppet troops; two, requiring the troops under his direct control to "step up the war effort without the slightest relaxation"; and three, requesting Japanese and puppet troops to "be responsible for maintaining local order." At the same time, the United States used every possible means to ship KMT troops to the big cities and key communications lines, that were encircled by the people's armed forces of the liberated areas, to "accept" surrender. On the 13th, Commander-in-Chief Zhu De and Deputy Commander-in-Chief Peng Dehuai sent a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek, resolutely rejecting his wrong orders. On the 15th, Commander-in-Chief Zhu De ordered Yasuji Okamura, commander-in-chief of the Japanese invading forces in Nanjing, and all the troops under his command to cease all military operations and surrender to the armies led by the CPC, except those encircled by KMT troops, upon orders from the Eighth Route Army, New Fourth Army and South China Anti-Japanese Column led by the CPC. On the same day, Commander-in-Chief Zhu De sent a message to the American, British and Soviet governments, declaring that the Chinese people's anti-Japanese armed forces under the command of the General Headquarters in Yan'an had the right to accept the surrender of the Japanese and puppet forces they had encircled and the right to send Communist Party representatives to work with the Allies to handle matters relating to the enemy's surrender.

August 14

The Japanese Government sent a note to the American, British, Soviet and Chinese governments accepting the Potsdam Declaration. On the 15th, Japanese Emperor Hirohito announced Japan's unconditional surrender by broadcasting his "imperial edict on ceasing the war."

The National Government accepted the terms of the Yalta secret agreement and signed with the Soviet Government the "Treaty of Friendship and Alliance Between China and the Soviet Union." At the same time, it signed the agreements on the Chinese Changchun Railway, on Lüshunkou and on Dalian. The two governments also exchanged notes concerning the Chinese Government's recognition of the independence of the People's Republic of Mongolia.

September 2

Japanese Emperor and Government as well as the representative of

the Japanese general headquarters signed the instrument of surrender. This crowned China's War of Resistance Against Japan and the Second World War with final victory. The War of Resistance Against Japan was a national liberation war in which the Chinese people won complete victory for the first time in a century-long struggle against foreign invaders and it was an important component of the anti-fascist world war.

Victory in the war of resistance was won through arduous and complicated struggle of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and at immense cost. According to statistics, over 21 million Chinese armymen and people were killed or wounded and the loss of property amounted to 60 billion U.S. dollars at least. During the eight years of the war of resistance, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other people's anti-Japanese armed forces led by the CPC fought 125,000 battles, wiping out 1,714,000 Japanese and puppet troops, capturing 694,000 arms of different kinds and 1,800 pieces of artillery. More than 600,000 commanders and fighters of the Communist-led armies lost their lives or got wounded and over 6 million people in the liberated areas were killed or wounded. Through the eight years of fighting, the people's revolutionary forces led by the CPC grew much stronger than before, the liberated areas covered an area of nearly one million square kilometres with a population of 100 million, and the main forces of the people's armies exceeded 1.2 million and the militia, 2.6 million. This laid a solid foundation for nationwide victory in the new-democratic revolution.

V. The Period of the Nationwide War of Liberation

August 1945—September 1949

1945 (August—December)

August 11

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision Concerning the Tasks of Our Party After Japan's Surrender," calling on the entire Party and army to plunge immediately into the struggle to defend the fruits of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan. It was decided that at the present stage, "the various localities should immediately concentrate the bulk of the armed forces so that they will stop being dispersed and operating in guerrilla units but will be organized into regular regiments, brigades and divisions, which transcend the jurisdiction of the local authorities for concentrated action and each of which falls into A.B.C. classes." "In view of possible large-scale attack launched by the KMT in future, the Party must be prepared to muster troops to cope with a civil war." It was imperative to quickly improve work in cities, expand the militia, and to give free rein to rent reduction (maintaining the status quo where it had already been done) among 100 million people in this winter and next spring so as to rapidly consolidate all the newly liberated areas.

August 13

Mao Zedong delivered a speech at a meeting of cadres in Yan'an entitled "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan," in which he scientifically predicted the direction in which the situation would develop after the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan was over and put forward the CPC's policy of striving for a peaceful development and preparing for a revolutionary war. At the time, the United States attempted to turn China into its appendage, and Chiang Kai-shek depended entirely on it for the purpose of maintaining the semi-colonial, semi-feudal rule of reaction under the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. In his speech, Mao Zedong laid stress on self-reliance. He pointed out in clear-cut terms: We should on the one hand strive for peace and democracy and localize the civil war or delay the outbreak of a country-wide civil war and, on the other hand, we must have a full understanding of Chiang Kai-shek's plot to launch a civil war, harbour no illusions

about imperialism and reaction, have no fear of their threats, and be prepared to defeat all domestic and foreign reactionaries by waging a patriotic and just revolutionary war and to build a new-democratic new China of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

August 14, 20 and 23

While preparing for a civil war by relying on the United States, Chiang Kai-shek sent three telegrams to Mao Zedong inviting him to Chongqing for negotiations. At the same time, Stalin also telegraphed the CPC Central Committee, saying that China should follow the road of peaceful development and asking Mao Zedong to go to Chongqing for talks with Chiang Kai-shek to seek for an agreement for maintaining domestic peace. He added that if a civil war broke out, the Chinese nation would face the danger of destruction.

August 15

The China Democratic League issued an "Urgent Appeal Amidst the Voices of Victory in the War of Resistance," demanding the KMT government's convocation of a political conference of various parties and celebrities without party affiliation.

August 18

Acting on instructions of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek, Yasuji Okamura, commander-in-chief of the Japanese invading forces in China, worked out the so-called "Outline for Dealing with China After Peace Is Achieved," according to which the arms of the Japanese troops should be handed over to the KMT side "lock, stock and barrel," and he refused to surrender to anti-Japanese troops led by the CPC.

August 20

The CPC Central Committee decided to dissolve the Northern Bureau and to set up the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, with Deng Xiaoping as secretary, and the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, with Nie Rongzhen as secretary.

August 23

The Eighth Route Army recovered Zhangjiakou, capital of Chahar Province.

On the same day, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting, at which it analysed the international and domestic situation and decided on the principle of holding talks with the KMT. The participants maintained that it was necessary to strive actively for a period, even if a brief period, of peaceful reconstruction in

the interest of the people. It was decided to send Zhou Enlai to Chongqing before Mao Zedong was to go there some time later. It was also decided that during Mao Zedong's absence, Liu Shaoqi act as chairman of the Party Central Committee. At the meeting, Chen Yun and Peng Zhen were elected alternate members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

August 25

In view of the development of the situation, the CPC Central Committee made an urgent decision to immediately send Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei as representatives to Chongqing for talks with the KMT. On the same day, in the light of the discussions at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau on the 23rd, the Central Committee issued the "Declaration on the Current Situation," in which it raised the three major great slogans of peace, democracy and unity, expounded the CPC's principle of striving for peace and democracy and opposing civil war and autocracy and demanded that the KMT government "recognize the governments elected by the people in the liberated areas and the anti-Japanese armies," "call a conference to be attended by various parties and celebrities without party affiliation ... and form a national democratic coalition government," so as to avoid a civil war and lay the foundation for peace and national reconstruction in the future. On the 26th, the CPC Central Committee issued an inner-Party "Circular on Peace Negotiations with the Kuomintang."

August 28

Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei arrived at Chongqing from Yan'an accompanied by the KMT representative Zhang Zhizhong and U.S. ambassador P.J. Hurley who had come to Yan'an on the previous day. After 43 days of negotiations, the KMT and the CPC signed on October 10 the "Summary of Conversations Between the Representatives of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China" (also known as the "October 10th Agreement.") In the summary, the KMT agreed with the basic policy of peace and national reconstruction, speedy conclusion of its "political tutelage" and democratization of political life, recognized the equal and legal status of various parties and some democratic rights for the people. And most important of all, the two sides agreed to convene a political consultative conference to be attended by various parties and celebrities without party affiliation. But the KMT refused to recognize the people's governments in the liberated areas and no agreement was reached on the convocation of a national assembly. Besides, redesignation of the armies led by the CPC remained unsettled.

August 29

When the KMT and the CPC started negotiations, commander-in-chief of the KMT army He Yingqin secretly ordered the various war zones to reprint the *Handbook on Bandit Suppression* compiled by Chiang Kai-shek in 1933 when "encircling and suppressing" the Red Army. On September 20, Chiang Kai-shek sent a confidential order to commanders-in-chief of various war zones, requiring them to "lose no time in controlling all strategic points and communications lines." After the publication of the "October 10th Agreement," he issued another confidential order to his subordinates for "bandit suppression," namely, for waging a counter-revolutionary civil war.

September 5-October 15

The U.S. Air Force airlifted three KMT corps to seize Nanjing, Shanghai, Beiping and Tianjin, commander-in-chief of the American forces in China Albert C. Wedemeyer said that this was doubtless the largest army movement by air in world history. From mid-October to June 17, 1946, U.S. Navy shipped nine KMT corps to north, central and northeast China. The U.S. Government spent a total of over US\$600 million on airlifting and shipping KMT troops.

September 6

The New Fourth Army recovered Huaiyin, Jiangsu Province. In the large-scale counter-offensive against Japanese and puppet troops, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the South China anti-Japanese forces recovered over 250 small and medium-sized cities and once attacked and occupied Baoding, Shijiazhuang, Guisui (now Hohhot,) the West Railway Station of Tianjin and the West Railway Station of Shanghai, closed in on and besieged such big and medium-sized cities as Beiping, Tianjin, Taiyuan, Datong, Kaifeng, Xinxiang, Xuzhou, Qingdao, Jinan, Nanjing and Shanghai and intersected the Beiping-Liaoning, Beiping-Suide, Tianjin-Pukou, Beiping-Hankou, Zhengding-Taiyuan, Datong-Puzhou, Longhai, Qingdao-Jinan and Guangzhou-Kowloon railway lines, and recovered large tracts of territory.

September 10-October 12

The Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area Command mustered a force of 31,000 consisting of main forces and local units and launched a counter-offensive in self-defence against Yan Xishan's troops of the KMT army that had invaded the Shangdang area of Shanxi Province, with the cooperation of 50,000 militiamen and under the support of people in the liberated areas, recapturing Tunliu, Huguan, Changzi, Lucheng and Changzhi counties and wiping out 13 divisions of Yan Xishan's main forces totalling more than 35,000. The great victory at Shangdang hastened the signing of the "October 10th Agreement."

September 14

The CPC Central Committee decided to set up its Northeastern Bureau, with Peng Zhen serving as secretary.

September 19

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive, making "developing the north and defending the south" the strategic principle of the Party and army in the country, the main task being to strike at KMT troops and prevent them from a northward advance, continue to wipe out Japanese and puppet troops with all might and main, gain complete control over Rehe and Chahar provinces and develop and control northeast China. At the same time, it decided to shift the headquarters of the Central China Bureau to Shandong to form the East China Bureau by merging with the Shandong Sub-Bureau. After that, 10 members (four of them being members of the Political Bureau) and 10 alternate members of the Central Committee were assigned one after another to lead 20,000 cadres and 110,000 troops to push towards the northeast.

On the same day during negotiations in Chongqing Zhou Enlai put forward the proposal that the people's army withdraw from the base areas in Guangdong, Zhejiang, southern Jiangsu, southern Anhui, central Anhui, Hunan, Hubei and Henan (not including northern Henan) provinces to assemble on the north side of the Longhai Railway and in northern Jiangsu and northern Anhui.

October 24-November 2

The main forces of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area Command wiped out in the Handan area the greater part of the 30th and 40th corps of the KMT that had been invading north China along the Beiping-Hankou Railway, totalling more than 30,000. Gao Shuxun, deputy commander-in-chief of the KMT's Eleventh War Zone and commander of the New Eighth Corps, revolted at Matou Town south of Handan, with nearly 10,000 men. In the Handan (Beiping-Hankou) Campaign and the Datong-Puzhou, Beiping-Suiyuan and Tianjin-Pukou campaigns, a total of 90,000 KMT troops were wiped out, thus crushing Chiang Kai-shek's plot to launch a civil war along the four railways.

October 30

The CPC Central Committee decided to change its Hubei-Henan-Anhui Bureau of the CPC Central Committee formed in August into the Central Plains Bureau with Zheng Weisan as acting secretary.

November 19

Representatives from all circles in Chongqing formed the Anti-Civil War Association and called on people of the country to take action and stop the civil war by all possible means. On the 25th, 6,000 students in

Kunming held a current affairs evening party against the civil war, which was harassed by KMT troops and policemen. On the following day, students in various schools started a joint strike. On December 1, the KMT authorities in Kunming dispatched large numbers of troops, policemen and secret agents to suppress the teachers and students on strike, killing four and wounding more than twenty. After the "December 1st Massacre," the students in Kunming went on strike for over a month and won tremendous support from all parts of the country.

December 15

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946," in which it pointed out, "The central task of all the liberated areas is still to take a stand of self-defence and do their utmost to smash the Kuomintang attacks." It also stressed rent reduction, production and troop training in order to raise the combat effectiveness of the army and consolidate the liberated areas.

December 15

U.S. President Truman made a statement on America's policy towards China, expressing that he was in favour of arranging a national conference of representatives of major political elements in China to develop an early solution to the present internal strife—a solution which would bring about the unification of China. But the essence of the statement was: The existence of autonomous armies such as that of the Communist army was inconsistent with, and actually made impossible, political unity in China. This showed that the aim of America's China policy was to help Chiang Kai-shek's KMT to disarm the Chinese people's army. On the 16th, George Marshall, special envoy of the U.S. president, came to China with a mission. On the 21st, in his formal talks with Marshall, Chiang Kai-shek emphasized "the need to disband China's autonomous armies such as that of the Communist army mentioned in the statement of the president, which is of the utmost importance."

December 16

Zhou Enlai arrived at Chongqing at the head of the CPC delegation to attend the political consultative conference. On the 19th, the CPC delegation to the conference put forward to the KMT government the proposal of unconditional truce. On the 27th, it submitted a supplementary proposal in written form. Because it had not completed its preparations for an all-out civil war and because the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain had made clear their attitudes towards the China issue, the KMT government had to express its willingness to negotiate on the question of armistice.

December 27

After the meeting of the Soviet, U.S. and British foreign ministers

held in Moscow a communique was issued, in which a proposal was offered on the question of the situation in China: "In China unity and democratization must be realized under the leadership of the KMT government, democrats must be recruited into all organs of the KMT government (at various levels), and the internal struggle must stop." On January 28 and 29, 1946, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union Harriman arrived in Chongqing to brief Chiang Kai-shek and Marshall on the three-nation foreign ministers' meeting and the Soviet Union's policy towards China after the war.

December 28

The CPC Central Committee issued the directive "Build Stable Base Areas in the Northeast," in which it demanded to "build base areas, stable military and political base areas," in cities and the vast rural areas away from the key cities occupied by the KMT. To this end, it was necessary to arouse the masses to struggle, solve their problems and rely on them in every way.

1946

January 10

Representatives of the CPC and of the KMT government signed the truce agreement reached earlier on the 5th, and the two sides issued the armistice order effective as from mid-night of the 13th. Acting on instructions of the United States, Chiang Kai-shek insisted on excluding the Northeast from the agreement so as to have a free hand in fighting a large-scale war there and then push the war to areas south of the Great Wall. Before and after issuance of the truce order, Chiang Kai-shek sent another confidential order to his troops to quickly "seize strategic points." At the negotiation table the CPC representatives gave tit for tat and exposed schemes of U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, while the People's Liberation Army was fighting for every inch of land, repulsing, in self-defence, the KMT troops who were trying to "seize strategic points."

The Political Consultative Conference attended by representatives of the KMT, the CPC, the Democratic League, the Youth Party and social celebrities was opened in Chongqing. Closed on the 31st, the conference adopted Agreement on Government Organization, Programme for Peace and National Reconstruction, Agreement on Military Affairs, Agreement on the National Assembly and Agreement on the Draft Constitution. The five documents, which in essence negated the KMT's one-party dictatorship and autocracy and its policy of civil war, were favourable

to the people under the conditions prevailing at the time.

February 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Current Situation and Tasks," in which it discussed and affirmed the major results achieved at the Political Consultative Conference and drew the optimistic conclusion that "China has entered the new stage of peace, democracy and reconstruction." Later, as Chiang Kai-shek tore up the cease-fire agreement and the agreements reached at the Political Consultative Conference, the CPC Central Committee immediately changed its conclusion about the new stage. At a gathering of the Central Committee in July, Mao Zedong summed up experience and lessons relating to this question.

February 10

KMT reactionaries sent secret agents and ruffians to sabotage the meeting sponsored by various circles in Chongqing to celebrate the success of the Political Consultative Conference, which became known as the "Jiaochangkou Incident."

March 1-17

The Sixth Central Executive Committee of the KMT convened its Second Plenary Session in Chongqing, at which Chiang Kai-shek made an open call for undermining the agreements reached at the Political Consultative Conference, saying that it was necessary to "make appropriate amendment with regard to the salient points." The session adopted a resolution for reversing all the democratic principles contained in the Draft Constitution formulated at the Political Consultative Conference as well as a number of other anti-Communist resolutions.

March 18

The spokesman of the CPC Central Committee exposed the KMT's attempt to undermine the agreements of the Political Consultative Conference, especially the agreement on the Draft Constitution, and called on the people of the country to wage a grave struggle for firm implementation of all the agreements of the Political Consultative Conference.

April 8

CPC representative to the Political Consultative Conference Wang Ruofei and CPC representative to the Conference's Committee for the Examination of the Draft Constitution Qin Bangxian died in a plane crash due to bad weather at Heichashan in Xingxian County, Shanxi Province, on their way from Chongqing back to Yan'an for making a report to and asking for instructions from the Central Committee. Ye Ting, former commander of the New Fourth Army who had just been set free, and Deng Fa, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the

Association of Workers and Staff Members in the Liberated Areas, died in the same accident.

April

Mao Zedong wrote "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," in which he repudiated the Right deviationist views held at the time by people both at home and abroad, who were pessimistic about the international situation and overestimated the enemy's strength. He pointed out emphatically that a compromise on certain issues was possible between the United States, Britain and France on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other, but "such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions."

April 14-18

The Northeast Democratic Allied Army conducted the Changchun Campaign and liberated Changchun on the 18th. Following that, it fought a month-long battle to defend Sipingjie, wiping out 10,000 enemy troops. On May 19, 23 and 28, the stronger KMT troops, equipped and transported by the U.S., attacked and captured Sipingjie, Changchun and Jilin successively.

May 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Question of Troop Training." It pointed out, "In addition to expanding the civil war in the Northeast, the Kuomintang reactionaries are now preparing to launch an all-out civil war. Under such circumstances, our Party must make full preparations so as to be able to resolutely and thoroughly thwart the Kuomintang's attempts." For this purpose, it demanded that all localities must lose no time in training troops while making preparations.

May 4

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Settlement of Accounts and Reduction of Rents and the Land Question," which was also known as the "May 4th Directive." Earlier, in April, Ren Bishi had invited leading cadres of the liberated areas to Yan'an to discuss the land question and the question of finance, banking and trade. The participants all expressed that in the struggle against enemy agents and in settling accounts and reducing rent and interest and getting the landlords to return the overcharged portions, broad sections of the peasants in the liberated areas had begun to get land directly from the landlords and implement the principle of "land to the tillers." On the basis of discussions at the meeting, the Central Committee issued the "May 4th Direc-

tive," changing the Party's policy of reduction of rent and interest carried out during the war of resistance to weaken feudal practices into one of "land to the tillers" to eliminate such practices. According to the directive, "Party committees of all localities should understand clearly that solution of the land question in the liberated areas is the basic historic task confronting the Party and the key link in all work at present." The directive stipulated that in general the land problem was not to be solved by confiscation without any compensation, but by compensated transfer of landownership through clearing accounts and purchasing. It also laid down specific rules to guard against violations of landownership of the middle peasants, protect industry and commerce, differentiate between the rich peasants and the landlords, between the big, middle and small landlords and between the despotic and non-despotic ones, give appropriate preferential treatment to the enlightened gentry and others, and allow the middle and small landlords, rich peasants, enlightened gentry to retain more land than the peasants. In accordance with the "May 4th Directive," the various liberated areas soon started a land reform movement. By February 1947, in two-thirds of the liberated areas throughout the country the land problem had been solved, which greatly helped consolidate the liberated areas and provided a strong support to the revolutionary war.

June 23

Ten thousand people in Shanghai held a rally and then a demonstration to send the delegation of people's organizations of various circles off to Nanjing to petition for peace. When the delegation led by Ma Xulun arrived at the Xiaguan Station in Nanjing, the members were encircled and beaten up by KMT secret agents and ruffians hidden there, which became known as the "Xiaguan Massacre."

June 26

Chiang Kai-shek flagrantly tore up the truce agreement and the agreements of the Political Consultative Conference, and launched a large-scale converging attack on the Central Plains Liberated Area, commencing his all-out offensive against the liberated areas. A new nationwide civil war thus broke out.

July 11-15

KMT secret agents assassinated Li Gongpu and Wen Yiduo, members of the Central Committee of the Democratic League. This demonstrated that while launching an all-out offensive against the liberated areas with the support of the United States, the KMT reactionaries stepped up persecution of the people in the KMT areas.

July 13

Zhou Enlai sent a memorandum and a protest to representatives of

the United States and the KMT, exposing KMT army's attempt to attack the Jiangsu-Anhui Liberated Area on the 15th. On the 16th and 18th, KMT troops launched attacks on south, north and west of the Jiangsu-Anhui area and extended the new nationwide civil war.

July 13-August 27

The Central China Field Army waged a counter-attack in self-defence in central Jiangsu. They fought and won seven battles, wiping out six KMT brigades and five of its communications police detachments, totalling 53,000 men, or one-third of its forces engaged in frontal attack.

July 20

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive "Smash Chiang Kai-shek's Offensive by a War of Self-Defence," in which it made a profound analysis of the situation with regard to the enemy and the people and came to the conclusion: The people can defeat Chiang Kai-shek. In the military, political and economic fields it laid down the principles and methods for the Party and army to defeat the enemy's attacks, stressing, "For defeating Chiang Kai-shek the general method of fighting is mobile warfare. Therefore, the temporary abandonment of certain places or cities is not only unavoidable but also necessary." Led by the Party Central Committee, the army and people in the liberated areas throughout the country immediately got mobilized and courageously resisted Chiang Kai-shek's military attack.

August 10-22

The main forces of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area Command launched a large-scale counter-offensive along the Kaifeng-Xuzhou section of the Longhai Railway, annihilating 16,000 enemy troops. From September 3 to 6, on their way back, they wiped out the enemy's reorganized Third Division in the area west of Dingtao and two more enemy brigades later, totalling 17,000 men.

August

When interviewed by the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong in Yan'an, Mao Zedong pointed out, "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." Regarding the all-out civil war in China, Mao Zedong said, "We have only millet plus rifles to rely on, but history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles is more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's aeroplanes plus tanks."

September 16

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued the directive "Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces

One by One," in which it stressed that this was the principal method of fighting to defeat the enemy and it must be employed in the disposition of troops not only for a campaign but also for a battle to effect complete annihilation and quick decision. Therefore, one should not balk at abandoning some cities and places so as to gain the initiative, concentrate a superior force, choose the weak or isolated section of the enemy forces and wipe them out one by one while on the move. In this way, enemy effectives would be annihilated and one's own strength expanded. In accordance with this principle of fighting formulated by the Military Commission of the Central Committee, the various strategic zones cooperated with each other and looked for chances to wipe out the attacking enemy. In particular, the forces in Shandong and central China under the command of Chen Yi and Su Yu as well as the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan forces commanded by Liu Bochong and Deng Xiaoping achieved many a glorious victory in annihilation warfare, greatly weakening the enemy's offensive.

October 1

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive—"A Three Months' Summary," in which it comprehensively and systematically expounded the experience gained in the three months since the outbreak of the nationwide civil war and analysed the political and economic situation and developments in the land reform. It stated, "To concentrate a superior force to wipe out the enemy forces one by one is the only correct method of fighting, the method we have used in the past three months to destroy 25 enemy brigades." In the future in order to eliminate more enemy effectives and bring about a fundamental change in the military situation, "this method of fighting must be mastered not only by all high-ranking commanders but also by all middle and lower-ranking cadres."

October 11

KMT troops attacked and captured Zhangjiakou, reaching the zenith of their all-out offensive against the liberated areas. Dizzy with superficial success, Chiang Kai-shek promptly ordered for the convocation of the Kuomintang-manipulated "National Assembly" for drawing up the constitution, but only two small parties—the Youth Party and the Democratic Socialist Party, both breaking off from the Democratic League, followed him. At this one-party "National Assembly" which was held from November 15 to December 25, the "Constitution of the Republic of China" was formulated. From March 29 to May 1, 1948, the KMT convened the "First Session of the National Assembly" (the "National Assembly for implementing the constitution"), which elected Chiang Kai-shek "president" and Li Zongren "vice-president." The CPC and various democratic parties and people's organizations made stern

statements refusing to recognize the "National Assembly" called by the KMT in violation of the agreements of the Political Consultative Conference as well as the "constitution" it adopted and the "president" it elected, landing Chiang Kai-shek in an extremely isolated position politically.

October 31-November 2

The southern Manchuria units of the Northeast Democratic United Army annihilated the 25th Division of the KMT's 52nd Corps in the Xinkailing area northwest of Kuandian. On November 9, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee sent a cable directive commending the successes achieved at Xinkailing and pointing out at the same time: A superior force must be concentrated not only in a campaign but also in a battle. From December 18 to April 3, 1947, these units went on to fight four battles in defence of Linjiang; the main forces operating in northern Manchuria fought in cooperation with them and crossed the Songhua River three times to attack the enemy. Fighting now in the south and now in the north, the Northeast Democratic United Army finally succeeded in turning the war situation and checking the enemy's strategic offensive in the Northeast.

November 4

The KMT government and the United States signed the "Sino-U.S. Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation." This, plus a series of treaties of national betrayal and humiliation signed with the United States earlier and later, turned the KMT areas increasingly into a colony. The tyrannical political rule and economic exploitation and plundering by Chiang Kai-shek plunged the people in the KMT areas into an abyss of misery. Guided by the correct policy of the CPC, people of different strata rose up in unity to wage a heroic struggle against the KMT reactionaries and for survival. From the end of November to early December, vendors in Shanghai rose in struggle which developed into a citywide anti-Chiang mass movement. At the end of December, starting from Beiping, a nationwide patriotic student movement against the atrocities committed by American soldiers broke out. On December 31, the CPC Central Committee issued a directive in this regard, proposing to "form the broadest possible battle array" and "make just and forceful attack" so as to "isolate the United States and Chiang Kai-shek and oppose U.S. attempt to colonize China." Over 500,000 students in the big and medium-sized cities in the KMT areas took part in the struggle, which quickly won the support of the workers, teachers and other people.

November 19

Zhou Enlai left Nanjing for Yan'an. Before his departure, he announced to Chinese and foreign reporters that people who had launched

the new national civil war would soon meet with complete defeat. In the course of the long-term struggle in the form of negotiation, the CPC delegation led by Zhou Enlai laid bare the war intrigues of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries and thus landed them in isolation. At the same time, it won the support of the middle-of-the-roaders and the broad masses of the people and the sympathy of world public opinion for the CPC—it had played an important role in broadening the people's democratic united front and bringing into shape the second battle front in KMT areas encircling the Chiang Kai-shek government.

1947

January 2-20

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops in east China wiped out two reorganized divisions and one mobile column of the enemy in the Yixian-Zaozhuang area in southern Shandong, totalling 53,000 men.

February 1

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting, at which Mao Zedong pointed out that as the situation developed, China was now on the eve of a great upsurge of people's revolution. The participants discussed the directive "Greet the New High Tide of the Chinese Revolution" before it was issued. It was noted that the PLA's victories in battles and development of the people's movement in the Chiang Kai-shek areas indicated the advent of a new high tide in the Chinese revolution. The policies, adopted by U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, of turning China into a U.S. colony, launching a civil war and strengthening fascist dictatorship had "forced all strata of the Chinese people to unite for their own salvation. These strata include the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, enlightened gentry, other patriotic elements, the minority nationalities and overseas Chinese. This is a very broad united front of the entire nation. In comparison with the united front in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, it is not only as broad in scope but has even deeper foundations. All Party comrades must strive to consolidate and develop this united front." The directive stressed, "In order to smash Chiang Kai-shek's offensive thoroughly, we must wipe out another forty to fifty of his brigades in the next few months; this is the key that will decide everything." To achieve this objective, it was necessary, in army building, to make every effort to step up the building of the artillery and engineering corps, and in consolidating the liberated areas, to greatly increase agricultural and industrial production, practise economy and in particular, continue to implement the "May 4th Directive" and fully arouse the masses and put the policy of "land to the tillers" into effect in the

one-third of the territory where land reform had not been carried out.

February 20-23

The Eastern China Field Army conducted the Laiwu Campaign, setting the record of wiping out seven enemy brigades, totalling 76,000 men.

February 27-28

The KMT government notified all CPC representatives stationed in Nanjing, Shanghai and Chongqing for liaison and negotiation between the KMT and the CPC to leave those places, proclaiming total breakdown of the KMT-CPC negotiations.

February 28

People in Taiwan staged an armed uprising against the KMT government's tyranny. On March 8, KMT reinforcements from the mainland landed at Keelung and immediately set out for sanguinary suppression. Though the uprising failed, it served to hold up the armed forces of the KMT, providing direct support for the nationwide War of Liberation.

February

Beginning from July 1946 the PLA wiped out 710,000 enemy troops, or eight brigades a month on average. During this period, the enemy captured 105 cities, which forced him to employ a considerable number of his forces for garrison purposes. Consequently, he had much less reserves left for launching attacks and had to stop his all-out offensive.

March 8

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive on unfolding rural guerrilla warfare in Chiang Kai-shek's areas. On several occasions before and after this, it required the various localities to arouse and organize the peasant masses to wage guerrilla warfare and set up guerrilla bases in the light of their specific conditions, by taking advantage of the weak military forces, the miserable life suffered by the people due to conscription and grain requisition and the rising militancy of the masses in the rear of the KMT areas. Thanks to efforts made by Party organizations in different places, guerrilla warfare was resumed and developed and base areas were set up in the Fujian-Guangdong-Jiangxi and the Hunan-Guangdong-Jiangxi border areas, on Hainan Island, and in the Guangdong-Guangxi, Guangxi-Yunnan, southern Yunnan, Anhui-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, eastern Zhejiang and Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi border areas, which served to undermine the enemy's rear and support the PLA troops fighting at the frontal battlefield.

March 13

Chiang Kai-shek ordered Hu Zongnan's army, 230,000 strong, to attack northern Shaanxi from the south, the west and the north. This

showed that the KMT had begun to switch from all-out offensive to flank attacks on key sectors, namely, northern Shaanxi and Shandong. On the 18th, the CPC Central Committee took the initiative to vacate Yan'an and embark on fighting from place to place in northern Shaanxi, with a view to pinning down Hu Zongnan's troops—the KMT's general strategic reserves, and creating favourable conditions for the PLA to launch strategic counter-offensives at other battlefields.

March 23-May 25

The main forces of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area Command launched a counter-offensive in northern Henan, a place linking the battlefields in northern Shaanxi and Shandong, and annihilated 45,000 enemy troops.

March 25-May 4

Under the command of Peng Dehuai, the Northwest Field Army Group manoeuvred against an enemy ten times stronger than itself, wearing down the enemy with fatigue and hunger before fighting three successful battles at Qinghuabian, Yangmahe and Panlongzhen, wiping out 14,000 men and laying the foundation for smashing Hu Zongnan's offensive.

March 29

The CPC Central Committee held a meeting at Zaolingou Village, Qingjian County, northern Shaanxi, at which it decided to set up a Front Committee and a Working Committee of the Central Committee, with the majority of the members of its Secretariat, namely, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi, assuming leadership of the Front Committee in northern Shaanxi to direct the countrywide War of Liberation on behalf of the Central Committee, while the other two members, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, leading the Working Committee to north China to carry out the tasks entrusted by the Central Committee. On April 9, the Central Committee issued a circular from Qingyangcha Township that was located between Hengshan and Jingbian counties in northern Shaanxi, in which it stated, "We must defend and expand the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the Liberated Areas in the Northwest with a firm fighting spirit." "The Central Committee of our Party and the General Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army must remain in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region."

April 4-May 9

The Taiyue Column of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area Command launched a counter-offensive in southern Shanxi, annihilating 18,000 enemy troops, thus completely smashing the joint defence of Hu Zongnan's and Yan Xishan's troops.

April 8-May 8

The main force of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Military Area Command wiped out more than 35,000 enemy troops in a counter-offensive along the Zhengding-Taiyuan Railway, isolating the enemy in Shijiazhuang and establishing contacts between the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei and the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan liberated areas.

April 29

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive concerning establishment of the Urban Work Department of the Central Committee and Party committees at all levels. The tasks of the Urban Work Department were to manage all kinds of work (including work among the workers, peasants, youths and women) in the KMT areas under the leadership of the Central Committee and to train cadres for the purpose. The Bureaus and Sub-Bureaus of the Central Committee and certain district Party committees in the liberated areas were also required to set up such departments. In the KMT areas, the Shanghai Bureau was to take charge of the Party's work in areas along the Yangtse River valley, all the southwestern provinces, Beiping, Tianjin, Qingdao and Taiwan, while the Hong Kong Sub-Bureau was to take charge of the Party's work in the southern provinces and in regions in Southeast Asia. Thus the Party's work in the KMT areas was strengthened and unified.

May 1

The People's Government of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was formally established and Ulanhu was elected chairman of the people's government. This was an important result achieved in the regional autonomy movement in Inner Mongolia under the leadership of the CPC since the War of Resistance Against Japan. On the 19th, Chairman Mao Zedong and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De jointly sent a telegram in reply to the People's Representative Conference of Inner Mongolia, congratulating the founding of the first sizable national autonomous region in the country. To improve leadership for work in the region, the Party's Inner Mongolia Working Committee was set up on July 9.

May 4

Students from various schools in Shanghai staged a propaganda-demonstration against civil war. On the 5th, the CPC Central Committee issued a directive emphasizing the need to "pay close attention to the development of the situation and pursue the Party's policy of fully arousing the masses to oppose U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek." The demonstration soon spread to other large and medium-sized cities in the KMT areas. The KMT resorted to suppressive measures, creating the "May 20th Massacre" in Nanjing. On the 23rd, the CPC Central Com-

mittee issued another directive, calling for flexible tactics in struggle, combining overt with covert work and legal with illegal struggle, making distinction between the two while at the same time combining them, so as to lead the mass struggle in a direction favourable to the opening of a second battle front in Chiang Kai-shek's areas. In May and June, the movement "against hunger, against civil war and against persecution" extended to 60-odd big and medium-sized cities in Chiang Kai-shek's areas. In early May, workers' strikes and panic purchasing of rice took place in many big and medium-sized cities. The patriotic democratic movement in the KMT areas formed the second battle front of the great people's revolution. Victories won on the two battle fronts—the PLA's military operations on the one hand and the struggle waged by the people in the KMT areas on the other—placed the KMT government in the besiegement of the entire people.

May 13-16

In the Menglianggu mountain region in Mengyin, Shandong Province, the Eastern China Field Army completely annihilated the 32,000-strong Reorganized Seventy-fourth Division bragged by the enemy as the best of its "Five Main Forces."

June 30

Liu Bochong and Deng Xiaoping led the main force of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army, four columns totalling 130,000 men, in forcing the Yellow River from an area between Zhangqiuzhen and Linpu in southwestern Shandong to break through from the middle of the enemy's dumbbell-shaped battle array that extended from Shandong to northern Shaanxi, thus raising the curtain on the PLA's strategic offensive. At this point, the enemy's attacks on key sectors had not yet been completely smashed and the PLA was still far inferior to the enemy in terms of number and equipment. So, the shift in strategy represented a bold policy decision made by the CPC Central Committee after fully assessing the various factors that had a bearing on the war effort. Right after crossing the Yellow River, the Liu-Deng army waged the South-western Shandong Campaign, destroying nine and a half enemy brigades totalling 56,000 men. Then, they started a swift southward advance for 500 kilometres without a base rear to fall back on and arrived in the region of the Dabie Mountains towards the end of August.

July 17-September 13

The Working Committee of the CPC Central Committee convened the Party's National Land Conference in Xibaipo Village in Jianping (now Pingshan) County, Hebei Province. Liu Shaoqi presided over the meeting, delivered a report and made the conclusion. At the meeting the "Outline Land Law of China" was adopted, which was promulgated on

October 10 by the Central Committee for implementation. An outline land law designed to eliminate the system of feudal exploitation throughout the country, it provided that the land of the landlord class must be confiscated and distributed equally among the peasants. To ensure thorough execution of land reform, purify the ranks of the Party and enhance the Party's fighting capacity, it was also decided at the meeting to consolidate Party organizations in the course of land reform. However, because the meeting failed to produce a programmatic conclusion and corresponding document on the differentiation of classes and because, while overlooking the "Left" tendency that had already occurred at the initial stage of land reform, it overestimated the lack of thoroughness in the land reform and impurity in ideology and organization within the Party in some areas, it led to a further development of the "Left" errors, although it promoted the movements of land reform and Party rectification to develop on an unprecedented scale.

July 21-23

The Front Committee of the CPC Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting at Xiaohu Village in Jingbian County, northern Shaanxi. Before the meeting, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi had held discussions respectively with the commanders of the Northwest Field Army, the Joint Defence Army of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia and Shanxi-Suiyuan Border Regions and the Taiyue Column of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army, and decided that the Taiyue Column change its original plan of crossing the Yellow River and moving westward to northern Shaanxi to crossing the river and moving southward out of western Henan to assist the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army in its operations in the Central Plains. Since the Taiyue Column was to provide strategic cooperation, instead of direct support, to the Northwest Field Army, measures were adopted at the meeting to strengthen the northwest theatre of war. Zhou Enlai summed up the great successes scored by the PLA in the first year of the war (July 1946 to June 1947)—the annihilation of 1.12 million enemy troops. In view of this, Mao Zedong put forward for the first time the idea of defeating Chiang Kai-shek within five years, starting from July 1946.

August 6-12

To get Hu Zongnan's troops on the move so as to make it easier for the Taiyue units to attack western Henan, the Northwest Field Army moved northward to besiege and attack Yulin. From the 18th to the 20th, it wiped out two brigades of the Reorganized 36th Division, the main force of the enemy, totalling 6,000 men, in the Shajiadian area northwest of Mizhi County. By then, half of the 230,000 enemy troops invading Yan'an and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region had been wiped out or worn down, and the PLA shifted to offensive from interior lines

in the northwest war theatre.

August 22

Eighty thousand troops of the Taiyue units of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army under the command of Chen Geng and Xie Fuzhi forced the Yellow River from between southern Shanxi and northern Henan, and then, after intersecting the Longhai Railway, pressed onto Luoyang and Zhengzhou in the east and Tongguan in the west before advancing in western Henan with the Funiu Mountains lying behind them.

August 30

The CPC Central Committee issued the decision on the appointment of Zhou Enlai as acting chief of the general staff of the Military Commission, explaining that since Peng Dehuai, vice-chairman and concurrently chief of general staff of the Military Commission, had been appointed commander-in-chief and political commissar of the Northwest Field Army (with Xi Zhongxun as deputy political commissar) and could no longer attend to the work of the Military Commission, it had decided that Zhou Enlai, vice-chairman of the Military Commission, serve as acting chief of the general staff with Ye Jianying remaining deputy chief of the general staff.

September 1

The CPC Central Committee issued "Strategy for the Second Year of the War of Liberation," stating in clear-cut terms, "In the second year of fighting, our army's basic task is to launch a countrywide counter-offensive,* that is, to use our main forces to fight our way to exterior lines, carry the war into the KMT areas, wipe out large numbers of the enemy on the exterior lines"; and "a partial task of our army is to use a portion of our main forces and large numbers of our regional troops to continue fighting on interior lines, wipe out the enemy there and recover lost territory." The directive emphatically pointed out the direction of our efforts for the new strategic stage: "Strive to draw the enemy into mobile warfare, but at the same time lay great stress on learning the tactics of positional attack and on stepping up the building of the artillery and engineering corps in order to capture enemy fortified points and cities on a large scale."

*At the time the terms "counter-offensive" and "offensive" were still used interchangeably. Mao Zedong said at a meeting of the Central Committee in December 1947: We went over to the offensive in July 1947 for the first time in history. This is revolutionary offensive and should no longer be called counter-offensive because the term smacks of defensive and as such it does not express the content of the situation as a whole.

September 10-October 10

To check and pin down enemy forces so as to support its main forces that were operating on exterior lines to advance to the Central Plains, the army of the Eastern China Field Army on interior lines took a blocking action in the Jiaodong area, annihilating 26,000 enemy troops, and switched to counter-offensive.

September 14-November 5

The Northeast Democratic United Army launched the autumn offensive along the Chinese Changchun Railway and the Beiping-Liaoning Railway, wiping out nearly 70,000 enemy troops and taking control of most of the railways in the Northeast.

September 26

Commanded by Chen Yi and Su Yu, the main force of the Eastern China Field Army comprising eight columns of 180,000 men crossed the Longhai Railway in five routes and marched down south to Henan, Anhui and Jiangsu provinces to fight in cooperation with the Liu-Deng army and the Chen-Xie army in the Central Plains. The CPC Central Committee's strategic deployment of "breaking through from the middle, pinning down the enemy from the flanks, and the three armies advancing together in a triangle formation" gradually took shape in the course of strategic offensive.

October 10

The General Headquarters of the PLA issued a manifesto and 67 slogans, proclaiming the basic policies of the PLA, which were also the policies of the CPC, and raising the slogan "Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and liberate all China." At the same time, the PLA General Headquarters reissued the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention for the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

October 18-22

The Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Field Army annihilated the main force of the enemy's Third Corps in the Qingfengdian area, wiping out 21,000 men, including the ones wiped out in the blocking action north of Baoding. From November 6 to 12, it captured Shijiazhuang, a place of strategic importance in north China, annihilating all the enemy's 24,000 garrison troops there. Zhu De said, "It is a tremendous victory, and it is the first big city we have ever taken."

October 27

The CPC Central Committee issued the directive on carrying the revolution through to the end, pointing out, "With the victorious progress of our army's counter-offensive, the various classes and parties throughout the country must consider what position to take and decide on what to do in future, and the Chiang Kai-shek clique itself and its

boss the United States, on their part, must plan their retreat in advance." The CPC Central Committee instructed that it was necessary to lay bare the political scheme for "peaceful unification" plotted by U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, do a good job in winning over, educating and uniting with all the democratic parties and oppose all compromising ideas or reformist programmes of the bourgeoisie that lacked thoroughness.

On the same day, the KMT government ordered dissolution of the Democratic League.

November 12

Patriots in Taiwan sponsored and founded in Hong Kong the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.

December 7-28

The CPC Central Committee held a meeting at Yangjiagou, Mizhi County, northern Shaanxi. Breaking into political, military and land reform groups, the participants discussed and studied the current situation and the Party's policies. The formal meeting was held from the 25th to the 28th, at which Mao Zedong's written report "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" was discussed and adopted. He pointed out: The People's Liberation Army had gone over to the offensive on a national scale. "This is a turning point in history. It is the turning point from growth to extinction for Chiang Kai-shek's twenty-year counter-revolutionary rule. It is the turning point from growth to extinction for imperialist rule in China, now over a hundred years old." He profoundly expounded the basic policies of the CPC on military affairs, land reform, Party rectification, economic work and united front work, and set forth specific tasks for seizing nationwide victory in the future. He put forward the ten major principles of operation after analysing the experience gained by the PLA in fighting over a long period of time, especially in the recent eighteen months. He pointed out that confiscating the land of the feudal classes and turning it over to the peasants, confiscating monopoly capital, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H. Kung and Chen Li-fu and Chen Guo-fu, and turning it over to the new-democratic state, and protecting industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie constituted the three major economic policies in the new-democratic revolution. Confiscation of bureaucrat-capital was an important development in the content of the CPC's general line for the new-democratic revolution and an important condition in preparation for the changeover from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. In his speech at the meeting, Mao Zedong stressed: A fundamental change had taken place in the situation regarding the enemy and ourselves in 1947. This was a great event which showed that a high tide had arrived in the great people's revolution. The December meeting was followed by another meeting of the Central Committee for studying the development of

strategic offensive and the question of correcting "Left" deviations.

December 15-March 15, 1948

The Northeast Field Army waged a three-month-long winter offensive, seizing Sipingjie and forcing enemy troops to Changchun, Shenyang and Jinzhou which were disconnected with each other and comprised only three percent of the total area of the Northeast (including Rehe.)

Winter of 1947-spring of 1948

The various units of the PLA conducted between battles a new type of ideological education movement under the leadership of Party committees at different levels in the army in order to adapt themselves to the war situation and the development of land reform and Party rectification movement in the liberated areas. The main contents of this movement were to study the various policies of the Party, carry out class education with the soldiers pouring out their grievances and checking up on their class origin, performance of duty and will to fight, further develop political, economic and military democracy in the army and carry out troop training on a mass scale. This large-scale movement helped improve the military strength and political awareness of the PLA and greatly increase its fighting capacity.

1948

January 1

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, which was jointly organized by democratic groups within the KMT, was established in Hong Kong and it published a declaration, in which it unequivocally set forth its aim to "overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous, dictatorial regime." From the 5th to the 19th, Shen Junru and Zhang Bojun, members of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Democratic League (CDL), convened the Third Plenary Session of the First Central Committee of the CDL in Hong Kong, at which it was decided to reorganize the League's leading body and resume its activities. They issued a declaration advocating adoption of revolutionary methods to oppose the KMT reactionary government and the policy adopted by the United States towards China. The spokesman of the CPC Central Committee expressed his welcome to the establishment of the Revolutionary Committee and to the CDL's resumption of its activities, and pointed out that this "demonstrates how broad the united front of the national democratic movement against U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary ruling clique has become."

January 12

At the enlarged meeting of the Front Committee of the Northwest

Field Army Ren Bishi made the speech "On Some Problems in Land Reform," in which he analysed the causes of "Left" mistakes in land reform and put forward corrective principles and methods. In the speech, he specifically explained the correct criteria for differentiating rural classes and the basic features of the major classes in the rural areas. He comprehensively expounded the need to unite firmly with middle peasants as a supplement to the "Outline Land Law of China." He pointed out that a policy of winning over, uniting with and educating the intellectuals, the mental workers, should be followed, enabling them to fully use their knowledge and skills. He also pointed out that no adventurist policy should be adopted in industry and commerce and that the industrial and commercial enterprises owned by landlords and rich peasants should not be confiscated. He added that the enlightened gentry should be protected—for the purpose of uniting with over ninety percent of the people. He announced in the speech that "the Chinese Communist Party is strongly against any indiscriminate beating and killing and against any corporal punishment on those who have committed crimes." The Central Committee immediately distributed the speech as a guiding document throughout the Party and published it in newspapers. The speech played a role of crucial importance in bringing land reform and mass movement onto the right track.

January 18

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive entitled "On Some Important Questions Concerning the Party's Present Policies," expounding the struggle against Right and "Left" mistakes under different circumstances, certain specific policies in the land reform and mass movement, the nature of the political power under the people's democratic dictatorship, and relationship between the leadership and the led in the revolutionary united front, that is, the leadership of the proletariat. Later, it gave a series of more instructions, among which were "Different Tactics for Carrying Out Land Law in Different Areas," "Correct 'Left' Errors in the Land Reform Propaganda," "Essential Points in the Land Reform in the New Liberated Areas," "Regulations Concerning Differentiation of Social Classes and Their Living Conditions During the Land Reform (Draft)," "Land Reform and Party Consolidation in Old and Semi-Old Liberated Areas," "On Policy Concerning Industry and Commerce," "On the Question of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry," "The Party's Policy Must Be Made Known to the Masses in Time," "Telegram to the Headquarters of the Luoyang Front After the Recapture of the City," "Tactical Problems of Rural Work in the New Liberated Areas," and "The Work of Land Reform and Party Consolidation in 1948." In these documents the Party set forth its policies of uniting with the great majority of the people in both the rural areas and the cities, and of restoring and developing

industrial and agricultural production, gradually making its policies concerning the rural areas, the cities, the new liberated areas, industry and commerce, and the united front more comprehensive and systematic, and also rectifying the "Left" mistakes that had been made during the high tide of the great people's revolution.

February 29-March 3

The Northwest Field Army won the campaign at Yichuan, destroying five enemy brigades, which brought about a fundamental change in the situation in the northwest theatre of war. On April 21, it recaptured Yan'an, which had been occupied by the enemy for 13 months and 3 days.

March 14

The troops commanded by Chen Geng and Xie Fuzhi, together with part of the army under Chen Yi and Su Yu, took Luoyang, a communications hub situated in between Shaanxi, Shanxi and Henan provinces, annihilating 19,000 enemy troops. In order to wipe out more enemy effective strength, the units evacuated the city on their own initiative on the 18th and recaptured it on April 5. After the victory in the Luoyang Campaign, the three armies operating in the Central Plains joined forces to fight the enemy. Since their southward advance, the three armies led by Liu Bochong and Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yi and Su Yu, and Chen Geng and Xie Fuzhi had fought successively in different parts between the Yangtse, the Huai, the Yellow and the Hanshui rivers, constituting a military posture in the shape of a triangular. Strategically they won a decisive victory when they had occupied all the places in the area and set up the powerful Central Plains Liberated Area.

March 23

The leading organs of the CPC Central Committee led by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi crossed the Yellow River at Chuan-kou, Wubao County, northern Shaanxi, and moved to the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Liberated Area via the Shanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area. Later in April and May, they arrived at Xibaipo, where the Working Committee of the Central Committee merged with the Central Committee.

April 1

Mao Zedong made a speech at the Conference of Cadres of the Shanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area at Caijiaya Village, Xingxian County, Shanxi Province, in which he summarized experience in land reform and Party consolidation and explained that the CPC's general line and policy for the historical stage was "a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat" and that the Party's general line

and policy in the land reform was to "rely on the poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants and abolish the system of feudal exploitation step by step and in a discriminating way, and develop agricultural production."

April 27

The Shandong Army captured Weixian County (now Weifang City), the enemy's "stronghold in central Shandong," bringing the Shandong Liberated Area into a complete whole.

April 30-May 7

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee convened a meeting at Chengnanzhuang, Fuping County, Hebei Province. Present at the meeting were Chen Yi, Su Yu, Li Xiannian, Nie Rongzhen, Bo Yibo and others. They discussed ways of launching strategic offensive, adopted the suggestions put forward by Su Yu and others, decided first to concentrate forces in the Central Plains for big battles in order to destroy as many enemy main forces as possible north of the Yangtse River. They also talked about and decided on ways of setting up the North China and Central Plains liberated areas that had become contiguous and strengthening the unified central bureaus, governments and military commands there, as well as plans of winning nationwide victory. Mao Zedong raised the slogan "Let the army advance, production increase and the sense of discipline grow stronger."

April 30

The CPC Central Committee published slogans for the May 1st International Labour Day, among which were "Fight all the way to Nanjing" and "All democratic parties, people's organizations and social celebrities immediately hold the political consultative conference to discuss and promote the convocation of the people's assembly and the establishment of a democratic coalition government." On May 1, Mao Zedong, chairman of the CPC Central Committee, sent a telegram to Li Jishen, chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT and Shen Junru, member of the Standing Committee of the CDL, suggesting that a new Political Consultative Conference be held before anything else and also expressing the hope that the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT and the CDL would work together with the CPC for these purposes. The CPC's suggestions were warmly received by the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, the CDL, other democratic parties, people's organizations, overseas Chinese organizations and democrats without party affiliation. From August on, representatives from different quarters arrived in the liberated areas, and together with the CPC representatives they set to preparing for the convocation of the new Political Consultative Conference.

May 4

More than 15,000 students from different universities and middle schools in Shanghai gathered at the Jiaotong University and started a patriotic movement against the U.S. policy of propping up Japan. Following the great demonstrations of the students in Beiping and Shanghai, students in many other big and medium-sized cities took to the street. A number of professors, cultural workers, social celebrities, industrialists and merchants, and even some organizations and people belonging to the KMT, also joined in the struggle.

May 9

The CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission decided to merge the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei and the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan liberated areas and their leading bodies to form the North China Bureau, the North China Joint Administrative Council and the North China Military Area Command, with Liu Shaoqi serving concurrently as first secretary of the bureau. They also decided to strengthen the Central Plains Bureau, set up the Central Plains Military Area Command and merge the armies under Liu and Deng and Chen and Xie into the Central Plains Field Army, Deng Xiaoping being appointed first secretary of the Central Plains Bureau. In August, the North China Provisional People's Congress decided after discussion to change the North China Joint Administrative Council into the North China People's Government, and Dong Biwu was elected chairman of the government. This united people's government, a product of cooperation between the Party and non-Party democrats, and set up in north China with a population of 44 million, was the embryonic form of the Central People's Government of New China soon to come into existence.

May 17

After 72 days of fierce fighting, the troops of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area Command took Linfen, a county of strategic importance in southern Shanxi, thus making the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan and the Shanxi-Suiyuan liberated areas contiguous. The liberation of Linfen, the enemy's isolated stronghold, made it possible for the PLA to turn its troops of encirclement into strategic reserves, which became the First Army of the North China Military Area Command. From June 1 to July 21, this army and the local armed forces waged the Central Shanxi Campaign in which, although outnumbered by the enemy, they wiped out more than 100,000 enemy troops after fighting successive battles and liberated the whole area of central Shanxi except Taiyuan.

June 17-July 6

The Eastern China Field Army, with the cooperation of part of the Central Plains Field Army, conducted the Eastern Henan Campaign

(including the Kaifeng and Suixian-Qixian campaigns). This was a long-drawn-out military operation waged in large formations and involving storming heavily fortified positions and fighting mobile warfare. For a while, they occupied Kaifeng, capital of Henan Province. And the number of enemies annihilated in a single campaign increased from one reorganized division to a group corps of more than two such divisions totalling 93,000 troops. This marked the beginning of a great change in the country's military situation.

Late July-August 31

The Northeast Bureau called the first meeting on urban work. By now, the whole area in the Northeast was about to be liberated, land reform was basically completed and the Party began to shift the focus of its work from the countryside to the cities. On September 15, Zhang Wentian, member of the Standing Committee of the Northeast Bureau, finished his "Outline of the Economic Structure and the Basic Policies for Economic Reconstruction in the Northeast" and submitted it to the Central Committee on the 30th. In his speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, Mao Zedong assimilated some of the ideas from the outline.

August 1-22

The Sixth National Labour Conference was held in Harbin, which called on the working class throughout the country to unite closely with people from all walks of life, support the PLA, so as to accomplish the historic task of overthrowing the reactionary rule of the KMT and of establishing a new China. The conference also decided to restore the unified national organization of the working class—the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

August 22

The CPC Central Committee issued instructions on the need of keeping clear-headed and of adopting flexible tactics in the struggle in the KMT areas. At this point, realizing that his military, political and economic powers were on the verge of collapse, Chiang Kai-shek was wantonly suppressing and massacring the people. The CPC Central Committee immediately pointed out that in its work in the KMT areas the Party "should make no adventurist mistakes," but "should firmly carry out in the cities the policy of dispersing, concealing and accumulating forces and biding our time" lest "the revolutionary leading forces built up over the years in the cities should suffer losses before the Liberation Army approaches the cities and the enemy collapses." Under the guidance of the Central Committee's correct policies, the underground Party organizations in Shanghai, Beiping and other places, while persevering in covert struggle, made a lot of preparation to help bring

about the liberation and taking-over of the cities.

September 8-13

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, after a preliminary session of 11 days, held an enlarged meeting at Xibaipo. In the light of development in the war situation, the meeting made a schedule, in accordance with the military plan put forward at the Xiaohe meeting held in July 1947, of overthrowing the KMT reactionary rule once for all within approximately five years, starting from July 1946. To this end, the meeting required that the army continue its advance and guerrilla warfare be replaced by regular warfare. It reiterated and improved the strategic plan worked out at the Chengnanzhuang Meeting, ordered all strategic zones to fight battles of annihilation on a still larger scale, which meant that the entire PLA should keep operating north of the Yangtse River, in north China and the Northeast, for the purpose of destroying large numbers of KMT forces. Therefore, efforts must be made, on the one hand, to obtain large quantities of war-needed manpower and material resources from the KMT and its areas, and on the other, to restore and develop industrial and agricultural production in the old liberated areas. In this connection, the meeting adopted the resolution on implementing the system of requesting for instructions beforehand and submitting reports afterwards, stressing that utmost efforts should be made to overcome anarchism and the lack of discipline, to get rid of localism and guerrilla-ism and to concentrate all the power that could be and must be concentrated in the hands of the Central Committee and its representative bodies. On October 10, the Central Committee issued an inner-Party circular about the meeting.

September 12

Acting on orders of the Military Commission of the Central Committee the Northeast Field Army moved southward to the Beiping-Liaoning Railway to block the enemy's strategic passage from the Northeast to North China by thrusting into the corridor linking the two areas. Two Inner Mongolian cavalry divisions participated in this decisive battle as new forces. In order to stick to Jinzhou, the enemy used his naval and air forces. His air force flew 1,069 sorties in succession and the navy dispatched large numbers of warships to transport reinforcements from North China to Hulu Island. By October 1, the Northeast Field Army had captured Suizhong, Xingcheng and Yixian counties and was threatening Jinzhou. On October 3, the Military Commission and Mao Zedong criticized Lin Biao, commander of the Northeast Field Army, for his hesitation in besieging Jinzhou and striking at enemy reinforcements, and set things to rights. They restated the strategic significance of capturing Jinzhou: "Even if none of the other objectives is attained but as long as Jinzhou alone is captured, you will have won the initiative,

which in itself will be a great victory."

September 14-October 31

In order to cooperate in the large-scale military operation in the Northeast and to check the movement of Fu Zuoyi's army corps, the Second and Third armies under the North China Military Area Command conducted the Chahar-Suiyuan Campaign, wiping out 21,000 enemy troops.

September 16-24

Acting on the Military Commission's instruction of "capturing Jinan and attacking reinforcements," the Eastern China Field Army fought the Jinan Campaign, during which 44 percent of its total force, about 140,000 strong, was put into the group to take the city and the rest, about 180,000 men, went to the group to attack enemy reinforcements. After eight days and nights of fierce fighting to storm the heavily fortified city, the field army destroyed 104,000 defending troops (including a corps of 20,000 troops that revolted) before the enemy from Xuzhou had time to come to their aid. Jinan, the biggest city between Nanjing and Tianjin and capital of Shandong Province, was thus liberated. The capture of Jinan indicated that the PLA had started to storm the enemy's heavily fortified positions, raising the curtain on strategically decisive battles.

October 5-December 4

The First Army under the North China Military Area Command, together with part of the troops under the Shanxi-Suiyuan Military Area Command, broke through the defence line on the periphery of Taiyuan from the south and then launched attacks on the enemy's key positions there, taking all of the strategic points south and east of the city, tightening the encirclement of the city and annihilating 50,000 enemy troops. Later, however, in accordance with the orders of the Military Commission, they temporarily suspended their attack on the city in order not to alert the enemies in Beiping and Tianjin.

October 5-18

To cooperate in military operations in the Central Plains and Taiyuan, the Northwest Field Army started attacks on the enemy north of Dali, destroying 25,000 enemy troops.

October 10-15

After fighting a bloody battle in the Tashan area for six days and nights, part of the Northeast Field Army succeeded in stopping the enemy's "East-Advancing Army" to aid Jinzhou from Hulu Island. On the 14th and 15th, the main force of the Northeast Field Army captured Jinzhou after 31 hours of fierce fighting, cutting the "lifeline" of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule in the Northeast—the vital passage linking

up the Northeast with North China. On the 17th, an enemy corps defending the long-besieged Changchun revolted. On the 19th, the remaining troops including the headquarters of a KMT army and a corps surrendered. Changchun, once capital of the puppet Manchukuo, was liberated.

October 21

The enemy's "West-Advancing Army" under Liao Yaoxiang that had long set out from Shenyang but remained hesitant about making any further movement, advanced south from Zhangwu and began to engage the Northeast Field Army on the 23rd; but it was blocked by our courageous and determined troops whichever direction it tried to move. While our main force that had captured Jinzhou immediately swung back to the Northeast, the troops along other routes moved there as well. On the 26th, about 500,000 of the Northeast Field Army troops surrounded Liao Yaoxiang's army in the Heishan-Dahushan sector in an area of approximately 120 square kilometres, where an unprecedented battle of annihilation started. After stiff fighting lasting two days and one night, Liao Yaoxiang's army, the enemy's crack force directly under Chiang Kai-shek's control, lost all of its 100,000 troops, among which were two of its self-claimed "Five Main Forces," the New First and the New Sixth corps.

October 22

The Central Plains Field Army liberated Zhengzhou, and recaptured Kaifeng on the 24th. So far, the two communications hubs along the Beiping-Hankou and Longhai railways had come into the PLA's hands.

October 28

When the Liaoxi-Shenyang Campaign was nearing its end, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his troops in Baoding in North China to launch a surprise attack on the Shijiazhuang area, where the CPC Central Committee was located. The CPC was informed of the scheme. Following Mao Zedong's instructions, Zhou Enlai worked out a well-conceived deployment, according to which troops were promptly rushed in and militiamen and civilians mobilized to drive the invading troops from the south of Dingxian County to an area north of Baoding. Thus, the enemy's scheme fell through.

November 1

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued a general order in the spirit of the Political Bureau's enlarged meeting held in September to unify the establishment and designations of all the army units. According to the order, the PLA was to be composed of field armies, local troops and guerrillas; there would be four field armies: the Northwest, the Central Plains, the Eastern China and the Northeast field

armies; there would be five first-grade military area commands: the Central Plains, the North China, the Northeast and the Eastern China military area commands, as well as the Northwest Military Area Command which was originally the Joint Defence Military Area Command of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the Shanxi-Suiyuan Border Area; all the army groups, armies, divisions and regiments were to be arranged in unified sequent numbers; and the guerrillas were to remain in columns or detachments as they had been.

November 2

In the flush of victories the Northeast Field Army pressed on and took Shenyang and Yingkou, bringing about the triumphant conclusion of the Liaoxi-Shenyang Campaign, which had lasted 52 days. On the 9th, the whole of the Northeast was liberated after the enemy in Jinxi and Hulu Island escaped from the sea. In the campaign, with a casualty of 69,000 men, the Northeast Field Army annihilated altogether 470,000 enemy troops, including 1 general headquarters, 1 border area headquarters, 4 army headquarters, 11 corps headquarters, 33 divisions and 16 regiments (1 army revolted, and 1 army headquarters and 1 corps came over to the PLA side).

November 6

The Eastern China and the Central Plains field armies started the Huaihai Campaign. The next day, in view of all-round victory won in the decisive Liaoxi-Shenyang Campaign, changes in the CPC Central Plains war theatre and hesitation on the part of enemy troops in Xuzhou about whether to retreat or stay, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee decided to broaden the planned scale by changing the original objective of destroying only part of the armies under Liu Zhi and Du Yuming to destroying their main forces or the whole of their armies north of the Yangtse River. This campaign was to be fought over a large territory centring on Xuzhou and extending as far as Haizhou in the east, Shangqiu in the west, Lincheng (now Xuecheng) in the north and the Huai River in the south.

November 8

He Jifeng and Zhang Kexia, deputy commanders of the KMT's Third Pacification Zone, revolted with their 23,000 troops in the Tai'erzhuang-Zaozhuang sector, which left the northeast gate of Xuzhou open and provided favourable conditions for the first phase of fighting in the campaign.

November 11

In his telegram addressed to all the bureaus of the Central Committee and the front committees of all the field armies, Mao Zedong pointed out, "Now that the (enemy's) Shenyang Group Army has been annihi-

lated, the KMT will lose its main force if we destroy most of its Xuzhou Group Army." He added, "The estimate made and the tasks set forth by the Political Bureau at its meeting held in early September (prior to the Jinan Campaign) to build up an army of 5 million strong and to destroy 500 of the enemy's regular divisions in order to overthrow the KMT once for all in about five years now seem out of keeping with the new developments, especially after the great victories won in September and October. It may probably take us only a year or so to accomplish the tasks." On the 14th, in the commentary entitled "The Momentous Change in China's Military Situation" written for the Xinhua News Agency, Mao Zedong stated, "The military situation in China has reached a new turning point and the balance of forces between the two sides in the war has undergone a fundamental change. The People's Liberation Army, long superior in quality, has now become superior in numbers as well. This is a sign that the victory of the Chinese revolution and the realization of peace in China are at hand."

November 15

In view of the victorious development of the War of Liberation and the fact that many big, medium-sized and small cities had been liberated one after another, the CPC Central Committee issued the directive "On Military Control," clearly defining the nine tasks in exercising military control in cities. They were: to comb out all remaining counter-revolutionary forces; to take over all public organs, property and other materials; to restore and maintain public order; to take over all the weapons and other contraband goods of the reactionaries hidden among the people; to disband all reactionary party and league organizations; to arrest war criminals and counter-revolutionaries guilty of the most heinous crimes; to set up revolutionary governments; to set up reliable mass organizations; and to consolidate and build Party organizations. It also pointed out, "Only when all these tasks and other tasks are accomplished can we exercise our rule of the country by depending on the Party, the people's governments and mass organizations in the cities and do without the military control commission."

November 15-28

The Northwest Field Army staged a winter offensive, in which it won all three battles in the Luohe area in central Shaanxi, wiping out 24,000 enemy troops. Through this offensive it kept Hu Zongnan's Group Army from moving out of the Northwest and thus assisted the on-going Huaihai Campaign.

November 16

The Central Plains Field Army captured Suxian County, a strategic position, cutting off the enemy's link between Xuzhou and Bengbu and

completing the strategic encirclement of Xuzhou. On the same day, the Military Commission of the Central Committee cabled a directive to the field army for extending the Huaihai Campaign, explaining, "This victory will not only serve to stabilize the situation north of the Yangtse River, but also the situation throughout the country by and large. It is hoped that you will proceed from this point of view to work out a comprehensive plan. Five comrades, namely, Liu Bocheng, Chen Yi, Deng Xiaoping, Su Yu and Tan Zhenlin will form the General Front Committee to exercise unified leadership. When possible, meetings of the five people should be held for important issues. Generally, three of them, Liu Bocheng, Chen Yi and Deng Xiaoping, will act as members of the Standing Committee to handle all matters as they arise. Comrade Xiaoping will serve as secretary of the General Front Committee."

November 17

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee cabled another directive, suggesting to start the Beiping-Tianjin Campaign at an earlier date. It said, "Judging from the overall situation, we can see that keeping Chiang Kai-shek's 24 divisions and Fu Zuoyi's 16 infantry and cavalry divisions from getting out of North China and wiping them out there will, first, create favourable conditions for the Northeast Field Army to move and operate south of the Great Wall, and second, speed up the final collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek's rule, making it impossible for them to build their defence line along the south bank of the Yangtse River, but possible for the Eastern China and the Central Plains field armies to continue operating in the Xuzhou-Huaihe area and the Northeast Field Army to advance down south along the Tianjin-Pukou Railway in future and attack right on the enemy in the lower reaches of the river." On November 16, 17 and 18, the Military Commission sent successive telegrams to the Northeast Field Army, ordering it to move to areas south of the Great Wall at high speed and under cover.

November 22

The first phase of the Huaihai Campaign came to an end. The Eastern China Field Army wiped out the enemy's crack force—the army under Huang Botao—on the right flank in the Nianzhuangxu area east of Xuzhou. Furthermore, the Central Plains Field Army stopped Huang Wei's army, that was moving east along the Beiping-Hankou Railway to aid Huang Botao's army, in the Nanpingji area southwest of Suxian County, isolating the enemy in Xuzhou.

November 29

The Beiping-Tianjin Campaign began. Adhering to the principles of "separating the enemy troops without encircling them" and "encircling the enemy troops without attacking them" formulated by the Military

Commission of the Central Committee, the Second and Third armies of the North China Military Area Command and the advance army of the Northeast Field Army launched an attack on the east section of the Beiping-Suiyuan Railway and cut the enemy's escape to the west by encircling Zhangjiakou and Xinbao'an; the main force of the Northeast Field Army made a thrust in between Beiping and Tianjin and between Tianjin and Tanggu and surrounded Beiping, Tianjin and Tanggu, preventing the enemy from fleeing south by sea; and by December 20, the PLA troops had completed strategic encirclement of the enemy troops and separated them from each other in battles.

December 14

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the experience summed up by Chen Yun, deputy secretary of the Northeast Bureau, from the taking over of Shenyang, the first largest industrial city ever taken over by the CPC in an orderly manner. Chiefly, it was because the take-over was done from the top and systematically from one field of endeavour to another, priority being given to tackling some key issues conducive to restoring order and to setting people's minds at ease both politically and economically, and particularly the troops and cadres involved in the take-over were required to adhere to policies and observe discipline. The Central Committee also called on underground Party organizations in the cities yet to be liberated to spare no efforts in organizing the workers, students and city residents to protect factories, schools and all other urban facilities and assist the troops entering the city for the take-over.

December 15

The second phase of the Huaihai Campaign ended. The Central Plains Field Army, cooperated by part of the Eastern China Field Army, completely wiped out Huang Wei's crack army that was under Chiang Kai-shek's direct control at and around Shuangduiji, southwest of Suxian County. Meanwhile, the Eastern China Field Army wiped out the army under Sun Yuanliang that was fleeing from Xuzhou. During the first and second phases of the campaign, the troops repulsed several reinforcement attempts by the two enemy armies under Li Yannian and Liu Ruming from Bengbu in the south. On December 16, acting in accordance with instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee to steady the enemy in Beiping and Tianjin, the Central Plains Field Army began to rest and consolidate to prepare for battles; and the Eastern China Field Army suspended large-scale encirclement of and attack on Du Yuming's army and started to rest and consolidate on the battlefield.

December 21

The Beiping-Tianjin Campaign entered the stage of storming the enemy's heavily fortified positions by taking those at both wings before

capturing the ones in the middle. On the 22nd, the Second Army of the North China Military Area Command wiped out at Xinbao'an the headquarters of the enemy's 35th Corps with its two divisions, an ace unit under Fu Zuoyi. On the 24th, the Third Army of the North China Military Area Command and a unit of the Northeast Field Army wiped out an enemy's corps headquarters, five divisions and two cavalry brigades—all of them were fleeing Zhangjiakou.

December 30

The Xinhua News Agency pointed out in its New Year message for 1949—"Carry the Revolution Through to the End" that the primary task for the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and all the democratic parties and people's organizations in 1949 was to overthrow the reactionary rule of the KMT and found a people's republic throughout the country. To oppose the counter-revolutionary tricks played by U.S. imperialists and domestic reactionaries in planning "peace talks," setting up "two regimes separated by the Yangtse River" and creating an "opposition" within the revolutionary ranks, the New Year message pointed out that "having had plenty of experience, the Chinese people and their general staff, the Communist Party of China, are certain to smash the enemy's political intrigues, just as they have shattered his military attacks, and to carry the great people's War of Liberation through to the end." It solemnly declared to China and the rest of the world, "In 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army will advance south of the Yangtse River and will win even greater victories than in 1948."

1949 (January—September)

January 6-8

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened a meeting in Xibaipo, at which the participants discussed and adopted the resolution "On the Current Situation and the Party's Tasks in 1949." It was noted in the resolution that 1949 and 1950 would witness nationwide victory in the Chinese revolution. In the summer, autumn and winter of 1949, the PLA should try to capture the bulk, or in some cases the whole, of Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Anhui, Zhejiang, Fujian, Shaanxi and Gansu provinces.

January 10

The third phase of the Huaihai Campaign, which was the longest in duration, largest in scale and greatest in the number of enemies annihilated than the other two campaigns, came to an end with the entire army formation under Du Yuming destroyed. While the enemy plunged a total

force of 800,000 men in the campaign, the PLA deployed 600,000 troops in it, the only time of the three campaigns when the total force of the PLA was outnumbered by that of the enemy. The enemy also used his air force which he exclusively possessed and flew 2,957 sorties with planes of diverse types. During the 66 days of fierce fighting, the PLA troops, with 130,000 men killed and wounded, wiped out an advance command post of the enemy's general headquarters, five army headquarters, 22 corps headquarters, 56 divisions (four and half divisions of which revolted and came over), totalling 555,000 men and including the 5th and 18th corps, the last two of the "Five Main Forces" bragged about by the enemy himself. By then, Chiang Kai-shek had lost almost all his main crack forces. The PLA, on its part, moved right across the Yangtse River and liberated the large area on the north bank of the middle and lower reaches of the river, posing a direct threat to Nanjing, Shanghai and Hankou, the political and economic centres of the reactionary rule of the KMT. In the course of the campaign, the PLA obtained strong support from the people of the five provinces, Shandong, Jiangsu, Henan, Anhui and Hebei, with as many as 5.43 million labourers serving the front.

January 10

In adherence to the resolution adopted by the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, Lin Biao, Luo Ronghuan and Nie Rongzhen formed the General Committee for the Beiping-Tianjin front, with Lin Biao serving as secretary, to assume unified leadership in capturing Beiping and Tianjin and subsequently in administering all the work in Beiping, Tianjin, Tangshan and the areas in their vicinities (for about three months).

January 14

Chairman Mao Zedong, according to the resolution of the CPC Central Committee, published a statement on the current situation, in which he repudiated the New Year message of Chiang Kai-shek, who sued for peace, and put forward eight terms for peace talks,* the gist of which being complete elimination of reactionary forces.

January 14-15

The Northeast Field Army launched a general attack on the enemy

*The eight terms were: punish the war criminals; abolish the bogus constitution; abolish the bogus "constituted authority"; reorganize all reactionary troops on democratic principles; confiscate bureaucrat-capital; reform the land system; abrogate treasonable treaties; and convene a political consultative conference without the participation of reactionary elements, and form a democratic coalition government to take over all the powers of the reactionary Nanjing Kuomintang government and of its subordinate governments at all levels.

garrison in Tianjin that refused to surrender and, with the infantry, artillery, engineering corps and armoured corps taking part in the operation, it annihilated a total of 130,000 enemy garrison troops after 29 hours of fierce fighting. On the 17th, 36,000 enemy troops garrisoning Tanggu fled by sea.

January 15

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee made a further decision on the organization and designation of the entire PLA troops. As the war went on, it was no longer appropriate to name the field armies after the names of different military regions, thus the Northwest, the Central Plains, the Eastern China and Northeast field armies were redesignated as the First, the Second, the Third and the Fourth Field Army respectively. All the field armies underwent reorganization one after another when the strategically decisive battle was over. At the same time, four major guerrilla units operating in areas south of the Yangtse River were, in accordance with orders, reorganized respectively as the Fujian-Guangdong-Jiangxi Border Area Column, the Guangdong-Jiangxi-Hunan Border Area Column, the Guangxi-Yunnan-Guizhou Border Area Column and the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi Border Area Column. Later, the guerrilla units operating in other areas followed suit. On the eve of the PLA's crossing of the Yangtse River, the guerrilla units and the Qiongya Column persisting in struggle on Hainan Island had already grown to exceed 50,000 men, effectively assisting the main formations in their countrywide advance.

January 21

When the KMT reactionary rule was on the brink of collapse, Chiang Kai-shek, on the pretext of "being unable to administer state affairs," announced his "retirement from office" and nominally appointed vice-president Li Zongren acting president. Withdrawing from Nanjing to Fenghua and pulling the strings behind the scenes, Chiang drew up a reactionary plan of winning a respite of three to six months through negotiations to reorganize and train a million troops for a comeback.

January 31

The PLA troops marched into Beiping, peacefully liberating this world-famous capital of ancient culture. After liberating Tianjin, PLA troops of 900,000 strong laid siege to Beiping. Deterred by the PLA's massive force, influenced by its political work and strongly urged by underground Party organizations and patriotic democrats, Fu Zuoyi, commander-in-chief of the KMT's North China "Bandit Suppression Headquarters," led his troops in accepting peaceful reorganization in late January, and the 64-day-long Beiping-Tianjin Campaign was declared concluded. In this campaign, the PLA troops, suffering 39,000 casualties,

wiped out and reorganized an enemy general headquarters, a garrison headquarters, three army headquarters, 13 corps headquarters and 50 divisions (including two cavalry brigades), totalling 520,000 men. At this point, with the exception of Taiyuan, Datong, Xinxiang, Anyang and Guisui (now Hohhot) which was intentionally kept unliberated, the whole of North China was liberated.

The Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huaihai and Beiping-Tianjin campaigns constituted the strategic decisive battle fought by the PLA against the main forces of the KMT army at the strategic offensive stage, which started on September 12, 1948 and ended on January 31, 1949 (with a 3-day interval between the Liaoxi-Shenyang Campaign and the Huaihai Campaign). The concept of operations worked out by the Military Commission of the Central Committee and Mao Zedong was successfully put into effect. During the 139-day operations, a total of 1.54 million enemy troops (including local forces) were wiped out, or a regular division per day. Up until then, 2.32 million enemy troops were annihilated in the first seven months of the third year of the Liberation War. When the main forces on which Chiang Kai-shek relied for maintaining his reactionary rule were basically wiped out, the nation as a whole was on the eve of victory in the revolution.

February 3

The PLA held a grand ceremony of entering Beiping. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, Mao Zedong noted that the ceremony was the summation of the war in the past two and a half years; since the liberation of Beiping came as a result of armed struggle all over the country, the city-entering ceremony was one for the PLA as a whole.

February 8

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued a directive to "Turn the Army into a Working Force," pointing out that in the course of crossing the Yangtse River to press on southward and liberate the whole of China, "from now on, the formula followed in the past twenty years, 'first the rural areas, then the cities,' will be reversed and changed to the formula, 'first the cities, then the rural areas.' The army is not only a fighting force, it is mainly a working force."

February 24

Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai met at Xibaipo with Yan Huiqing, Shao Lizi, Zhang Shizhao and Jiang Yong, who had been dispatched by Li Zongren and had come in their personal capacities, and reached an informal eight-point agreement on peace negotiations between the KMT and the CPC. The main content was that negotiations would be based on

the eight terms contained in the statement made by the CPC on January 14.

February 25

Thirty-five leaders of the democratic parties and well-known democrats, including Li Jishen, Shen Junru, Ma Xulun, Guo Moruo, Tan Pingshan and Zhang Bojun, arrived in Beiping from the Northeast and were met by Lin Boqu, representative of the CPC Central Committee. On the following day, leading members of the CPC in Beiping held a grand rally to welcome them.

March 5-13

The Seventh Central Committee of the CPC convened its Second Plenary Session at Xibaipo. Mao Zedong made a report to the plenary session, which concentrated its discussion on such issues as total smash of the KMT rule, winning of countrywide victory and strategic shift of the focus of the Party's work from the village to the city under the new situation. Mao Zedong said that the Second Plenary Session might well be called a meeting on urban work which should be centred on production and reconstruction. The plenary session particularly discussed and defined the basic political, economic and foreign policies the Party should adopt after winning countrywide victory, analysed the conditions prevailing in different sectors of China's economy and the correct policies the Party should adopt in this regard, and pointed out ways to transform China from an agricultural country into an industrial one and from a new-democratic society into a socialist one. The Second Plenary Session called upon the entire Party membership in the face of victory to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness and to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle. The plenary session decided to forbid the holding of birthday celebrations for and the naming of places, streets and enterprises after Party leaders and to prevent singing of the praises of individuals.

March 23

A press communique of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee was released throughout the country by the Xinhua News Agency. On the same day, the CPC Central Committee and its subordinate bodies left Xibaipo and nearby villages and moved to Beiping on the 25th.

March 26

The CPC Central Committee decided to send Zhou Enlai, Lin Boqu, Lin Biao, Ye Jianying and Li Weiha as representatives (Nie Rongzhen was made an additional representative on April 1), with Zhou Enlai as chief representative, to hold peace talks with the KMT government delegation on the basis of the eight terms put forth by Chairman Mao

Zedong in the January 14 statement. The talks started in Beiping on April 1.

April 11-18

The First National Congress of the Chinese New-Democratic Youth League was held in Beiping. Ren Bishi delivered a political report to the congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee. He pointed out, "The current situation is characterized by basic defeat of the forces of the KMT reactionary rule by the forces of the people. It will not be long for the PLA to achieve countrywide victory, whether by means of peace or war." The congress adopted the Constitution of the League and elected its First Central Committee. Feng Wenbin was elected secretary of the League Central Committee.

April 15

After half a month of negotiations between the KMT and the CPC and separate exchange of views as well as consultations with various parties, the CPC delegation put forward an Agreement on Internal Peace (final amended version) consisting of eight sections with 24 articles, which was considered acceptable by the Nanjing KMT government delegation headed by Zhang Zhizhong. The CPC delegation demanded that the Nanjing KMT government give a reply before May 20. On that day, the Nanjing KMT government rejected the agreement and demanded that a temporary agreement be reached first for on-the-spot cease-fire. In this way, it laid bare its "appeal for peace" as sham.

April 21

Chairman Mao Zedong and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De issued an order for countrywide advance. As from midnight of the 20th, the Second and Third field armies started to force the Yangtse River on a front extending more than 500 kilometres from Jiangyin in the east and Hukou (northeast of Jiujiang) in the west and completely destroyed the defence line along the Yangtse which the enemy had painstakingly built in three and a half months.

April 23

The Third Field Army seized Nanjing and proclaimed the downfall of the KMT reactionary rule nationwide. From April 27 to May 6, it encircled and wiped out, in Langxi and Guangde areas, five enemy corps that were fleeing from Nanjing and Zhenjiang, and captured Hangzhou, the capital of Zhejiang Province, on May 3. On May 14, the Fourth Field Army crossed the Yangtse in the Tuanfeng-Wuxue sector east of Hankou, forcing the enemy garrison to abandon the city and flee south. On the 16th and 17th, it liberated Hankou, Wuchang and Hanyang. Altogether, the PLA wiped out 250,000 enemy troops in the Crossing-the-Yangtse Campaign.

April 24

The 18th, 19th, and 20th armies of the North China Military Area Command captured Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi Province, completely wiping out the enemy garrison totalling 84,000 and putting to an end Yan Xishan's reactionary rule of the province that had lasted 38 years. The whole of Shanxi Province was liberated when the enemy garrison at Datong accepted peaceful reorganization on April 29.

May 11-June 17

The First Field Army launched the Central Shaanxi Campaign, liberating the provincial capital Xi'an on May 20 and repulsing the joint counter-attack by enemy troops under Hu Zongnan, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui. A total of 40,000 enemy troops were annihilated.

May 12

The CPC Central Committee decided to set up the Central China Bureau (renamed Central South Bureau in December) with Lin Biao as the first secretary.

May 22

The Second Field Army liberated Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi Province.

May 27

The Third Field Army liberated Shanghai, the largest city and economic centre of China. The Second Field Army assembled along the Zhejiang-Jiangxi line for rest and reorganization to get ready to coordinate with the Third Field Army to fight back possible armed intervention by imperialists. The underground Party organizations in Shanghai provided substantial support to the PLA. On May 30, the CPC Central Committee cabled a message of congratulations on the liberation of Shanghai, which read, "People from all walks of life in Shanghai have actively cooperated with our army, frustrating the greater part of the sabotage plan of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and quickly restoring law and order in the whole city. The CPC Central Committee hereby extends its warmest congratulations to the People's Liberation Army troops at the Shanghai front, the local Party organizations in Shanghai and all the people of the city."

June 1

Chongming Island was liberated, marking the complete liberation of Jiangsu Province.

June 2

Qingdao, which had become the base of the U.S. West Pacific Fleet after Japan surrendered, was liberated, and the U.S. troops had to

withdraw from the city.

June 15-19

The inaugural session of the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference was held in Beijing. It was attended by 134 representatives from 23 organizations and groups, including the CPC, the various democratic parties, the people's organizations, democratic personages in all walks of life, the minority nationalities of the country and the overseas Chinese. It adopted the "Organic Rules of the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference" and the "Provisions Regarding the Organizations and Groups Participating in the New Political Consultative Conference and the Size of Their Delegations," and elected a Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee. Mao Zedong was elected chairman, and Zhou Enlai, Li Jishen, Shen Junru, Guo Moruo and Chen Shutong vice-chairmen.

June 30

Mao Zedong published his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," in which he analysed the 28-year experience gained by the CPC in leading the new-democratic revolution and expounded the nature of the People's Republic of China soon to be set up, the role of the different classes in the state power and the basic domestic and foreign policies of New China. He pointed out that the people's democratic dictatorship was a regime led by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, including the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, and that the combination of the two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, constituted the people's democratic dictatorship. He added that under the historical conditions China could not have a bourgeois republic but could only achieve socialism and communism through the people's republic led by the working class.

July 6

Zhou Enlai declared in his political report to the National Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists that as the war had entered the fourth year, "of our 4 million troops, more than 2.2 million field troops are now on the advance, mopping up the remaining 800,000 enemy troops, who have already lost their fighting strength. We have already liberated 279 million people, some 59 percent of the entire population, 1,061 cities and towns, or 53 percent of the nation's total, and captured more than 21,600 kilometres of railways, or 80 percent of the nation's total. Aside from the temporary superiority still held by the enemy on the sea and in the air, the people already enjoy superiority in all respects."

July 10

The CPC Central Committee decided to build an air force.

July 11

The First Field Army advanced to the vast Northwest. On the 12th, it wiped out four corps of Hu Zongnan's main forces totalling 43,000 men, in the Fufeng, Meixian County and Baoji areas. On August 26, after fierce storming of the enemy's heavily fortified positions, the PLA troops liberated Lanzhou, the capital of Gansu Province; on September 5 they liberated Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province, and basically annihilated Ma Bufang's group army; and they liberated Yinchuan, the capital of Ningxia Province on September 23, wiping out Ma Hongkui's group army.

July 17

The CPC Central Committee decided to set up the Southwest Bureau with Deng Xiaoping as its first secretary.

July 23-August 16

The National Conference on Trade Union Work was held in Beijing. The conference decided that the central task of the trade unions all over the country was to get the working class of the country basically organized in about a year so that it could successfully undertake the historic mission as the leading class in the building of political power and in economic development in New China.

July 27-August 15

Entrusted by the CPC Central Committee, Chen Yun called and presided over a financial and economic conference which was attended by leading members of the financial, banking and trade departments of five regions—East China, North China, Central China, the Northeast and the Northwest. The conference decided on the policies of giving full support for complete victory in the War of Liberation and maintaining people's daily lives in the newly liberated areas and, first of all, in the big cities. It suggested measures for unifying finance and the economy and keeping market prices under control.

August 4

Cheng Qian, former KMT governor of Hunan Province, and Chen Mingren, commander of the KMT's First Army, revolted and came over with their men. Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province, was liberated.

August 12, 14, 18, 28, 30 and September 16

The Xinhua News Agency published six editorials commenting on U.S. State Department's White Paper *United States Relations with China*, exposing the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialist policy towards China and its deep-rooted hatred for the Chinese people while criticizing the unrealistic illusions cherished by a number of Chinese about imperialism and calling on them to "cast away illusions and prepare for

struggle." The editorials also criticized the idealist explanations of the Chinese revolution, proved the bankruptcy of the formula of a bourgeois republic in China, and made a theoretical elucidation of the occurrence of revolutions in modern China and of victory in the Chinese revolution. They aroused the attention of various democratic parties, people's organizations, newspaper offices, schools and people in all walks of life throughout the country and promoted discussion among them.

August 17

The Third Field Army liberated Fuzhou, the capital of Fujian Province.

August 18

The Changshan Islands were liberated, marking the complete liberation of Shandong Province.

September 17

The Second Plenary Session of the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference was held in Beijing, vice-chairman of its Standing Committee Zhou Enlai reported on preparations made in the last three months. The session unanimously agreed to change the name of the New Political Consultative Conference into the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). It unanimously adopted the "Draft Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" and the "Draft Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China."

September 19

Dong Qiwu, KMT governor of Suiyuan Province, revolted and came over with his men. The whole of North China was liberated after peaceful liberation of Suiyuan. On the 25th and the 26th, Tao Zhiyue, commander-in-chief of the KMT's Xinjiang garrison, and Bao'erhan, governor of Xinjiang, sent a telegram respectively declaring revolt at the head of their military and administrative personnel. The entire Northwest was liberated after peaceful liberation of Xinjiang Province.

September 21-30

The First Plenary Session of the CPPCC, composed of 662 people representing the CPC, the various democratic parties, people's organizations, the various regions, the PLA, the minority nationalities, the overseas Chinese and other patriots, was held in Beijing. The convocation of the session marked countrywide victory in the new-democratic revolution. Mao Zedong said in the opening address, "Our work will go down in the history of mankind, demonstrating that the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up." Exercising the functions and powers of the National People's Congress, the session

adopted the "Common Programme," or the Provisional Constitution, and the "Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China," and elected the Central People's Government Council with Mao Zedong as its chairman and Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Soong Ching Ling, Li Jishen, Zhang Lan and Gao Gang as vice-chairmen. It also decided on the national flag, the national anthem and the chronological system, and decided that Beiping be the seat of the capital and its name be changed to Beijing. Liu Shaoqi spoke at the session on behalf of the CPC. At the time the membership of the CPC had reached 4,488,000. Liu Shaoqi said, "Now the history of China has entered an entirely new era—the era of people's democracy." He went on, "From the outset, the Chinese Communist Party has been striving for the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people, and it will continue to do so in the future. To this end it will make unremitting efforts for the success, development and consolidation of the CPPCC." Zhu De delivered a closing speech at the session, in which he said, "Since we can unite as one in founding the People's Republic of China, surely we can unite as one in building our country and leading it to prosperity."

VI. The Period of Basic Completion of Socialist Transformation

October 1949—September 1956

1949 (October—December)

October 1

Mao Zedong presided over the first meeting of the Central People's Government (CPG) Council, at which it was unanimously agreed to accept the Common Programme of the CPPCC as the government's administrative programme, Lin Boqu was elected secretary-general of the CPG Council, and Zhou Enlai appointed premier of the CPG Administration Council and concurrently minister of foreign affairs, Mao Zedong chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission of the CPG, Zhu De commander-in-chief of the PLA, Shen Junru president of the Supreme People's Court of the CPG, and Luo Ronghuan procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the CPG.

On the same day 300,000 soldiers and civilians rallied at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, the capital, to attend the grand ceremony honouring the founding of New China. Mao Zedong read out the CPG's proclamation, solemnly declaring to the world the founding of the People's Republic of China. It was stated in the proclamation, "This Government is the sole legal government representing the entire nation of the People's Republic of China, and is ready to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government that abides by the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty." Before the military parade started, Zhu De read out the order of the general headquarters of the PLA, which required PLA troops to rapidly wipe out all the remaining KMT military forces, and liberate all territory that had not been liberated, and at the same time to mop up bandits and all other counter-revolutionary gangsters, and put down their resistance and thwart their sabotage.

The founding of the People's Republic of China symbolized that China had developed from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society to a new-democratic society and entered the period of transition to a socialist society.

October 13

The Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese New Democratic Youth League held an enlarged meeting, at which the resolution to establish Children's Corps of China (later renamed as the Chinese Young Pioneers) was adopted.

Mid-October

PLA troops annihilated 47,000 KMT troops commanded by Bai Chongxi along the Hengyang-Baoqing (namely, Shaoyang) sector, Hunan Province. On the 14th, Guangzhou was liberated. Shortly afterwards, the PLA troops wiped out all the 40,000 KMT troops under Yu Hanmou in the Yangjiang and Yangchun area southwest of Guangzhou.

October 19

The CPG Council convened its third meeting, at which it appointed Dong Biwu, Chen Yun, Guo Moruo and Huang Yanpei the Administration Council's vice-premiers and Li Wei-han its secretary-general; Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Peng Dehuai and Cheng Qian vice-chairmen of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission; and Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen chief and deputy chief of the general staff. At the same time, it also appointed ministers of the commissions and ministries subordinate to the Administration Council. On October 21, the Administration Council of the Central People's Government was formally established.

November 1-5

The Financial and Economic Committee of the CPG Administration Council met to discuss ways of stabilizing commodity prices on the market, which soared again in October following two sharp rises in April and July. The reasons were: enormous financial deficit and overissue of currency because of assistance to the War of Liberation; prolonged vicious inflation inherited from the KMT; and rampant profiteering by speculative capital. So, stabilizing prices became one of the most urgent tasks facing the people's government. At this point, Chen Yun took charge of gathering grain, cotton yarn and other materials from every part of the country and adopted such measures as terminating loans and getting them repaid according to contracts, imposing taxes and freezing capital input. Thanks to the well-conceived plans, sufficient preparations and concerted action in big cities, large quantities of supplies were made available on the market at normal prices and, within a few days, the prices were stabilized, which dealt a heavy blow at speculative capital that had driven up prices.

November 9

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Setting Up Party Commissions for Discipline Inspection at the Central and Lower

Levels," in which it explained: the CPC had become the party in power throughout the country. To better follow the Party's political line, implement its specific policies, maintain close ties with the masses and overcome bureaucracy, it had decided to establish Party Commissions for Discipline Inspection at the central and lower levels, with Zhu De as secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

Early November to mid-December

PLA troops destroyed Bai Chongxi's remaining 170,000 troops in the areas of Rongxian, Bobai, Lianjiang and Qinzhou. On November 22, Guilin was liberated and so was Nanning on December 4.

November 16-December 1

The Asian and Oceanic Trade Union Conference was held in Beijing. Attending the conference were 117 trade union representatives from a number of Asian and Oceanic countries. Liu Shaoqi, vice-president of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) made the opening speech. At the conference the "Resolution on Establishing A WFTU Liaison Bureau in Asia," the "Message to the Workers and All Labourers of Asian Countries" and other documents were adopted.

November 23

The Southwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was formed in Changde, Hunan Province, with Deng Xiaoping as its first secretary.

Late November

PLA troops routed Song Xilian's five divisions and Luo Guangwen's army of the KMT in Nanchuan south of Chongqing. On the 30th, Chiang Kai-shek hastily fled Chongqing, and the city was liberated.

December 2

The CPG Council held its fourth meeting, at which it decided to make October 1 the National Day of the People's Republic of China. The participants discussed and adopted the estimate of the country's revenues and expenditures in the 1950 fiscal year and decided to issue People's Victory Parity Bonds.* They also adopted general rules for the organization of the provincial, municipal and county conferences of people's representatives from all circles, and called for immediate convocation of

*The bonds were valued by a standard measured in kind. The sale of the bonds and repayment of principal with interest were all based on a certain type or amount of material objects, the prices of which were converted to determine the amount of payment. The unit of the bonds was *fen* whose value was calculated on the market price of the material objects each *fen* was worth, and the quotation of the *fen* was announced every ten days. According to the then market price, the value of each *fen* was equal approximately to RMB 12,000 yuan (or 1.20 yuan now).

local conferences at all levels, so that democracy could be carried forward, the building of people's governments improved, and the local people's governments already established at different levels would maintain closer ties with the people from all walks of life and rely on them to promote work of all endeavours. The local people's governments then held different levels of conferences of people's representatives from all circles. These conferences gradually exercised the functions and powers of people's congresses and became a transitional institution before the convocation of people's congresses. The participants also approved the appointment of Gao Gang as chairman of the Northeast People's Government, Rao Shushi, Lin Biao, Peng Dehuai and Liu Bocheng as chairman of the East China, the Central South, the Northwest, and the Southwest Military and Administrative Commission respectively.

December 5

Mao Zedong, chairman of the CPG People's Revolutionary Military Commission, promulgated the "Directive on the Army's Participation in Production and Construction in 1950," in which it was stressed: the PLA should, besides conducting operations and executing duties, undertake part of the production tasks and become an army not only for national defence but also for production, so as to assist the people of the whole country to overcome the difficulties left over by the long-drawn-out war and to expedite the economic development of new democracy.

December 9

Lu Han, KMT governor of Yunnan Province, declared revolt in Kunming; Liu Wenhui, KMT governor of Xikang Province, Deng Xihou and Pan Wenhua, deputy chiefs of the KMT Southwest Military and Administrative Commissioner's Office, and others jointly sent an open telegram declaring revolt in Ya'an. Yunnan and Xikang were then liberated by peaceful means. In face of the PLA's fierce attack, the KMT troops under Hu Zongnan's command were all annihilated in Chengdu by late December. On December 27, Chengdu was liberated.

December 10-16

The Conference of Asian Women's Representatives was held in Beijing. Cai Chang, vice-president of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) delivered the opening speech, Mrs. Vaillant-Couturier, general secretary of the WIDF, and Deng Yingchao, vice-president of the All-China Women's Federation, delivered reports to the conference. The "Message to Women of Asian Countries" and the "Resolution on Winning Women's Rights" and other documents were adopted at the conference.

December 16

The CPG Administration Council adopted the "Directive on Produc-

tion and Disaster Relief." During the year of 1949, the country was hit by drought, freeze, plague of insects, windstorm, hail and flood, the last of which being the most devastating and leaving 100 million *mu** of land inundated and victimizing 40 million people. The people's governments at different levels in afflicted areas were required to focus on production and disaster relief, encouraging victims to provide for and help themselves by engaging in production, and to provide some loans and relief grains to assist them in overcoming the calamities. People were urged to practise economy and help each other, and every office worker was asked to take the lead in saving one *liang*** of rice each day.

By the end of the year, the country's mainland had been liberated except Tibet. While PLA troops advanced triumphantly, the people's government confiscated 2,858 bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises that accounted for 80 percent of the country's total industrial fixed assets, established state-owned enterprises of the socialist nature and controlled the economic lifeline of the country. In the rural areas, land reform was conducted in an area with a population of 120 million. However, affected by the war, industrial and agricultural productivity remained low and the total output value amounted to no more than 46.6 billion yuan. The output of major products was generally lower than the highest before liberation (1949), with only 158,000 tons of steel (the highest annual output before liberation being over 900,000 tons), 108.1 million tons of grain (the highest annual output before liberation being 138.7 million tons), and 444,500 tons of cotton (the highest annual output before liberation being 849,000 tons). The country was confronted with enormous financial and economic difficulties, suffering from huge financial deficit, inflation and price instability.

1950

January 14-16

The Beijing Military Control Commission took over from the United States, France and Holland (that occupied the barracks formerly used by Germany) the landed property they formerly held as their military camps, and requisitioned the barracks and other buildings on those pieces of land. This was one of the measures the Chinese people had taken to revoke imperialist privileges in China.

February 14

The "Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance" was signed in Moscow. Earlier, Mao Zedong had gone to visit the

* 1 *mu* = 1/15 hectare.

** 1 *liang* = 1/20 kilogramme.

Soviet Union on December 16 the previous year. Owing to procrastination on the part of the Soviet Union, the negotiation did not formally begin until January 20 when Zhou Enlai arrived in Moscow. The two governments signed the treaty after negotiations between Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai on the one hand and Joseph Stalin and Andrei Visinsky on the other. At the same time, the "Agreement on the Chinese Changchun Railway, Lüshunkou and Dalian" and the "Agreement on Granting of Credit to the People's Republic of China" were also concluded. According to these treaties, the Soviet Union agreed to abolish its privileges in China and hand over gratis to the Chinese Government all its rights and property in connection with the Chinese Changchun Railway before 1952. Soviet troops would withdraw from Lüshunkou and be compensated by the Chinese Government for the construction costs the Soviet Union had paid there ever since 1945. China would administer the affairs of Dalian and within 1950 take over the property in Dalian that was temporarily under the charge of or rented by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government would provide the Chinese Government with loans to the tune of US \$300 million (at an annual interest rate of one percent).

February 13-25

The Central Financial Commission convened a national conference on finance to work out policies and measures to overcome the country's financial and economic difficulties. In addition to huge government expenses, inflation and disruption by speculative capital, one of the major reasons for New China's financial troubles was the lack of an effective state financial system, as a result of which budgetary revenues and expenditures were administered in a disunified manner by various local departments themselves. To bring about a fundamental change in this state of affairs, the participants discussed in detail the basic conditions of the country's revenues and expenditures, trade, grain production and banking, and decided to cut back expenses, readjust revenues and unify financial and economic work across the land, in order to reach a balance of revenues and expenditures, of material supply and demand and in cash payment, and to achieve stability of prices. Then, on March 3, the Administration Council made the "Decision on Unifying National Financial and Economic Work," requiring to unify the country's revenues and expenditures, material distribution and cash control. Thanks to implementation of the decision, unification was achieved in April and May when revenues and expenditures were nearly balanced and prices were tending to be stable—indicating that the country's financial and economic situation was beginning to turn for the better. This was a significant victory New China had won on the economic front. Through these efforts a highly centralized control system for financial and eco-

nomie work began to take shape throughout the country.

February 28

The Central Financial Commission issued the "Directive on the Establishment of Management Boards in State and Public Factories," according to which, in order to speedily accomplish the central task of restoring and developing production, the irrational management system practised in state and public enterprises, a system that had been inherited from former bureaucrat-capital, had to undergo systematic reform and the key link lay in setting up a factory management board with workers' participation. This was an important measure designed to democratize factory management and make the workers feel they were masters of the enterprises and, as such, bring into full play their initiative and creativity.

March 21

Li Wei-han, director of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee, made a report at the First National Conference on United Front Work entitled "The New Situation and the New Task Confronting the People's Democratic United Front." He said: Historic changes had taken place in the national united front after the founding of New China, "the Party's general task for united front work is, while implementing the Common Programme and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, we should closely unite with all China's nationalities, democratic classes and parties, people's organizations, and the large numbers of overseas Chinese, democrats of all circles as well as other patriots, that is, we should win over as many people who can cooperate with us as possible, for the purpose of steadily accomplishing the historic task of the new period."

April 13

The CPG Council held its seventh meeting, at which it adopted "The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China," abolishing the feudal system of forced marriage, whereby men had been considered superior to women and children's interests ignored, and introducing a new system that insured freedom of marriage and protected the legitimate interests of women and children. It was a great event that represented elimination of China's old feudal traditions and emancipation of women.

April 16-May 1

PLA troops liberated Hainan Island, destroying 30,000 KMT troops under Xue Yue.

April 19

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Conducting Criticism and Self-criticism in Newspapers and Other Publications." It

pointed out that since the Party was leading the organs of state power, the shortcomings and mistakes in its work might easily harm the people's interests; as leaders, Party cadres were prone to become conceited and refuse to accept or stifle criticism. Therefore, the CPC Central Committee had decided, "Criticism and self-criticism of any mistakes and shortcomings in our work should be conducted in public, among the people and especially in newspapers and other publications."

April 28

The Administration Council held its 30th meeting on government work. Ulanhu, vice-minister of the Nationalities Affairs Commission, gave a report on the work among the nationalities. He said: The orientation and aim of the work was to reduce as much national estrangement and contradiction as possible, to strengthen and consolidate unity of all nationalities, and to assist as far as possible the minority nationalities in their political, economic and cultural progress systematically. In all work in the minority nationality regions, policy of prudence and gradual progress should be adopted in opposition to impetuous approaches. The report was approved by the meeting.

May 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Launching a Rectification Movement Throughout the Party and Army." It required Party organizations at different levels to conduct criticism and self-criticism while summing up their work, with a view to overcoming the mistakes found in the Party and, first of all, among leading cadres, mistakes such as claiming credit for oneself and becoming arrogant, domineering over others, and mistakes made by a handful of Party members, such as graft and corruption, political degeneration and violations of the law and discipline, so as to cement ties between the Party and the masses. In accordance with the directive, Party organizations at all levels plunged into the movement, which was basically completed in the winter of the year.

May 8-26

The Central Financial Commission convened a conference of directors of industrial and commercial administration bureaus from seven major cities to discuss the reasons why there had appeared depression on the market and large numbers of private industrial and commercial enterprises had suspended operation after prices became stable, and to work out solutions to these problems. Specific policies and measures were taken to readjust these enterprises. The work was started right after the conference, readjusting mainly the relationship between the public and private sectors and at the same time also relationship between labour and capital and between production and marketing. Thus, the people's gov-

ernment had not only helped private industrial and commercial enterprises overcome their difficulties but also led them onto the road of state capitalism. Then, under the leadership of state enterprises all sectors of the economy began to cooperate with each other on the basis of an appropriate division of labour.

May 21

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Expanding and Consolidating Party Organizations," in which it stressed that in recruiting members, Party organizations must abide by the principle of strict examination and go about it steadily. The work should be focused on the cities and, above all, on the working class. In the countryside in the old liberated areas, recruiting should generally be suspended; and the same should hold good for the time being in the countryside in the new liberated areas, too. In these places Party organizations should concentrate on organizing and educating the peasant masses and on discovering and training activists and resume recruiting after land reform was completed.

June 6-9

The Seventh Central Committee of the CPC convened its Third Plenary Session in Beijing, at which Mao Zedong made a written report entitled "Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation" and delivered a speech "Don't Hit Out in All Directions." Liu Shaoqi, Chen Yun, Zhou Enlai and Nie Rongzhen made reports on land reform, finance and economy, foreign affairs and united front work, and military affairs. In his written report Mao Zedong pointed out: China's financial and economic situation was beginning to take a turn for the better, but not yet a fundamental turn for the better. Three conditions were required for such a turn, "namely, (1) completion of land reform; (2) proper readjustment of existing industry and commerce; and (3) large-scale retrenchment in government expenditures." Therefore, the session decided to accomplish eight tasks, such as land reform, stabilizing prices, readjusting industry and commerce, eliminating counter-revolutionaries and consolidating the Party, in order to bring about, in a period of three years, a fundamental turn for the better in the country's financial and economic situation and create conditions for planned economic development. Stress was placed on the need of steady advance, regulation of relations among all sectors of society, unity with the workers, peasants, small handicraftsmen as well as the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals, concentration on attacking the remaining KMT forces, the feudal landlord class and imperialists, instead of hitting out in all directions, making too many enemies and stirring up tension nationwide. These decisions made at the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central

Committee were the Party's programme of action during the period of rehabilitation of the national economy.

June 14-23

The First National Committee of the CPPCC held its Second Session whose central subject for discussion was transformation of the feudal land system. Liu Shaoqi made the "Report on the Question of Land Reform," in which he elucidated the significance of land reform and the Party's principles and policies in this regard. Mao Zedong, in his closing speech, called on people of all strata, including the national bourgeoisie and the democratic parties, to give active support to the reform, pass the test of agrarian reform and that of socialism in the future, as they had done the test of war of the past, and become true revolutionaries. The participants discussed and endorsed Liu Shaoqi's report and the draft land reform law proposed by the CPC Central Committee. On June 28, at its eighth meeting the CPG Council discussed and approved the "Land Reform Law of the People's Republic of China" and promulgated it on June 30 for implementation. According to the "Land Reform Law," "the feudal and exploiting land ownership by the landlord class must be abolished, and a land ownership by peasants be practised so that rural productivity is liberated and rural production is developed, and a trail to industrialization in New China is blazed." In the light of the new developments after countrywide liberation, the past policy of requisitioning the surplus land and property of the rich peasants was changed to one of maintaining the rich peasant economy in the "Land Reform Law," in order to isolate the landlords, protect the middle peasants and lessors of small plots of land, and set the minds of the national bourgeoisie at ease, and to facilitate early rehabilitation and expansion of production. Then, the land reform was carried out systematically, by stages and in groups in the new liberated areas with a population of 310 million. Working teams were sent by different regions to the countryside to lead the reform. A great number of office cadres, intellectuals and members of democratic parties signed up for joining the teams, plunging themselves into the great and unprecedented struggle.

June 25

Civil war broke out in Korea. On June 27, the United States dispatched its naval and air forces for armed intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, extended the scope of the Korean war, and ordered its Seventh Fleet to set out for the coast of the Chinese territory Taiwan, in an attempt to prevent, by armed force, the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan. On the 28th, Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the Chinese Government, issued a statement, strongly denouncing U.S. Government's aggression against Korea and Taiwan and its intervention in the affairs of Asian countries.

June 29

The Central People's Government promulgated the "Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China," according to which the trade union had the rights to sign collective contracts with enterprises on behalf of the workers and to defend the workers' own interests; and it had the duty to organize the workers and explain to them the need to support the people's government's policies and decrees and promote production, and to give play to the leadership role of the working class.

June 30

The Xinhua News Agency reported that by the time of the 29th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, its membership would have exceeded 5 million, 2 million of whom were new members recruited over the past two years.

According to statistics provided towards the end of June, the PLA had annihilated a total of 8.07 million KMT troops during the four years of the Liberation War.

August 4

At its 44th meeting on government affairs the Administration Council approved the "Decision on Determining Class Status in the Rural Areas." The decision, which provided a clear-cut policy for correct determination of class status in land reform, was made on the basis of "How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas" and the "Decision on Some Questions Relating to Agrarian Struggle" that had been drawn up by the Central Soviet Government in Ruijin, Jiangxi Province, in 1933 and amended in the light of new circumstances.

September 25-October 2

The National Conferences of Combat Heroes and of Model Workers in Industry, Agriculture and the Army were held in Beijing. Mao Zedong delivered a message of greetings to the conferences on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, calling on people of the entire nation to learn from the combat heroes and model workers and at the same time calling on the heroes and model workers to keep on learning from the masses and to make new contributions to economic development and the building of national defence.

Early October

In view of the fact that U.S. imperialists had spread the flames of war to China's northeastern border in defiance of the Chinese Government's repeated warnings, thus seriously threatening China's security, the CPC Central Committee, at the request of Korea's Party and Government and for the sake of China's security, made the strategic decision to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and to protect people's homes and defend the motherland. On October 8, Mao Zedong issued the "Order to the Chinese

People's Volunteers," according to which the Volunteers were to "march speedily to Korea and join the Korean comrades in fighting the aggressors and winning a glorious victory"; and Peng Dehuai was appointed commander and political commissar of the Chinese People's Volunteers. On the 19th, the Volunteers arrived on the Korean front. From October 25 to December 24, they fought two consecutive campaigns with the Korean People's Army, destroying 50,000 enemies, recovering Pyongyang on December 6 and driving the enemies back to the vicinity of the 38th Parallel, thus bringing about a change in the war situation in Korea.

October 10

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Suppressing Counter-Revolutionary Activities." Since countrywide liberation, there had remained on the mainland over 2 million political bandits as well as a large number of local tyrants, enemy agents, backbone members of reactionary parties and groups, heads of reactionary secret societies, and other counter-revolutionaries—all of whom had been carrying out rampant counter-revolutionary activities. Although the government had taken measures to suppress them and achieved some results, the measures had not been vigorous or drastic enough. Therefore, the directive required to firmly set right the deviation of "unlimited leniency" in suppressing counter-revolutionaries, and to carry out the Party's policy of "combining suppression with leniency" in an all-round way. In line with this directive, Party committees in different places launched a large-scale campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries by widely mobilizing the masses. In the meantime, the PLA was engaged in suppression of bandits on a broad scale.

October 6-24

The PLA liberated Qamdo after winning the battle there, opening the gate to Tibet and paving the way for its liberation.

October 27

Ren Bishi, member of the CPC Central Committee, its Political Bureau and its Secretariat, died of illness in Beijing at the age of 46.

November 4

The CPC and the democratic parties made a joint declaration, "pledging to give all-out support to the just demand of the people of the whole country and to their sacred task of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and protecting people's homes and defending the motherland." In line with this declaration and a series of directives of the CPC Central Committee, a propaganda and education campaign for resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea was launched to enhance people's patriotism and internationalism throughout the country. The people threw themselves into the vigorous movement which, under the guidance of the

Party Central Committee's correct policy, had both assisted the war in Korea and promoted social reform and economic rehabilitation at home.

November 16

The Chinese Government presented a note to the Indian Government, solemnly pointing out that liberation of Tibet was China's internal affairs that brooked no foreign interference. Earlier, the Indian Government, in an attempt to obstruct China's liberation of Tibet, had delivered a note to the Chinese Government saying that the PLA's marching into Tibet, China's own territory, was an "invasion against Tibet" and "deplorable."

December 28

The Administration Council issued the "Order on Controlling American Property and Freezing American Bank Deposits in China." It stated: In view of the fact that the American Government had declared control of China's public and private property in the United States and aggravated its hostile and destructive activities against China, it was decided to control all the property of the American Government and enterprises and freeze all of U.S. public and private bank deposits in China. Thereafter, the people's government took different measures, such as controlling, requisitioning by purchase, taking over for use and acting as agent, with regard to other countries' enterprises in China, and thus the People's Republic gradually nationalized more than 1,000 enterprises with foreign capital and made them part of China's state-owned socialist economy.

1951

January 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Establishing A Party-wide Network of Propaganda Among the Masses."

February 18

The Party Central Committee distributed the "Main Points of the Resolution Adopted at the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee," notifying the entire Party membership: At the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee convened in mid-February, the participants discussed eight questions—"three years for preparation and ten years for planned economic development," the propaganda and education campaign for resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea, land reform, suppression of counter-revolutionaries, urban work, Party consolidation and building, united front work and rectification movement.

February 21

The Central People's Government promulgated the "Regulations of the People's Republic of China Regarding the Punishment of Counter-revolutionaries." Based on the Party's policy of combining suppression and leniency, the regulations contained principles and methods for handling counter-revolutionary cases, providing the legal weapon and criteria for meting out sentences in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and contributing to the development of the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries in width and depth. In spring, the movement reached its high tide throughout the country. On May 16, the CPC Central Committee approved the resolution adopted at the Third National Conference on Public Security. By this time, great victory had been won in the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries. In view of the fact that a large number of counter-revolutionary criminals had been arrested in some places and had to be dealt with and that "Left" deviations and rashness had occurred in some areas, it was decided in the resolution: A policy of prudence and restraint must henceforth be followed in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries and efforts be concentrated on handling long-pending cases. By the end of 1953, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and bandits had been completed, with the remaining counter-revolutionary forces on the mainland of the country basically eliminated, banditry removed (2.4 million armed bandits were wiped out), and the people's democratic dictatorship consolidated.

February 26

The CPG Administration Council promulgated the "Labour Insurance Regulations of the People's Republic of China," which were to be implemented in selected units on a trial basis as from March 1, 1951. They provided preliminary solutions to the troubles that distressed the workers most—birth, aging, illness, death, injuries and disability.

March 28-April 9

The CPC Central Committee held the First National Conference on Organization Work, at which Liu Shaoqi made a report and a summary. Acting in accordance with the provisions of the Party Constitution, the conference set forth, in the light of the conditions prevailing at the time, eight qualifications for a Communist Party member and adopted the "Resolution on Consolidating Primary Party Organizations." It was stated in the resolution: To lead and to unite the entire nation in accomplishing the new historic task, the Party must consolidate all its primary organizations on the basis of education among all its members in the eight qualifications for a Communist, and overcome defects in its organization and ideology. Thereafter, Party consolidation began.

May 20

The *People's Daily* published as its editorial Mao Zedong's article "Pay Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film *The Life of Wu Xun*," in which the praises on Wu Xun and the film *The Life of Wu Xun* were severely criticized, the article and other such criticisms were carried in the newspapers and magazines throughout the country, which led to the first post-liberation movement of criticism on the cultural and ideological fronts. From July 23 to 28, the "Investigations on Wu Xun's Personal History," published in installments in the *People's Daily* constituted in fact a summary of the criticisms. It was alright for people who held different views on the film to discuss it and criticize in a down-to-earth manner the shortcomings and mistakes that really existed. But the criticisms actually turned into a movement of political criticism, in which some people wrote oversimplified and crude articles making excessive exaggerations and regarding the film as a challenge to New China. This became a precedent for erroneous criticism on the cultural and ideological fronts.

May 23

The Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government signed the "Agreement on Methods for Peaceful Liberation of Tibet," declaring Tibet's peaceful liberation. On October 16, PLA troops were stationed in Lhasa in compliance with the provisions of the agreement. By this time, the great unification of all the places and unity of all the nationalities of China, with the exception of Taiwan and some coastal islands, had been achieved.

July 10

The first meeting of the Korean Armistice Talks was held in Kaesong. From December 31, 1950 to June 10 this year, the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army had waged three counter-offensives, annihilating 179,000 enemy troops and keeping the fighting around the 38th Parallel. Being pessimistic about victory in the war and overwhelmed by the public opinions both at home and abroad, the U.S. imperialists were compelled to accept the Soviet proposal for armistice talks. However, the United States tried to drag on and wreck the talks and use "military pressure" in the course of talks, for the purpose of accomplishing its unreasonable demands. Hence, the situation arose in the Korean war in which talks went on hand in hand with fighting.

Late July

The first phase of the project to permanently harness the Huai River came to a successful end. Since New China was founded, the Party and government had attached great importance to controlling the floods of the Huai River. The completion of the first phase terminated the history

of "heavy rain spells great disaster and light rain small disaster" in the Huai River valley, and as things stood now, it was a case in which "heavy rain spells small disaster and light rain no disaster."

September 9

The CPC Central Committee held the First Conference on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agriculture and adopted the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agricultural Production (Draft)," which was to be distributed to Party committees at different levels for trial implementation in December. It was pointed out in the resolution that after land reform there had existed among the peasants an enthusiasm for developing individual economy and for practising mutual aid and cooperation, that on the one hand the Party should not ignore or dampen the peasants' enthusiasm for individual economy and on the other it should enhance their enthusiasm for mutual aid and cooperation by encouraging them to "get organized" on the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, and that it was essential to launch a movement of mutual aid and cooperation in the rural areas, in line with the principle of steady advance according to the need and possibility of increased production, and to lead the peasants to collectivization.

September 29

Zhou Enlai, at the study meeting of faculty members from higher educational institutions of Beijing and Tianjin, made a report entitled "On the Remoulding of Intellectuals," in which he pointed out that the intellectuals should do their best to take the stand of the working class, acquire an unequivocal political attitude and draw a clear distinction between the enemy, the people and the friends.

October 12

The first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* was published and distributed. A wave of studying Mao Zedong works swept across the country. The second and third volumes were published and distributed in April 1952 and April 1953 respectively.

October

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting to discuss and decide on the implementation of the policy of "having better troops and simpler administration, increasing production and practising economy." On the 23rd, Mao Zedong pointed out at a meeting of the National Committee of the CPPCC that the central task of the Chinese people today was to redouble their efforts to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, to increase production and practise economy in support of the Chinese People's Volunteers. Thereafter, a vigorous campaign for increasing production and practising economy

was launched in every field of endeavour and a large number of innovative crackajacks, model workers and advanced people came to the fore and helped promote rehabilitation and development of industrial and agricultural production.

November 5

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Ferreting Out Counter-revolutionaries and Carrying Out Democratic Reform in Factories, Mines and Transportation Enterprises," calling on all local authorities to devote sufficient efforts to mobilizing and relying on the worker masses in ferreting out, systematically and under guidance, the remaining counter-revolutionaries in the enterprises and in carrying out democratic reform of the old system. Following the basic completion of the democratic reform of enterprises in 1952, the Party shifted the focus of its work onto reform of production.

November 30

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Ideological Remoulding and Organizational Clean-up in Schools," requiring that all the faculty members of universities and middle and primary schools and the students of senior middle schools, universities and colleges undergo preliminary ideological remoulding and that, after this, organizational clean-up be conducted among the faculty members of all schools and university students to ferret out counter-revolutionaries among them. The study movement of ideological remoulding was then extended from the educational circle to the circle of artists and writers and to the entire circle of intellectuals and was basically wound up in the autumn of 1952. Through ideological remoulding, the intellectuals had overcome, to a great extent, political and ideological influence of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and raised their ideological consciousness of patriotism; at the same time they had also criticized, to a certain extent, bourgeois ideology and begun to acquire the concept of serving the people. However, deviations occurred in the movement, as manifested in impatience, excessive requirements and simplistic methods that had hurt the feelings of a number of intellectuals.

December 1

In view of the numerous instances of corruption and waste exposed in the campaign to increase production and practise economy, the CPC Central Committee made the "Decision on Having Better Troops and Simpler Administration, Increasing Production and Practising Economy, and Combating Corruption, Waste and Bureaucracy," making the struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucracy an important measure in accomplishing the central task of having better troops and simpler administration, increasing production and practising economy and re-

quiring a check-up on corruption and waste from the top down and up from the bottom. On December 8, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Vigorously Fighting Against Corruption," which set in motion the movement against the "three evils"* throughout the country.

December 25

The CPC Central Committee, when commenting on and transmitting the "Work Report Submitted to Chairman Mao by the Secretariat of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party," pointed out the fact that some Party and government organizations urged the people to send letters and telegrams of greetings to the Central Committee and that some government offices, people's organizations and individuals offered silk banners and gifts to the Central Committee was not only a manifestation of waste, but was also a political mistake that local Party committees must correct.

1952

January 1

When conveying a New Year message to a group of people, Mao Zedong called on all the people and cadres of the country to "fight vigorously and resolutely against corruption, waste and bureaucracy so as to cleanse our society of all the filth and poison left over from the old!" On the 4th, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Immediately Mobilizing the Masses Within a Time Limit to Struggle Against the 'Three Evils,'" requiring all units to act immediately.

January 5

At the 34th meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC, Zhou Enlai made a speech on "The National Bourgeoisie and the Movement Against the 'Three Evils,'" in which he expounded the dual character of the bourgeoisie and its being bent solely on profit-making and called on the industrialists and merchants of the whole country to participate in the movement against the "three evils."

January 26

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Waging a Large-Scale, Resolute and Thorough-Going Struggle Against the 'Five Evils' Within a Time Limit in Cities," calling on people in all the big and medium-sized cities to wage such a struggle against those capitalists who were violating the law by bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information. In

*The movement against corruption, waste and bureaucracy within the Party, government, army and mass organizations.

early February the movement was unfolded first in the big cities and soon reached a high tide.

February 3

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Combining the Movement Against the 'Three Evils' with Party Consolidation," requiring to register, examine and deal with Party members in accordance with the eight requirements for a Communist while the movement against the "three evils" was going on. Party committees were asked to thoroughly examine and understand their cadres, resolutely comb out corrupt and degenerate members, dismiss and replace those leading members who were seriously guilty of bureaucracy and who claimed credit for themselves and became arrogant, made no progress, and were lackadaisical and incompetent, and unhesitatingly promote to various leading posts outstanding people who had both ability and political integrity. Party consolidation was basically completed in the spring of 1954.

March 11

The CPG's Administration Council promulgated "Regulations on Dealing with Corruption and Waste and on Correcting the Mistake of Bureaucracy" and the "Criteria and Methods of the Beijing Municipal People's Government for Dealing with Different Types of Industrialists and Merchants in the Movement Against the 'Five Evils,'" and on the 28th, the Administration Council adopted "Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Punishing Corruption." These documents, in line with the policy of "combining sternness with leniency, remoulding with punishment," provided for the methods of dealing with corrupt elements and the industrialists and merchants who had violated the law. According to these regulations, governments at different levels passed verdicts on various cases.

Mid-June to late September

The Central Ministry of Education readjusted the departments in all universities and colleges of the country. The general principle for the work was: to focus on training personnel for industrial development and teaching, to develop specialized training and technical colleges, to reorganize and consolidate universities, to gradually establish correspondence schools and evening universities, and to create conditions for enrolling a large number of workers and peasants in institutions of higher education. This readjustment was useful to and necessary for training a great number of personnel for construction. The shortcomings were: mechanical application of Soviet experience, improper cancellation of some courses and offering of too many specialities in a department, which impeded the growth of qualified personnel and their rational use.

June 20

The Jinjiang Flood-Diversion Project started on April 5 was completed, and the water storage capacity of the flood-diversion area was 6 billion cubic metres.

On the same day, the preparatory meeting of the All-China Association of Industry and Commerce was held in Beijing. Chen Yun spoke at the meeting. He pointed out the bright future for private industry and commerce, explained in detail the Party's plan to readjust the relationship between the public and private sectors of the economy and the relationship between labour and capital on a new basis after the movements against the "three evils" and the "five evils" were completed, and discussed specific measures for readjustment. Implementation of these measures helped set the minds of private industrialists and merchants at rest and promoted the growth of law-abiding private industrial and commercial enterprises.

July 1

The newly-built Chengdu-Chongqing Railway was open to traffic. Since the founding of New China, the Party and government had attached great importance to resumption of railway traffic and construction, and achieved marked results in this field of endeavour. The whole length of the Longhai Railway was open to traffic in November 1949, the same was true of the Beijing-Hankou and Guangzhou-Hankou railways in January 1950 and the newly-constructed Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway on September 29, 1952.

July 8

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Points for Attention in the Campaign to Increase Production and Practise Economy," requiring all industrial and mining enterprises to work hard not only for the fulfillment of their production plans and plans for increasing production and strict economy but also for the improvement of their management and operation, so as to create conditions for introducing business accounting and terminating the process of their transformation from old to new enterprises. The enterprises were asked to make arrangements for surplus workers after productivity was increased and to raise their educational and technical levels through training. On November 29, the Central Financial Commission reported to the CPC Central Committee that according to incomplete statistics the total value brought about through increased production and strict economy in 1952 of the country was 3.17 billion yuan.

August 9

The Central People's Government promulgated the "Outline of the People's Republic of China for Implementing Regional Autonomy in

Minority Nationality Areas," and on the 14th, its Administration Council issued the "Decision on Establishing Local Nationality Democratic Coalition Governments" for the purpose of promoting regional autonomy of minority nationalities—this was a fundamental policy adopted by the CPC through applying Marxist-Leninist theory on the question of nationalities in solving the question of nationalities in China. This policy not only satisfied the wish of the minority nationalities for administering their own affairs, but also served to cement unity of all nationalities and consolidate unification of the motherland.

August 25-September 4

The First Central Committee of the Youth League held its Third Plenary Session in Beijing. Mao Zedong delivered a speech and Liu Shaoqi made a political report at the session and Hu Yaobang and eight other people were elected members of the Secretariat of the Youth League Central Committee.

October 14

The United States, in an attempt to force China and Korea to accept its unjustifiable demands, launched the most ruthless offensive of the year on the Chinese Volunteers' positions at Sangkumryung. Fighting from their tunnel fortifications, the Chinese Volunteers held fast to their positions for 43 days and repulsed more than 900 assaults, wiping out 27,000 enemy troops and thus keeping their positions rock-firm.

October 25

The CPC Central Committee approved the two reports submitted by An Ziwen and Liao Luyan on ending the movements against the "three evils" and the "five evils." The movements were concluded victoriously after the unlawful activities of the bourgeoisie had been crippled, leadership of the working class and the state sector of the economy consolidated, the filth and pernicious influence of the old society cleansed and social traditions transformed. The mistakes of broadening the scope of attack and obtaining confessions by compulsion and giving them credence during the high tide of the movements had been set right in the course of passing verdicts on cases.

From winter to spring the following year, land reform was basically completed in the country except in Xinjiang, Tibet, other regions inhabited by minority nationalities, and Taiwan, and 300 million peasants with little or no land had been given gratis 700 million *mu* of land and other means of production and exempted from the exorbitant land rent amounting to 35 million tons of grain they had had to pay to the landlords each year. Land reform in the new liberated areas had been completed, with the result that the feudal landownership that had long

dominated and repressed the Chinese peasants was abolished once for all, the worker-peasant alliance was consolidated and favourable conditions were created for socialist transformation and construction.

By the end of the year, total industrial and agricultural output value of the country came to 82.72 billion yuan—representing an increase of 77.5 percent over that of 1949 and 20 percent over the record year of 1936, of which total industrial output value increased by 145 percent and agricultural output value by 48.5 percent over 1949. The output of major industrial and agricultural products exceeded the peak annual output of the past, with 1,349,000 tons of steel, 154.4 million tons of grain and 1,303,500 tons of cotton. State revenue of the year was 18.37 billion yuan and expenditure 17.6 billion yuan. The average wage of workers and other employees increased from 60 to 120 percent over that in 1949, peasants' income grew over 30 percent and people's lives in general began to improve. After three years of hard work, the task of rehabilitating the national economy had been fulfilled.

1953

January 1

The *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "Greet the Great Task of 1953," in which it pointed out, "The year of 1953 will be the first year of the country's large-scale construction" and "the year in which to start the First Five-Year Plan for national construction."

January 5

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Combating Bureaucracy, Commandism and Violations of the Law and Discipline." It stressed that bureaucracy and commandism posed a big problem for the Party and government and that the leading bodies at all levels should start with the handling of letters from the masses, make an investigation into bureaucracy, commandism and violations of the law and discipline and wage a resolute struggle against them in coordination with Party consolidation, Party building and other work in 1953. At an appropriate stage of the struggle against evildoers and evil deeds, the leading bodies should also commend good people and good deeds so as to set these as good examples for the entire Party membership to follow, encourage healthy trends and check unhealthy ones. In compliance with this directive, a movement against the "three new evils" was launched in various places.

January

The CPC Central Committee decided to establish the Bureau for the

Compilation and Translation of Works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, whose task was to translate and publish all the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in a planned and systematic way.

February 15

After making a few amendments of the "Resolution on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agricultural Production (Draft)" which the CPC Central Committee had earlier distributed to Party committees at all levels for trial implementation, the Central Committee adopted it as an official resolution. This served to promote the movement for mutual aid and cooperation in agriculture, and semi-socialist, elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives began to be set up on a trial basis in all parts of the country. From the winter of 1952 to the spring of 1953, the development of the movement was basically sound, although in some places peasants were forced to join cooperatives, the interests of middle peasants were encroached upon, and people were setting up advanced cooperatives in disregard of actual conditions. The Party Central Committee took timely measures to solve these problems.

March 8

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive to the Greater Administrative Areas on Reducing the Quotas Set in the Five-Year Plan for Output Increase, Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agriculture," requiring the local authorities to check rash advance in the movement of mutual aid and cooperation.

March 16

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive to Party Committees at All Levels on Spring Ploughing," and on the 26th, an editorial entitled "The Key to Leading Agricultural Production" was carried in the *People's Daily*. In these documents it was emphasized that the interests of the peasants working on their own should be protected in the movement for cooperative transformation of agriculture; that it was necessary to proceed from the present conditions of the small-scale peasant economy in providing leadership in agricultural production; that the relations of production should change to meet the needs of the development of the productive forces, or else production would suffer losses; and that for a considerably long period of time after the cooperative movement started, the individual economy would remain to dominate the development of agricultural production, therefore, in developing the socialist collective economy, the interests of individual labourers should be protected in order not to dampen their enthusiasm for production.

March 19

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the 'Five

Excesses' in the Work of the Districts and Townships," drawing the attention of Party and government organizations in the rural areas to the existence of the "five excesses"—the excess of assignments, the excess of meetings and training courses, the excess of documents, written reports and statistical forms, the excess of organizations, and the excess of side jobs for activists, and urging them to find solutions to these problems. Agricultural production being the overriding task in the countryside, all other tasks played a supporting role. Any assignment or method of work that hindered production of the peasants must be avoided. In the struggle against bureaucracy, commandism and violations of the law and discipline, Party committees at different levels were required to make special efforts to overcome bureaucracy and decentralism in the leading organs within 1953, and discard those rules and methods that had outlived their usefulness.

April 3

The CPC Central Committee compiled the "Directive to Party Committees at All Levels on Spring Ploughing," "The Key to Leading Agricultural Production" and the "Resolution on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agricultural Production" into a book named the *Guide to Present Rural Work*, and distributed it across the country. Mao Zedong prepared a circular for studying the book, in which he called on people doing rural work to study the book conscientiously and raise their ideological level so as to guarantee success in the Party's work in the countryside. On the same day, the Rural Work Department of the CPC Central Committee convened the First National Conference on Rural Work. Deng Zihui, director of the department, criticized rash advance in the movement of mutual aid and cooperation and explained the policy of "steady advance." The measures mentioned served to check rash advance, set the peasants' minds at rest, and consolidate and develop agricultural producers' cooperatives in the movement.

April 15-23

The Second National Congress of the All-China Women's Federation was convened in Beijing, at which the "Resolution on the Basic Summary of the Chinese Women's Movement over the Past Four Years and the Report on Future Tasks" and the amended "Constitution of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation" were adopted, and the Second Executive Committee of the All-China Women's Federation was elected. On April 25, the Second Executive Committee held its first session and elected Soong Ching Ling and He Xiangning honorary chairwomen, Cai Chang chairwoman, and Deng Yingchao, Li Dequan, Xu Guangping, Shi Liang and Zhang Yun vice-chairwomen of the federation.

May 2-11

The Seventh National Congress of China's Trade Unions was held in

Beijing, Liu Shaoqi addressed the message of greetings to the congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee. The congress laid down the trade unions' policies and tasks for the period of planned national construction, adopted the "Resolution on the Report of the Work of China's Trade Unions," the "Resolution on Revision of the Rules and Regulations of China's Trade Unions" and the "Constitution of the Trade Unions of the People's Republic of China," and elected the Seventh Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. On the 12th, the Seventh Executive Committee held its first session, at which Liu Shaoqi was elected honorary chairman, Lai Ruoyu chairman, and Liu Ningyi, Liu Changsheng and Zhu Xuefan vice-chairmen of the federation.

May 27

Li Weiham, director of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee submitted to the Party Central Committee the report on "Relationship Between the Public and the Private in Capitalist Industry" that he prepared after investigations conducted by the fact-finding team he led in Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan and other places in the spring of 1953. In the report he analysed the experience gained over the past few years in introducing state capitalism in capitalist industry. He made it clear that state capitalism was the principal form of using, restricting and transforming capitalist industry, of bringing it into the orbit of state planning and of achieving gradual transition from capitalist industry to socialist industry; and that joint state-private management was the advanced form of state capitalism most advantageous to transforming private enterprises into socialist ones. He also pointed out that, along with transformation of enterprises, members of the bourgeoisie working in these enterprises could remould themselves as well. The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee discussed and approved the report.

June 15

At the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau, Mao Zedong for the first time gave a relatively complete explanation of the content of the Party's general line or general task for the transition period, saying, "The general line or general task of the Party for the transition period is basically to accomplish the industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce in ten to fifteen years, or a little longer. This general line is a beacon illuminating our work in all fields. Do not depart from this general line, otherwise 'Left' or Right mistakes will occur." This was a general line designed for both socialist transformation and socialist construction. The basic concept for it had been put forward as early as at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party held in March 1949. Since September 1952, Mao Zedong had

discussed on many occasions the general line for the transition period. After the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau on June 15, the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee set about drawing up an outline for propagating the general line. When revising the outline, Mao Zedong gave a more comprehensive and accurate explanation of the line: "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 to accomplish gradually the country's socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce over a fairly long period of time. This general line is the beacon illuminating all our work, and wherever we deviate from it, we shall make Right or 'Left' mistakes."

June-August

The CPC Central Committee convened the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work, at which the participants concentrated on discussing ways of implementing the general line for the transition period, and put forward China's First Five-Year Plan for construction. The draft of the plan was first drawn up in 1951, and revised many times before it was presented to the conference for discussion. The basic tasks set in the First Five-Year Plan were: to concentrate on industrial construction which comprised 694 above-norm* construction units centring on the 156 projects that the Soviet Union was designing for China, and which would lay the preliminary groundwork for China's socialist industrialization; to foster the growth of agricultural producers' cooperatives, whose system of ownership was partially collective, and handicraftsmen's cooperatives so as to lay the preliminary groundwork for the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts; and basically to incorporate capitalist industry and commerce into different forms of state capitalism so as to lay the groundwork for the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce. The total outlay for the country's economic, cultural and educational development in the five-year period was 76 billion yuan (the equivalent in value of 700 million taels** of gold). Such a huge amount of investment in national construction was

*To facilitate management and control of major capital construction projects, the state set, in the light of the actual conditions in China, an investment norm for every category of such projects. Any construction project, whether it was new or rebuilt, was classified as an above-norm project if its total investment was above the "normal" figure. In industry, for example, the investment norm for iron and steel, motor vehicle, tractor, shipbuilding, and locomotive and rolling stock manufacturing was ten million yuan; for non-ferrous metals, chemical and cement industries it was six million yuan; for power stations and the oil-processing industry, it was five million yuan.

**1 tael = 1 1/3 ounces.

something never known in China's history. The plan was formally adopted later at the Second Session of the First National People's Congress in July 1955. The First Five-Year Plan gave shape to a highly centralized management system of China's socialist economy, a system characterized by planning.

During the Conference on Financial and Economic Work, Gao Gang, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Planning Commission, taking advantage of the Party's criticism of shortcomings and mistakes in financial and economic work, conducted activities to split the Party. He attacked Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and other Party and state leaders in an attempt to usurp the supreme Party and state leadership. The Party Central Committee put right some incorrect ideas due to his influence and achieved the results as desired.

July

The Chinese People's Volunteers won the Kumsong Campaign. From mid-May to mid-June, in coordination with armistice talks the Volunteers had launched two offensives and annihilated 40,000 enemies. In mid-June, all the agreements on armistice talks were concluded. The Syngman Rhee clique, however, refused to accept the agreements, clamouring to "go it alone" in an attempt to obstruct the realization of cease-fire. In order to deal blows at the Syngman Rhee clique and effect cease-fire, the Chinese Volunteers, with the cooperation of the Korean People's Army, launched on July 13 the Kumsong Campaign, destroying 50,000 enemies and recovering 178 square kilometres of territory, and thus expediting the realization of the armistice.

July 27

The Truce Agreement of the Korean War was formally signed at Panmunjom. The Korean war which lasted more than three years was declared over. Victory in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea defended the interests of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the security of China and won a relatively stable and peaceful environment for China's socialist transformation and construction.

September 7

Mao Zedong talked to representatives from the democratic parties and industrial and commercial circles on transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. He systematically expounded the principle and policy of accomplishing the transformation of private industry and commerce through state capitalism. This talk greatly promoted the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce.

September-October

The CPC Central Committee convened the Second National Confer-

ence on Organization Work, at which it was decided that the tasks of the Party's organization work were: to mobilize the entire Party membership to guarantee organizationally the implementation of the general line for the transition period and the smooth fulfillment of the country's First Five-Year Plan; and to continue to consolidate and expand the Party organizationally, raise the Party members' ideological and political level and the Party's fighting capacity. The participants also discussed the policy towards cadres, the development of inner-Party democracy and the enforcement of strict discipline in the Party.

During the conference, Rao Shushi, member of the CPC Central Committee and director of its Organization Department supported and joined Gao Gang in his attempt to split the Party and usurp the supreme power of the Party and state. The Party Central Committee discovered their conspiracy in good time and thwarted Rao Shushi's attempt to make use of this conference to split the Party.

October 15-November 4

Mao Zedong talked to leading members of the Rural Work Department of the CPC Central Committee. He stressed: Rural work departments at all levels should look upon mutual aid and cooperation as a matter of vital importance. If socialism did not occupy the rural positions, capitalism inevitably would. There should be control figures and an allotment of quotas for setting up agricultural producers' cooperatives. Allotment without compulsion—this was not commandism. If a big cooperative could not be set up, a medium-sized or small one should be tried; a big cooperative or a cooperative of even three or four hundred households could be set up wherever possible. The campaign to "check impetuosity and rash advance" was a gust of wind which had unjustifiably brought down a number of agricultural producers' cooperatives. "Sustain private property" was a bourgeois concept. "To be together all day long and never talk about fundamentals but take pleasure only in giving small favours—indeed it's a hopeless case!" "Never talk about fundamentals" meant never talking about socialism, never working for socialism. To grant agricultural credits, distribute relief grain, reduce or remit taxes, build water conservancy projects, dig wells and construct canals, practise deep ploughing and close planting, spread the use of new-type farm tools and so forth—to do all these on the basis of the small-scale peasant economy was to give the peasants small favours. However, once these things were linked to the general line and to socialism, the case would be different. "Once the headrope of a fishing net is pulled up, all its meshes open." The contradiction between socialism and capitalism and the gradual resolution of this contradiction—that was the key link. The general line meant a gradual change in the relations of production. To "sustain private ownership" of three *mu* of

land and practise the "four big freedoms" (namely the freedoms to lend money, to rent out land, to hire labourers and to trade that were conferred on the peasants after the land reform in the countryside) was to facilitate the growth of a small number of rich peasants and follow the capitalist road. Over 32,000 cooperatives were to be set up before the autumn harvest next year. By 1957, the number would have reached 700,000 and it might rise to a million. To this end, active leadership and steady development were essential. The two talks exerted a great influence on rural work subsequently. Although he expressed many correct ideas in the talks, the speaker revealed his impatience for success and his vain ambitions, and his criticisms of the shortcomings in work were not realistic enough.

October 16

The CPC Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Planned Purchase and Supply of Grain," on November 15, it adopted the "Decision on Planned Purchase of Oil-Yielding Crops Countrywide," and later the state introduced planned purchase and supply with regard to cotton and cotton cloth. All these were necessary transitional policies pursued under conditions of material shortage. Thanks to these policies, speculation in grain, cotton and edible oil and other important produce that had a vital bearing on the national economy and people's daily lives was banned, the needs in national construction and people's daily lives were met and the economic ties between the bourgeoisie and the peasants were severed—all this facilitated the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

October 26-November 5

The CPC Central Committee convened the Third Conference on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agricultural Production to analyse experience gained in the movement and discuss the "Resolution on Developing Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (Draft)."

November-December

The All-China Federation of Cooperatives held the Third National Conference on Cooperation in Handicrafts Production. It was decided that the policy for socialist transformation of handicrafts was to give active leadership and make steady advance; the organization form taken for transformation was from handicrafts production teams to handicrafts supply and marketing cooperatives and to handicraftsmen's cooperatives; the method was to transform production through supply and marketing cooperatives; the approach was from small to big cooperatives and from elementary to advanced levels. Zhu De spoke at the conference: "Cooperatives are the only form of organization by which we can transform the individual handicraft economy and help it in its transition

to socialism." "Some handicraft cooperatives may exist for a considerably long time, not only during the period of transition but also once the socialist society is fully established." Acting in the spirit of the conference Party committees at different levels then strengthened leadership, with the result that, by the end of 1954, the membership of handicraftsmen's cooperatives (teams) in the country increased sharply to 1,210,000 and the number of cooperatives exceeded 41,000.

December 16

The CPC Central Committee drew up the "Resolution on Developing Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives." At this point, elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives in the country already exceeded 14,000. In the resolution experience gained in running cooperatives was summed up, and it was made still clearer that the correct road for the Party's socialist transformation of agriculture was to guide individual peasants to go through mutual-aid teams that were an embryo of socialism to elementary cooperatives that were of a semi-socialist character and then to advanced cooperatives that were fully socialist; and it was stressed that elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives were increasingly becoming a key link to leading the movement for mutual aid and cooperation forward. Under the guidance of the resolution, the movement progressed from the stage of trial to the stage of growth. By the spring of 1954, the number of cooperatives had grown to 90,000, with the result of increased production everywhere, displaying their marked superiority.

December 31

In his talk with an Indian government delegation, Zhou Enlai put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence for governing relations between different countries: 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. The five principles were formally included in the preface of the "Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between China's Tibet and India" concluded by both sides in April 1954.

December

The CPC Central Committee approved and distributed *Work Hard and Mobilize All Forces to Make China a Great Socialist Country—the Outline for Studying and Propagating the Party's General Line for the Transition Period*—a pamphlet prepared by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, which brought about an upsurge in studying and propagating the general line on all fronts across the land.

1954

January

The Central Financial Commission presented its "Proposal Concerning the Transformation of Most of the Capitalist Industrial Enterprises That Employ Ten Workers or More into Joint State-Private Enterprises." At the time, after four years of utilization, restriction and transformation, the bulk of capitalist industrial enterprises had been incorporated into different forms of state capitalism, whereby state orders were placed with private enterprises for processing materials or manufacturing goods. However, here the state only maintained external ties and cooperation with the capitalist enterprises, where the means of production remained in the hands of the capitalists, the mode of operation was basically capitalist, and the contradictions between labour and capital and between the public and the private still could not be handled effectively. To resolve these contradictions and promote the development of the productive forces, the Party decided that transformation of the capitalist industry be focused on expanding the joint state-private enterprises in a planned way so as to bring about internal ties and cooperation between the state and the capitalists.

February 6-10

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. Entrusted by the Political Bureau, Liu Shaoqi delivered a report at the session. Forty-four people, including Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping, spoke at the session. The participants exposed and criticized the activities by Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the Party before, during and after the Conference on Financial and Economic Work and the Conference on Organization Work and unanimously adopted the "Resolution on Consolidating the Party's Unity" drafted at the suggestion of Mao Zedong. After the session, cadres and other Party members studied and put into effect the resolution. As a result, the Party's unity was greatly strengthened, which ensured the implementation of the general line for the transition period.

Mid-February

Entrusted by the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, Zhou Enlai called a meeting to discuss the question concerning Gao Gang, and Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yi and Tan Zhenlin held another to discuss the question concerning Rao Shushi. The two meetings were attended by 37 members and alternate members of the Central Committee and 40 important staff members. Facts about the conspiracy hatched by Gao Gang and Rao Shushi against the Party were further exposed and verified. Zhou Enlai made a speech summing up the discussions on Gao Gang. Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yi and Tan Zhenlin wrote a report to the

Central Committee on the basis of the material exposed at the meeting. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee approved both the speech and the report.

Thereafter, under the leadership of the Political Bureau, a meeting of senior cadres from the Northeast and an enlarged meeting of the East China Bureau were held in April, an enlarged meeting of the Shandong Sub-Bureau in May, an enlarged meeting of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee in June, and a Party congress of Shandong Province in August. At these meetings, the participants further exposed and repudiated the conspiracy contrived by Gao Gang and Rao Shushi against the Party and criticized and educated the handful of people who had mistakenly followed them.

April 27

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee decided at its enlarged meeting to abolish the Party and government organs in the greater administrative areas. On the same day, Deng Xiaoping was appointed secretary-general of the CPC Central Committee.

April-July

The international conference was convened in Geneva to discuss peaceful unification of Korea and restoration of peace in Indo-china. Zhou Enlai attended the conference at the head of the Chinese delegation. An agreement on truce in Indo-china was signed, while no agreement was reached on the Korean issue due to U.S. obstruction.

June 22

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive regarding the report on the Third National Conference on Cooperation in Handicraft Production, stressing the need to develop light industry, local industries and handicraft industry while concentrating on heavy industry, so as to meet the growing demands of the masses. It emphasized that cooperative transformation of the handicraft industry should be carried out in line with the policy of active leadership and steady advance, and that the cooperatives should unite closely with individual handicraftsmen and offer them assistance in production where possible. Local authorities were encouraged to get all the handicraftsmen organized in the form of handicraftsmen's representative conferences in order to strengthen unity with them and to bring their enthusiasm into play.

June 25-29

Zhou Enlai visited India and Burma upon invitation, and issued with the prime ministers of the two countries the Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese joint statements, declaring the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the fundamental guideline for the Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese relations.

July 13

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Tightening Control over the Market and Transforming Private Commerce," announcing that the state was to apply planned purchase and supply to some commodities and gradually to transform the existing small private wholesalers and retailers into different forms of state capitalist commerce. Consequently, the turnover ratio of private retail trade in the whole country had decreased from 57.2 percent in 1952 to 25.6 percent by the end of the year. In the wholesale trade, private wholesalers had been basically replaced by state commercial enterprises.

July 20-25

The First Congress of All-China Cooperatives was held in Beijing. Deng Zihui, representative of the CPC Central Committee, and Lin Boqu, representative of the Central People's Government, conveyed messages of greetings to the congress. It was decided to rename All-China Cooperatives to the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives, and the "Constitution of the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives" was adopted.

September 2

The Administration Council passed the "Provisional Regulations of Joint State-Private Industrial Enterprises," according to which capitalist enterprises should be transformed into joint state-private enterprises in keeping with the country's need, the feasibility of their transformation and the free will of the capitalists. In the joint enterprises the socialist factor was predominant while the legitimate rights and interests of private shareholders were protected. Such enterprises should abide by state plans. As to the profits they earned, they should, after paying income tax in accordance with the law, reasonably divide them into accumulation funds, premiums, and dividends on shares. Dividends to shareholders and remuneration to board members, managers and factory directors might account for about 25 percent of the total amount of each year's profits.

September 15-28

The First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China was convened in Beijing. In his opening address Mao Zedong pointed out, "Our general task is to unite the whole people and win the support of all our friends abroad in the struggle to build a great socialist country, defend world peace and advance the cause of human progress." Liu Shaoqi gave the "Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China." Zhou Enlai delivered the "Report on the Work of the Government." "The Constitution of the People's Republic of China"—the first socialist constitution of China

—was adopted at the congress, and Mao Zedong was unanimously elected chairman of the People's Republic of China, Zhu De vice-chairman, Liu Shaoqi chairman of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress, Soong Qing Ling and twelve others vice-chairmen, Dong Biwu president of the Supreme People's Court, and Zhang Dingcheng procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate. The congress decided to appoint Zhou Enlai premier of the State Council. The Constitution and other laws passed by this congress laid a preliminary foundation for developing socialist democracy and establishing the socialist legal system.

October 10-31

The Rural Work Department of the CPC Central Committee held the Fourth Conference on Mutual Aid and Cooperation, at which successful experience gained in developing mutual aid and cooperation was analysed, and it was affirmed that elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives of a semi-socialist character was the key link in developing mutual aid and cooperation. The participants believed that in general two steps should be taken in promoting the socialist transformation of China's agriculture: first, to basically complete cooperative transformation at the elementary stage around 1957 and to proceed to turn it gradually into the advanced stage during the Second Five-Year Plan period, in which only preliminary improvement would be made in technology and partial mechanization of farming introduced; second, during the Third and Fourth Five-Year Plan periods, to equip agriculture with the developed industry and mechanize it on a large scale. For basic completion of elementary cooperative transformation in major regions in about three years, it was planned to increase the number of agricultural producers' cooperatives to 600,000 before spring ploughing of 1955, when in fact the number grew to 650,000; and more than 80 percent of the cooperatives increased their output after the autumn harvest. This showed that the Party's policy for cooperative transformation of agriculture was correct and that the movement had been basically sound. However, in the process, impetuosity and rash advance occurred in some areas, where cooperatives grew too fast in immense numbers, the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit were violated to different degrees, and the interests of the middle peasants were encroached upon. Besides, the state purchased 3.5 million more tons of grain owing to production decrease in some regions hit by floods in 1954, so that shortage of supplies appeared to various degrees in the rural areas throughout the country.

October 16

Mao Zedong wrote a "Letter Concerning the Study of *A Dream of Red Mansions*" to comrades of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central

Committee and other comrades concerned. Earlier, two young people had published articles criticizing Yu Pingbo's views and methods in his study of *A Dream of Red Mansions*. In his letter Mao Zedong said, "It is the first time in over thirty years that a serious attack has been levelled against the erroneous views of the so-called authorities on *A Dream of Red Mansions*." He added, "The whole thing has been set going by two 'nobodies,' while the 'bigwigs' have ignored and obstructed it as is their wont; they go in for a united front with bourgeois writers on the question of idealism and become willing captives of the bourgeoisie." Thereafter, a number of articles were published in newspapers and magazines in a joint attack on Yu Pingbo.

December 21-25

The First Plenary Session of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC was held in Beijing. Zhou Enlai made a political report, in which he pointed out that since the First Session of the National People's Congress had been convened, there was no longer any need for the CPPCC to exercise the functions and powers on behalf of the National People's Congress; nevertheless it should continue to function in its capacity as the united front. In other words, the CPPCC should continue, under the leadership of the CPC, to play its role as an organization of the people's democratic united front for uniting all nationalities, democratic classes and parties, people's organizations, overseas Chinese and other patriotic democrats. At the session, Mao Zedong was recommended for and elected honorary chairman and Zhou Enlai was elected chairman of the CPPCC, and the "Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" was adopted.

1955

January 10

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Rectifying and Consolidating Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives," pointing out that since scant or no preparations had been made for the establishment of a considerable number of cooperatives and the entire Party membership had been concentrating on purchase and marketing of grain in last November and December, new cooperatives fell apart and members withdrew from cooperatives in many places. At the same time, large numbers of draught animals were sold out, sheep slaughtered and trees hewed down. All this was attributable to the peasants' fear of their property being taken away by the public in the course of rapid growth of the movement for cooperative transformation. Therefore, it was time to keep the expansion of the movement basically under control and to focus on its consolidation; and it required that different measures be

taken in the light of the specific conditions in different places. On the 15th, it issued the "Emergency Directive on Vigorously Protecting Draught Animals."

January 20

The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee presented to the Central Committee a report on the need to repudiate Hu Feng's thinking. In July 1954, Hu Feng had submitted to the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee a lengthy report, stating his views on literature and art. The Propaganda Department maintained, "Hu Feng's thinking on literature and art is downright bourgeois idealism and is against the Party and the people. He has carried out factional and small-group activities with the aim of winning dominance for his bourgeois ideas on literature and art to oppose and resist the Party's views on literature and art and the literary and art movement led by the Party, and attempted to remould the society and the country in his own image and to oppose socialist construction and transformation. All these ideas of his are representative of the reactionary thought of the bourgeoisie, and his attack on the Party-led movement in literature and art is manifestation of the fierce class struggle that is going on in society." Therefore, the Propaganda Department suggested open criticism of Hu Feng's ideas on literature and art while criticizing Yu Pingbo and Hu Shi. The CPC Central Committee approved the report and called the attention of Party committees at different levels to this ideological struggle and urged them to regard it as a vital struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Thereafter, discussion among literary and art circles holding different views with regard to Hu Feng's ideas on literature and art turned into a political condemnation against Hu Feng.

February 25

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in the Regions of Minority Nationalities," in which it emphasized the need to pay full attention to the characteristics of each nationality and to adopt the policy of prudence and steady advance, so as gradually to promote the healthy progress of the movement for mutual aid and cooperation in the minority nationality regions.

March 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Disseminating Materialist Thinking and Criticizing Bourgeois Idealist Thinking," in which it pointed out that criticizing the exponents of bourgeois idealist thinking in all academic and cultural circles was an effective way of disseminating materialism and promoting scientific and cultural progress in the academic circle and among intellectuals both inside and outside

the Party. A spate of articles were published in the newspapers and magazines throughout the country. Oversimplified and crude in approach, many of the articles lacked reasoning and were scoffing; and their authors confused the idealist approach in respect of methods of thinking and research and specific academic issues and even questions open to further study to distinguish right from wrong on the one hand with the political stand and attitude of the bourgeoisie on the other. Consequently, the feelings of a number of intellectuals who were willing to do useful work for the people were hurt and progress in science and culture was hindered.

March 3

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Emergency Directive on Making Immediate Arrangement for the Purchase and Marketing of Grain to Set the Peasants' Minds at Rest," emphasizing that further measures of fixed quotas for production, purchasing and marketing be taken in the state's purchase and marketing of grain so that peasants knew the amounts of grain they were supposed to sell to the state. This was most important for setting the peasants' minds at ease and alleviating the strain on the countryside.

March 21-31

The National Conference of the CPC was held in Beijing, at which Mao Zedong spoke, presenting the idea of catching up with or surpassing the most powerful capitalist countries economically within a few decades. The participants unanimously adopted the "Resolution on the Draft First Five-Year Plan for Economic Development of the People's Republic of China," the "Resolution on the Anti-Party Alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi," and the "Resolution on Establishing Control Commissions at Central and Local Levels," and elected the Central Control Commission with Dong Biwu as secretary.

April 4

At the Fifth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC the three resolutions adopted and the members elected to the Central Control Commission of the CPC at the Party's National Conference were approved, and Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping were elected additional members of the Political Bureau.

April 18-24

At the head of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai attended in Bandung, Indonesia, the Asian-African Conference attended by 29 countries. Together with other participants the Chinese delegation made contributions to the success of the conference by proceeding from the principle of "seeking common ground while reserving differences."

April 21-May 6

The Rural Work Department of the CPC Central Committee held the Third National Conference on Rural Work. After the rural situation in the spring of 1955 was analysed, the general principle was put forward for the establishment of agricultural producers' cooperatives, according to which their expansion was to be checked and all-out efforts were to be made for their consolidation, pending further decisions after autumn; and where too many cooperatives were set up beyond subjective capability and problems were numerous, the number of cooperatives should be cut back. After the conference, various local authorities set about check-up and consolidation work in the light of their own conditions and achieved fairly good results.

May 13 and 24 and June 10

The *People's Daily* published in three installments *Material on the Counter-revolutionary Hu Feng Clique*, which were later compiled into a book. Mao Zedong wrote for it a preface and 20-odd editor's notes, in which he stated positively that Hu Feng and others had formed "a counter-revolutionary faction hidden in the revolutionary camp, an underground independent kingdom" and that "this counter-revolutionary faction, this underground kingdom, has set itself the task of overthrowing the People's Republic of China and restoring imperialist and Kuomintang rule." Criticism of Hu Feng's ideas evolved into a political and organizational movement designed to "eliminate the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique," thus creating a misjudged case. In September 1980 after its Third Plenary Session, the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC redressed the case.

July 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Launching a Struggle to Comb out Hidden Counter-revolutionaries," and the movement was set in motion in all parts of the country. On October 25, it issued the "Directive on Ensuring Smooth Progress of the Movement for Combing out Hidden Counter-revolutionaries After the Masses Are Aroused." After a period of more than two years the movement was in the main completed by the end of 1957. Through the movement, a batch of counter-revolutionaries were ferreted out from inside the Party and state organs and the army, thus purifying the revolutionary ranks and further consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship; and at the same time, dubious problems in the political records of some cadres were straightened out, thus the load on their minds was removed and their revolutionary spirit boosted. Due to overestimation of the number of counter-revolutionaries and lack of clear lines of demarcation in applying the policy on certain issues, for a while the scope of attack was enlarged and confessions were obtained by compulsion and given cre-

dence. Before long the Party became aware of these deviations and set them to rights. And in accordance with the principle of "suppressing counter-revolutionaries whenever they are found and correcting mistakes whenever they are discovered," it re-examined the cases under investigation, reversed wrong verdicts and rehabilitated and properly dealt with the overwhelming majority of the victims who should not have been arrested or punished.

July 31

The CPC Central Committee called a conference of secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees. At the conference, Mao Zedong delivered the report "On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture," in which he systematically explained the necessity and feasibility of cooperative transformation, called attention to quality in setting up cooperatives, opposed blind pursuit of quantity, reiterated the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, and called for an overall programme for the development of cooperatives. All this was correct. However, he unrealistically criticized Deng Zihui, mistakenly negated the achievements scored in the check-up on the work of cooperatives in 1953 and in the spring of 1955, erroneously assessed the situation, launched an all-out attack on the so-called Right deviation, and as a result aggravated the "Left" mistakes in the movement for cooperative transformation.

October 4-11

In accordance with Mao Zedong's report the Sixth Plenary Session (enlarged) of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC adopted the "Resolution on the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture." In the resolution, different views in the Party on the pace of cooperative transformation were criticized and dismissed as Right opportunism, which encouraged impetuosity and rash advance in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

It also adopted the "Resolution on the Convocation of the Party's Eighth National Congress" and "Regulations on the Number and Electoral Procedures of Deputies to the Party's Eighth National Congress," and basically adopted the draft "Demonstration Regulations of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives."

September-December

Mao Zedong directed the editing of the book *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, and wrote for it two prefaces and more than a hundred editor's notes, praising the enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants for socialism and introducing the experience gained in various places in running agricultural producers' cooperatives. At the same time, he inappropriately criticized "Right" deviation and put

forward some "Left" and unrealistic ideas.

October 29

Mao Zedong invited members of the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Industry and Commerce to discuss socialist transformation of private industry and commerce, hoping that they would clearly understand the law governing social development, master their own destiny and become more receptive to socialist transformation. From November 1 to 21, the executive committee held a meeting to discuss Mao Zedong's speech and to hear the reports made by Chen Yun and Chen Yi on transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The committee called on industrialists and merchants throughout the country to warmly accept socialist transformation under the Party's leadership. From November 16 to 24, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee convened a meeting on transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, which was attended by representatives from provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, who discussed and adopted the "Resolution of the Central Committee on Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce (Draft)" (the Political Bureau of the Central Committee made a few amendments and endorsed it as a formal resolution on February 24, 1956). In the resolution it was pointed out, "With regard to the bourgeoisie, we first use the methods of redemption and state capitalism to change its ownership with compensation, not gratis, and gradually, not promptly; secondly, we offer necessary work arrangements while helping them remould themselves; and thirdly, we shall not deprive them of their right to vote, and we shall make appropriate political arrangements for their representative figures who have given active support and made contributions to socialist transformation." After larger private enterprises had become joint state-private enterprises, socialist transformation of all trades was to be conducted to turn all the private industrial and commercial enterprises into joint state-private ones with a fixed annual rate of interest paid to them by the state. This constituted a step of decisive significance for the transition from the capitalist system of private ownership to the fully socialist system of public ownership.

December 21-28

The Fifth National Conference on Cooperation of Handicraft Production was held in Beijing. The participants discussed and drew up a development plan for 1956 and 1957, according to which cooperative transformation of handicraft industry was to be basically completed within two years, and then all the semi-socialist cooperatives (teams) were to be converted to fully socialist ones and gradually undertake technological transformation. The CPC Central Committee approved the report of the conference.

1956 (January—September)**January 14-20**

The CPC Central Committee held a conference on the question of intellectuals. Zhou Enlai delivered the "Report on the Question of Intellectuals," in which he emphasized that in socialist industrialization "we have to rely upon close cooperation between manual workers and mental workers and upon a fraternal alliance among workers, peasants and intellectuals." It was stated for the first time that intellectuals were important to all aspects of life in the country and that the overwhelming majority of them had become part of the working class. He also pointed out that to fulfill the general task in the transition period it was 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. Mao Zedong spoke on the last day of the conference, calling on the entire Party membership to learn science, unite with intellectuals outside the Party and work hard to catch up speedily with advanced science in the world. Thereafter, a new atmosphere emerged with the whole nation "marching towards science."

January 15

Two hundred thousand people from all walks of life in Beijing rallied in Tiananmen Square to celebrate the victory in socialist transformation—the complete realization of cooperative transformation of agriculture and handicraft industry in Beijing—the first city in the country where capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises became joint state-private ones by all trades. By the end of the month, the same happened in all the other big cities and more than fifty medium-sized ones throughout the country.

February 8

Zhou Enlai gave a report entitled "Economic Work Should Be Conducted in a Practical Way" at the 24th plenary session of the State Council held to discuss problems concerning the transformation of private industrial and commercial enterprises and handicrafts. He pointed out that one should not see only the people's fervent enthusiasm but also notice the tendency to try to move too fast and that one should not set tasks that departed from China's realities or go beyond its capabilities, or speed up development haphazardly, otherwise work would be jeopardized.

February 14-25

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was held in Moscow. During the congress, Nikita Khrushchov, first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a "secret report," in which he totally negated Stalin. The CPC Central Committee believed

that it was wrong of him to do that; at the same time it considered that the twentieth congress had its positive aspect in that it did away with the personality cult of Stalin and exposed the serious mistakes he had made. Therefore, the CPC Central Committee on the one hand took the stand of defending Stalin and on the other hand began to explore a correct road for China's socialist construction, learning from the mistakes made by the Soviet Union.

February 16-March 3

Acting on instructions of the CPC Central Committee, the United Front Work Department held the Fifth National Conference on United Front Work with the participation of 57 directors and deputy directors of the united front work departments of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees and of Party committees of cities directly under the jurisdiction of provinces and each with a population of over 500,000. The participants focused on discussing principles for united front work to be pursued from 1956 through 1962 and adopted a resolution in this connection. In the resolution it was pointed out that the rapid progress of socialist transformation had brought about changes in the relations within the ranks of the people's democratic united front; that the worker-peasant alliance was increasingly strengthened on the basis of socialism; that the bourgeoisie had yielded to the working class although it had not yet been eliminated as a class; that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals had become part of the working class and the democratic parties on the whole had become political organizations in the service of socialism; and that most of the minority nationalities had one after another embarked on the road of transition to socialism and were forging ahead under different circumstances. It was the Party's task to go on strengthening and broadening the people's democratic united front and unite with all the forces that could be united with for attaining the common goal. It was required to "make education the central task of the united front work," to help the majority of the bourgeois, the democrats and the senior intellectuals in their political study and ideological remoulding so that they would gradually adapt themselves to their changed or changing political and social status. Under the new historic conditions it was necessary to bring into full play the role of the people's political consultative conferences, of democratic parties, of the federation of industry and commerce and of other people's organizations. The CPC Central Committee approved the working principles proposed at the conference, and asked Party committees at all levels to continue to conduct more effective education within the Party on the united front policy, to provide better leadership in united front work, and to correct "Left" or Right errors as soon as they were discovered.

April 5

The *People's Daily* published its editorial department's article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" written on the basis of discussions at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. The article explained the need to analyse from a historical point of view the mistakes made under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the cause of Stalin's personality cult and the lessons to be drawn from it, refuted the attacks at the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system hurled by imperialists and reactionaries of various countries, and removed the doubts among the people and within the Party caused by the total negation of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. On December 29, in answer to some crucial issues raised in the international communist movement, the *People's Daily* published a second article entitled "More on the Historical Experience of Proletariat Dictatorship" written by its editorial department on the basis of discussions at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. In the article two types of social contradictions were discussed for the first time, and it stated, "contradictions among the people themselves can and ought to be resolved, proceeding from the desire for unity and through criticism or struggle, so as to achieve new unity on a new basis." The fundamental viewpoints in both articles were put forth by Mao Zedong.

April 20-May 10

The CPC Central Committee called the National Conference of Representatives of Advanced Workers, for the purpose of promoting the nationwide drive to emulate advanced workers, making it a powerful force motivating the development of China's socialist economy and thus ensuring overfulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan ahead of time.

April 25

At the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Mao Zedong delivered the speech "On the Ten Major Relationships," in which he drew lessons from the Soviet Union, made a preliminary summing-up of the experience gained in China's socialist construction and set the task of exploring a way of socialist construction that was suited to China's specific conditions. He enunciated the need of correctly handling the relationships between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other, between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior, between economic construction and defence construction, between the state, the units of production and the producers, between the central and the local authorities, between the *Han* nationality and the minority nationalities, between Party and non-Party, between revolution and counter-revolution, between right and wrong, and between China and other countries. He

pointed out: the purpose of correctly handling these relationships was to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, and make China a powerful socialist country.

April 28

At the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Mao Zedong said that "letting a hundred flowers blossom" on artistic issues and "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" on academic issues should be the policy of advancing science and flourishing literature and art in China. On May 26, Lu Dingyi, director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, made a speech entitled "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" at a public lecture organized by the Propaganda Department, in which he gave a comprehensive explanation of the policy.

June 20

In view of impetuosity and rash advance beyond actual capabilities that occurred in the development of socialist construction, the *People's Daily*, at the suggestion of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, published an editorial entitled "Oppose Conservatism as well as Impetuosity." In the spirit of the editorial, local authorities paid special attention to redressing rashness in socialist construction, bringing their industrial and agricultural production onto the path of vigorous yet steady growth.

July 21

Zhou Enlai spoke at the First Congress of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, stressing the need to "continue to exercise dictatorship and at the same time to broaden democracy." He said that judging from China's domestic situation, from the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship as a whole and from the lessons drawn from Soviet mistakes, broadening of democracy was of more vital importance.

August 22, September 8 and 13

The CPC Seventh Central Committee held its Seventh Plenary Session, at which it adopted the political report the Seventh Central Committee prepared to submit to the Eighth National Congress of the Party, the draft revision of the Party's Constitution and the report on the revision, the Draft Proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan for Developing the National Economy, and the Report on the Proposal.

September 12

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Directive on Strengthening Leadership over Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives in Production and Organization," and put forward the principles, policies and methods for resolving the new problems and contradictions

that had arisen after cooperative transformation of agriculture, with the aim of mobilizing all positive factors to further consolidate the cooperatives and promote the growth of agricultural production.

VII. The Period of Building Socialism in All Spheres

September 1956—April 1966

1956 (September—December)

September 15-27

The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was convened in Beijing. It was held at a time when socialist transformation in China had been in the main accomplished and the Party was faced with a new situation and new tasks. Attending the congress were 1,026 deputies, representing 10.73 million Party members. Mao Zedong made the "Opening Address," Liu Shaoqi delivered the "Political Report," Zhou Enlai made the "Report on the Proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy," and Deng Xiaoping delivered the "Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China." Zhu De, Chen Yun, Dong Biwu and others made important speeches. It was pointed out at the congress: now that the socialist system had been basically established in China, efforts should be made to liberate Taiwan, thoroughly complete socialist transformation, ultimately eliminate the system of exploitation and continue to wipe out the remaining forces of counter-revolution. The principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but between the need of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the present state of the economy and culture that fell short of their need. The chief task confronting the entire nation was to concentrate all efforts on developing the productive forces, industrializing the country and gradually meeting the people's growing economic and cultural needs. Although class struggle still existed and the people's democratic dictatorship had to be further strengthened, the basic task of the dictatorship was now to protect and develop the productive forces in the context of the new relations of production. Therefore, it was necessary to gradually and systematically work out a complete set of laws and improve the socialist legal system, and further broaden socialist democracy and vigorously combat bureaucracy. The congress adhered to the principle of opposing both conservatism and rash advance in economic development, that is, of making steady progress by striking an overall balance, and formulated

a series of important economic policies in line with the gist of Mao Zedong's article "On the Ten Major Relationships." The congress laid stress on the question of the building of the Party in power, emphasizing the need to uphold democratic centralism and collective leadership, oppose the personality cult, promote democracy within the Party and cement the Party's ties with the masses. The line of the Eighth Congress of the CPC was correct. However, due to the fact that the Party at that time lacked sufficient mental preparation for building socialism in all spheres, the line and many correct views advanced at the congress were not put into effect.

September 28

The Eighth Central Committee of the Party convened its First Plenary Session, at which new leading bodies were elected with Mao Zedong as chairman of the Central Committee, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Chen Yun as vice-chairmen and Deng Xiaoping as general secretary. Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping, Lin Biao, Lin Boqu, Dong Biwu, Peng Zhen, Luo Ronghuan, Chen Yi, Li Fuchun, Peng Dehuai, Liu Bochong, He Long and Li Xiannian were elected members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Ulanhu, Zhang Wentian, Lu Dingyi, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng and Bo Yibo alternate members. Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping were members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

November 10-15

The Eighth Central Committee of the CPC convened its Second Plenary Session. Liu Shaoqi reported on his visit to the Soviet Union and his talks with the CPSU leaders on the Polish and Hungarian incidents and other issues. He pointed out the need to draw lessons from the Polish and Hungarian incidents, pay attention to the development of agriculture and light industry and show concern for the people's welfare; and the need to broaden socialist democracy, oppose bureaucracy and craving for privileges among the cadres, limit the powers of the leaders and strengthen supervision over them. In his report "The 1957 Plan for the Development of the National Economy and the Control Figures of the Budget," Zhou Enlai analysed the experience and lessons in the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan and criticized the tendency of rash advance in 1956. He pointed out in clear-cut terms: Under conditions of continued advance, the scope of capital construction should be appropriately narrowed in the 1957 plan and the proportions of the different sectors of the economy rationally readjusted so as to adapt to the country's financial and material capabilities. The plenary session approved Zhou Enlai's report and decided to formulate the 1957 plan according to the principle of "guaranteeing the key projects and making

appropriate reduction." Mao Zedong also spoke on the last day of the session, emphasizing that disequilibrium was absolute while equilibrium was relative, that there had been retrogresses and advances in the economic development but advances had been the main feature, and fundamentally speaking Party committees and governments at all levels had been promoting advances, and that the First Five-Year Plan was basically correct even if there were some mistakes, which were unavoidable, and therefore it was necessary to protect the initiative of the cadres and the masses and refrain from pouring cold water on them. He also said that the basic problem with some of the East European countries was that they had failed in class struggle, leaving so many counter-revolutionaries at large.

By the end of the year, 96.3 percent of the peasant households in the country's rural areas had joined the agricultural producers' cooperatives; over 90 percent of the handicraftsmen had joined their cooperatives; and 99 percent of the people in private industrial enterprises and 85 percent of the people in private commercial enterprises had become workers of joint state-private enterprises. Thus, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce had in the main been completed.

Before the end of the year, the main targets set in the First Five-Year Plan had been fulfilled ahead of time. From 1953 through 1956, total industrial output value increased at an annual rate of 19.6 percent and total agricultural output value augmented by 4.8 percent every year. The market was brisk, prices were stable and people's welfare was improved markedly. There were also big advances in culture and education, science and technology, medicine and public health.

1957

January 10

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Setting Up a Group of Five People of the Central Committee in Charge of Economic Work." The Political Bureau decided that the group be composed of Chen Yun, Li Fuchun, Bo Yibo, Li Xiannian and Huang Kecheng, headed by Chen Yun, and exercise unified leadership over the country's economic work.

January 18-27

The CPC Central Committee called a meeting of secretaries of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees in Beijing. The central topics of the meeting were problems concerning ideological trends, the countryside and the economy. In his speeches made on

the 18th and the 25th, Mao Zedong analysed among other things the changes in the international and domestic situations over the past year and the ideological trends both inside and outside the Party, as well as the contradictions that had existed among the people and between classes after the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production had been basically completed. In his speech, Chen Yun summed up the experience and lessons in financial and economic work in 1956, emphasizing that "the scale of construction should correspond to national capability" and that "attention should be paid to studying the proportions among various sectors of the national economy," and that efforts should be made to strike a balance between the revenues and expenditures, between bank credits and loans, and between material supply and demand.

February 8

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee adopted the "Directive on Launching a Campaign to Increase Production and Practise Economy in 1957," in which it pointed out, "In order to ease up strains on material supply and financial outlay, and to facilitate steady progress in the economic front after a great advance in 1956 and to make necessary reorganization, it is imperative to make appropriate readjustment with regard to the scale and speed of construction in 1957 and to launch with greater efforts a mass campaign to increase production and practise economy throughout the country."

February 27

At the Eleventh Session (enlarged) of the Supreme State Conference Mao Zedong made an important speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Having made a comprehensive analysis of the contradictions in the socialist society, he pointed out that under the socialist system the fundamental interests of the people were identical but there still existed various kinds of contradictions among the people and it was necessary to strictly distinguish and correctly handle contradictions between the people and the enemy and contradictions within the ranks of the people. He advanced a series of correct principles and policies, such as the principle of "unity-criticism-unity" to be adhered to among the people on political issues, the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" with regard to relationship between the CPC and the democratic parties, the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in scientific and cultural work, and the policy of making overall arrangement for various urban and rural strata and "taking into consideration the interests of the state, collective and individual" in economic work. He also pointed out that the situation in China was: "The large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution have in

the main come to an end, but class struggle is by no means entirely over." The main task in the future was to correctly handle contradictions among the people in order to unite the people of all nationalities in the country for the new battle—the battle against nature, develop the economy and culture and build New China. The speech was published in the *People's Daily* on June 19, after certain additions were made.

March 6-13

The CPC Central Committee convened in Beijing the National Conference on Propaganda Work which was also attended by people outside the Party. At the conference, Mao Zedong's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" was relayed and discussed. On the 12th, Mao Zedong made a speech at the conference, in which he elaborated on the question of intellectuals, the question of making preparations for a rectification movement and the question of strengthening the Party's ideological work, stressing the need to continue to implement the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend."

April 10

The *People's Daily* carried an editorial entitled "Carry Out Further the Principle of 'Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend.'" It read in part, "There are still quite a few comrades within the Party who in fact do not agree with the principle of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.' Therefore, they have one-sidedly gathered some negative phenomena and exaggerated them in an attempt to prove this principle to be 'harmful' and thus 'advise' the Party to change its policy as quickly as possible." It pointed out that the article "Our Views on Literary and Art Work at Present" carried in this paper on January 7 was representative of this tendency. The editorial held that their approach was not Marxist but dogmatist, sectarianist, anti-Marxist, and stressed that the problem at present was not having opened too wide but not enough.

April 27

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Rectification Movement," deciding to conduct a Party-wide rectification movement with the correct handling of contradictions among the people as the main theme and the combating of bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism as the content. On May 2, the *People's Daily* published an editorial "Why the Rectification Movement?" It pointed out that after the socialist transformation was accomplished in the main, "contradictions among the people have assumed the dominant position on the arena of China's history in place of the contradictions between the people and

the enemy," that "methods of broadening democracy and extending criticism and self-criticism throughout the country should be employed to make it easier to discover and resolve the contradictions between the leaders and the masses, and to enable all the people to enjoy full freedom and equality and feel like masters of their own destiny in the socialist society, so that they may free themselves from the influence of the old society more easily and work harder to build a socialist economy and culture," and that "the aim of this rectification movement is to enable the entire Party membership to learn how to correctly handle contradictions among the people so as to fulfil the great task of developing socialist construction and building up a socialist country." Henceforth, the rectification movement was gradually unfolded throughout the Party. In response to the call of the CPC Central Committee, the masses and patriotic figures made a great number of valuable criticisms and suggestions to Party organizations at various levels and to cadres who were Party members. Meanwhile, a handful of bourgeois Rightists jumped at the chance and clamoured for "free and full airing of views," attacking Communist Party leadership and the socialist system.

May 15

Mao Zedong wrote an article "Things Are Beginning to Change" for Party cadres to read. He overestimated the attacks by a tiny number of Rightists, maintaining that among intellectuals outside the Party the Rightists made up for about one to ten percent and that some new members in the Party who were intellectuals acted in concert with the Right-wing intellectuals in society at large. He stressed the need to pay attention to criticizing revisionism. He also said that Rightists in the democratic parties and institutions of higher education had shown themselves to be most determined and most rabid and that they should be allowed to run amuck for a time and reach their climax.

May 15-25

The Third National Congress of the New Democratic Youth League of China was held in Beijing. At the congress it was decided to rename the New Democratic Youth League of China as the Chinese Communist Youth League and a new Constitution of the League was adopted. On the 25th, when receiving deputies to the congress, Mao Zedong discussed the attacks launched by the Rightists, saying, "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." He called on the youths to "unite and fight resolutely and courageously for the great cause of socialism," and he stressed, "Any word or deed at variance with socialism is completely wrong."

June 8

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Organizing Forces to Repulse the Rightists' Attacks." It requested various provincial and municipal organs, institutions of higher learning and Party newspapers at different levels to make preparations to repulse the attacks of the Rightists. It was stated in the directive, "This is a big battle (with the battleground both inside and outside the Party). If we don't win this battle, it will be impossible to attain socialism and there may even be some danger of a 'Hungarian Incident.'" On the same day, the *People's Daily* carried an editorial entitled "Why This?" in which it was pointed out that blackmailing letters had been sent to people who supported the CPC, that this was a "signal indicating that certain people, taking advantage of our Party's rectification movement, are waging a sharp class struggle," and that "therefore, we should examine all sorts of phenomena at present with the viewpoint of class struggle and draw up correct conclusions." Thereafter, a large-scale struggle against the Rightists was started throughout the country. Yes, it was necessary to repulse the attacks of a handful of Rightists, but it was not necessary to launch such a nationwide, large-scale mass movement for the purpose. In the course of the movement there occurred the grave mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle and as a result many revolutionary intellectuals, Party-member cadres and patriotic democrats outside the Party were unjustifiably labelled "Rightists" and suffered tragic consequences of the mistake.

June 26-July 15

The Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress was convened in Beijing. The participants listened to and discussed Zhou Enlai's "Report on the Work of the Government," Li Xiannian's "Report on the Final Accounts of the State Budget for 1956 and the Draft State Budget for 1957" and Bo Yibo's "Report on the Implementation of the National Economic Plan for 1956 and the Draft National Economic Plan for 1957," and approved the state budget for 1957 and the main targets set for the 1957 national economic plan. Since the session was held at a time when the anti-Rightist struggle entered its high tide, an anti-Rightist atmosphere prevailed in the reports and speeches and at group discussions.

July

The CPC Central Committee called a meeting of provincial and municipal Party committee secretaries in Qingdao. The central theme was struggle against the Rightists. In the course of the meeting, Mao Zedong wrote an article "The Situation in the Summer of 1957," in which he exaggerated the significance of the anti-Rightist struggle saying that "the contradiction between the people and the bourgeois Rightists ... is one between ourselves and the enemy, that is, an antagonistic,

irreconcilable, life-and-death contradiction." He went on, "Don't underestimate the significance of our current criticism of the bourgeois Rightists. This is a great socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts." At the same time, he was right to point out, "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." At the meeting, plans were made for the rectification movement and the anti-Rightist struggle.

August 8

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Conducting a Large-Scale Socialist Education Among the Entire Rural Population," requiring that a great debate be conducted in the rural areas on the question of the superiority of the cooperatives and other questions, with a view to effectively repudiating the capitalist ideas cherished by the well-to-do middle peasants and combating all forms of individualism and departmentalism that showed no consideration for the interests of the state and collective. On September 12, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Carrying Out Rectification and Socialist Education in the Enterprises," calling on the enterprises to organize their workers and other employees to discuss and debate on some major issues of right and wrong at a stage when the masses had spoken out freely, aired their views fully and carried out rectification and improvement. The debates unfolded in the countryside and the enterprises were in fact criticism and struggle against part of the worker and peasant masses, thus aggravating the mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle.

September 14

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Consolidating the Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives," the "Directive on Improving Production and Management of the Agricultural Cooperatives" and the "Directive on Implementing the Policy of Mutual Benefit Within the Agricultural Cooperatives." According to these directives, continued efforts were to be made to consolidate the cooperatives, with focus on rectifying the style of work of the cadres, reorganizing the cooperatives and production brigades and teams, making overall arrangement for the cooperative members' work and income and improving production management. In the directives it was pointed out that agricultural producers' cooperatives should practise "unified management and level-to-level administration," set up the production responsibility system for the collectives and individuals and popularize the system of contracting for labour, output and finances by the production teams and of awarding those teams that overfulfilled their production quotas. Practices whereby output quotas were fixed for each group or quotas for odd-jobs in the fields were fixed for each household could also be introduced in the light

of specific local conditions. At the same time, the CPC Central Committee called the Fourth National Conference on Rural Work to discuss the question of rectifying and consolidating agricultural cooperatives. Prior to this, some peasants had spontaneously introduced agricultural production responsibility system, fixing output quotas on a household basis, but it was soon criticized and prohibited.

September 20-October 9

The Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Beijing. The session listened to and discussed Deng Xiaoping's report on the rectification movement, Chen Yun's report on the improvement of the state's administrative structure and the increase of agricultural production and Zhou Enlai's report on labour and wages as well as on labour protection and welfare, and approved in principle the National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-67) (Revised Draft) and a few other relevant regulations (draft). The session mainly discussed questions concerning the policies and arrangement for the rectification movement and the anti-Rightist struggle. At the beginning, Mao Zedong stressed the need to restore the formula worked out at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party so far as the principal contradiction in society was concerned. This caused much controversy at group discussions, but quite a number of comrades still upheld the correct views on the question reached at the Party's Eighth Congress. In his final speech at the session, Mao Zedong asserted that "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is undoubtedly the principal contradiction in our society today," thus he altered the basic assessment made at the Party's Eighth Congress that after basic accomplishment of socialist transformation the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road, had in the main been resolved. He also criticized the correct principle adopted by the Party Central Committee in 1956 for correcting the tendency of rash advance. In this way, he deviated from the correct line of the Party's Eighth Congress and made it possible for "Left" errors to become more serious.

October 15

An inauguration ceremony was held for the completion two years ahead of schedule of the colossal project—the Yangtse Bridge at Wuhan.

November 2-21

Mao Zedong led the Chinese delegation to visit the Soviet Union and attend the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution. During its stay in the Soviet Union, the delegation also participated in the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of

the Socialist Countries and the Meeting of Sixty-four Communist and Workers' Parties and signed on the declarations of the two meetings. During the meetings, Mao Zedong advanced the view that China would catch up with and surpass Great Britain within 15 years in the output of the major industrial products such as iron and steel. On December 2 the same year, in his message of greetings to the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Trade Unions, Liu Shaoqi announced the slogan of catching up with and surpassing Britain within 15 years.

November 13

The *People's Daily* issued an editorial "Arouse All the People to Discuss the 40-Article Programme and Start a New Upsurge in Agricultural Production." It called on people to repudiate Right conservative ideas and "make a great leap forward on the production front." This was the first time that the slogan of "great leap forward" was raised.

December 16

At the First National Conference of Handicraft Cooperatives convened by the All-China Federation of Handicraft Cooperatives, Zhu De delivered a speech "Develop Handicraft Production to Meet the People's Needs," in which he pointed out, "The handicraft industry has been an indispensable auxiliary to our state-owned industries and will remain so for a long time to come." "The state organs at various levels should see to it that handicraft cooperatives remain under collective ownership for a long time to come." "They must not turn them into state-owned enterprises" with the exception of a few special cases.

By the end of December, the First Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development had been overfulfilled. Total industrial output value in 1957 increased by 129 percent over 1952, total agricultural output value increased by 25 percent, total volume of national income increased by 53 percent and the average consumption level of the urban and rural residents throughout the country raised by 23 percent. The great achievements scored in the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan showed the superiority of the socialist system.

1958

January 11-22

The CPC Central Committee called a working conference in Nanning attended by some central leaders and secretaries of some provincial and municipal Party committees to discuss the national economic plan and state budget for 1958. Before and after the conference, Mao Zedong prepared the "Sixty Points for Methods of Work (Draft)" by concentrating the views expressed by many of the central and local leaders. In this

document he stressed the idea of "uninterrupted revolution" and proposed to "shift the focus of the Party's work to technological revolution." At the conference, he criticized once again the action taken against rash advance in 1956, saying that it disheartened the 600 million people and was a mistake in principle. As a consequence, the "Left" idea within the Party of seeking for quick results soon cropped up and some local authorities and departments came forward with impractical plans for "great leap forward."

March 3

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Launching a Campaign Against Waste and Conservatism," stressing the need to "expose and criticize waste and conservatism and the harms they have done" by employing the forms of speaking out freely, airing views fully, conducting big debates and holding on-the-spot meetings, and exhibitions. It added that it was a "campaign to make a great leap forward in production and in culture" and that by firmly grasping the campaign, "we shall be able to overfulfil the original plan by a double digit percent increase or even several folds with the same number of people and the same amount of financial and material resources."

March 8-26

The CPC Central Committee convened in Chengdu a working conference attended by leading members of the central departments concerned and first secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees. The participants discussed and adopted 37 documents, including "Opinions on an Alternative Plan and Budget for 1958," "Opinions on the Development of Local Industries" and "Opinions on Appropriately Merging Small Agricultural Cooperatives into Big Ones." Mao Zedong made several speeches at the conference in which he continued to criticize the action against rash advance, saying that rash advance was "Marxist" while the action against rash advance was "non-Marxist." He added that the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results" in building socialism had basically taken shape. He held that there still existed in China two exploiting classes (one being the remaining forces of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism and the bourgeois Rightists and the other being the national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals) and two labouring classes (the workers and the peasants), and that there were two types of personality cult—a wrong one and a "correct" one.

April

People of Beijing University began to criticize their president Ma Yinchu. Earlier, on July 5, 1957, the *People's Daily* had carried Ma

Yinchu's article "The New Principle of Population" which he wrote on the basis of his speech at the Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress. He called for attention to birth control to check population growth. Wrong criticism of Ma Yinchu's theory and all his academic ideas and political viewpoints was started on the campus in April in the forms of big-character posters and debates. For more than a year thereafter, other institutions of higher learning and the newspapers and periodicals also published a host of articles criticizing Ma Yinchu by name. In December 1959, Ma published in *New Construction* an article entitled "Reiterating My Request," expressing his determination to uphold truth and "never to yield to those critics who are specialized in forcing people to submit but do not know how to convince people by reasoning." At this point, Kang Sheng stated positively that the problem with Ma Yinchu was no longer an academic one; it had become a political question involving a Rightist attack against the Party. He gave the order to "criticize Ma Yinchu the way we criticized the imperialist Acheson." As a consequence, the criticism on Ma Yinchu escalated. Finally in 1960, Ma was dismissed from his post as president of Beijing University.

May 5-23

The Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC was convened in Beijing. The session formally adopted the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in socialist construction" advanced by Mao Zedong and its basic points. The aim of this general line was to change China's backward economic and cultural conditions as quickly as possible, in disregard of the objective laws governing economic development. Moreover, the session also formally altered, in accordance with Mao Zedong's suggestions, the correct analysis (which had been made at the First Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee) that the principal contradiction at home had changed and maintained that the principal contradiction in Chinese society today was still the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road, thus affirming Mao Zedong's "Left" theory on the question of class struggle in socialist society. At the session, deputies from Zhejiang, Gansu, Anhui, Yunnan, Guangxi, Qinghai, Hebei, Guangdong, Xinjiang, Henan and Shandong provinces or autonomous regions reported on the struggle waged during the rectification movement by their local Party organizations against "Rightists," "localists," "nationalists" and "Right opportunists" in the Party. Principal leading cadres of many places were declared members of "Rightist cliques," "Right deviationist cliques" or "anti-Party cliques." This was a glaring manifestation of the error of enlarging the scope of class struggle within the Party. The session called on the entire Party membership and people

throughout the country to conscientiously implement the general line for socialist construction and to catch up with and surpass Britain in the output of major industrial products within 15 years or in an even shorter period of time. Mao Zedong spoke at the session, stressing the need to do away with blind faith, emancipate the mind and display the creative spirit of daring to think, speak and act. After the session, an upsurge of "great leap forward" quickly swept all fields of endeavour.

May 25

At the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC Lin Biao was elected additional vice-chairman of the Central Committee and Standing Committee member of its Political Bureau, Ke Qingshi, Li Jingquan and Tan Zhenlin additional members of the Political Bureau; and Li Fuchun and Li Xiannian additional members of the Secretariat. It was decided that the Central Committee publish a fortnightly theoretical journal, the *Red Flag*.

May 27-July 22

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting to discuss the current situation, national defence work and principle for army building in the future. At the meeting Liu Bocheng and some other comrades in charge of military training and military schools were wrongly criticized and certain shortcomings made in military training and education in the military schools since the founding of the People's Republic were exaggerated and dismissed as systematic dogmatist errors, "a bourgeois military line opposed to the Party's military line" and "a reflection in the army of the struggle between the two classes." This erroneous struggle against dogmatism caused adverse results to the regularization and modernization of the PLA.

May 30

In his speech at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Liu Shaoqi suggested that there should be a double-track system for education and work in the country, namely, "for education, one is the existing full-time schooling system and the other is the part-work and part-study system; and for work, one is the eight-hour-day system and the other the four-hour-day system."

June 1

The first issue of the *Red Flag* carried Mao Zedong's article "Introducing a Cooperative" written on April 15. In the article he maintained that "it will probably take less time than previously estimated for our industry and agriculture to catch up with that of the capitalist powers." Making a one-sided explanation of China's poverty and backwardness and denying the difficulties they caused to China's socialist construction,

he wrote, "The outstanding thing about China's 600 million people is that they are 'poor and blank.' This may seem a bad thing, but in reality it is a good thing. Poverty gives rise to the desire for change, the desire for action and the desire for revolution. On a blank sheet of paper free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful characters can be written, the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted."

On the same day the CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Strengthening the Work of Coordination Regions," according to which the whole country was divided into seven coordination regions, namely, the Northeast, North China, East China, South China, Central China, the Southwest and Northwest. In every region a committee was set up as its leading body. Each of the regions was inappropriately required to "set up a large-scale network of key industries and economic centres and make itself an economic region with a fairly integrated industrial system as soon as possible, in the light of its own resources and other conditions and in line with the unified planning of the state."

June 2

The CPC Central Committee issued "Regulations Concerning the Transfer of the Enterprises, Public Institutions and Technical Forces to Lower Levels." The transfer was supposed to be "completed without exception by June 15." By June 25, 80 percent of the enterprises and institutions under the central industrial departments had been put under the management of local authorities. In the chaotic conditions of the "great leap forward," the excessive and hasty relegation of power to lower levels led to the growth of decentralist tendency and caused great waste.

June 10

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on the Establishment of the Groups in Charge of Financial and Economic Work, Politics and Law, Foreign Affairs, Science, and Culture and Education." The circular pointed out that these groups were set-ups of the Party Central Committee and were directly affiliated to the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee. The heads of the groups were: Chen Yun, Financial and Economic Work Group; Peng Zhen, Politics and Law Group; Chen Yi, Foreign Affairs Group; Nie Rongzhen, Science Group; and Lu Dingyi, Culture and Education Group.

June 19

The East China region convened a meeting for agricultural coordination. The participants unrealistically proposed to raise within two years per-capita grain output from 500 kg to 750 kg (note: the national per-capita grain output for 1958 was set at 200.3 kg), and held that "it is entirely possible to increase per-capita grain output to 1,000 kg in three to five years." In July, agricultural coordination meetings held in the

Northwest, North China and Southwest regions also worked out targets to be achieved in the "great leap forward" in agriculture. The Northwest region even planned to break the 1,500 kg mark in terms of per-capita grain output in 1962. As a result of all this, the practice of setting high targets, boasting and exaggerating and giving arbitrary and impracticable directions in agriculture spread quickly.

June 22

Mao Zedong approved the distribution of the "Report on the Plan of Steel Output," which was prepared by the Party leadership group of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. According to the report, the East China region had planned to increase its production capacity of steel to 8 million tons in 1959. Other coordination regions also held meetings to make plans for metallurgical industry and work out targets for 1959 and the Second Five-Year Plan. Judging from the meetings of the various coordination regions, "steel output in the next year (1959) may surpass 30 million tons and in 1962 it may increase to over 80 or 90 million tons." With the transmission of this report, the practice of setting excessive targets and boasting and exaggerating became rampant with each passing day.

July 31-August 3

N. Khrushchov, first secretary of the CPSU, visited China and discussed with Mao Zedong and other leaders of the CPC the international situation, Sino-Soviet relations and other issues. During the talks, the Chinese side sternly rejected the proposals to set up a joint fleet and establish a long-wave radio station put forward by the Soviet side not long ago in an attempt to encroach upon China's sovereignty, which made Khrushchov feel bitterly upset.

Early August

Mao Zedong made an inspection tour of some rural areas in Hebei, Henan and Shandong provinces. On the 9th, when talking with local leading members in Shandong on the question of setting up big cooperatives, he said, "The people's communes are good. Their advantage lies in that they can combine industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs, making it easier to exercise leadership." Following the publication of these remarks in the newspapers, an upsurge of merging townships and cooperatives to form communes occurred in some areas.

August 17-30

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting at Beidaihe, Hebei, to discuss the national economic plan for 1959 and such questions as industrial production, agricultural production, rural work and commercial work. The meeting fixed a number of high targets for industrial and agricultural production and announced

that steel output in 1958 would reach 10.7 million tons, doubling that of the previous year. The meeting also discussed and adopted the "Resolution on Setting Up People's Communes in the Rural Areas," in which it was decided to set up people's communes in all the rural areas of the country. It pointed out that "the people's commune is the best organizational form for the building of socialism and the gradual transition to communism" and that "the realization of communism in China is no longer something in the distant future." After the meeting, an upsurge occurred in the nationwide movement to make steel and to set up people's communes. In the course of the movement, "Left" errors characterized by excessive targets, issuing of arbitrary directions, boasting and exaggerating and stirring up of a "communist wind" spread unchecked throughout the country.

August 23

PLA units at the front in Fujian started to shell, as a warning, the KMT troops that occupied Jinmen and Mazu islands and incessantly harassed the coastal areas of the mainland.

August 29

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Carrying Out the Socialist and Communist Education Movement Throughout the Countryside in This Winter and Next Spring." In the directive it was mistakenly stressed, "In this movement, it is imperative to fully apply the communist approach of 'hauling down the White flag and hoisting the Red flag'"; "to haul down all 'White flags' or 'Grey flags' and hoist Red flags everywhere"; to repudiate "the remaining spontaneous capitalist tendency found among a section of the well-to-do peasants"; and to eradicate all Right conservative ideas; so that "people taking a wait-and-see attitude" and "people biding their time to take revenge" would meet complete defeat ideologically and the general line for socialist construction would take deeper roots in the hearts of the people.

September 13-20

The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee held a forum on literary and art creation. The participants maintained that "it is necessary to mobilize the masses in both literary creation and criticism and to rely on the entire Party membership and the people in literary and artistic work." They expressed that they would work hard to bring about a "great leap forward" and launch "satellites" in the fields of literature, cinema, theatre, music, fine arts and theoretical study, as in the production of 10.7 million tons of steel. In October, at the National Conference on Cultural Administration it was unrealistically suggested that in mobilizing the masses to take part in cultural activities the aim to be achieved should be: each and every person could read books, write

poems, have films to watch, sing songs, paint pictures, dance, perform on the stage and engage in writing.

September 19

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Directive Concerning Education Work." The directive stated, "The Party's policy of education means that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour." It unrealistically demanded that every coordination region should set up a complete education system and that "every province, municipality and autonomous region should gradually set up a fairly complete education system of the same type and every prefecture and county should follow suit." Besides, it added that "illiteracy should basically be wiped out and primary school education be made universal throughout the country within three to five years" and that "we shall spend about 15 years making higher education universal and another 15 years raising the standard."

November 2-10

Mao Zedong called in Zhengzhou a working conference (also known as the First Zhengzhou Meeting) attended by part of the central leaders, leading members of greater administrative areas and secretaries of provincial and municipal Party committees. Prior to the meeting, he had already discovered lots of confused ideas on the question of the people's communes during his inspection tour in some rural areas in Hebei, Henan and other provinces and started to correct some of the mistakes already realized. At this meeting, while fully affirming the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune movement, he stressed the need to make a clear distinction between collective ownership and ownership by the whole people, and between socialism and communism. He criticized the erroneous views held by Chen Boda and others who advocated abolishing commodity production and practising allocation of products at the present stage, and he pointed out that in essence they wanted to expropriate the peasants. He added that during the socialist period, abolition of commodity was against the economic laws, that people should not avoid useful economic laws such as the law of commodity and the law of value but, on the contrary, they should use them to serve socialism. In China where commodity production was very much undeveloped, the question was not to eliminate it but to develop it vigorously. The meeting decided to implement the principle of combining work with adequate rest and paying attention to both production and welfare. In the course of the meeting, Mao Zedong wrote a letter to members of Party committees at and above the county level under the title "A Proposal on Reading Books," advising them to conscientiously read *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* by J. V. Stalin and *Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on Communist Society* and saying, "Lots

of confused ideas exist in the minds of many people and these two books may help them clarify those ideas."

November 28-December 10

The Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Wuchang. The participants discussed and adopted the "Resolution on Some Problems Concerning the People's Communes." It pointed out that no groundless announcement should be made that the rural people's communes would "immediately practise the system of ownership by the whole people" or even "immediately enter communism," because "it will drastically lower the standard of communism in the eyes of the people, distort and vulgarize the lofty ideal of communism and encourage the tendency of petty-bourgeois egalitarianism." It was emphasized that in the ensuing historic period, the people's communes should continue to apply the system of distribution according to work and greatly develop commodity production and exchange. The session stressed the need of both boundless enthusiasm and scientific analysis and began to cut back the excessive targets for industrial production in 1959 set at the Beidaihe Meeting in August. The session also accepted Mao Zedong's proposal that he would not serve for the next term as chairman of the People's Republic of China.

December 20

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Decision on Improving Rural Financial and Trade Management System to Suit the Conditions of the People's Communes." According to the decision, "With regard to the rural financial and trade system, we should introduce the methods of 'two transfers, three unifications and one contract,' in line with the principle of unified leadership and level-to-level administration." "Here two transfers mean transfer of personnel and assets to units at lower levels. Three unifications mean unified policy, unified planning and unified management of circulating funds. And one contract means contracting of responsibility for the fulfilment of financial tasks." In practice, none of the methods worked out successfully, resulting instead in scattering of funds and materials and utter confusion in commodity flow and management in the countryside.

1959

February 27-March 5

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened in Zhengzhou an enlarged meeting (also known as the Second Zhengzhou Meeting). The main theme of the meeting was the question of the people's communes. Mao Zedong pointed out, "We have gone a little too far in our effort to improve the relations of production, that is, owner-

ship of the commune," hence the tension in our relationship with the peasants. He added that it was essential to correct "the tendency of egalitarianism and over-centralization" and stressed that nobody should be allowed to "appropriate other people's fruit of work." He said that the law of value was an economic law that existed objectively and that products could only be exchanged at equal value, but not obtained without compensation. In matters of distribution the communes were required to recognize the rational difference in income between production brigades or teams and between individual members of the commune, and in structure, they should relegate power to the lower levels to introduce the three-level system of management and the three-level accounting system with the production team as the basic accounting unit (more or less the size of a former advanced agricultural producers' cooperative, it was called production team in some areas and production brigade or management district in others). It was decided that old scores were not to be settled when straightening out problems of "the communist wind." The session distributed the "Minutes of the Zhengzhou Meeting." On March 30, Mao Zedong pointed out in a comment that old accounts must still be settled, because "only by settling accounts is it possible to put into effect that law of value that exists objectively. This law of value is like a great school, and only by making use of it, can our cadres in their tens of millions and our people in their hundreds of millions acquire some knowledge as to how to build up our socialism and communism. Otherwise, nothing can be accomplished."

March 10

The local government and the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet staged an armed rebellion in Lhasa in an attempt to achieve what they called "independence of Tibet" by collaborating with imperialists and foreign interventionists. With the active support of the local patriotic priests and laymen, the PLA troops stationed in Tibet swiftly crushed the rebellion, safeguarding unification of the motherland and unity of the various nationalities of China.

April 2-5

The Seventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Shanghai, at which the work for consolidating the people's communes was examined and the "Eighteen Questions Concerning the People's Communes" (namely, the Summary of the Shanghai Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee) was adopted. According to the summary, "production teams should own part of the means of production and exercise certain powers of management" and all "old accounts" should be settled and compensations be paid. The session also adopted the "Draft National Economic Plan for 1959" and the "Plan Concerning the Organs of the State and the Size of Their

Personnel." Mao Zedong made a speech on methods of work, stressing that power should be concentrated in the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee under his supreme command and urging people to learn from the "spirit of Hai Rui."*

April 18-28

The First Session of the Second National People's Congress was convened in Beijing. At the session Liu Shaoqi was elected chairman of the People's Republic of China, Soong Ching Ling and Dong Biwu vice-chairmen, and Zhu De chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and it was decided that Zhou Enlai continue to serve as premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. The session examined and approved the national economic plan for 1959 worked out by the State Council in the light of the proposal of the CPC Central Committee. The plan set the output of steel at 18 million tons and that of grain at 525 million tons. The session also adopted the "Resolution on the Question of Tibet" and the "Resolution on the Dissolution of the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Supervision." Meanwhile, the First Plenary Session of the Third National Committee of the CPPCC was held in Beijing. Mao Zedong was elected honorary chairman and Zhou Enlai chairman of National Committee.

April 29

In view of the impractical style of work in agricultural production, Mao Zedong wrote an article for *Inner-Party Correspondence* addressing cadres at the provincial, prefectural, county, commune, production brigade and production team levels on the six questions of fixing output quotas, close planting, economizing on the use of grain, extending sown area, mechanization and speaking the truth. On the question of speaking

* Hai Rui (1514-87), of the Hui nationality, was a native of Qiongsan County, Guangdong Province during the Ming Dynasty. He served as magistrate of Chun'an County, section chief in the Ministry of Revenue and military governor in Yingtian. He was upright and outspoken, sympathetic to the people and concerned about their weal and woe. Being an honest official, he reversed unjust verdicts, strongly advocated severe punishment of corruption, forced despotic landlords to return to the peasants the land they had seized, and lightened the peasants' burden of taxes and corvée. He was most famous for his boldness to state his views criticizing the emperor to his face, at the risk of his life, for which he was dismissed from office, arrested and thrown into jail. Hai Rui was renowned as an honest official in Chinese history. When Mao Zedong became aware of the bad tendency of not daring to speak the truth, he praised Hai Rui's boldness to speak the truth and encouraged people to learn from Hai Rui and be upright and outspoken.

the truth, he wrote, "When fixing output quotas, say the amount you can fulfil, and say the exact amount you have harvested." "No lies should be told about the measures for increasing production and implementing the eight-character charter for agriculture."* "Those who are fond of telling lies would bring harm to both the people and themselves." He added, "A great number of lies were told owing to pressure from above. The subordinate would be placed in a difficult position if the superior were boastful, imposed pressure on the subordinate and gave high promises."

June 13

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Urgent Directive on Readjusting the Plan for Allocation of Key Materials and for Capital Construction in 1959." According to the directive the planned quotas for the output of steel and other products were lowered, with the quota for steel output reduced to 13 million tons. Earlier in March and April, after the Shanghai Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Mao Zedong had maintained that the quota for steel output was still too high and asked Chen Yun to take measures for readjustment. At the end of April, the Secretariat of the Central Committee had instructed the Central Financial and Economic Group to study and work out a feasible quota for steel production. After systematic and careful investigation and study, Chen Yun had suggested in May that the quota should be cut back to 13 million tons, which was accepted by the Central Committee.

June 29-July 2

When talking with directors of the coordination regions at Lushan, Mao Zedong pointed out, "One of the major lessons in the 'great leap forward' is the failure to achieve an overall balance; this is a fundamental problem in economic work. Only when balance is achieved among farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sidelines and fishery in agriculture, among different sectors and links in industry, and between industry and agriculture, is it possible to attain proportionate development of the different sectors of the national economy." He also proposed for the first time to arrange the national economic plan in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. He said that Chen Yun's view about "putting market before capital construction" was correct, adding that good arrangement for people's clothing, food, housing, daily necessities and transport was a matter that had a vital bearing on stability among the 650 million people. With regard to the system of management, he said: In the past, too much power in the "four fields" (personnel, finance, commerce and industry) was relegated to the lower levels and too fast,

*The eight-character charter for agriculture is: water conservancy, fertilizer, soil improvement, good seed strains, rational close planting, prevention of insect pests and plant diseases, improvement of farm implements and field management.

which resulted in chaos, in semi-anarchism. Now it was necessary to emphasize unified leadership and centralism and to recover some of the powers relegated and return them to the central and provincial and municipal authorities.

July 2-August 16

An enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Lushan (July 2-August 1) and then the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee (August 2-16). The first few days were spent summing up experience and continuing to correct mistakes. On July 14, Peng Dehuai sent a letter to Mao Zedong, expressing his sincere views on the "Left" errors made since 1958 and the experience and lessons to be learned from them. But on July 23, Mao Zedong criticized it as "bourgeois vacillation" and a question of "Right opportunism." Acting upon his view, the participants began to criticize the mistakes of Peng Dehuai and others. And at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee further struggle was waged against the "Peng Dehuai—Huang Kecheng—Zhang Wentian—Zhou Xiaozhou anti-Party clique," accusing them of deliberately opposing the general line, the CPC Central Committee and Chairman Mao in a planned and organized way. On August 7, the "Directive of the Central Committee of the CPC on Opposing Right deviationist Thinking" was issued, which asserted that Right deviation had become the main danger in work. The session adopted the resolution "Safeguarding the Party's General Line and Opposing Right Opportunism" and the "Resolution on the Errors of the Anti-Party Clique Headed by Peng Dehuai." On August 16, in his commentary notes Mao Zedong wrongly concluded, "The struggle at Lushan is a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in the course of the past ten years' socialist revolution." The session also examined the implementation of the national economic plan for 1959 and adopted the "Resolution on Launching a Campaign to Increase Production and Practise Economy," demanding to set off a "new upsurge in production" to overfulfil the targets while reducing the output targets for steel, coal, grain and cotton. Soon after the Lushan Meeting, an anti-Right-deviationist struggle was carried out Party-wide, which politically caused serious damage to the democratic life in the Party from the Central Committee to the primary units and economically aggravated and prolonged the "Left" errors.

September 17

Chairman of the People's Republic of China issued an order: In accordance with the decision of the Ninth Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress, I hereby appoint Lin Biao to serve concurrently as minister of National Defence and

dismiss Peng Dehuai from his post as minister of National Defence and Huang Kecheng as chief of general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. So, Lin Biao took charge of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee.

End of September

Oil was discovered at Daqing, thus exploding the theory that "China is poor in oil" which had long been held by people in the geological circle. This was a major victory in petro-geological work. Under extremely difficult conditions in 1960, the government mustered a great number of people and material resources to develop the Daqing Oilfield, embarking on the road of developing the petroleum industry independently and self-reliantly.

October 15

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Report on the Rural Situation Since the Lushan Meeting" prepared by the Party leadership group of the Ministry of Agriculture. It was stated in the report, "In May, June and July this year, there appeared in the rural areas an evil trend of Right deviation introducing the 'system of ownership based on the production team,' of 'fixing output quotas on a household basis,' of vigorously developing private sideline occupations to the detriment of the collective economy by exploiting 'small-scale private ownership' and 'personal freedoms,' doing away with part of the supply system and dissolving the community canteens, etc." When transmitting the report the Central Committee pointed out in its comment that this was in fact "an anti-socialist treacherous current" and that various localities must thoroughly "expose and criticize" such "reactionary and ugly rubbish." At the same time, it demanded for a vigorous mass campaign to overfulfil the production targets so as to keep on the great leap forward in agriculture under circumstances of extraordinarily serious drought, flooding and insect pests.

December 8

The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee called the National Conference on Cultural Work. The conference maintained that revisionist and bourgeois ideas remained the main danger in literature and art, as was manifested chiefly in the fact that the theory of classes was opposed by the theory of human nature and revolutionary struggle by humanitarianism, and it called attention to the so-called negative effect of the 19th-century European bourgeois literature and art at present. The conference also wrongly decided that a campaign be started to thoroughly criticize bourgeois literature and art and repudiate revisionism and the 19th-century European literature.

1960**January 7-17**

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting in Shanghai, at which it decided on the national economic plan for 1960 and discussed plans for the next three and eight years. Due to overestimation of the so-called excellent situation in the wake of the struggle against Right deviation the meeting once again set excessive targets for the output of steel and grain for the year, the former at 18.4 million tons and the latter 300 million tons, and unrealistically planned to accomplish the transition of ownership in the people's communes from ownership basically by the production team to that by the commune within eight years. After the meeting, in response to the call of the Party Central Committee and in order to continue the "great leap forward" and create conditions for the transition, provinces went all out to set up county- and commune-run industries, build water conservancy projects, establish pig farms and so forth, resulting in an even more wanton "communist wind" than in 1958.

January 30

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Resolution of the Taiyuan Municipal Party Committee on Launching a Movement of Technological Renovation and Revolution Centred on Mechanization and Semi-Mechanization." In its comment on the resolution the Central Committee pointed out that enterprises of all types should carry out technological renovation and revolution and make efforts to attain semi-mechanization or mechanization—this was a task of great political and economic significance and "an extremely important measure for continued great leap forward in industry and transport. It is hoped that Party committees of medium-sized and large cities will give first place to the task and immediately set off a mass movement of technological renovation and revolution centred on mechanization and semi-mechanization."

March 6

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report of the Guizhou Provincial Party Committee on Current Conditions of the Rural Community Canteens." The Party committee erroneously maintained, "The community canteens are also a socialist position which we must defend tenaciously. If this position is lost, the people's communes will not be consolidated, and the great leap forward will not be guaranteed." In its comment on the report the Central Committee stated, "Guizhou's report on the canteens is a scientific summary which will enable us to make a big stride forward in the course of transition from socialism to communism in five to ten years. Therefore, people through-

out the country should follow Guizhou's example." On March 18, it pointed out again, "It would be fine if we can get 80 percent of the rural population of the country to have meals in the canteens. It would be even better if over 90 percent of the people are persuaded to do so," as was the case in some provinces and cities. On December 2, the CPC Central Committee, when approving and transmitting a report, attached to it an inappropriate comment again, "the canteen is the focus of the sharp class struggle in the rural areas," and Party committees in different localities were asked to "regard success in arranging people's daily lives and in running the canteens as an issue of class struggle."

March 9

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Question of Urban People's Communes," demanding that all local authorities should be enthusiastic about establishing urban people's communes and that "experiments should be conducted in selected places of all the cities throughout the country in the first half of the year," and "the achievements scored in the experiments should be spread wide in the latter half of the year." It also required that in all cities, except Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Wuhan and Guangzhou, the signboards of the communes should be hung up so as to give the cities an entirely new look and enhance people's morale." In the following months, many cities announced the establishment of people's communes, which existed only in name.

March 22

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report of the Anshan Municipal Party Committee on the Movement of Technological Renovation and Revolution on the Industrial Front," in which the experience in extensively carrying out technological renovation and revolution was summed up. Mao Zedong wrote a comment on behalf of the Central Committee: The Anshan Iron and Steel Company was the biggest enterprise in the country. "In the past, they thought that the enterprise had already been modernized so there was no need for technological revolution, and furthermore, they were against mass movement, the principle of 'two participations, one reform and three-in-one combination'* and the policy of putting politics in command. They trusted only a small number of people working on their own. Many of them stood for the system of factory director assuming overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee, and they held that

*The two participations refer to the system of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, one reform refers to reforming irrational rules and regulations, and the three-in-one combination refers to cooperation among cadres, technicians and workers.

'the Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union' (a set of authoritative methods applied in a big Soviet iron and steel company) was sacred and inviolable." Now in this report "there is nothing like the stuff contained in the Charter of Magnitogorsk; it is a creation—the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company. This charter is produced in the Far East, in China." The authorities of medium-sized and large enterprises and all big cities were urged to regard it as a document for study and to provide leadership in "the great Marxist-Leninist movement for economic and technological revolution in town and country."

April 22

To commemorate Lenin's 90th birthday, three articles were published—"Long Live Leninism" by the Editorial Department of the *Red Flag*, "Forward Along the Path of Great Lenin" by the Editorial Department of the *People's Daily*, and "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner" by Lu Dingyi, director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee. In these articles the question of criticizing "modern revisionism" by holding high Lenin's revolutionary banner was raised.

May 28

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Urgent Directive on Allocating and Shipping Grain," pointing out, "In the past two months, the amount of grain sent to Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and Liaoning Province is inadequate and grain is almost out of stock there. Unless more grain was shipped to these places immediately, the situation would deteriorate." In order to ease the increasing strain on the market, the CPC Central Committee, in addition to issuing a number of directives calling for urgent shipment of grain to assist the most difficult areas, took many emergency measures to reduce the average ration of cloth for civilian use, to cut back the ration of grain and edible oil in town and country, to gather and produce food substitutes, and so on.

May 30

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on the Alternative Plan for Industrial Production, Communications and Transport and Capital Construction" submitted by the Party leadership group of the State Planning, Economic and Capital Construction Commissions. The targets set in the alternative plan were much higher than the ones in the original one which had just been approved. The Central Committee pointed out that this was "a plan whose fulfilment and overfulfilment are guaranteed" and that every department and locality should take this as the standard and set about implementing it immediately. It also demanded that leading cadres at all levels should go right to the front line of production and "concentrate efforts on developing

coal, iron, mining and transportation so as to guarantee the production of steel and bring along others, striving to make this year's steel output reach 21 to 22 million tons."

June 14-18

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Shanghai. The participants mainly discussed the international situation and a supplementary plan for the last three years (1960-62) of the Second Five-Year Plan. Mao Zedong delivered a speech entitled "The Summing-up of the Past Ten Years." He said: In the targets for the last three years set at the meeting "there still lurks a great danger, that is, the people concerned are still not aware of the need to make allowance for unforeseen circumstances and refrain from taking all possibilities for granted." He stressed, "We have already accumulated ten years' experience in our socialist revolution and construction.... But we still suffer acutely from blindness in the revolution and construction during the socialist period and there is still vast realm of necessity for us to explore. We must investigate into it, study and find out its intrinsic laws in the second decade so as to make use of them in socialist revolution and construction."

June 24-26

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties from the socialist countries held talks in Bucharest. The delegation of the CPC led by Peng Zhen attended the talks. On the eve of the talks, the delegation of the CPSU suddenly distributed among the representatives the June 21 Notification of the CPSU to the CPC Central Committee and started an all-out attack on the CPC. During the meeting, Khrushchov took the lead in launching a converging attack on the Chinese Communist Party. The CPC delegation, acting in accordance with the policy formulated by its Central Committee of abiding by principles and upholding unity, conducted a serious struggle against them. On July 16, the Soviet Government sent a note to the Chinese Government, unilaterally deciding to withdraw all Soviet experts working in China, tear up several hundred agreements and contracts and stop the supply of key equipment. This perfidious act of the Soviet Union aggravated China's economic difficulties.

July 5-August 10

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beidaihe to study and discuss international issues and domestic economic readjustment. The conference approved the "Chief Measures for Industrial Production and Transport in the Third Quarter of 1960" suggested by Li Fuchun and Bo Yibo, formulated the "Directive on Mobilizing the Entire Party Membership to Go in for Agriculture and Grain Produc-

tion," the "Directive on Launching a Campaign to Increase Production and Practise Economy Centring on Guaranteeing the Production of Grain and Steel" and adopted policies of curtailing capital construction to ensure industrial production such as iron and steel, and of reorganizing the labour force and strengthening the front line of agriculture to ensure agricultural production. Besides, the meeting also decided to abandon the practice of making alternative plans and building projects outside the plan, so as to leave no open ends to tighten up. On September 30, the Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on Control Figures for the 1961 National Economic Plan" which had been submitted by the Party leadership group of the State Planning Commission and examined and approved by Zhou Enlai. The report put forward for the first time the eight-character principle of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards."

September

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee decided to set up six Central Bureaus and shortly afterwards decided on the following appointments: Tao Zhu as first secretary of the Central South Bureau; Song Renqiong of the Northeast Bureau; Li Jingquan of the Southwest Bureau; Liu Lantao of the Northwest Bureau; Li Xuefeng of the North China Bureau; and Ke Qingshi of the East China Bureau.

September 14-October 24

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee called an enlarged meeting in Beijing. According to Lin Biao's proposal, the participants concentrated on discussing ways of improving political and ideological work. Lin Biao created personality cult and distorted political and ideological work, saying at the meeting, "Present-day Marxism-Leninism is none other than the thought of our Chairman Mao. It represents the peak in the world today, the ideological zenith of our age." "These political ideas of ours boil down to class ideology, the thought of class struggle. Chairman Mao's thought is the thought of class struggle, the ideology with which the proletariat strives for emancipation." The meeting adopted the "Resolution on Improving Political and Ideological Work in the Army." The CPC Central Committee approved the resolution on December 21 and pointed out, "This resolution is not only the guideline for army building and the army's political and ideological work, its basic principles are also useful for Party organizations and government departments at all levels as well as for schools and enterprises." At the meeting Tan Zheng, director of the General Political Department, was erroneously criticized.

September 30

The fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* was pub-

lished. Included in this volume were Mao Zedong's important works written during the period from 1945 after the surrender of Japan to 1949 before the founding of the People's Republic of China, or the period of the national War of Liberation.

November 3

The CPC Central Committee issued an "Urgent Directive Letter on Current Policies for Rural People's Communes" (the "Twelve Articles" for short). According to the letter, rural people's communes were to apply the three-level system of ownership with ownership by the production team as the basic unit (the team is about the same as the former advanced agricultural producers' cooperative), which would remain unchanged for at least seven years; the error of "egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources" should be thoroughly rectified; commune members should be allowed to cultivate a small piece of private plot and engage in household sidelines; labour force should be used sparingly in every field of work to reinforce the front line of agricultural production; work should be alternated with rest; and incorrect style of work should be rectified and people's communes consolidated. The "Twelve Articles" served to bring about a turn for the better in the situation of the countryside.

November

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties from 81 countries was held in Moscow. The CPC delegation headed by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping attended the meeting. During the meeting, there was a heated dispute between the CPSU delegation and the CPC delegation. The participants adopted the "Statement of the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties" (the 1960 Moscow Statement for short).

November 28

The CPC Central Committee gave an important instruction regarding the "Fourth Report of the Gansu Provincial Party Committee on the Implementation of the Urgent Directive Letter of the Central Committee." The report said, "The source of the 'communist wind' that has been blowing ceaselessly lies in the eagerness to transform from ownership based on the production team to that based on the commune, the attempt to have more communist elements and the over-hasty and excessive demands on local authorities to develop diverse forms of ownership by the commune; and subjectivism on the part of the provincial Party committee, which mobilized 70 to 80 percent of the rural labour force to engage in seven or eight big and urgent projects like building water conservancy projects, pig farms and commodity bases in last winter and this spring. All this caused egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources and blowing of the 'communist wind.'" Meanwhile, overesti-

mation of agricultural output made people think that there was ample grain. Shortage of food grains led to serious consequences (dropsy and unnatural deaths) in a number of counties and communes, a problem that has not been solved even today. In its instruction the Central Committee noted: The Gansu Provincial Party Committee was making self-criticism and had made up its mind to correct its mistakes. "The property of the production team shall always be owned and used by the team itself and never be allowed to be indiscriminately transferred for use by others. It is not advisable to put aside too much for public accumulation or undertake too many public projects. No rigid time limit should be imposed on changing the face of the countryside, which should be achieved gradually in the light of actual conditions." In the instruction the Central Committee also mentioned that Comrade Mao Zedong had said himself that "he shares a common fate with those comrades who wish to correct their mistakes. He says he has made mistakes, too, and is determined to correct them."

December 3

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Urgent Directive on Guaranteeing Steel Production," stressing "Whether or not we can produce 18.6 million tons of steel this year is an important matter that attracts wide attention both at home and abroad and it is a political issue." Since November 21, the output of steel, iron and coal and transportation services had been on the decline. If such a state of affairs should go on unchecked, there would be no hope of fulfilling the quotas for the output of iron and steel, which would be "unfavourable to our current political struggle at home and abroad and to continued leap forward in our national economy in the coming year." The Central Committee required that all localities and departments seize every opportunity to ensure the fulfilment of the annual plan for iron and steel production. In response to the call of the Central Committee, people made the utmost efforts and turned out 18.66 million tons of steel in the end.

December 24-January 13, 1961

The CPC Central Committee convened in Beijing a working conference, at which the 1961 national economic plan was discussed and the "Summary of the Discussions on Rectifying the Style of Work and Consolidating the Communes in Rural Areas and Some Questions of Policies" was adopted. Mao Zedong said at the conference that socialist construction should not be carried out in a haste, it should take half a century. It must go slowly for a few years so as to avoid disasters resulting from seeking for undeserved reputation. He criticized the practices of "egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources" and the "communist wind" and called them "man-made disasters," and urged everybody to dare to admit his mistakes, acknowledging only the mis-

takes he had made and no more, and to combat "Left" or Right deviations whenever they were discovered. He suggested encouraging the practice of conducting investigation and study and said that 1961 should be a year of seeking truth from facts. The conference made preparations for the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee.

1961

January 1

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the report prepared by the Xinyang Prefectural Party Committee in Henan Province on the "Xinyang Incident" (i.e., the "Report on the Movement of Rectifying the Style of Work and Consolidating the Communes and on Production and Disaster Relief Work.") In this report the Xinyang Prefectural Party Committee overestimated the enemy's strength, confused contradictions between ourselves and the enemy with those among the people and attributed the drastic drop in grain output and the widespread starvation, diseases and deaths to evildoers in power and sabotage by feudal forces. Based on this analysis, it suggested conducting a movement of rectifying the style of work and consolidating the communes and completely isolating and overthrowing the counter-revolutionary forces that tried to stage a comeback, by relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants. The Central Committee affirmed this report and demanded that "the third-grade communes and production brigades and teams throughout the country should all rectify the style of work and consolidate the communes in the light of this report." This instruction encouraged the development of "Left" errors in the movement.

January 14-18

The Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Beijing. The participants listened to and discussed the "Report on the Implementation of the 1960 National Economic Plan and the Main Targets for the 1961 National Economic Plan" delivered by Li Fuchun. In view of the serious dislocation of the proportions in the national economy and the grave difficulties resulting from the "great leap forward," the session laid stress on the need to adhere to the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy, the need for the entire Party membership and the people to go all out to develop agriculture and grow grain crops, and the need to curtail capital construction and reduce the growth rate of heavy industry. The session formally adopted the eight-character principle of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" to be implemented in the national economy, and decided to put into effect the "Twelve Articles"

in the rural areas to rectify the style of work and consolidate the communes. The session also ratified the decision on establishing six central bureaus made by the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in September 1960. At the session, Mao Zedong called for conducting investigation and study and making it a practice throughout the Party. This session was a turning point for the Party in restoring its traditional practice of seeking truth from facts and correcting the mistake of the "great leap forward."

March 6

The Anhui Provincial Party Committee, in compliance with the demand of the peasants, decided to try out a field management responsibility system whereby "output quotas were fixed for each piece of land and responsibilities were contracted to individuals." Since its trial implementation, this system had been warmly received by the peasants, and by the end of autumn, 85.4 percent of the production brigades and teams in the province had adopted this system. At the same time, similar systems were applied in over 20 percent of the areas in various provinces and autonomous regions throughout the country. During this period, the Anhui Provincial Party Committee submitted three reports (on March 20, April 27 and July 24) to the Central Committee and Chairman Mao Zedong and obtained the approval of Mao Zedong. However, later in December 1961, when talking with Zeng Xisheng, secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, Mao Zedong changed his views on the "responsibility field," and held that the system of "responsibility field" should no longer be practised since there was already the system whereby the production team was taken as the basic accounting unit. From then on, the practice of "responsibility field" was wrongly criticized as the "tendency to return to individual farming."

March 15

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Report on Examination of Some Problems in Propagating Mao Zedong Thought and the Revolutionary Deeds of the Leaders" prepared by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee. The department pointed out that dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought tended to be simplistic and vulgar and that the revolutionary deeds of leaders in some articles in the publications were untruthful. It expressed the hope that Party committees in various localities and Party leadership groups of the ministries and commissions concerned would see to it that publishers of newspapers, magazines and books do their work conscientiously.

March 15-23

The CPC Central Committee convened a working conference in Guangzhou, which was presided over by Mao Zedong. The participants

discussed and formulated "Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Draft)" (or the "Sixty Articles for Agriculture" for short). The regulations were worked out on the basis of an analysis of the experience gained in running the rural people's communes in the past three years and in implementing the "Twelve Articles." These regulations were designed systematically to put to rights the excessive scale of the communes and production brigades, and the exercise by the communes of too much and too rigid control over their subordinates and to improve the systems of democracy and management.

March 23

The CPC Central Committee issued a "Letter to the Central Bureaus and Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees on Making Assiduous Investigation," and at the same time reprinted and distributed *On Investigation Work* written by Mao Zedong in the spring of 1930 but discovered not long before (the title was renamed *Oppose Book Worship* when published in 1964). In its letter the Central Committee made it clear that it required the leading members of Party committees at and above the county level, first of all, the first secretaries of the Party committees, would learn from Mao Zedong's way of thinking and method of work characterized by his stress on investigation and study and take it as their primary task to go down to the grass-roots units and stay there personally to conduct systematic investigation of typical cases. "Proceed from actual conditions in doing anything, and no investigations, no right to speak"—this must be the first and foremost principle guiding the thinking and action of all cadres of the Party. It emphatically pointed out: We must conduct investigations in a down-to-earth manner and "not be afraid of listening to opinions that are different from ours but contain substance, still less of seeing judgements and decisions to be negated through the test of practice." Following the issue of the letter, leaders from central to local levels went down to grass-roots units to do investigation and study, sum up experience both positive and negative and set about solving the problems existing in practical work.

May 21-June 12

The CPC Central Committee convened a working conference in Beijing. It amended the draft regulations on the work of rural people's commune on the basis of investigations made by central and local leaders and worked out the "Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Revised Draft)." In the revised draft, provisions concerning community canteens and the supply system in the original draft were deleted. The participants also discussed commercial work and the question of urban and rural handicraft industry. Chen Yun delivered a speech entitled "An Important Task That Has a Bearing on the Overall

Situation," in which he dealt with the problems of reducing the staff and transferring urban residents to the countryside. The conference drew up the "Nine-Point Method on Reducing Urban Population and Grain Sales in Cities and Towns," according to which of the 129 million people in cities more than 20 million were to be transferred to the countryside in three years, the figure for 1961 being set at 10 million. It also decided to readjust the target for the output of steel, cutting it from 18 million tons back to 11 million. Those Party members and cadres who had been wrongly criticized and punished in the previous years would be re-examined and rehabilitated in a down-to-earth manner and it was decided that no more anti-Right or anti-"Left" struggles were ever to be waged in the future among cadres and people who were engaged in production and no political labels ever to be stuck on people.

June 19

Zhou Enlai made an important speech at the forum on the work of literature and art and at the meeting on the production of feature films, in which he expounded such issues as democracy in art, emancipation of the mind, material and intellectual production, class struggle and united front, whom to serve, laws governing literature and art, heritage and creation, and leadership in literature and art. In his speech Zhou Enlai criticized "Left" ideas prevailing in the work of literature and art and elucidated the Party's policy relating to work in this field.

The CPC Central Committee issued "Some Regulations on Improving the Work of Commerce (Draft for Trial Implementation)" (also known as the "Forty Articles on Commerce" for short) and "Regulations on Some Policies Concerning Urban and Rural Handicraft Industry (Draft for Trial Implementation)" (also known as the "Thirty-Five Articles on Handicraft Industry.") According to provisions of the "Forty Articles on Commerce," state-owned commercial enterprises, supply and marketing cooperatives and country fair trade constituted the three channels for commodity circulation at the present stage in China, rural supply and marketing cooperatives that had been abolished or amalgamated in the past should be restored, cooperative stores and groups that had been dissolved in the past be reorganized, and leadership be provided for opening country fair trade. According to the "Thirty-Five Articles on Handicraft Industry," throughout the stage of socialism, the handicraft industry should be owned mostly by the collective, and those handicraft cooperatives or groups that had come under ownership by the whole people in the previous years should generally be restored to their original form of ownership. Individual handicraft industry was an essential supplement and assistant to the socialist economy, therefore, household

handicraft industry in cities should be encouraged to develop, individual handicraftsmen be allowed to produce and sell their products and spend their personal income as they see fit.

The CPC Central Committee drew up the "Regulations on Correcting the Error of Indiscriminate Transfer of Resources and on Completely Returning and Compensating What Has Been Unlawfully Taken," pointing out that only by completely returning and compensating what had been unlawfully taken was it possible to "regain the trust of the peasant masses in the Party's policy."

July 16

The CPC Central Committee worked out the "Decision on Some Questions Concerning the Strengthening of the Atomic Energy Industry," and it was resolved to make a breakthrough in the technology of atomic energy through self-reliance and concerted efforts.

July 19

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive and Report on Some Policy Matters in the Work of Natural Sciences," approving the "Report for Instructions on Some Policy Matters in the Present Work of Natural Sciences" submitted by Nie Rongzhen and the "Fourteen Suggestions on the Present Work of the Research Institutions of Natural Sciences (Draft)" (or the "Fourteen Articles on Scientific Research") submitted by the Party leadership groups of the State Science and Technology Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The Central Committee maintained that the principles contained in the documents were applicable to all departments and units with intellectuals working there. The directive stressed that "it is of vital importance to make a success of work among the intellectuals." The one-sided, simplistic and crude approach to knowledge and intellectuals must be corrected, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" must be followed in academic research, and those who had been erroneously criticized in the previous years must be re-examined and rehabilitated.

August 23-September 16

The CPC Central Committee convened a working conference in Lushan to discuss questions of industry, grain, finance and trade, and education. Prior to the conference, the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and the State Planning Commission had sent 11 work teams to conduct investigation and study in factories, mines and other enterprises in big or medium-sized cities like Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and Taiyuan. The conference adopted the "Directive on the Question of Industry at Present." It pointed out that although the "eight-character

principle" had been promulgated for more than a year, 'production quotas had not been cut back in the light of actual conditions for lack of a clear understanding of the situation and of the significance of the principle and for lack of experience, and as a result readjustment had not worked out. So, we had lost twelve months and more. It was high time that we made prompt decisions to firmly cut back what should have been cut back and did it without any reservation. It also pointed out that for a considerably long time to come, all industrial departments "must unswervingly implement the principle of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards." In the next three years, implementation of this principle "must be focused on readjustment." The CPC Central Committee held that "only through a series of readjustment can new equilibrium be established and consolidation, filling out and raising standards be done steadily and solid groundwork be laid for further development of the industry and the national economy as a whole." In his speech Mao Zedong analysed the economic situation and maintained that all the problems had come to the surface and would go to the opposite and that since we had reached the bottom of the valley, we would go up day by day.

September 15

The CPC Central Committee approved trial implementation of the "Provisional Regulations on Work in the Institutions of Higher Education Directly Under the Ministry of Education (Draft)" (also known as the "Sixty Articles on Work in Institutions of Higher Education"), which had been adopted at the Lushan working conference. The principles, tasks and relevant policies for these institutions were formulated in the regulations. The basic task was to implement the Party's education policy and train all kinds of specialized people needed in socialist construction. The regulations provided that these institutions must make teaching and studying their primary task, working hard to improve the quality of instruction while making proper, not excessive, arrangements for social activities and productive labour; in teaching, it was essential to give full scope to the leading role of the teachers; in scientific research, the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend must be adhered to; and the system whereby the school administrative committee headed by the president assumed overall responsibility under the leadership of the school's Party committee must be applied in these institutions.

September 16

The CPC Central Committee distributed the "Regulations on the Work of State Industrial Enterprises (Draft)" (also known as the "Seventy Articles Concerning Industrial Enterprises") that had been adopted at the Lushan working conference to every locality and department for

discussion and trial implementation. In the draft there were some guiding principles for readjusting state industrial enterprises and improving and strengthening their management, principles formulated in the light of actual conditions at the time. The main content included: strengthening planned management of the enterprises; establishing and improving various responsibility systems; introducing the system of congress of workers and office staff to strengthen democratic management of and supervision over the enterprises; enforcing rigorous technological management and rules and regulations; improving business accounting and tightening financial control of the enterprises; and establishing systems of wages, rewards and penalties for workers and staff members.

October 7

Acting on the suggestion put forward once again by Mao Zedong on September 29, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive to the Central Bureaus and Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees on the Question Regarding the Basic Accounting Unit in Rural Areas" and asked Party committees at different levels to make careful investigation and study on this question so that the Party Central Committee would arrive at a decision. On February 13 the following year, after full discussion, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Changing the Basic Accounting Unit of Rural People's Communes," making in general the production team (equivalent to the former elementary agricultural producers' cooperative) the basic accounting unit in rural people's communes. In this way, units for organizing production and for distribution were integrated as a whole, thus solving to a certain extent the problem of egalitarianism that had existed among the production teams since the establishment of advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives in 1956 and that had become even more serious after the establishment of people's communes.

November 26

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Report of the Organization Department of the Central Committee on Improving Education and Management of Party Members." In its comment on the report, the Central Committee noted: In recent years, quite a number of Party organizations were busy leading economic development and doing administrative work in place of administrative organs, to the neglect of education and management of Party members. It emphasized that to re-educate Party members was "a matter of the utmost importance in the present work of consolidating the Party's primary organizations." In its report the Organization Department stated: There were 17.38 million Party members and 1.33 million primary organizations at the end of June 1961. Since 1958, 6.42 million new members were recruited and 500,000 primary organizations were set up. It pointed out that when

admitting new Party members, quite a few organizations paid attention to quantity at the expense of quality.

1962

January 11-February 7

The CPC Central Committee held an enlarged working conference in Beijing. Attending the conference were over 7,000 persons (hence also known as the 7,000-person conference), including members of the Central Committee and its bureaus and leading members of Party committees of all the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, prefectures, counties, major factories, mines and other enterprises, and army units. The chief purpose of this conference was to sum up experience, unify understanding, strengthen the Party's democratic centralism and implement the policy of readjusting the national economy. Liu Shaoqi, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, delivered a written report and made a speech, in which he made a preliminary summing-up of the basic experience and lessons gained in socialist construction since 1958 and analysed major shortcomings and mistakes in work in previous years. He pointed out that in addition to crop failure due to natural disasters, the other cause for the current economic difficulties was "the shortcomings and mistakes in our work since 1958." He said that the major task facing the entire Party was to make effective readjustment with redoubled efforts and held that "the year of 1962 is the most crucial year for readjustment of the national economy" and hence "we must make the best use of it." Mao Zedong spoke at the conference, emphasizing the need of improving democratic centralism in the Party and acquiring a profound understanding of the laws governing socialist construction on the basis of summing up both positive and negative experience. He made a self-criticism in his speech. At the conference democracy was displayed, criticism and self-criticism were made, stress was placed on the need to restore the Party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line and to improve inner-Party democracy and strengthen centralization and unity. Although the differences among the core members of the central leadership in their analysis of the situation and the main causes of the difficulties and in their assessment of the merits and shortcomings and mistakes in work remained unsettled, the conference served to unify the understanding of the entire Party as far as resolute implementation of the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" and promotion of the recovery and development of the national economy were concerned.

February 21-23

Liu Shaoqi presided over an enlarged meeting of the Standing Com-

mittee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in Beijing (Mao Zedong was out of Beijing and so did not attend it) to discuss the state budget for 1962 and the economic situation as a whole. After analysing the decrease in agricultural production, strain on the market, soaring of prices, inflation and great financial deficit, the participants came to believe that the country's finance and economy were in serious straits and that it was imperative to fix a period for readjustment and recovery so as to readjust the national economy in all spheres by taking agriculture as the foundation. Chen Yun made a speech entitled "The Present Financial and Economic Situation and Measures for Overcoming the Difficulties," which won the unanimous approval of the other members of the Standing Committee. The speech was distributed to various localities and departments on March 18 with the consent of Mao Zedong. On April 19, the Central Committee decided to appoint Chen Yun head of the Central Financial and Economic Group to take overall charge of the financial and economic work.

February 27

Wang Jiaxiang, director of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee, submitted a written proposal to leading comrades of the Central Committee on the Party's policy concerning external work, with the consent of the Party committee of the department. He suggested that in order to facilitate readjustment and rehabilitation of the national economy and to overcome the difficulties as quickly as possible, the Party should adopt a moderate policy in its relations with the parties in other countries, and that under the present difficult conditions, it should be practical in extending aid to foreign countries and do what it could afford to do. These correct suggestions were subsequently regarded as revisionist and criticized unjustifiably. The case was rehabilitated by the Central Committee on March 9, 1979.

March 2

Zhou Enlai made a speech "On the Question of Intellectuals" in Guangzhou to the delegates who were attending the Conference on Science held by the State Scientific and Technological Commission and the delegates who were attending the Forum on Script Writing held by the Ministry of Culture and the Chinese Playwrights Association. He said, "the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals have been fundamentally converted, and they have made great progress over the past twelve years." He reaffirmed that most of the intellectuals in the country belonged to the labouring people, thus restoring the correct assessment of the intellectuals made at the conference on the question of intellectuals in 1956, and emphasized the need to bring into full play the role of science and scientists in socialist construction. He added that doing away with blind faith did not mean doing away with science, rather it

should be combined with respect to science.

March 7

Chen Yun made a speech on planning at a meeting of the Central Financial and Economic Group, saying that when administering the annual plan, attention should be paid, first of all, to making good arrangements for agriculture and the market which had a vital bearing on urban people's daily lives and should be made an important policy of our nation. When readjusting the plan for this year, drastic changes should be made with regard to targets for heavy industry and capital construction, and all-round arrangement, instead of one-sided emphasis on steel output, should be made with a view to achieving overall balance.

March 27-April 16

The Third Session of the Second National People's Congress was convened in Beijing. Zhou Enlai delivered the "Report on the Work of the Government" on behalf of the State Council. He reviewed the shortcomings and mistakes in government work since the "great leap forward" and analysed the experience and lessons in the united front work in the previous years, fully recognizing the political and ideological progress achieved by intellectuals and members of the national bourgeoisie and emphasizing the significance of uniting and working with them. He reiterated that most of the intellectuals had become intellectuals of the labouring people and should no longer be treated as bourgeois intellectuals and that the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeois had made progress in the course of socialist transformation and some of them had become working people. He pointed out that in general class struggle in the country tended to take a wave-like form and become mild; however, it was wrong to think that class struggle had ceased or would cease in the near future, and it was equally wrong to think that it was getting sharper and sharper rather than becoming mild. These remarks of Zhou Enlai's evoked enthusiastic response among the democrats and the intellectuals at the time.

April 27

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Speeding Up Re-examination of Party Members and Cadres" in the light of the proceedings of the enlarged working conference of the Central Committee. It pointed out in the circular: Since the Central Committee issued the instruction in June 1961 to re-examine in a realistic manner the cases of Party members and cadres who had been subjected to criticism and punishment in previous years, some local authorities and departments had been slack or slow in implementing the instruction. The Central Committee deemed it necessary to strengthen leadership over re-examination and rehabilitation and to speed up the work. It stressed:

Party members and cadres who had been subjected to entirely or basically wrong criticism and punishment during the movements to pull down White banners, combat Right deviation, rectify the Party, consolidate the people's communes and "make up the missed lessons on the democratic revolution" should be carefully and quickly rehabilitated in a non-sophisticated manner." Thus, most of the people who had been wrongly criticized and punished, mainly victims in the struggle against "Right deviation," were rehabilitated.

April 30

The CPC Central Committee approved the "Suggestions on Certain Problems Concerning the Present Work in Literature and Art (Draft)" (also known as "Eight Articles on Literature and Art") finalized by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, and had it transmitted by the Party leadership groups of the Ministry of Culture and of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles to cultural and art organizations throughout the country for implementation. The document was formulated on the basis of the "Ten Articles on Literature and Art," which had been distributed to all parts of the country on August 1, 1961 for soliciting opinions. The main contents were: implementing the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend"; correctly conducting criticism in literature and art; inheriting national legacy and absorbing foreign culture in a critical way; improving the style of leadership; and strengthening solidarity of the literary and art circles.

May 7-11

The Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened a working conference in Beijing to discuss the "Report on Examining the Readjustment Plan for 1962" submitted by the Central Financial and Economic Group. Liu Shaoqi presided over the conference and Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Deng Xiaoping spoke at it. The participants made a correct analysis of the financial and economic situation, made the major policy decision of implementing in an all-round way the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" and making an extensive readjustment of the national economy, and urged for achieving a comprehensive balance in the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. To this end, the conference adopted a series of resolute measures for readjusting the national economy, such as further curtailing the scale of industrial production and construction, greatly reducing the number of workers and staff and the urban population, strengthening the agricultural front, increasing agricultural output and the production of daily necessities, ensuring market supply and curbing inflation. These measures were implemented immediately after the conference: Invest-

ment in capital construction was cut from 12.33 billion yuan in 1961 to 6.76 billion in 1962; industrial enterprises were closed down, suspended for production, merged or shifted for other production wherever necessary, with the number of state industrial enterprises cut by another 18,000 on the basis of the reduced figure in 1961; and the number of workers and staff were reduced by 8.5 million and urban population by 10 million from January to August of the year. In order to put into effect the principle of "striking a balance within the year and withdrawing a small amount of currency from circulation" put forward by the CPC Central Committee at the beginning of 1962, the government not only strengthened management of bank credit and finances but also introduced the practice of selling some commodities at high prices.

June 14

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on the National Conference on United Front Work" submitted by the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee. In its comment on the report the Central Committee pointed out: in recent years, a few comrades tended to neglect united front work, became self-conceited and preferred being "Left" to Right. This tendency was greatly harmful to unity and cooperation between the Party and people outside the Party and to the socialist cause and must, therefore, be resolutely corrected. At present, in order to ensure successful completion of the arduous task of readjusting the national economy, we must smooth the relations between different sectors within the united front, develop democracy among the people, unite with all patriots and bring every positive factor into full play, so as to make joint efforts to overcome the difficulties and win new victories in socialist construction.

June 16

Peng Dehuai wrote a long letter (namely, the 80,000-character letter) to Mao Zedong and the Party Central Committee, asking the Party to re-examine all aspects of his personal history. In the letter he specially stated that he had never organized an "anti-Party clique" in the Party nor had he had any illicit relations with foreign countries. On August 22, he wrote a short letter to Mao Zedong and the Party Central Committee, requesting the Central Committee once again to set up a special group to investigate into his case so as to clarify the nature of his mistake and deal with it correctly. At the forthcoming Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC these letters were taken as attempts made by Peng Dehuai to reverse the verdict and he was unjustifiably criticized.

June 20

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on the Conference on Work Among the Nationalities" submitted by the

State Nationalities Affairs Commission. The commission pointed out that the shortcomings and mistakes in work among the nationalities in the previous years were chiefly neglect of the characteristics of the different nationalities, neglect of the national and mass character, and hence the protracted and complex character, of the question of religions, neglect of the minority nationalities' rights to equality and self-government, and neglect of the work of uniting with the upper strata of the minority nationalities. It held that at present the principle for work among the nationalities should be: smoothing the relations among various nationalities and strengthen unity among them and unity with all patriotic democrats so as to mobilize and bring into play the initiative of all the minority nationalities for rehabilitation and development of the economy and improvement of people's welfare.

July 9-11

Deng Zihui made a report "On the Question of Agriculture" at the Party School of the Central Committee. Earlier, he had made reports on the same topic to the General Logistics Department of the Military Commission and other units. He advocated establishment of a system of strict responsibility for production whereby output was contracted to the production brigade, job to the group and field management to the household; and he said for some jobs that required special skills, a system of responsibility by individuals with remuneration linked to output and of reward for overfulfilled quotas could be introduced. These opinions of Deng Zihui's won the approval of many leading comrades, but were regarded as attempts to spread the practice of "going it alone" and were thus wrongly criticized at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee.

September 24-27

The Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Beijing. Earlier, to prepare for the session, the Central Committee had held a month-long working conference in Beidaihe and then a preliminary meeting in Beijing that lasted nearly a month. Mao Zedong made a speech at the session on questions of classes, the situation, contradictions and inner-Party unity, in which he widened and absolutized class struggle, which existed only within certain limits in socialist society, asserting that throughout the historical period of socialism the bourgeoisie would continue to exist and there would still be the danger of capitalist restoration, and he insisted that class struggle must be stressed every year, every month and every day. He also wrongly criticized the practice of "going it alone" (referring to fixing output quotas to each household) and of "reversing correct verdicts" and also severely denounced the "theory of darkness" (referring to views in favour of a full assessment of the grave difficulties at the time). This speech marked serious development of "Left" errors politically and ideologically. The session continued to adhere to the policy of readjusting

the national economy. It pointed out that the urgent task confronting the people throughout the country was to implement the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy, give priority to the development of agriculture, and resolutely shift the work of industrial department to the service of the foundation—agriculture. Accepting the suggestions made by Liu Shaoqi and others, Mao Zedong said, "Do not slacken economic work because of stress on class struggle; put work above everything else." Consequently, economic readjustment could be carried out by and large in accordance with the original plan after the session.

October 20

In view of the fact that Indian troops had launched a large-scale armed invasion on Chinese territory simultaneously at the eastern and western sections of the Sino-Indian border, Chinese frontier troops were compelled to fight back when their warnings produced no effect and their tolerance was taxed to the limit. They soon smashed the Indian troops' attack and safeguarded the frontiers of the country. On November 21, the Chinese government issued a statement, reiterating that the Sino-Indian border issue must be settled through negotiations and announcing that Chinese frontier troops would cease fighting along the entire Sino-Indian border at zero hour of November 22 and beginning from December 1 withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control as maintained by both sides on October 7, 1959. Later, the Chinese Government returned on its own initiative all the captured weapons, ammunition and other matériel to the Indian side and set free and repatriated all the Indian military personnel captured.

1963

January 29

Zhou Enlai made a speech at the Conference on Scientific and Technological Work in Shanghai, in which he pointed out that the key to modernizing China's agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and turning the motherland into a powerful socialist country lay in modernizing science and technology.

February 11-28

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing to discuss such questions as unfolding in cities a movement against the "five evils,"* exercising strict control over fair trade in big and medium-sized

*A mass movement against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information, as practised by owners of private industrial and commercial enterprises.

cities, resolutely cracking down on speculation and profiteering, as well as the 1963 national economic plan and regulations for work in the primary and middle schools. Mao Zedong introduced the experience of Hunan Province in conducting socialist education movement and of the Baoding area, Hebei Province, in cleaning up accounts, warehouses, property and work-points (also known as the "four clean-ups,") and advanced the notion that "once class struggle is grasped, everything will be solved," urging all local authorities to pay attention to class struggle and socialist education.

March 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Movement to Increase Production, Practise Economy and Combat Graft and Theft, Speculation and Profiteering, Extravagance and Waste, Decentralism and Bureaucracy," requiring organs at and above the county level and enterprises and institutions to carry out the movement under guidance and systematically. Thereafter, the movement was gradually unfolded in some of the cities in China.

March 5

The *People's Daily* carried Mao Zedong's inscription "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng." Then a movement to learn from Lei Feng was spread throughout the country, which served to carry forward, in the course of overcoming difficulties and setbacks, the fine social conduct that had taken shape since liberation.

March 29

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on Stopping the Performance of Ghost Plays" submitted by the Party leadership group of the Ministry of Culture. The group suggested that "ghost plays" be banned throughout the country, both in cities and rural areas. On May 6 and 7, the *Wenhui Bao* carried an article entitled "The So-called Theory that 'Ghost Is Harmless,'" in which Meng Chao was criticized by name for his play *Li Hui Niang* and Fan Xing (Liao Mosha) for his theory that "ghost is harmless." This set off excessive criticisms against representative figures in the literary and art, and academic circles in newspapers and periodicals.

April 12-May 16

Liu Shaoqi, chairman of the People's Republic of China, visited Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and Viet Nam, strengthening China's relations of friendship and cooperation with these countries. From September 15 to 27, he visited Korea and further enhanced the traditional friendship and great unity between the peoples of China and Korea.

April

The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee held a conference on literary and art work in Beijing at which a heated discussion was conducted on the question of "writing about the past thirteen years" raised by Ke Qingshi. In their speeches the majority of the participants, including Zhou Yang, pointed out that the slogan of "writing about the past thirteen years" was one-sided and refuted the wrong notion that only works that depicted life in the socialist period were socialist literature and art. Zhang Chunqiao argued lamely in favour of the notion.

May 2-12

Mao Zedong called a small meeting in Hangzhou attended by some members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Party secretaries of the greater administrative areas to discuss the question of socialist education in rural areas. This meeting formulated the "Decision on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work" (also known as the "First Ten-Point Decision"). On the 20th, the CPC Central Committee issued the decision as a document of programmatic significance for guiding the socialist education movement. In the "First Ten-Point Decision" a "Left" estimate was made on the situation, maintaining that "severe and sharp class struggle has occurred in Chinese society" and that capitalist and feudal forces "are making wild attacks on us." The decision called for "realignment of the revolutionary classes" to unfold a large-scale mass movement to repulse attacks by capitalist and feudal forces. After the meeting, the various local authorities began to train their cadres once again and conducted experiments at selected places in preparation for an extensive socialist education movement in the rural areas.

July 5-20

The delegations of the CPC and the CPSU held talks in Moscow. On the 14th, the CPSU Central Committee issued the "Open Letter to Party Organizations at All Levels and All Communist Party Members in the Soviet Union," in which it attacked the CPC right and left on questions of relations between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the international communist movement. From September 1963 to July 1964, the *People's Daily* and the *Red Flag* magazine jointly issued nine articles commenting on the open letter of the CPSU Central Committee. Thereafter, relations between the two Parties deteriorated drastically.

July 21

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved and transmitted the "Report of the Ministry of Labour Concerning Wages in 1963," deciding to allocate 1.1 billion yuan for increasing the wages of 40 percent of the workers and office staff now that the national economy

had begun to take a turn for the better in all spheres.

July 25

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Report on the Situation of Class Struggle on the Ideological Front in Shaanxi and Our Opinions" submitted by the Propaganda Department of the Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee. The Central Committee pointed out, "Grave and sharp class struggle in the country has been manifested on the ideological front and in the fields of education, theory, science, literature and art, newspapers, periodicals, broadcasting, publishing, public health and physical culture—all this merits our attention."

July 31

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on the Execution of the Task of Streamlining the Administrative Structure and Suggestion on Ending the Work," submitted by the Central Streamlining Group, and announced basic completion of the work. According to statistics, from January 1961 to June 1963 the number of workers and office staff throughout the country was cut by 18.87 million, urban population by 26 million, and people depending on marketable grain by 28 million. The report pointed out: "The drastic reduction of the number of workers and office staff, urban population and people depending on marketable grain has helped strengthen the agricultural front, reduce the outlay for wages and the volume of grain sales, and raise labour productivity of the enterprises—in a word, it has played a great role in improving the relations between town and country, and in striving for a turn for the better in the financial and economic situation."

September 6-27

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing to discuss rural work, the national economic plan for 1964 and other matters, with emphasis on the principle for industrial development. The conference decided to continue to carry out the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards in the next three years beginning in 1963, and make the three years a transition period between the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) and the Third (1966-70). During this period, the various industrial departments were required to do a better job in improving product quality, increasing variety, filling up gaps and setting up an integrated system. At the same time, they should renew their equipment and engage in specialized cooperation. This decision was of great significance to economic readjustment. Under the guidance of this principle, the conference drew up the national economic plan for 1964 (draft). It formulated "Regulations on Some Specific Policies in the Socialist Education Movement in Rural Areas (Draft)" (also known as the "Second Ten-Point Decision"). In this decision, on the

one hand emphasis was placed on "taking class struggle as the key link" and on the other, on the importance of uniting with over 95 percent of the peasants and rural cadres, and policies were formulated for relying on organizations and cadres at the grass-roots level, correctly treating the children of the landlords and rich peasants, which were basically correct. Since then, after experimentation was conducted at selected places, the socialist education movement was launched in part of the counties and people's communes throughout the country.

September 16-October 12

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council held the Second Conference on Urban Work. The main tasks in this field of work were set as follows: to continue to do a good job in readjusting industry, that is, to further define development orientation, production scale and relations of cooperation for the enterprises, improve maintenance of equipment and factory buildings, promote scientific and technological research and improve enterprise management; to work hard to improve commercial work, that is, to organize rational flow of commodities in the economic zones and provide better service for production and people's daily lives; to devote major efforts to developing farming and sideline production in suburban areas of the cities and set up production bases for non-staple foods to ensure their supply to the cities; to improve maintenance of housing and other urban utilities and find ways to dispose of waste water, gas and residue in the factories; and to carry out family planning, trying to bring down the natural growth rate of urban population to below 20 per thousand in the three-year readjustment period.

September

Sun Yefang, director of the Economic Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, wrote a research report entitled "Profit Quotas in the Management System of the Socialist Planned Economy." And he spoke on this question later at the Fourth Enlarged Meeting of the Academic Council of the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences, at which he strongly urged for attention to enterprise profits and opposed the enterprise management under which no regard was shown to costs and economic results. This view of his was dismissed as a revisionist economic viewpoint and was subjected to criticism and attack organized by Kang Sheng and Chen Boda. Sun Yefang, on his part, held fast to his correct viewpoint all along. Kang Sheng then resorted to political persecution by sending a work team for "four clean-ups"* to his

*The "four clean-ups" movement, also known as the socialist education movement, was a nationwide movement to clean things up in the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology, 1963-66.

institute to investigate into the so-called Sun Yefang—Zhang Wentian anti-Party alliance (Zhang was a specially invited research fellow of the institute), and had Sun labelled as head of the “anti-Party alliance” in the institute, removed from his post and sent to the countryside to “remould himself through labour.”

November 17-December 3

The Fourth Session of the Second National People's Congress was convened in Beijing. The deputies listened to the reports on the national economic plan and the state budget delivered by Li Fuchun and Li Xiannian on behalf of the State Council. Zhou Enlai made an important speech. In view of the economic pressure imposed by the Soviet Union, the session stressed the great significance of adherence to the policy of self-reliance in socialist construction.

December 2

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved in principle the “Report on the Plan for Scientific and Technological Development (1963-72),” the “Outline Plan for the Development of Science and Technology” and the “Plan for Scientific and Technological Undertakings” submitted by the Central Science Group and the Party leadership group of the State Scientific and Technological Commission. The general requirements raised in the plans were: mobilizing the nation's scientific and technological forces to solve self-reliantly key scientific and technological problems in socialist construction, rapidly expanding the ranks of scientific and technological personnel who were both socialist-minded and professionally competent, mastering the science and technology of the 1960s in the important and badly-needed fields and working hard to approach or catch up with the advanced world level in science and technology.

December 12

Mao Zedong published an inappropriate comment concerning the literary and art circles in a restricted publication run by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee: In the literary and art circles, “there are numerous problems involving many people. Very little has been achieved in socialist transformation in many departments that are still dominated by ‘the dead.’” He also said, “Isn't it strange that many Communists are keen on promoting feudal and capitalist art, instead of socialist art?” Shortly afterwards, the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its affiliated associations began to conduct a rectification campaign.

December 14-February 29, 1964

Zhou Enlai, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, visited fourteen countries, namely, the United Arab Republic

(comprising Egypt and Syria at the time; only Egypt was visited), Algeria, Morocco, Albania, Tunisia, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). These visits helped promote relations of friendship and cooperation between China and these countries and enhance the friendship and unity between the Chinese people and the people of these countries. During his visit in Somalia, Premier Zhou Enlai proclaimed the eight principles the Chinese government had always adhered to when providing economic aid to other countries, which included equality and mutual benefit, strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of the recipient countries, lightening as far as possible the burden of the recipient countries and helping them start on the path of self-reliance and independence in economic development.

December 25

The Xinhua News Agency reported that China had become basically self-sufficient in petroleum products. This was a major achievement China had made in its efforts to develop the economy through self-reliance.

1964

February 5

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Transmitting the Report of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry on the Great Battle for Oil at Daqing." After three years of arduous work beginning in May 1960, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry opened up the Daqing Oilfield by concentrating the manpower and material resources of the petroleum departments throughout the country. By 1963, oil output of the Daqing Oilfield had come to 6 million tons. Besides recovering all the investment put in by the state, the oilfield had accumulated a large sum of funds for the state and trained a contingent of workers for the petroleum industry who possessed the technical know-how, had a strong sense of organization and discipline and were capable of enduring hardship and fatigue, with "Iron Man" Wang Jinxi as their outstanding representative. The Central Committee pointed out: The experience of the Daqing Oilfield was not only applicable to industrial departments but also to other departments, or it could serve as reference. After that, a movement of learning from the experience of the Daqing Oilfield was set off on the industrial and transport fronts throughout the country.

February 9-29

Mao Zedong met with Party leaders of two foreign countries. During the talks, he criticized some people of the Liaison Department of the

Central Committee for advocating "*san he yi shao*" (namely, the liquidation of struggle in relation to imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples), some people of the United Front Work Department for ignoring class struggle and some people of the Rural Work Department for advocating "*san zi yi bao*" (namely, the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and fixing of output quotas on a household basis). He held that these people intended to disintegrate the socialist collective economy in agriculture and undermine the socialist system. He added that "*san he yi shao*" was their international programme while "*san zi yi bao*" was their domestic programme. These people who were practising revisionism included members of the CPC Central Committee and of the Secretariat and even a vice-premier. What was more, such people could be found in every ministry and province and more among Party branch secretaries. On April 10, when meeting with a foreign Party delegation, Mao Zedong said, "If China should practise revisionism, you would have a hard time. If a Khrushchov should emerge in China and pursue the capitalist line, what would you do? You should help the Marxists in China to oppose China's revisionism." Mao Zedong's remarks revealed his entirely unrealistic, exaggerated estimation of the situation—his belief that revisionism had already emerged or was emerging in China.

February 10

The *People's Daily* published a reportage entitled "The Dazhai Road" and also carried an editorial entitled "A Good Example in Building Up the Mountain Areas with a Revolutionary Spirit," which showed how hard the Dazhai Production Brigade in Xiyang County, Shanxi Province worked to develop production on the barren mountain ridges. This brought about a movement in the countryside to learn from Dazhai. The movement served to promote farmland capital construction and increase agricultural production. However, later it was turned into a political movement for pushing "Left" policies and Dazhai itself changed from an advanced example to an instrument of the "Left" political movement. And the movement ended up by being more negative than positive.

May

Inspired by his own axioms of taking the short cut and learning mottoes by heart, Lin Biao instructed the General Political Department of the PLA to compile and publish *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. He had long intended to create personality cult. As early as when he took up the post of national defence minister and was placed in charge of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, he had preached on several occasions that "Mao Zedong Thought is the acme of Marxism-

Leninism of our time," emphasizing that when studying Marxism-Leninism, one should study Mao Zedong's works in the main (later, he even said by "99 percent,") "which is a short cut for studying Marxism-Leninism," and that when studying Mao Zedong's works, it would be enough just to study well "the three constantly read articles."* Afterwards, he raised the slogan "Study and apply in a creative way, combine study with application, study first what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results." Deng Xiaoping and others pointed out at the time that what he had advocated was an attempt to "separate Mao Zedong Thought from Marxism-Leninism," "vulgarize and over-simplify Mao Zedong Thought" and "debase the significance of Mao Zedong Thought."

May 15-June 17

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing to discuss the agricultural plan and rural work, the Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70) and political work. Besides, it discussed issues involving opposition to and prevention of revisionism, training of successors, the double-track labour system and the double-track education system. Prior to the conference, Mao Zedong had pointed out when listening to the report on the Third Five-Year Plan: Agriculture was one fist and national defence was the other. To make the fists rocklike, we had to sit firmly on our backside, which was the foundation—industry." Under this ideological guideline, a tentative idea of the Third Five-Year Plan was evolved. Basing himself on an exaggerated assessment of the danger of a new world war Mao Zedong pointed out during the conference that in the era of atomic bomb it wouldn't do without a rear area. He suggested classifying different regions of China into first, second and third lines according to their respective strategic importance, and resolved to start construction in the third-line regions and first of all, to build the Panzhihua iron and steel base as well as transport, coal-mine and power industries related to it. When discussing the socialist education movement, the participants held, "Leadership in one-third of the grass-roots units in the country is not in our hands." Based on this unrealistic assessment of the situation, Mao Zedong said that the movement should last four or five years in the rural areas and cities and should not be wound up in a hurry and that in the movement against the "five evils" in the cities "determination of class status" should be added. Liu Shaoqi said that the problem of "four unclean" not only had its roots at the lower levels, but also at higher levels, the latter case being most dangerous. Consequently, "Left" thinking went a step further.

*These are "Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains."

June 23

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on Taking Back Leadership of the Silver and Non-ferrous Metal Company" submitted by the Gansu Provincial Party Committee and the Party leadership group of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. In both the report and the comment on it problems in enterprise management and the cadres' style of work were regarded as matters of class struggle, as cases where the landlord and capitalist classes had usurped leadership and ownership of the enterprises had been relegated to ownership by the landlord and capitalist classes. This was the signal for waging a "struggle to seize power" in large enterprises.

June 27

In his comment on the report concerning rectification in literary and art circles Mao Zedong pointed out: In the previous 15 years, the majority of the associations in literary and art circles and their publications had, basically speaking, refused to implement the Party's policy and had "even fallen on the verge of revisionism in recent years." Guided by this unrealistic analysis, the Ministry of Culture as well as the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the associations affiliated to it conducted rectification once again. This was followed by wrong and excessive political criticisms on some literary and art works, academic viewpoints and representatives of the literary, art and academic circles. In early July, in accordance with Mao Zedong's suggestion the Central Committee decided to set up the Five-Member Cultural Revolution Group with Peng Zhen as its leader.

July 17

The *People's Daily* carried an article criticizing by name Yang Xianzhen's theory of "combining two into one." Before long the *Red Flag* published an article entitled "New Polemics on the Philosophical Front," in which academic views were raised to the plane of political principle and Yang Xianzhen was accused of intentionally catering to the needs of modern revisionism abroad and the remaining bourgeois and feudal forces at home and preaching the theory of reconciliation of contradictions at a time when class struggle grew acute both at home and abroad.

August 17

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved and transmitted the "Report on Suggestions Concerning Trial Establishment of Industrial and Transport Trusts" submitted by the Party leadership group of the State Economic Commission, and gave approval to establishment on an experimental basis of 12 trusts throughout the country, with a view to gaining experience for eliminating all kinds of defects in China's practice of managing industry by administrative means rather

than by economic means. However, the effort was suspended with the advent of the "cultural revolution."

September 1

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Summary of Experience in the Socialist Education Movement in a Production Brigade" (the "Taoyuan Experience" for short). The methods used by the work team in carrying out socialist education in the Taoyuan Production Brigade of Luwangzhuang People's Commune, Funing County, Hebei Province were: "Establish ties among the commune members" first, then carry out the "four clean-ups" and finally wage struggle against the enemy; adopt an approach of "relying on, but not entirely," organizations and cadres at the grass-roots level. They stressed that as the "four unclean" cadres had roots at higher levels and would assuredly resist the movement by various ways, the movement would not be carried out thoroughly unless the problems at higher levels were solved. They noted that the contents of the "four clean-ups" were no longer confined to cleaning things up in the fields of work-points, accounts, property and warehouses, but should now be focused on the political, ideological, organizational and economic fields. In its comment the Central Committee held that many cadres at and below the county level and many members of the work teams had "countless misgivings about full mobilization of the masses" and "one-sidedly stressed the need to rely on organizations and cadres at the grass-roots level," and that "the severely unclean cadres and their guardians at higher levels would resist the 'Four Clean-ups Movement' by every possible means." It believed that these were common problems, and the experience of the Taoyuan Production Brigade was applicable to the solution of these problems everywhere. To a certain extent this served to aggravate "Left" mistakes in the movement.

September 18

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Revised Draft Regulations Concerning Some Specific Policies for the Socialist Education Movement in Rural Areas" (also known as the revised "Second Ten-Point Decision" for short). In the revised draft the situation was grossly exaggerated, and it was asserted that the enemy was trying to rope in and corrupt the cadres, that "establishing a dual counter-revolutionary political power" was "the principal form the enemy has taken against us," and that "the current movement is a large-scale mass movement that is more extensive, more complicated and more deep-going than the land reform movement," and it was stressed that work to make up for the democratic revolution should be earnestly carried out in some areas. The original requirement of relying on organizations and cadres at the grass-roots level was changed into giving first place to full mobilization of the masses, and the problems among cadres were to be solved ahead

of everything else. It was decided that the whole movement should be led by work teams. These guiding principles had a great impact on the movement and resulted in the "Left" error of widening the scope of attack against and dealing excessive blows at cadres at the grass-roots level, to the extent of blurring the demarcation line between the enemy and the people.

October 16

China successfully exploded its first atomic bomb. This was a major achievement scored in the fields of national defence and science and technology. On the same day, the "Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China" was issued in which it pointed out: The Chinese Government always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and development of nuclear weapons by China was for the purpose of defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers. The Chinese Government solemnly declared that at no time and in no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

October 24

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on the Question of Seizing Power During the Socialist Education Movement" and transmitted the report on the struggle to seize power in the Xiaozhan area submitted by the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee. In the directive the Central Committee affirmed the practice of the Xiaozhan area in labelling three Party branches as "anti-Party cliques," unfolding the struggle to seize power and "solving the problem of leadership before solving the problem of the four unclean in the economic field." It held that "contradiction between the people and the enemy in the Xiaozhan area manifested itself chiefly in the form of contradiction within the ranks of the people or even within the ranks of the Party," which reflected the complex nature and characteristics of the current class struggle. And it stressed that "struggle to seize power must be waged wherever power had been controlled or usurped by the enemy or monopolized by political degenerates." Then, struggle was waged at many grass-roots units to seize power in the course of the socialist education movement.

November 5-13

The Chinese Party and Government Delegation headed by Zhou Enlai visited Moscow and took part in activities marking the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution. In October, the CPSU leader N. Khrushchov fell and Brezhnev came to power. The CPC took the initiative to meet with Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders, only to discover that they still persisted in their great-nation chauvinism, declar-

ing that their China policy remained the same as Khrushchov's. So, China's efforts had come to naught.

December 5

Mao Zedong wrote a comment on the report submitted by Xie Fuzhi on his work at the Shenyang Metallurgical Plant: "How many of our industrial enterprises have gone capitalist in terms of management? One-third, one half or more? We will have an accurate answer only after they have been checked up one by one." He believed that the "main source" of "capitalist management" could be traced to the higher levels.

December 12

In his comment on the report submitted by Chen Zhengren on his work at the Luoyang Tractor Plant, Mao Zedong advanced the concepts of a "bureaucrat class" and "leaders taking the capitalist road." He said, "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two bitterly antagonistic classes." "The leaders taking the capitalist road have become or are becoming bourgeois elements who suck the blood of the workers," and "they are the target of struggle, the target of revolution, and must never be relied on in the socialist education movement."

December 15-28

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee convened a national working conference. The main topic under discussion was the socialist education movement in rural areas. Mao Zedong criticized the formulations that in nature this movement was to resolve the contradiction between the "four cleans" and the "four uncleanes," that the contradictions inside and outside the Party were interwoven, and so were the contradictions between the people and the enemy interwoven with those within the ranks of the people, and he pointed out that in nature the movement was to resolve the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Moreover, he criticized that there were in Beijing "two independent kingdoms" (referring to Deng Xiaoping and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee as one and Li Fuchun and the State Planning Commission as the other—*Editors*). On January 14, 1965, the CPC Central Committee issued the summary of the discussions at this conference—"Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas" (i.e., the Twenty-three-Point Document). Although in the document some "Left" deviations in the four clean-ups movement which had begun in the second half of 1964 were set right (according to the provisions of the "Twenty-three-Point Document," the socialist education movement in both the cities and rural areas should be called in short the "four clean-ups" and their contents were defined as clean-ups in the political, ideological, organizational and economic

fields), yet at the same time more serious "Left" viewpoints were advanced, such as "the target of this movement is the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." After the "Twenty-three-Point Document" was distributed to lower levels, the four clean-ups movement continued in both the cities and rural areas throughout the country until the early days of the "cultural revolution." By the spring of 1966, in about one-third of the counties and people's communes in China's countryside the four clean-ups movement had been conducted.

December 20-January 4, 1965

The First Session of the Third National People's Congress was convened in Beijing. Zhou Enlai summarized the great achievements scored in the fields of agriculture, industry, finance and trade, and culture and education in his report on the work of the government; and at the same time, he announced that during this period, China had repaid all the debts owed to the Soviet Union and had done what it could to support many countries and peoples in their revolutionary struggle and construction. He also announced that the task of readjusting the national economy had in the main been accomplished, that the national economy as a whole would soon enter a new stage of development and that efforts should be redoubled to make China a socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology. But this task was not fulfilled due to the "cultural revolution."

1965

February 26

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Decision on the Structure of Construction in the Third-Line Region in Southwest China." They decided to set up the Southwest Third-Line Construction Commission to take charge of construction in the southwest third-line region. On March 29, the CPC Central Committee issued its "Reply Concerning the Composition of the Southwest Third-Line Construction Commission," approving the appointment of Li Jingquan as chairman of the commission and Cheng Zihua and Yan Xiufeng vice-chairmen.

March 2

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting to censure the erroneous criticism carried out in the cultural circle. Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Now people dared not write articles, the Xinhua News Agency received only two articles a day, and the theatres put on plays only about soldiers and fighting, and as to the cinemas, ban had been imposed on this or that film; how could you expect every film to

be that perfect? Those "revolutionaries" wanted to make themselves famous by criticizing others and climb up by stepping on others' shoulders. He stressed that such practice should stop as soon as possible. However, his opinions did not produce any effect.

April 7

The CPC Central Committee issued its "Reply Concerning Reshuffling of the Leading Body of the Ministry of Culture," dismissing Qi Yanming, Xia Yan and others from their leading posts in the Ministry of Culture. This was the result of erroneous criticism and rectification conducted in the literary and art circles.

April 12

The CPC Central Committee issued the directive on stepping up preparations against war. In the directive it stated that in view of the fact that U.S. imperialists had been expanding their aggression in Viet Nam and had directly invaded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus seriously threatening the security of China, the Central Committee thereby deemed it necessary to step up preparations against the war. It called on the entire Party membership, the army and the people throughout the country to get mentally prepared against the most serious situation and do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation by displaying the spirit of patriotism and internationalism.

May 11

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Establishing Political Work Bodies in the Industrial and Transport Departments Throughout the Country." According to the decision, all industrial and transport departments were urged to learn from the PLA and put ideological and political work in the first place; Party committees at all levels in the industrial and transport departments were required to establish political work bodies and gradually establish a complete set of work regulations; the Central Committee, its bureaus, the provincial, autonomous region Party committees, and Party committees of municipalities directly under the central authorities and other big and medium-sized cities were all required to set up organizations to be in charge of industry and transport, and industrial and transport enterprises and institutions were all required to set up political work departments, political work divisions or the post of political instructor or political director respectively depending on their sizes and tasks. In the decision it also pointed out, "The basic principle here is also applicable to agricultural, commercial and other undertakings of the national economy."

May 25

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved and transmitted the "Summary of the National Conference on Specialization and Coordination Work." It noted, "Gradual reorganization of the existing processing industry, especially of the machine-building industry, in conformity to the principles of specialization and coordination and the need and feasibility, is an effective measure to emancipate the productive forces, improve technology and promote the development of production as well as an important component of the revolution in economic management. Efforts should be made to basically accomplish this major task of reorganization within three to five years beginning from 1965."

July 27-31

Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi met respectively with Li Zongren, former acting president of the KMT government, and his wife, who had returned from abroad. Mao Zedong said: "We welcome" all those abroad who wished to come back and "we shall treat them with due respect." Li Zongren had secretly left his residence in the United States on June 13 and arrived in Beijing via Switzerland on July 20.

September 18-October 12

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing chiefly to discuss the 1966 national economic plan and a long-term programme. It approved the outline national economic plan for 1966 submitted by the State Planning Commission and stressed, "Party committees at the four levels of the province, prefecture, county and people's commune should give first priority to agriculture.... While continuing to carry on in depth the socialist education movement, all local authorities and departments should start a mass campaign to increase production and practise economy." With regard to the guiding principle for the Third Five-Year Plan, the conference approved the idea of "putting the building of national defence in the first place, speeding up construction in the third-line region and gradually changing the geographic distribution of industry." The conference also discussed questions of finance and trade and Party building and pointed out that it was necessary to "store grain among the people" and have the amount of grain purchased by the state fixed once every three years. It decided to spend 20 billion yuan in regulating commodity prices by reducing the prices of the means of production for agriculture and of some means of subsistence during the Third Five-Year Plan period so as to benefit urban and rural residents and, first of all, the peasants. In order to strengthen Party leadership at the grass-roots units, the conference decided that new Party members be recruited carefully in places where the "four clean-ups" had been completed and that there be a Party group or Party members in each and every production brigade in the people's commune.

October 10

Mao Zedong made a still more exaggerated assessment of the political situation when talking with the first secretaries of the Party committees of the greater administrative areas. He said: We must prepare for war. Every province should build the minor third-line regions well. If the enemy doesn't come, so much the better. Don't be afraid of mutiny or rebellion. He added: What will you do if revisionism emerges in the Central Committee? In that event, you must rebel. With the minor third-line regions in your provinces to fall back on, you can rebel. In the past, some people had blind faith in the Communist International and the Central Committee. Now, you must remember, whatever one says, be it the Central Committee, its bureaus or the provincial Party committees, you can refuse to implement it if it is not correct.

November 10

The CPC Central Committee issued a circular on appointing Wang Dongxing director of its General Office and dismissing Yang Shangkun from the post.

The *Wenhui Bao* in Shanghai carried Yao Wenyuan's article "Comment on the New Historical Opera *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*," thus lifting the curtain on the "cultural revolution." Wu Han had begun writing *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* after Mao Zedong advocated learning from Hai Rui in April 1959, and finished it at the end of 1960. Since 1962 differences in the understanding of the errors of the "great leap forward" and the measures taken to correct the errors and overcome the difficulties had been growing within the Party. On several occasions Jiang Qing suggested to Mao Zedong that *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* was questionable and should be criticized. At the beginning Mao Zedong did not agree to this but was brought around to Jiang Qing's views in the end. The whole process from early 1965 when Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao plotted together in Shanghai to the publication of Yao Wenyuan's article was kept secret from the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee except Mao Zedong. In his article, Yao criticized Wu Han by name, brazenly insinuating that "returning farmland" and "redeeming wrong cases" in *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* meant the "tendency to go it alone in agriculture" and the "practice of reversing correct verdicts," and he arbitrarily asserted, "the 'tendency to go it alone in agriculture' and the 'practice of reversing correct verdicts' constitute the focus of the struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution at the time" and "*Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* is a poisonous weed." Mao Zedong approved the publication of the article and gave the hint that it should

be reprinted in all the newspapers and magazines of the country. The publication of the article and the ensuing mass criticism touched off the subsequent "cultural revolution."

December

The *Red Flag* carried Qi Benyu's article "Study History for the Revolution," in which he erroneously criticized Jian Bozan's views on history. Since 1961, in view of the one-sided approach in the study of history, Jian Bozan had published his "Tentative Opinions on the Study of Some Questions in History," "Some Problems in Present-day Research of History" and other articles, setting forth the correct view that it was necessary to attach importance to both class viewpoint and the viewpoint of history. In his article, Qi Benyu attacked Jian Bozan's correct views as "supra-class" and "purely objective" bourgeois views. In March 1966, the *Red Flag* carried another article written by Qi Benyu and two other persons entitled "Comrade Jian Bozan's Views on History Should Be Criticized," labelling Jian "exponent of bourgeois science of history" and branding his two articles as "anti-Marxist programme for the science of history." After that, other newspapers and magazines also made political criticism against Jian by name. In the end Jian was persecuted to death during the "cultural revolution."

December 8-15

Mao Zedong presided over an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in Shanghai. Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and others wantonly cooked up charges and accused Luo Ruiqing of "being opposed to putting politics first" and "usurping military power and opposing the Party" and made a surprise attack on him for the purpose of further usurping leadership of the army themselves. As a result, Luo Ruiqing was removed from the leading post in the military field.

1966 (January—April)

January

The General Political Department of the PLA held a political work conference of the entire army in Beijing, at which discussions were focused on how to implement the so-called five principles of "putting politics first" formulated by Lin Biao on November 18, 1965. Before and after the conference, exploiting the people's reverence for their leader, Lin Biao and Kang Sheng preached that Mao Zedong's words were "supreme instructions," "every sentence is truth and carries more weight than ten thousand ordinary sentences," trying their utmost to deify Mao Zedong.

February 3

The *Liberation Army Daily* carried an editorial entitled "Putting Politics First Forever." By April 5, this paper had published six editorials in succession repeatedly expounding the need to put politics first. These editorials carried such views as "putting politics first can help solve all problems" and "mental achievements will surely produce material results," spreading the notion that politics decided everything. From April 6 to 22, the *People's Daily* also issued three editorials on "putting politics first" which, in accordance with Deng Xiaoping's opinions, emphasized that "when putting politics in command of vocational work, politics should be put into vocational work and closely combined with it." Soon afterwards, the editorials of the *People's Daily* were criticized as "dualism."

February 7

The Five-Member Cultural Revolution Group headed by Peng Zhen submitted an "Outline Report on Current Academic Discussions" (also known as "the February Outline") to the CPC Central Committee. In the outline they tried to check "Left" deviations in academic discussions and pointed out that in discussions "the principles of seeking truth from facts and everyone being equal before the truth should be adhered to and it is necessary to convince people by reasoning things out instead of behaving arbitrarily like scholar-tyrants and trying to overwhelm people with one's power." Before publication of the outline, Peng Zhen reported it to Mao Zedong and asked for instructions. Mao raised a few questions but did not say that he disapproved of its publication. Therefore, on February 12, the CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted this document. But before long, the outline was negated by Mao Zedong and subjected to criticism.

March 8

A strong earthquake occurred in Xingtai area, Hebei Province, devastating thirty people's communes with a population of 340,000 people. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council immediately mobilized large numbers of people to help with relief work and sent great quantities of materials to the stricken area. Zhou Enlai visited the epicentre on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council when aftershock was still going on, to express sympathy and solicitude for the people of the disaster area and to direct relief work. Thanks to leadership of the Party and the vigorous support of the PLA, the people there soon overcame difficulties, rebuilt their homes and resumed production.

March 28-30

Mao Zedong had three talks with Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing and others in Hangzhou, sternly accusing the Beijing Municipal Party Committee

and the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of shielding undesirable persons and refusing to support the Left. He said that the Beijing Municipal Party Committee was watertight and impenetrable and should be dissolved and that the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee was a "Palace of the King of Hell" and so it was necessary to "overthrow the King of Hell and set the little devils free." He added that Wu Han and Jian Bozan were scholar-tyrants and above them there was a big Party boss (referring to Peng Zhen) shielding them. He criticized Deng Tuo, Wu Han and Liao Mosha by name, asserting that *Notes from Three-Family Village* written by them and *Evening Talks at Yanshan* written by Deng Tuo were anti-Party and anti-socialist. He went so far as to call local organizations to rise up in rebellion and assault the Central Committee, saying that more Monkey Kings should come up in all parts of the country to wreak havoc in Heaven. These remarks of Mao Zedong's foreboded the storm of the "cultural revolution."

April 10

The CPC Central Committee approved the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces Convened by Comrade Jiang Qing on Behalf of Comrade Lin Biao." This summary was written from February 2 to 20 in Shanghai by four people, who were invited by Jiang Qing from the PLA, after discussion on the work in literature and art in the army. On March 19, Jiang Qing sent the summary to Lin Biao after it had been revised and approved by Mao Zedong. Soon, in the name of the Military Commission of the Central Committee Lin Biao submitted it to the CPC Central Committee for examination and approval. The summary wrote off the tremendous achievements scored by the literary and art circles since the founding of New China under the leadership of the Party and slandered that since the founding of the People's Republic the literary and art circles had been "under the dictatorship of a sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought." It declared, "We must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eradicate this sinister line." The summary reflected Mao Zedong's exaggerated assessment of the situation of class struggle in the cultural field and his resolve to launch the "cultural revolution." The whole process of the making of the summary also revealed the wild ambition of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to usurp the leadership of the Party in collaboration with each other. Before Jiang Qing went to Shanghai for the forum, Lin Biao had lavished praise on Jiang Qing, saying that "she is politically strong in the fields of literature and art and knows a lot about art" and that Jiang Qing's opinions should "be put into practice both ideologically and organizationally." Jiang Qing, on her part, declared that it was essential to invite the "reverend

god' that exercises dictatorship of the proletariat" to "attack the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party," that is, to usurp Party leadership by exploiting the strength of the PLA. The manufacturing of the summary marked the beginning of collaboration between Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to sabotage the revolution by means of the "cultural revolution."

VIII. The Period of the "Cultural Revolution"

May 1966—October 1976

1966 (May—December)

May 4-26

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Beijing. It was presided over by Liu Shaoqi as Mao Zedong was not in Beijing at the time. The meeting erroneously criticized Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun for their "anti-Party mistakes" and decided to suspend their work and removed them from their posts. On the 16th, the meeting adopted the "Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" (the "May 16 Circular" for short) drawn up under the direction of Mao Zedong. According to the circular, "The Central Committee has decided to revoke the 'Outline Report on Current Academic Discussions made by the Five-Member Cultural Revolution Group'" (the "February Outline" for short) which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966, "to dissolve the group and its offices, and to set up a new Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau." The circular called on the entire Party membership to "hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution," because they "are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.... Therefore, our struggle against them can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

Based on the "Left" point of view and a confused understanding of the enemy and the people, these unrealistic demands and assessment provided the chief reasons for launching the "cultural revolution." On the 18th, Lin Biao made a lengthy speech at the meeting. With ulterior motives, he lauded Mao Zedong as a "genius." Meanwhile, he spilt preposterous lies that there were people within the Party who attempted to stage a coup d'etat, creating an atmosphere of terror in the Party. The meeting marked the predominance of "Left" policies in the Central Committee of the Party.

May 7

Having read a report submitted by the General Logistics Department of the PLA "On Further Developing Agricultural Production and Side-Occupations in the Armed Forces," Mao Zedong wrote a letter to Lin Biao (known as the "May 7 Directive,") in which he said that all trades and professions in the country should be made "a great school in which people study politics and military affairs, raise their educational level, and also engage in agricultural production and side-line occupations and run some small or medium-sized factories to make certain products for their own needs or for exchange with the state at equal values.... They should also criticize the bourgeoisie." Mao Zedong added, "The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals must not continue." The "May 7 Directive" reflected Mao's "Left" thinking when he required the grass-roots units throughout the country to "criticize the bourgeoisie" and revealed his erroneous attitude towards and distrust of the intellectuals. The directive was widely implemented in the course of the "cultural revolution," producing a depressing effect in many fields of endeavour.

May 28

The Central Cultural Revolution Group was founded with Chen Boda as the head, Kang Sheng the adviser, and Jiang Qing,* Zhang Chun-qiao** and others deputy heads. Members of the group included Wang Li, Guan Feng, Qi Benyu and Yao Wenyuan***. It gradually replaced the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee and was actually in command of the "cultural revolution." At the end of

*Jiang Qing (1914-), a native of Zhucheng, Shandong Province, joined the CPC in February 1933, but lost contact with the Party five months later. She was reinstated as a Party member in 1937 after she arrived in Yan'an. She was married to Mao Zedong in 1938. After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, she served for a short period of time as member of the All-China Cinema Directing Committee and chief of the Cinema Division of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee. But most of the time she rested for reasons of poor health and did not take part in any social or political activities.

August, Jiang Qing became acting head of the group.

May 31

With the approval of Mao Zedong, a work team headed by Chen Boda went to the office of the *People's Daily* to seize power. Chen was "in control of the layout of the paper and at the same time gave guidance to the news release of the Xinhua News Agency and broadcast of the radio stations." On June 1, the *People's Daily* published an editorial calling on the people to rise and "sweep away all monsters and demons." On the same day, Nie Yuanzi and a few others of Beijing University, acting on Kang Sheng's instructions, put up a big-character poster to slanderously attack the Party committees of Beijing University and of Beijing Municipality. With the approval of Mao Zedong, the poster was broadcast nationwide. On the 4th, the *People's Daily* publicized a decision by the CPC Central Committee on reorganization of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and a decision made by the new Beijing Municipal

Beginning in 1963, she stirred up an ultra-Left trend of thought among the literary and art circles under the signboard of "revolutionizing Peking Opera," gradually spearheading the attack on the leading bodies of the Party Central Committee and on Party and state leaders.

After May 1966, she was appointed first deputy head and then acting head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and was elected member and Political Bureau member of the Ninth and the Tenth Party Central Committee. The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee began to investigate into her case and others' cases in October 1976, and on January 25, 1981 she was condemned to death with the sentence suspended for two years by a special tribunal of the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of China on charges of heading a counter-revolutionary clique. On January 25, 1983, the Supreme Court reduced her sentence to life imprisonment.

**Zhang Chunqiao (1917-), a native of Juye County, Shandong Province, joined the CPC in April 1936 and later lost contact with the Party. He resumed Party membership in August 1938 after he arrived in Yan'an. During the "cultural revolution," he served as deputy head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, member and Political Bureau member of the Ninth Party Central Committee, member and Political Bureau member of the Tenth Party Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, vice-premier of the State Council, Director of the General Political Department of the PLA, First Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai. Investigation of his case began in October 1976.

***Yao Wenyuan (1931-), a native of Zhuji County, Zhejiang Province, joined the CPC in October 1948. During the "cultural revolution," he was member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, member and Political Bureau member of the Ninth and the Tenth Party Central Committee, Second Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai. Investigation of his case began in October 1976.

Party Committee on reorganizing the Party Committee of Beijing University and sending a work team to lead the "cultural revolution" there. Under the impact of these events, students in various parts of the country were the first to rise in response to the call for "rebellion against revisionism," causing widespread chaos.

Early June

The CPC Central Committee, then presided over by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, decided to send work teams to universities and middle schools in Beijing to lead the "cultural revolution" there. Subsequently, the authorities of many provinces and cities followed suit and dispatched work teams to local universities and part of the middle schools. On the 3rd, the CPC Central Committee drew up the "Eight-Point Directive" which included: to make a distinction between internal and external matters, to keep state secret, to put up no big-character posters in the streets, to hold no demonstrations or parades, to hold no large-scale protesting rallies, and to encircle no homes of the sinister gang. The directive was designed to remedy the chaotic situation.

June 13

In their joint circular the CPC Central Committee and the State Council noted, "Since the 'cultural revolution' is just rising in universities, colleges and senior middle schools, it will take quite some time to deepen the movement." They maintained that the present examination and enrolment systems of the institutions of higher education "have remained basically within the framework of the bourgeois type, and therefore 'must be thoroughly reformed.'" "It has been decided to postpone in 1966 the enrolment of college and university students for six months." On July 24, they issued the "Circular on Reforming the Enrolment System of the Institutions of Higher Education," in which it was decided, "Beginning this year, the entrance examination for college and university students is cancelled, to be replaced by recommendation and selection." It stressed, "In selecting students, the institutions of higher education must adhere to the principle of giving first priority to politics" and "follow the Party's class line." However, none of the two circulars were implemented because classes were suspended, giving way to the "revolution".

June 16

The *People's Daily* carried a report on the so-called counter-revolutionary incident—suppression of the revolutionary mass movement in Nanjing University, along with an editorial commenting on the incident. It declared that as far as some departments and units were concerned, the "cultural revolution" meant "a struggle to seize power and turn the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie into one of the proletariat" and

that "thorough revolutionary means must be adopted to ferret out all the monsters and demons in those departments and units and discredit and repudiate them and strike them down."

June 18

More than forty cadres of the Party and Youth League organizations and teachers and students in Beijing University were attacked and beaten up. On the 20th, Liu Shaoqi approved the distribution nationwide of a bulletin on how the work team in Beijing University had stopped the incident, maintaining that "the methods used by the work team in dealing with the incident were correct and timely. The same methods should be used where similar cases occur." Later on, the distribution of the bulletin was called by Jiang Qing as "an incident of suppressing the student movement."

July 2

In the light of a letter submitted by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping to ask for instructions and with the approval of Mao Zedong, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council jointly issued the "Circular on How Industrial and Transport Enterprises and Capital Construction Units Should Carry Out the Cultural Revolution," requiring these enterprises and units to unfold the "cultural revolution" by stages and in groups and in combination with the "four clean-ups movement," on condition that they ensure fulfilment of their production tasks. The circular stressed, "In view of the fact that these enterprises and units have to fulfil state quotas, there (including units in charge of design and construction work) the 'cultural revolution' should be combined with the 'four clean-ups movement' and be carried out in conformity with the provisions in the 'Twenty-three-Point Directive' and the plans formulated by local authorities, and by stages and in groups, under sound leadership." On the 22nd, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Supplementary Circular on How Industrial and Transport Enterprises and Capital Construction Units Should Carry Out the Cultural Revolution," in which they emphasized, "The focus of the 'cultural revolution' is the cultural and education departments and Party and government organs.... In units below the county level and units in charge of capital construction, design and scientific research, the 'cultural revolution' should be carried out in combination with the 'four clean-ups movement' by stages and in groups."

July 18

Mao Zedong returned to Beijing from Wuhan. After hearing report on the work teams, on the 25th he met with secretaries of the Central Bureaus and members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and told them that the work teams "had done a disservice and obstructed the

movement.... They must quit to let the revolutionary teachers and students make the revolution themselves." On the 29th, a meeting of activists among teachers and students of colleges, universities and middle schools in the "cultural revolution" was held by the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. In their speeches, both Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai said that "veteran revolutionaries have met with new problems" in the "cultural revolution." Liu Shaoqi admitted to the audience: "You are not clear and don't know much about how to carry out the proletarian cultural revolution. But if you ask me how, I must tell you honestly, I have no idea either." At the meeting it was announced that all the work teams would be withdrawn. Shortly afterwards, Mao Zedong criticized the work teams for having made mistakes in matters of orientation and line. He said that the sending of work teams was "in fact an act in opposition to the proletarian revolution from the bourgeois stand."

July 20

The CPC Central Committee announced in a circular that its Propaganda Department had been reorganized, with Tao Zhu serving as the new director and Chen Boda, the adviser (still retaining the post of deputy director). At the time, the former Propaganda Department together with the reorganized Ministry of Culture and Beijing Municipal Party Committee were labelled as the "three old departments."

August 1-12

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. One hundred and forty-one members and alternate members of the Central Committee attended the session. Also attending the session were 47 non-voting representatives, including leading members of the Central Bureaus, and the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, leading members of the central departments concerned as well as "revolutionary teachers and students" from colleges and universities in the capital. At the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee on the 4th, Mao Zedong again scathingly censured the dispatch of work teams as "an act of suppression and terror from the Central Committee." And he added, "There are 'monsters and demons' among people present here." On the 5th, he wrote "Bombard the Headquarters—My Big-Character Poster," asserting that since the dispatch of work teams in early June, "in the last 50 days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels ... have, adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat." Obviously, he was accusing Liu Shaoqi, although he did not mention his name. On the 8th, the plenary session adopted the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revo-

lution" (the "Sixteen-Point Decision" for short). According to the provisions of the decision, "At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes." "The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." The decision noted, "Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers.... Their main revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning." "Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left, and should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left ... to isolate thoroughly the most reactionary Rightists, win over the middle.... They should put daring above everything else ... make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out ... and expose all the ghosts and monsters." In compliance with Mao Zedong's suggestion, the plenary session reorganized the leading bodies of the CPC Central Committee. It elected Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Tao Zhu, Chen Boda, Deng Xiaoping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Li Fuchun and Chen Yun as members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Standing second on the list, Lin Biao became successor to Mao Zedong. Although no vice-chairman of the Central Committee was elected, it was announced that Lin Biao was vice-chairman of the Central Committee soon after the session. The Enlarged Political Bureau meeting held in May and the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee held in August marked the all-round start of the "cultural revolution." The "May 16 Circular" and the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" adopted at the two meetings and the series of measures taken to implement them made it possible for the erroneous "Left" leadership by Mao Zedong himself to replace the collective leadership by the Party Central Committee. Those wrong decisions played into the hands of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques that brought serious calamities to the Party, the state and the people of various nationalities in China.

August 1

Mao Zedong wrote to Red Guards* of the middle school attached to Qinghua University, praising their actions as proof that "it is right to rebel against the reactionaries" and expressing his "warm support" to them. And he said, "We support all those who have taken the same

*The Red Guards was a mass organization set up mainly by students in the early days of the "cultural revolution." The Red Guard organization was initiated by students of the middle school attached to Qinghua University on May 29, 1966.

revolutionary attitude as you have in the great cultural revolution, whether in Beijing or elsewhere in the country." At the same time, he advised them to "try to unite with all those who can be united with." The Red Guard movement soon spread throughout the country. On the 18th, Mao Zedong and others received on the rostrum of Tiananmen Red Guards and other people from various parts of the country. Instigated by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and under the slogan of destroying the "four olds" (namely, old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits), the Red Guards blindly burnt away classic literature, destroyed calligraphies and paintings and other cultural relics and ruined scenic and historic spots. On September 5, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council jointly issued the "Circular on Inviting Revolutionary Students of Colleges and Universities, Representatives of Revolutionary Students of Middle Schools, and Representatives of Teachers and Other Staff Members from Various Parts of the Country to Beijing to See the Great Cultural Revolutionary Movement," thus starting a nationwide exchange of experience. By late November, Mao Zedong had received over 11 million teachers and students and Red Guards on eight occasions in Beijing. The Red Guards incited "rebellion" and struggled against so-called "capitalist roaders" everywhere in the country, throwing local Party committees at various levels into confusion.

September 14

The CPC Central Committee issued "Regulations Concerning the Cultural Revolution in Rural Areas Below the County Level" with a view to checking the unrest in the countryside. The regulations provided that "the cultural revolution in localities below the county level shall be carried out in accordance with the original plan for the 'four clean-ups movement,'" and that "students and Red Guards of Beijing and other cities shall not go to institutions in localities below the county level or to communes or production brigades and teams to exchange experience, or take part in the debates there. Cadres of those institutions and commune members shall not go to other places to exchange experience either." On the same day, the CPC Central Committee issued another "Circular on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production," requiring that industrial, agricultural, transport, financial and trade departments "take immediate measures to strengthen or set up command organizations at different levels" to ensure normal process of production, construction and scientific research, that workers and office staff "stick to their posts" and "carry out the cultural revolution only in spare time," and that "Red Guards and revolutionary students keep themselves from industrial and mining enterprises and institutions of scientific research and design."

October 5

Acting on Lin Biao's proposal, the Military Commission of the CPC

Central Committee and the General Political Department of the PLA issued an emergency directive rescinding the decision that "the cultural revolution in military academies and schools shall be led by Party committees after the work teams were withdrawn." When the directive was distributed throughout the Party, it set off a campaign "to kick away the Party committees in making revolution." As a result, all the Party committees of the armed units except those of the field armies were paralysed and the primary Party organizations ceased to function.

October 9-28

Mao Zedong presided over a working conference of the CPC Central Committee in Beijing. Chen Boda made a report on the "Two Lines in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," in which he vigorously criticized the "reactionary bourgeois line." Speaking at the meeting, Lin Biao attacked Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping by name, accusing them of pursuing "a line of repression of the masses and opposition to the revolution" and pointing out that "the erroneous line in the current cultural revolution has been started chiefly by Liu and Deng." After the meeting, a wave of criticizing the "reactionary bourgeois line" was whipped up nationwide. On December 18, Zhang Chunqiao received at the west gate of Zhongnanhai Kuai Dafu, a Qinghua University student, urging him to muster forces to overthrow Liu Shaoqi. On the 25th and afterwards, demonstrations broke out in succession in Beijing and other parts of the country. The demonstrators openly shouted the slogan of "Down with Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping!"

Early November

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, acting on the instructions of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, instigated rebel organizations in Shanghai to "rise against the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee" and "concentrate their attack on it." On the 9th, the "Shanghai Workers' Headquarters of Revolutionary Rebels" (the "Workers' Headquarters" for short) headed by Wang Hongwen and a few others was established, declaring that its objective was "to seize power." On the 10th, under the pretext of going to Beijing to lodge complaints, the Workers' Headquarters gathered its members at the "Anting Railway Station on the outskirts of Shanghai and tried to force aboard a north-bound train. When the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee sent out people to prevent them, Wang Hongwen directed his followers to lie on the rails and obstructed traffic between Shanghai and Nanjing for more than 30 hours. On behalf of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Zhang Chunqiao went to the site to handle the matter known as the "Anting Incident." Ignoring the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, he signed his agreement to the five demands put forward by Wang Hongwen and his followers, acknowledging their disturbances as "revolutionary actions" and required the mayor

of Shanghai to openly criticize himself for his "mistakes."

November 16

Upon instructions of the CPC Central Committee, Gu Mu and Yu Qiuli convened a meeting to discuss the cultural revolution in the enterprises of industry and transport. It was attended by responsible comrades from the five ministries of metallurgical industry, water conservancy and power, railways, chemical industry and machine-building, the seven cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Shenyang, Harbin, Wuhan and Guangzhou and the greater administrative areas. In their speeches the participants fully affirmed the achievements scored on the industrial and transport fronts in the past 17 years and suggested that the "cultural revolution" in industrial and transport enterprises be carried out by stages and in groups, instead of all at the same time. They were against establishing united rebel organizations among the workers and exchanging experience among the industrial and transport enterprises; and they hoped that the relationship between revolution and production would be handled correctly. From December 4 to 6, Lin Biao presided over an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report on the proceedings of the meeting mentioned above and discuss the "Ten-Point Regulations on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production" (the "Ten-Point Regulations on Industry" for short). Lin Biao commented, "The meeting lasted more than Twenty days, with dissatisfactory results. The guiding ideas were quite incorrect." He said, "The problem of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping has not existed only for the past fifty days but for the past ten or twenty years. And they have exerted a tremendous influence on the industrial and transport fronts." He added, "The current cultural revolution is a movement to criticize the Party as a whole, a movement to criticize cadres." On the last day of the meeting, Wang Li and others of the Central Cultural Revolution Group launched a surprise attack on Tao Zhu, accusing him of trying to stave off the "revolution" under the pretext of grasping production. The participants unanimously adopted the new version of the "Ten-Point Regulations on Industry" prepared by the Cultural Revolution Group.

December 9

The CPC Central Committee publicized the "Ten-Point Regulations on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production (Draft)." The regulations provided, "With the exception of the eight working hours, the rest of the time shall be put at the masses' disposal. They can spend their spare time discussing problems of production once a week and engaging in cultural revolutionary activities on the other days of the week." "The workers have the right to set up revolutionary organizations in the cultural revolution." They and their organizations "are allowed to ex-

change cultural revolutionary experience among themselves in their own cities during their spare time." "Students are allowed to go to factories and mines according to plans and to exchange revolutionary experience with the workers during the latter's spare time.... And the workers, on their part, may send representatives to schools in the locality to exchange revolutionary experience with the students." After the document was distributed throughout the country, the "cultural revolution" was officially extended to all grass-roots units in the fields of industry, transport, finance and trade.

December 15

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Rural Areas (Draft)," bringing the disturbances created by the "cultural revolution" to the countryside. According to the directive, "The 'four clean-ups movement' should be incorporated in the cultural revolution." "The organ of power leading the cultural revolution in the rural areas is the cultural revolutionary committee of the poor and lower-middle peasants, which shall be elected at the meeting of the poor and lower-middle peasants in a democratic way." "Red Guard organizations with young people of the poor and lower-middle peasants' background as the backbone shall be set up and developed in the cultural revolution." "The cultural revolution in the rural areas shall likewise be carried out through free airing of views, putting up big-character posters, holding great debates and practising extensive democracy." "Revolutionary experience may be exchanged among production teams and communes during slack time in farming. Revolutionary students may be sent to the countryside to exchange experience gained in the cultural revolution."

December 27

Jiang Qing and Qi Benyu urged Red Guards in Beijing to go to Sichuan to kidnap Peng Dehuai (who had just been appointed deputy commander-in-chief in charge of construction in the third-line region), escort him to Beijing and put him into custody for criticism and denunciation. During this period, Peng was subjected to frequent criticism and denunciation and torture, which inflicted serious internal injury upon him. He died on November 29, 1974 in Beijing.

December 30

With the support of Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and his followers incited violence involving 100,000 people in Shanghai, known as the "Kangping Road Incident," in which the office building of the Municipal Party Committee was assaulted. Talking about the incident afterwards, Zhang Chunqiao made no secret of his satisfaction, "We called in the rebels and urged them to join in the fight quickly. This trial of strength

marked a turning point. After this battle, the Municipal Party Committee was paralysed and toppled and nobody will listen to it anymore." The "Kangping Road Incident" signified the beginning of nationwide violence.

1967

January 1

The *People's Daily* and the *Red Flag* published an editorial after it had been examined and approved by Mao Zedong—"Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End." It declared that "1967 will be a year of all-round development of class struggle throughout China." It called on the people to "launch a general attack on the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and on the ghosts and monsters in society."

January 4

Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda received in Beijing the "Wuhan Rebellion Corps Specially Bound for Guangzhou to Catch Wang Renzhong." Speaking to its members, they slandered Tao Zhu, then Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee in charge of its day-to-day work, as a "faithful follower of the reactionary bourgeois line" and "China's biggest royalist." To people's surprise, Tao Zhu was thus overthrown and was subjected to cruel persecution. He died unclear of false charges on November 30, 1969 in Hefei, Anhui Province.

January 5

Zhang Chunqiao told chieftains of the "Workers' Headquarters" and other rebel organizations in Shanghai that "the basic question at present is to seize power from the capitalist roaders and I hope the revolutionary rebels will have all the key departments under their control." On the 6th, under the command of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, rebel organizations in Shanghai headed by Wang Hongwen called "a rally to overthrow the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee" and seized leadership of the Party and government of the city. The incident was then lauded as "the January Revolution." Commenting on it two days later, Mao Zedong said with satisfaction, "This was a great revolution in which one class overthrew another." He added, "Now that the revolutionary forces in Shanghai have risen up, there is hope for China. The event cannot but make an impact on east China and on all the provinces and cities in the country." On the 11th, acting on instructions of Mao Zedong, the Central Cultural Revolution Group drafted a message of

congratulations to the rebel organizations in Shanghai on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The *Red Flag* and the *People's Daily* published editorials to affirm and support the seizure of power in Shanghai, calling on all the "proletarian revolutionaries to unite and seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road." Then, rebels in Shanxi, Guizhou, Heilongjiang, Shandong and other provinces seized power from the Party and government leading organs and set up "three-in-one" revolutionary committees.* The practice of seizing power swept across the country. The situation became all the more chaotic.

January 13

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued "Regulations on Intensifying Public Security Work in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (the "Six-Article Public Security Regulations" for short). According to the regulations, "Any attack or slander against the great leader Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao, his close comrade-in-arms, is a counter-revolutionary act and shall be punished according to law." This provision was later extended to include any slight complaint about Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company. The regulations constituted one of the major causes for the great number of false and wrong cases in the "cultural revolution."

January 23

In compliance with Mao Zedong's proposal, the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued the "Decision on the People's Liberation Army Giving Firm Support to the Revolutionary Left." Acting on the decision, the PLA helped stabilize the situation at the time. However, it also brought about many negative consequences because it was following the erroneous policy of the "cultural revolution" in general.

February 3

Mao Zedong told foreign guests, "In the past we waged struggles in the rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to

*The "three-in-one combination" was a basic principle for the formation of "revolutionary committees" during the "cultural revolution." It required that the revolutionary committee be composed of leaders of the rebel organizations, representatives of the PLA troops stationed in the locality and revolutionary leading cadres. None of the three components could be dispensed with.

expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." These remarks showed that Mao Zedong considered the "cultural revolution" the only approach of "exposing our dark aspect." In his talk with the foreign guests, Mao criticized the anarchist idea of "suspecting everyone and overthrowing everyone," which was prevailing at the time.

February 11-16

At a meeting to exchange views at Huarentang presided over by Zhou Enlai and at an earlier meeting of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and others expressed strong feelings against the erroneous "cultural revolution" and righteously denounced Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and their gang for their crimes of framing up and persecuting veteran cadres and creating chaos in the Party and the army. They raised three questions of principle involving the "cultural revolution": First, was Party leadership unnecessary? Second, should the veteran cadres be overthrown? And third, isn't it necessary for the army to remain stable? On the night of the 16th, Zhang Chungqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Li secretly prepared a report on the "February 16 Huarentang Meeting" and after conspiring with Jiang Qing, submitted it to Mao Zedong. On the night of the 18th, Mao Zedong severely criticized these veteran comrades. Between February 25 and March 18, the CPC Central Committee held a number of meetings at which Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, Xie Fuzhi and others attacked these comrades on charges of stirring up the "February adverse current." Then, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee ceased to function, to be replaced completely by the Cultural Revolution Group.

March 16

The CPC Central Committee printed and distributed "Comments on the Materials Concerning Bo Yibo, Liu Lantao, An Ziwen, Yang Xianzhen and Others Who Had Surrendered Themselves to the Enemy" and the appendix to the materials. Bo Yibo and the others had got out of KMT jail between August 1936 and March 1937 in compliance with the decision of the Party organization. But in the materials they were wrongly accused of being "renegades." The circulation of the materials gave rise to a sinister campaign of "ferreting out renegades" throughout the country. (The wrong case of Bo Yibo and the others was thoroughly redressed on December 16, 1978.) Moreover, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing asserted that there had been "an organizational line of Liu Shaoqi's renegades clique." This was followed by the framing of the "Xinjiang renegades clique," the "northeast renegades clique" and the "south China

renegades clique," and other major wrong cases. On May 17, when the campaign to "ferret out renegades" reached its height, Jiang Qing made use of a copy of the so-called "Statement by Wu Hao* and Others on Quitting the Communist Party" fabricated by KMT secret agents in the 1930s, in an attempt to frame Zhou Enlai. On January 16, 1968, Mao Zedong wrote a comment on the copy, "The matter was cleared long ago. It was framed by the Kuomintang." Jiang Qing's scheme was thus foiled.

March 20

Speaking at a meeting attended by PLA cadres at and above the rank of corps commander, Lin Biao said that the losses of the "cultural revolution" were trifling while the achievements were tremendous. He urged people to "take the initiative and launch attacks and stir up the most violent typhoons."

April 1

The *People's Daily* published Qi Benyu's article "Patriotism or National Betrayal?—On the Reactionary Film *Inside Story of the Qing Court*." This led to a series of attacks against Liu Shaoqi in newspapers and other publications though his name was not mentioned. And Liu Shaoqi's appeals to defend himself were unheeded. At an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee held between April 12 and 18, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng and Zhang Chunqiao cooked up charges against Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. On May 8, the *People's Daily* and the *Red Flag* published an article prepared jointly by their editorial departments "Betrayal of Proletarian Dictatorship Is the Essential Element in the Book on 'Self-Cultivation.' "** Earlier, the article had been discussed and approved at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. In the circular it issued on May 11 the CPC Central Committee expressed the hope that "all units will further deepen criticism of the handful of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road." On July 18, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda, taking advantage of Mao Zedong's absence in Beijing, decided to arrange a rally to criticize and denounce Liu Shaoqi and his wife and ransack their home and persecute them.

June 6

The CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued a seven-point general order, requiring to "stop the recent

* Assumed name used by Zhou Enlai in the 1930s.

** Referring the *How to Be a Good Communist* by Liu Shaoqi.

evil practices of beating, smashing, looting, ransacking and arresting."

June 17

China successfully exploded its first hydrogen bomb in the skies over a western region. The outstanding achievement had been scored by the masses of engineers and technicians, cadres, workers and armymen who had overcome interference by the "cultural revolution" and persisted in building national defence.

July 20

A mass organization in Wuhan questioned and criticized Wang Li and other members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group for their conspiracy to support one faction while repressing another. This was labelled as a "counter-revolutionary incident." On the 25th, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing called a mass rally in Beijing in support of the rebels in Wuhan. Meanwhile, they raised in newspapers and other publications the slogan "Down with a handful of capitalist roaders in the army!" Thus, they started a wave of storming military institutions throughout the country.

July 22

Speaking to the delegation of a mass organization from Henan, Jiang Qing provoked violence by the slogan of "attacking by reasoning and defending by force." On the following day, the *Wenhui Bao* in Shanghai published the slogan, and violence sharply escalated nationwide, leading to an "all-out civil war" in the country.

August 7

In his speech Xie Fuzhi absurdly advocated the smashing of the judicial and public security organs. Consequently, cadres working in these fields were subjected to cruel persecution.

On the same day, Wang Li incited the seizure of leadership of the Foreign Ministry. Abetted by him and Guan Feng, the rebels smashed the political department of the ministry, sealed off the office of the ministry's Party committee and seized the power of the ministry. Subsequently, there occurred a series of incidents involving other countries, such as the burning down of the office of the British Charge d'Affaires in Beijing on August 22, seriously damaging China's foreign relations and its image abroad. At the end of August, Mao Zedong approved a report submitted by Zhou Enlai requesting to keep Wang Li and Guan Feng in isolation for the convenience of investigation. In January the following year, the same happened to Qi Benyu.

August 9

Lin Biao said in a speech, "Now Party and government departments in many places have paralysed, and things seem to be in a mess. But the

disorder is, in fact, something quite necessary and normal." He absurdly advocated that "the target of the current revolution is those who made revolution before" and "it is necessary to set up a new state apparatus."

August 14

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Criticizing People by Name in Newspapers and Magazines." It stated that "in order to better integrate current revolutionary criticism with the struggle-criticism-transformation* in various localities and departments," it approved criticism of 34 more 'capitalist roaders' by name in addition to the already approved 21 at the central, provincial and municipal levels.

August 17

The General Office of the Military Commission of the Central Committee was established in accordance with the decision made by the CPC Central Committee and the commission. The office was composed of four followers of Lin Biao, namely, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Qiu Huizuo and Zhang Xiuchuan, with Wu Faxian as head of the office.

October 14

The CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group jointly issued the "Circular on Reopening School to Carry On the Revolution." It required "all universities and middle and primary schools to resume classes immediately and transform education while teaching is going on." However, owing to continued disturbances, classes could not be resumed.

October 17

The CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the country the summary of talks given by Mao Zedong during his inspection tours of the north, central south and east China between July and September. He held that "in general the great proletarian cultural revolution was in excellent shape.... Some localities seemed to be in chaos for a while, but in fact it is the enemy that has been thrown into disarray, and the masses have been tempered in the midst of it." He called on revolutionary mass organizations in all parts of the country to form great revolutionary

*Specifically, this refers to the objective set for the "cultural revolution" in the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" adopted by the CPC Central Committee on August 8, 1966—namely, "to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base."

alliances. In the talks he dwelt on the question of cadres. He said, "The overwhelming majority of our cadres are good and only a tiny minority are not. True, those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are our target, but they are a mere handful." It was necessary to "help more people by educating them." Mao's remarks served to liberate a number of cadres and prevent the situation from deteriorating.

October 27

The CPC Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued the "Directive on Resuming Regular Party Organizational Activities in Units Where Revolutionary Committees Have Been Established." According to the directive "Party organizations must no longer permit" the so-called renegades, enemy agents and unrepentant capitalist roaders to "take part in their regular activities." It required that class struggle should be taken as the key link in Party building, which was later known as the "fifty-character principle for Party building."*

November 6

The *People's Daily*, the *Red Flag* and the *Liberation Army Daily* published a joint editorial entitled "Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Socialist Revolution." For the first time Mao Zedong's theory on launching the "cultural revolution" was generalized into six points under the heading of the "theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." The six points were: One, it is necessary to apply the law of the unity of opposites "to the study of the socialist society"; two, in the socialist society "still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues and the danger of capitalist restoration remains"; three, "in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat," "the bourgeoisie tries to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat while the proletariat strives to consolidate it"; four, "the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party"; five, "in order to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great proletarian cultural revolution should be carried out;" and six, "'fight selfishness, repudiate revisionism' is the fundamental programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the ideological field." The article declared that this theory of Mao's represented "the third great milestone" in the history of the development of Marxism.

*The English translation of the fifty Chinese characters is as follows: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy."

1968

March

Lin Biao and Jiang Qing manufactured the "incident of Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin and Fu Chongbi," falsely accusing the three of "forcing into the office of the Central Cultural Revolution Group." They also cooked up other charges against them, accusing them of trying to reverse the verdict on the "February adverse current" and "launching a new counter-offensive" on behalf of those involved in the "February adverse current." On the 22nd, the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group jointly issued an order to remove Yang Chengwu from the posts of acting chief of the General Staff of the PLA and Standing Committee member of the Military Commission; to remove Yu Lijin from the post of political commissar of the Air Force and arrest him for being a "renegade"; and to remove Fu Chongbi from the post of commander of the Beijing Garrison. On the same day, Huang Yongsheng was appointed chief of the General Staff of the PLA, and deputy chief of the General Staff Wen Yucheng concurrently commander of the Beijing Garrison. Meanwhile, the General Office of the Military Commission was reorganized, adding Huang Yongsheng and Li Zuopeng to it. Thus, a considerable portion of the power of the Military Commission fell into the hands of Lin Biao and company. This was another major step in the scheme of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to usurp the power of the Military Commission in collaboration. Not long afterwards, in accordance with the instruction of Mao Zedong, the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Central Committee ceased to hold meetings and its functions were performed actually by its General Office.

May 25

The CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the country "The Experience Gained by the Military Control Commission Stationed at the Xinhua Printing House in Mobilizing the Masses to Struggle Against the Enemy," requiring all localities and units to "do a good job in purifying the class ranks according to plans and under sound guidance." In the process a great number of people were wronged.

July 3

The CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group jointly issued a six-point notice strictly prohibiting undermining communications lines, robbing military trains, breaking into PLA institutions and killing or wounding PLA commanders and fighters. On the 24th, the CPC Central Committee issued another six-point notice for the purpose of stopping violence that was going on in some places.

July 21

Mao Zedong commented on a fact-finding report entitled "the Road for Training Engineering and Technical Personnel Indicated by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant." He wrote, "It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is necessary to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." On the 22nd, the *People's Daily* published the report with an editor's note which read in part: The report had "set forth the orientation for the revolution in education in schools and colleges." Subsequently, "July 21 Universities," named after the date on which Mao wrote the comment, mushroomed throughout the country.

July 27

Over 30,000 workers from 60-odd factories in Beijing formed a "Workers' Mao Zedong Thought propaganda team" (the "workers' propaganda team" for short) and entered Qinghua University where sharp factional struggles were going on. They tried to stop the fight and maintain order on the campus. On August 25, the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group jointly issued the "Circular on Sending Workers' Propaganda Teams to Schools," requiring that "under the leadership of the revolutionary committees, Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams should be formed, with fine industrial workers as the mainbody and together with PLA men, and sent to schools by stages and in groups." On the 26th, the *People's Daily* carried an article entitled "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything," in which it conveyed an instruction of Mao Zedong's: "It is essential for the workers and People's Liberation Army fighters to go to those places where intellectuals are concentrated, be they schools or other units, to break the complete domination by intellectuals, occupy the 'independent kingdoms,' big or small." By the end of August, workers' propaganda teams had been stationed in all the 59 colleges and universities in the capital. Since then, in addition to schools, workers' propaganda teams and PLA propaganda teams had been sent to Party and government departments at various levels that were not under military control.

August 23

Kang Sheng and others made leading members of the Organization Department of the Central Committee cook up a "Report Concerning the Political Background of Members of the Central Supervisory Commission," labelling 37 of the 60 members or alternate members of the

Supervisory Commission of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC as "renegades," "enemy agents" or "counter-revolutionary revisionists." On the 27th, Kang Sheng and others did the same with regard to the Standing Committee members of both the Third National People's Congress and the Fourth National Committee of the CPPCC. In the reports, which were examined and revised by Kang Sheng, 60 of the 115 NPC Standing Committee members and 74 of the 159 Standing Committee members of the National Committee of the CPPCC were labelled as "renegades," "enemy agents" or "counter-revolutionary revisionists."

September 5

The revolutionary committees of the Autonomous Regions of Xinjiang and Tibet were established. By then, revolutionary committees had been set up in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country. The struggle to seize power, which lasted 20 months, caused serious losses in all fields of endeavour. Take the index of gross output value for example. It was down 9.9 percent in 1967 compared with the previous year, and in 1968 it dropped by 4.7 percent from the 1967 figure.

September 7

The *People's Daily* and the *Liberation Army Daily* published an editorial "Long Live the All-Round Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!" It asserted that the "establishment of revolutionary committees throughout the country is an important event in seizing the all-round victory in the great cultural revolution. It indicates that the whole movement has entered the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nationwide scale." The editorial conveyed Mao Zedong's opinion, "Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; streamlining the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops." This idea outlined Mao's plan to bring about a "great order under heaven" by means of "struggle-criticism-transformation."

September 16

Under the control of Jiang Qing, the "special group for the examination of the case of Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei" compiled three volumes of "evidence of Liu Shaoqi's crime." In her written comments on the materials, Jiang Qing labelled Liu as the "arch renegade, hidden traitor, scab, enemy agent and counter-revolutionary" and "U.S. intelligence agent in the Far East." On the 29th, Lin Biao wrote his comments: "Fully agree with Comrade Jiang Qing." "My salute to her for her

outstanding guidance to the investigation of the special case and the tremendous achievements scored."

October 5

The *People's Daily* published in an editor's note Mao Zedong's call for "sending the masses of cadres to do manual labour." In response to the call, "May 7 cadre schools" were set up throughout the country. The overwhelming majority of cadres of Party and government departments and teachers of the institutions of higher learning were sent to cadre schools to do manual labour and study there.

October 13-31

The enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. As 71 percent of the members and alternate members of the Eighth Central Committee had been labelled as "renegade," "enemy agent," "having illicit relations with foreign countries," or "anti-Party element," of the 97 full members, with 10 having died since the Eleventh Plenary Session, only 40 were qualified to attend the session. When the session began, 10 alternate members were elected to fill the vacancies of full members in order to have a quorum. Among the alternate members, only 9 were qualified for attending the session. On the other hand, members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the General Office of the Military Commission, principal leading members of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region revolutionary committees and the major military commands and personnel from the organs directly under the Central Committee, totalling 74, were invited to the session, accounting for over 57 percent of the 133 qualified participants. Mao Zedong presided over the session. Speaking about the "cultural revolution," he said, "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." From the outset, the participants, divided into groups, launched attacks on Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen, who had been involved in the "February adverse current," (Tan Zhenlin was deprived of the right to attend the session). Zhu De, Chen Yun and Deng Zihui were criticized for their "persistent Right deviation." It was under these extremely unusual circumstances that the plenary session approved the "report on the examination of the crimes of Liu Shaoqi—the renegade, hidden traitor and scab," which was prepared on the basis of false evidence and under the manipulation of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and others, and made the erroneous decision "to expel Liu Shaoqi from the Party forever and remove him from all the posts he has held in and outside the Party." Chen Shaomin, who was present at the session, refused to agree to the decision in defiance of high pressure. Lin Biao,

Jiang Qing and company clamoured to expel Deng Xiaoping from the Party but failed in their scheme, because Mao Zedong was opposed to it. The plenary session adopted some documents on preparations for the convocation of the Ninth Party Congress.

October 16

The *People's Daily* republished a *Red Flag* editorial "Absorb Fresh Blood from the Proletariat." The editorial called on people to criticize the theories advocated by Liu Shaoqi—"the theory of the dying out of class struggle," "the theory of docile tools," "the theory that the masses are backward," "the theory of entering the Party in order to be an official," "the theory of inner-Party peace" and "the theory of merging private and public interests." Many of the articles used in "revolutionary mass criticism" were written under the direction or instructions of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. By quoting out of context and fabricating charges, the authors criticized correct ideas with erroneous "Left" ideas, creating great confusion politically, theoretically and ideologically.

December 22

The *People's Daily* conveyed an instruction of Mao Zedong's which read, "It is very necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." This brought about an upsurge of educated young people going to mountainous areas and the countryside. During the "cultural revolution," over 16 million educated youths went to the mountainous areas and the countryside. The government and the enterprises and other institutions spent at least 10 billion yuan for their settling down there.

December 29

The Nanjing Yangtse Bridge was completed and opened to traffic ahead of schedule. Consisting of a railway bridge, 6,700 metres long, and a highway bridge, 4,500 metres long, it was the longest bridge ever designed and built by China. In spite of interference by the "cultural revolution," large numbers of Party and non-Party technicians and workers had been dedicated to national construction. The Nanjing Yangtse Bridge was representative of their outstanding achievements.

1969

March

Soviet troops intruded into the area of Zhenbao Island in Heilongjiang Province on four occasions, killing and wounding Chinese frontier guards and creating serious bloody incidents. The Chinese frontier guards were compelled to fight back. The Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged three strong protests with the Soviet Government. These incidents

encouraged the "Left" tendency among people within the Party in their assessment of the international situation, who believed that the international situation was worsening from day to day and a world war was unavoidable. On the 15th, Mao Zedong discussed the question of preparedness against war when members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group met for briefing.

April 1-24

The Ninth National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. One thousand five hundred and twelve deputies representing nearly 22 million Party members attended the congress. Lin Biao delivered the political report, in which he applied the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" in his analysis of the preparation and execution of the "cultural revolution" and extravagantly lauded the "great achievements" scored in the "cultural revolution." Based on distorted facts, he alleged that the "cultural revolution" was "the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in socialist society." For the first time, the erroneous guiding idea that class struggle should be regarded as the central link at all times and under all circumstances in the period of socialism was officially made "the basic line of the Party throughout the historic period of socialism." The congress adopted a new Party Constitution in which the Party's theoretical basis—Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought—was distorted, articles on the rights of Party members were deleted and, furthermore, Lin Biao was put down in the general programme as "Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor." The congress elected 279 members and alternate members to the Central Committee, of whom only 53, or less than one-fifth of the total, had been members or alternate members of the Eighth Central Committee. The principal followers of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing made their way into the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and quite a number of their other followers and trusted supporters became members or alternate members of the Central Committee, thus a greater portion of the power of the Party fell into their hands. However, they were still not in a position to exclude all their opponents from the Party Central Committee. The political report and the new Party Constitution adopted by the congress had legitimized the erroneous theory and practice of the "cultural revolution" and solidified the position of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in the Party Central Committee. The ideological, political and organizational guideline of the Ninth Congress was utterly wrong.

April 28

The First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. Addressing the session, Mao Zedong said, "The

socialist revolution will continue. There are things we haven't finished yet and we have to continue to do them, for instance, struggle-criticism-transformation. In a number of years from now, perhaps we will have to make revolution again." After the Ninth Congress, the "cultural revolution" entered the stage of "struggle-criticism-transformation." The plenary session elected the central organs of the Party. Mao Zedong was elected chairman, and Lin Biao vice-chairman, of the Central Committee. The members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee were Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, (the following were listed in the order of the number of strokes of the surnames) Chen Boda, Zhou Enlai and Kang Sheng. The members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee were Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, (the following were listed in the order of the number of strokes of the surnames) Ye Qun, Ye Jianying, Liu Bochong, Jiang Qing, Zhu De, Xu Shiyu, Chen Boda, Chen Xilian, Li Xiannian, Li Zuopeng, Wu Faxian, Zhang Chunqiao, Qiu Huizuo, Zhou Enlai, Yao Wenyuan, Kang Sheng, Huang Yongsheng, Dong Biwu and Xie Fuzhi; and its alternate members were Ji Dengkui, Li Xuefeng, Li Desheng and Wang Dongxing.

June

A meeting was held by Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo, who were members of the General Office of the Military Commission of the Central Committee. According to Lin Biao's idea that "we must proceed from the viewpoint of war in observing, examining and doing everything," the participants worked out an extensive plan for the building of national defence. Qiu Huizuo and others proposed the idea of establishing "an independent and comprehensive system of national defence industry," a system "more modern than any of the foreign countries." They declared, "We shouldn't care a hang about proportionate development. War means everything." As a result of their blind expansion of the war industry, national defence expenditure registered a sharp increase of 34 percent over the 1968 figure, and it continued to grow by 15 and 16 percent respectively in 1970 and 1971. From 1969 through 1971, the average annual state investment in national defence industry and related scientific research projects accounted for 11 percent of the total state investment in capital construction, whereas the figure was less than 9 percent in 1968. This could not but seriously hamper normal development of the economy.

August 27

The CPC Central Committee decided to set up the National People's Air Defence Leading Group and similar groups in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to improve work in this field. Under the leadership of these groups, a mass movement was launched for digging air-raid shelters or dugouts.

October 17

Acting on Lin Biao's instructions, Wu Faxian appointed Lin Liguo, son of Lin Biao, deputy director of the General Office and concurrently of the War Department of the PLA Air Force Command. On the following day, Wu Faxian privately authorized Lin Liguo to take command of the Air Force.

On the same day, according to Mao Zedong's assessment that the international situation was likely to worsen abruptly, Lin Biao gave an emergency instruction on "stepping up preparations against surprise attacks by the enemy," requiring that the armed forces be put on red alert, production of weaponry be speeded up and commanders get into combat positions. On the 18th, Huang Yongsheng and others issued the "emergency instruction" in the form of "Vice-Chairman Lin's No. One Order," which shocked all sectors of the society.

October 26

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular Concerning the Transferring of Institutions of Higher Education to Lower Administrative Levels." According to the circular, "in order to make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation and improve leadership over the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolution in education in the institutions of higher education that are directly under the various central departments," it had been decided that the ones that were not located in Beijing or had moved out of Beijing should be put under the administration of the provinces, municipalities or autonomous regions where they were located. Schools run jointly with factories or mines should be put under the leadership of the factories or mines concerned. Universities and colleges directly under the Ministry of Education should all be put under the leadership of the local authorities of the provinces, municipalities or autonomous regions. Subsequently, the universities and colleges that were directly under the central departments, including Beijing University and Qinghua University, were all transferred to local administration, and some universities and colleges were disbanded or merged with others. By 1971, the number of institutions of higher education in China had been reduced from 434 to 328.

November 12

Liu Shaoqi, former vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the People's Republic of China, died uncleared of false charges in Kaifeng, Henan Province, after being subjected to political persecution and torture.

1970

February 15-March 21

The State Council convened the national planning conference to draw up the economic plan for 1970 and discuss an outline of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (draft). Under the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link, firmly grasping preparations against war and bringing about a new leap forward in the economy," the conference called for "concentrating on building the greater strategic rear area in the third-line region." It set the following targets for economic development in 1970: gross industrial output value would increase by 17 percent over the 1969 figure and investment in capital construction, mainly for the development of the war industry and related projects, would be increased by 46 percent; and by 1975, the output of grain would reach 300 million to 325 million tons, steel, 35 to 40 million tons, and coal, 400 to 430 million tons. These excessively high targets led to another rash advance and caused enormous losses to the economy.

March 17-20

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference to discuss questions on convening the Fourth National People's Congress and revising the Constitution. Most of the participants agreed to Mao Zedong's proposal of abolishing the state chairmanship. On April 11, with ulterior motives, Lin Biao made a counter proposal by suggesting that Mao be the chairman. On the following day, Mao Zedong wrote a comment on Lin Biao's proposal, "I cannot do this again. This idea is inappropriate." In the six months before and after this, Mao Zedong repeated his opposition on six occasions. However, Lin Biao stubbornly clung to his own idea. Talking with Wu Faxian in mid-May, he emphasized the need of the state chairmanship saying, "After all, the state must have a chairman. A state cannot do without a chairman." Later in a private talk with Wu Faxian in July, Ye Qun [Lin Biao's wife—*Tr.*] said, "What about Lin Biao if the state chairmanship is abolished? Where will he be placed?"

March 27

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Ferreting Out the Conspiratorial 'May 16' Counter-revolutionary Clique." In the circular it stressed that "our struggle with the enemies at home and abroad is very complicated. The 'May 16' clique is by no means the only counter-revolutionary secret organization." It urged people to ferret out more "counter-revolutionaries." The so-called "May 16" counter-revolutionary clique referred to a former small mass organization named "the Capital 'May 16' Red Guard Corps." In August 1967, it had secretly distributed leaflets slandering Zhou Enlai. In Yao Wenyuan's article "Comments on

Tao Zhu's Two Books," which appeared in the *People's Daily* on September 8, 1967, there was a paragraph added by Mao Zedong to the effect that the organizers and manipulators of the "May 16" clique were a conspiratorial counter-revolutionary group and must be thoroughly ferreted out. In 1968, the Central Committee set up a leading group responsible for the special case of the "May 16" clique. The group was headed by Chen Boda, with Xie Fuzhi and Wu Faxian as members. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company condemned a great number of cadres and other people who had been opposed to them and the Central Cultural Revolution Group as members of the "May 16" clique. Owing to interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the struggle to ferret out the "May 16" clique went out of control, leading to a tangled struggle nationwide between the mass organizations of two different factions and subjecting millions of people to relentless persecution.

April 24

China successfully launched its first man-made satellite.

April 28

The Chinese government issued a statement expressing support to the summit conference of Viet Nam (North and South), Cambodia and Laos. It declared that the Chinese government and people had always given firm support to the peoples of the three Indo-China countries in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and had regarded it as their bounden internationalist duty. On May 20, in support of the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save the nation, Mao Zedong issued a statement entitled "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!"

June 27

The CPC Central Committee approved the "Report of Beijing University and Qinghua University on the Enrolment of Students" (experiments were conducted in the two universities), and other universities and colleges resumed enrolment of students and classes. The report suggested abolishing entrance examination in the institutions of higher education and enrolling "students from among the workers, peasants and soldiers through recommendation by the masses, approval by the leadership and re-examination by the school authorities. The students were assigned the tasks of studying and administering the affairs of the universities and reforming them with Mao Zedong Thought." This so-called reform had not only created great chaos in teaching in the universities but also in the middle schools, with the result of inferior quality of education.

August 23-September 6

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the

CPC was held in Lushan. To achieve their aim of taking over leadership and seizing power, Lin Biao, acting on the plan hatched up in secret with his followers beforehand, made a speech at the session, praising Mao Zedong as a genius and expressing his disagreement with people who were opposed to his praises. Then, his followers all preached about genius at group meetings according to the material prepared by Chen Boda and examined by Lin Biao. At this point, the scramble for power between the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques had surfaced. Before everybody else Chen Boda spoke in praise of Lin Biao, insisted on the need of state chairmanship and attacked Zhang Chunqiao. His speech was printed in Bulletin No. 2 of the north China group and caused great confusion. On the 25th, Mao Zedong called an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, at which it was decided to recall Bulletin No. 2 and instruct Chen Boda to make a self-criticism. On the 31st, Mao wrote "An Opinion of Mine" in which he severely criticized Chen Boda, dealing a heavy blow at the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique.

November 6

The CPC Central Committee decided to set up a group in charge of organizational and propaganda work under the leadership of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. The group was headed by Kang Sheng with Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Ji Dengkui and Li Desheng as members. Later, Kang Sheng was absent for health reasons and Li Desheng was transferred to Shenyang. Consequently, power fell into the hands of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan.

November 16

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Informing Party Members of Chen Boda's Anti-Party Activities," calling on "comrades who know of Chen's activities to expose him." It decided to launch a rectification campaign to criticize Chen Boda first in the leading organs of the Party.

December 18

Mao Zedong met with Edgar Snow, an American friend. Talking with him, Mao said, "It is necessary to have a bit of personality cult," but he added, "the problem now is there is too much of it, too much of formalism, such as the 'four greats.'* They are a nuisance." Mao also said that there were two things in the "cultural revolution" which he disliked, one, telling lies, and the other, maltreating captives.

*The "four greats" refer to the appellations of great teacher, great leader, great commander and great helmsman for Mao Zedong during the "cultural revolution".

December 22

Acting on Mao Zedong's proposal, Zhou Enlai presided over the North China Conference to expose and criticize Chen Boda's counter-revolutionary crimes. The decision made by the Central Committee on reorganizing the Beijing Military Command was announced at the conference. After the conference was closed in late January 1971, the rectification campaign to criticize Chen Boda was gradually unfolded in the Party's leading organs at different levels.

December 25

According to Zhou Enlai's proposal which was approved by Mao Zedong, decision was made for the construction of the Gezhouba water conservancy project. It consisted of a huge dam, the first of its kind to be built on the Yangtse River.

1971**March 22**

Lin Biao and Ye Qun directed Lin Liguo, Zhou Yuchi and a few others to make in Shanghai a plan for their counter-revolutionary coup d'état—"the Outline of 'Project 571.'" It was a plot to stage an armed coup d'état by murdering Mao Zedong and "seizing supreme power of the state."

April 15-July 31

The National Education Conference was held in Beijing. In the summary of the conference approved by Mao Zedong, "two assessments" were made, namely, in the 17 years since liberation, "Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has not been implemented in the main, as a result of which the bourgeoisie has exercised dictatorship over the proletariat"; and the great majority of teachers and the students trained after liberation, that is, "the great majority of intellectuals, still remain basically bourgeois in their world outlook; in other words, they are still bourgeois intellectuals." Proceeding from these assessments, the conference adopted and reaffirmed a series of policies, such as the workers' propaganda teams should continue to lead schools for a long time to come, the great majority of intellectuals should continue to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers to be re-educated by them, students should continue to be selected from among the workers, peasants and soldiers to administer the affairs of and reform the universities while studying there, the period of schooling of the universities should be shortened and most of the universities and colleges should be put under the administration of local authorities. The two assessments and "Left" policies put forward at the conference made the intellectuals feel perpetually oppressed.

July 8

The State Council distributed throughout the country the "Report Concerning Family Planning" submitted jointly by the Ministries of Public Health, Commerce, and Fuel and Chemical Industry. It called on the local authorities in various parts of the country, except the sparsely populated areas, to improve leadership over the work of birth control. In 1969 and 1970, the natural growth rate of the population was 26.1 and 25.8 per thousand respectively. In the report it was suggested that the growth rate be reduced year by year during the Fourth Five-Year Plan period, to make it around 10 per thousand in the cities and below 15 per thousand in the countryside in 1975.

July 7-11

Premier Zhou Enlai and Henry Kissinger, assistant to U.S. President Nixon for National Security Affairs, held talks in Beijing. On the 16th, it was announced that President Nixon was invited to visit China some time before May 1972.

Mid-August to September 12

Mao Zedong made an inspection tour of south China and had conversations on the way with local Party, government and army leaders. Mao told them, "Someone is impatient to be chairman of the state, wants to split the Party and seize power." "What has happened at Lushan is not over yet. The problem remains to be solved." He pointed out that Lin Biao "should, of course, be held responsible to some extent."

September 5

Lin Biao and Ye Qun learned of Mao's remarks from reports sent by their followers and decided to assassinate Mao during his tour and started their armed coup d'etat. On the 8th, Lin Biao issued his hand-written order for staging the coup. However, since Mao had become alert to Lin Biao's unusual activities, he ordered his special train to leave Shanghai ahead of schedule, thus defeating Lin's plot. On the 12th, Lin Biao was prepared to flee down south to Guangzhou with Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo to set up another Party centre there. And a special plane had secretly flown to Shanhaiguan ready for his use. On the afternoon of the 12th, Mao Zedong returned to Beijing safe and sound. In the evening, having received information from certain quarters, Zhou Enlai ordered an investigation into the sudden flight of the special plane to Shanhaiguan. Seeing that their intrigue was exposed, Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguang hurriedly got on board the plane and fled the country in the small hours of the 13th. The plane crashed at Undur Khan, Mongolia, killing them all. The rest of Lin Biao's clique either committed suicide or were arrested. The counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat was thus smashed. The incident was

known as the "Incident of September 13." The collapse of the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique objectively declared the bankruptcy of the "cultural revolution" both in theory and practice.

After the "Incident of September 13," Zhou Enlai was responsible for the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. With Mao Zedong's support work in all fields took a turn for the better.

October 3

The CPC Central Committee decided to disband the General Office of the Military Commission and established the Work Council of the Military Commission, with vice-chairman Ye Jianying in charge of the daily affairs of the Military Commission. On the same day, the Central Committee decided to set up a special group, with a number of offices attached to it, to examine the case of the Lin Biao-Chen Boda anti-Party clique.

October 25

The 26th U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution with an overwhelming majority vote in favour of restoring all the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and immediately expelling the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the U.N. and from all the organizations attached to it.

November 14

Mao Zedong reversed the verdict on the "February adverse current" when he met with the participants in the Chengdu Forum. He told them, "Don't call them (referring to Ye Jianying and others) exponents of the 'February adverse current.' What is the nature of the 'current'? They were opposing Lin Biao, Chen Boda, Wang Li, Guan Feng and Qi Benyu."

December 11

The CPC Central Committee decided to distribute throughout the country for discussion both inside and outside the Party the first installment of "Materials Concerning the Struggle to Smash the Counter-revolutionary Coup d'Etat of the Lin-Chen Anti-Party Clique." Soon afterwards, the second and third installments were distributed in succession, and a rectification campaign to criticize Lin Biao was conducted nationwide.

December 16-February 12, 1972

The National Planning Conference was held in Beijing. It was suggested that criticism of "empty politics" advocated by Lin Biao and company be linked with the realities of the economic front, so as to eliminate the disastrous effects of their interference and sabotage. When Zhou Enlai was briefed on preparations made for the conference on

December 5, he pointed out that management of enterprises had been in a mess and must be rectified. After the conference, a "Summary of the 1972 National Planning Conference" was drafted under the guidance of the State Council. A number of measures for rectification were suggested. They included more centralized planning, improvement of enterprise management, implementation of the Party's policies concerning cadres, workers and technical personnel, persistence in being politically sound and professionally competent and opposition to "empty politics" and anarchism. In relation to the improvement of management of enterprises, it was stated in explicit terms that the system of job responsibilities, the system of checking on work attendance, the regulations for technical operations, the system of checking on the quality of products and three other systems should be restored or perfected in the enterprises; and that the enterprises should strive to fulfil the targets for output, variety, quality, conservation of raw and semi-finished materials, fuel and power, and labour productivity. The summary had been discussed and approved at a meeting presided over by Zhou Enlai before it was submitted to the Central Committee for approval and distribution throughout the country. However, Zhang Chunqiao was extremely displeased with the document and complained, "It is too long for distribution." In fact, he was opposed to criticism of "empty politics," and negated the document by declaring that the criticism was actually directed against the "cultural revolution." During the National Planning Conference, Zhou Enlai discovered that three quotas were exceeded as a result of inflated development in 1970. He said at the conference that the number of workers and office staff had exceeded 50 million, the total payroll 30 billion yuan and the sales of food grain 40 million tons—all this had caused a series of problems to all sectors of the economy. Mistakes would be made unless these problems were solved properly.

December 26

The CPC Central Committee issued a directive on the question of distribution in the people's communes. Under the influence of ultra-Left tendency, egalitarianism in distribution held sway in the countryside, so that the peasants were not properly paid. This had dampened their enthusiasm for production. It was against this state of affairs that the directive instructed the people's communes not to mechanically follow the example of the Dazhai Production Brigade in management but to proceed from their actual conditions. They were asked to analyse their own experience and keep to those measures that were easier to apply and well received by the peasants. The Central Committee stressed the need to develop agricultural production in an all-round way and opposed criticizing diversified economy, which was permitted by the Party's policy, as capitalist economy. It laid down a number of specific policies to help the collective increase output and the peasants their personal

income, to reduce the burden of the peasants and ensure payment to them. The directive was warmly received by rural cadres and masses.

1972

January 6

Chen Yi, vice-chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, vice-premier of the State Council and concurrently foreign minister, died in Beijing. Mao Zedong attended the mourning ceremony and Zhou Enlai delivered the memorial speech at the ceremony.

January

Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai approved a report by the State Planning Commission to import eight complete sets of equipment for chemical fertilizer and synthetic fibre. Later, the State Planning Commission made another plan to import US\$4.3 billion's worth of complete sets of equipment and single pieces of machinery (also known as the Four Three Plan). Expanded economic exchange with other countries served to end China's prolonged seclusion from the outside world.

February 21

U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China. Mao Zedong met with him. Zhou Enlai had talks with him on the normalization of relations between the two countries and on questions of mutual concern. On the 28th, a Sino-U.S. Joint Communiqué was issued in Shanghai, which marked the beginning of the normalization of relations between the two countries after confrontation for more than 20 years.

April 24

The *People's Daily* carried an editorial which had been examined and approved by Zhou Enlai—"Learn from Past Mistakes to Avoid Future Ones and Cure the Sickness to Save the Patient." In the editorial attention was called to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and applying the correct policy of unity-criticism-unity to all those comrades who had made mistakes. It was stressed that "veteran cadres who have been tempered in long years of revolutionary struggles are precious assets of the Party."

August 1

The Defence Ministry of the People's Republic of China gave a grand reception in celebration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army. Ye Jianying delivered a speech at the reception. Chen Yun, Wang Zhen, Teng Daiyuan and other veteran cadres who had been persecuted in the "cultural revolution" attended the reception.

August 21

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Soliciting Opinions About the 'Three Supports and Two Militaries.' " * Attached to the circular was the "Decision on Certain Questions Concerning the 'Three Supports and Two Militaries' (Draft)." The draft decision provided that in localities and units where Party committees had been established, the offices and personnel for "three supports and two militaries" be withdrawn.

September 25-29

Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited China on invitation. Zhou Enlai held talks with him on the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Japan. Mao Zedong met with him. On the 29th, a joint statement of the two governments was signed in Beijing, and relations between the two countries were normalized.

October 1

The *People's Daily*, the *Red Flag* and the *Liberation Army Daily* published a joint editorial written under the direction of Zhou Enlai—"Strive for New Victories." It called on people to "quicken the pace in socialist construction and continue to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian policies towards the cadres and intellectuals, the economic policy, etc." It encouraged people "under the command of proletarian politics, to study vocational skill and technique and raise their educational level for the sake of the revolution and become politically sound and professionally competent." The editorial conveyed Zhou Enlai's idea to restore the correct line and policies formulated at the Party's Eighth National Congress.

October 6

The *Guangming Daily* carried an article by Zhou Peiyuan, leading member of Beijing University and well-known physicist. Writing in line with Zhou Enlai's opinions, he emphasized the need to study and do research in the basic theories of natural sciences. Zhang Chunqiao and

* In January 1967, to keep control over the chaotic situation resulting from the "cultural revolution," the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group issued the "Decision on the People's Liberation Army Giving Support to the Revolutionary Left." PLA units were required to "support the revolutionary Left in their struggle to seize power." Then, in late May, the Central Committee decided to exercise military control over schools and government departments and carry out military and political training there. Meanwhile, PLA units were also required to assist local authorities in managing agricultural and industrial production. These tasks were known at the time as the "three supports and two militaries," namely, to support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, and military control, political and military training.

Yao Wenyuan directed the *Wenhui Bao* under their control to attack the article and threatened to find out its behind-the-scenes supporter.

October 14

The *People's Daily* published an editorial "Anarchism Is a Tool Used by Swindlers of Phony Marxism to Oppose the Revolution" and two other articles criticizing the ultra-Left trend of thought and anarchism. They were written in the spirit of the two speeches made by Zhou Enlai in August and September. The articles pointed out that Lin Biao was the chief culprit who encouraged the ultra-Left trend of thought. This action was an extension of the correct proposals put forward around February 1967 by many leading comrades of the Central Committee who had called for correcting the errors of the "cultural revolution." However, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan denounced the three articles by the *People's Daily* as poisonous weeds and instructed the paper to criticize "revisionism" and the "comeback of Right deviation" among its staff. In a conversation on December 17, Mao Zedong said that Lin Biao was "ultra-Right. He practised revisionism, tried to split the Party by means of conspiracy, and betrayed the Party and the nation." After that, only criticism of Lin Biao's ultra-Right mistakes was allowed while criticism of ultra-Left mistakes was prohibited.

December

Having learned of the complaints from families of the cadres put in custody, Mao Zedong criticized the prisons for their "fascist interrogation." On the 18th, Zhou Enlai instructed the Ministry of Public Security together with the Beijing Garrison to investigate thoroughly the prisons in Beijing on their treatment of prisoners. He asked them to announce in front of the prisoners to abolish fascist interrogation and other maltreatment and beating up of prisoners and to declare that whoever should resort to such methods again would be punished according to law and that the "prisoners" were allowed to lodge complaints about such acts.

1973

January 1

The *People's Daily*, the *Red Flag* and the *Liberation Army Daily* emphatically pointed out in a joint editorial "New Year Message" that Lin Biao's line was a "counter-revolutionary revisionist line" and "we must continue to grasp firmly and well the task of prime importance—criticism of Lin Biao and rectification of the style of work." The message quoted Mao Zedong's call for "digging tunnels deep, storing grain everywhere, and never seeking hegemony." The slogan was in the

nature of a policy.

January 7-March 30

The National Planning Conference was held in Beijing. At the conference, the participants exposed and condemned Lin Biao and company for upsetting state plans and discussed ways to deal with the excessive number of workers and office staff, and excessive payroll and sales of food grains. According to instructions given by Zhou Enlai in this regard early in 1972, the State Planning Commission had drafted "Regulations on Adhering to Unified Planning and Improving Economic Management" to be submitted for discussion at the conference. On February 16, when hearing a report on the drafting of the regulations, Zhou Enlai pointed out, "In view of the inflated development in 1970 and negligence of the matter in 1972, constant checking must be done" in the year. "And it is necessary to make clear the policies for consolidation." He stressed the need to implement the principle of distribution according to work and instituting the system of rewards as was necessary. He also criticized the unhealthy tendency of refraining from speaking the truth. With the aim of rectifying the ultra-Left tendency and anarchism in production and construction, ten inviolable disciplinary measures were laid down in the document. During discussions, Zhang Chunqiao simply denied the fact that the participants from the 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions were all in favour of the document, and arbitrarily ordered to recall it saying, "I am strongly opposed to pressure from the majority. It's an honour to be isolated." Consequently, the document was not officially distributed. Nevertheless, it helped promote practical work as its spirit was passed on by the participants after they returned to different parts of the country.

March 8

At a meeting attended on invitation by foreign experts working in China and their family members to mark the International Women's Day, Zhou Enlai severely criticized Lin Biao, Chen Boda, Wang Li and their like for sabotaging and interfering in foreign affairs. He apologized to the foreign experts who had been wrongly criticized and expressed his hope that those who had been forced to leave China would come back to work again.

March 10

The CPC Central Committee, acting on Mao Zedong's instructions, decided to reinstate Deng Xiaoping in the regular activities of the Party and in his former position as vice-premier.

May 20-31

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing in preparation for the convocation of the Tenth National Congress of the

Party. According to a proposal by Mao Zedong a decision was made at the conference to announce that 13 veteran cadres including Tan Zhenlin, Li Jingquan and Ulanfu were "liberated." It was also decided that Wang Hongwen,* Hua Guofeng and Wu De attend meetings of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee as non-voting members and take part in its work.

July 4

When talking with Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao, Mao Zedong criticized the Foreign Ministry then under the charge of Zhou Enlai, saying that the ministry failed to discuss matters of major importance but kept asking for instructions on minor issues. He added, "If it goes on like this, it would surely become revisionist." When discussing the criticism of Confucius, Mao held that like the KMT, Lin Biao also "worshipped Confucius and opposed the Legalist School."

August 20

The CPC Central Committee approved the "Report on the Examination of the Counter-Revolutionary Crimes of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique" and decided to expel Lin Biao and the principal members of his counter-revolutionary clique Chen Boda, Ye Qun, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo and others from the Party forever and remove them from all of their posts inside and outside the Party.

August 24-28

The Tenth National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. Attending the congress were 1,249 deputies representing 28 million Party members. Zhou Enlai made a political report to the congress on behalf of the Central Committee. Wang Hongwen made a report on the revision of the Party Constitution. The congress elected 195 members and 124 alternate members to the new Central Committee. A number of long tested veteran cadres who had been persecuted during the "cultural revolution" were elected to the Central Committee. They included Deng Xiaoping, Wang Jiaxiang, Ulanfu, Li Jingquan, Tan Zhenlin and Liao Chengzhi. But in the meantime, many of the backbone members of Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique were also elected to the Central Committee. The congress continued the errors of the Ninth Congress of the Party. It adhered to the erroneous theory of "continued revolution under

*Wang Hongwen (1935-), a native of Changchun City, Jilin Province, joined the CPC in January 1956. During the "cultural revolution," he was elected member of the Ninth Party Central Committee and member, Political Bureau member, Politburo Standing Committee member and vice-chairman of the Tenth Central Committee. He was also secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai. He was subjected to investigation in October 1976.

the dictatorship of the proletariat" and maintained as the "objective law" Mao Zedong's thesis that "Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And it will repeat after every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves." Mao predicted that "the struggle between the two lines within the Party will exist for a long time to come. It will occur ten, twenty or thirty times." It erroneously affirmed that "both the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress were correct."

August 26

China succeeded in manufacturing the computer capable of performing a million operations per second, the first of its kind ever made in the country.

August 30

The First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing, at which the central organs were elected. Mao Zedong was elected chairman, and Zhou Enlai, Wang Hongwen, Kang Sheng, Ye Jianying and Li Desheng vice-chairmen, of the CPC Central Committee. The Political Bureau members were Mao Zedong, Wang Hongwen, Wei Guoqing, Ye Jianying, Liu Bocheng, Jiang Qing, Zhu De, Xu Shiyu, Hua Guofeng, Ji Dengkui, Wu De, Wang Dongxing, Chen Yonggui, Chen Xilian, Li Xiannian, Li Desheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Zhou Enlai, Yao Wenyuan, Kang Sheng and Dong Biwu. The members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau were Mao Zedong, Wang Hongwen, Ye Jianying, Zhu De, Li Desheng, Zhang Chunqiao, Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng and Dong Biwu. After the Tenth Congress, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen formed the "gang of four" in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Jiang Qing and company had grabbed more power in the central organs of the Party.

October

Jiang Qing and her followers launched a movement to fight back what they called a Right deviationist relapse in Qinghua University and Beijing University. They declared that the movement was aimed at ferreting out its "exponents on top" and removing its "social base below." They ordered the two universities to set up "mass criticism groups" to compile materials about Lin Biao and the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and write articles to criticize Confucius.

December 12

Mao Zedong suggested at a Political Bureau meeting that the commanders of the greater military areas exchange posts with one another. He criticized the Political Bureau for failing to discuss political matters and the Military Commission for failing to discuss military matters. He

also suggested that Deng Xiaoping take part in the work of the Military Commission and be appointed chief of the General Staff of the PLA. When he met with the participants in the conference of the Military Commission on the 21st, Mao Zedong made a self-criticism, admitting that he had believed only in Lin Biao's words and wrongly made He Long, Luo Ruiqing, Yang Chengwu, Yu Lijin and Fu Chongbi the targets of attack. He reaffirmed that Zhu De was a "Red commander." On the 22nd, the Military Commission of the Central Committee issued the order on the exchange of posts among the commanders of the eight greater military areas.* On the same day, the CPC Central Committee issued a circular concerning Deng Xiaoping participating in the leadership of the Central Committee and its Military Commission according to Mao Zedong's proposal.

1974

January 18

With Mao Zedong's approval, the CPC Central Committee distributed throughout the country the first installment of materials entitled "Lin Biao and the Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius," which was compiled under Jiang Qing's directive. On the 24th and 25th, Jiang Qing and company called a number of meetings in Beijing to mobilize army units, departments directly under the Central Committee and government offices to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. Flaunting the banner of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, Jiang Qing and her followers made agitating speeches to attack Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying and other leading comrades of the Central Committee by insinuation. Both before and after the meetings, she wrote letters in her own name to the leading organs of the Navy, the Air Force and Nanjing and Guangzhou military commands. In addition, she dispatched her followers to send "materials" to an anti-chemical unit to agitate the armymen in an attempt to stir up trouble in the army. Manipulated by Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, the newspapers and magazines were overwhelmed with reactionary articles prepared by an outfit of writers under their control. Instead of criticizing Lin Biao or Confucius candidly, they criticized "the Duke of Zhou" and "the Prime Minister," directing their attack at Zhou Enlai by insinuation. Meanwhile, they sang the praises of "empresses" in Chinese history to prepare public opinion before the Fourth National People's Congress for the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique to oppose Zhou Enlai and to form a cabinet of its own.

*The eight greater military areas at the time were: Beijing, Shenyang, Nanjing, Guangzhou, Ji'nan, Wuhan, Fuzhou and Lanzhou.

During this period, Jiang Qing and her followers also created the "incident of the middle school of Mazhenfu Commune" in Henan Province. They took a girl student of that school, who committed suicide because of failing an exam, as victim of the "restoration of the revisionist educational line" during the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and started criticism of teachers and educators. They also criticized the Shanxi opera *Climbing Up the Peach Peak Three Times* and the Hunan opera *Song of the Gardener*. They asserted that the former was designed to call back the spirit of Liu Shaoqi and was an example of the comeback of the revisionist line in literature and art, while the latter was "harping on the old tune of the revisionist line in education" by encouraging teachers to work like "gardeners."

January 19

The army and people on the Xisha Islands succeeded in defending China's sovereignty and territorial integrity by repulsing the attacks by the puppet troops of South Viet Nam who had violated China's territorial waters and air space, occupied Chinese islets and killed and wounded Chinese fishermen.

February 15

Commenting on speeches made by Jiang Qing and her followers at rallies to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, Mao Zedong pointed out, "Nowadays, metaphysics is rampant. The one-sidedness manifested in the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius and attack on backdoor practice may play down the criticism." Mao Zedong also withheld the tape recordings of speeches made by Jiang Qing and her followers at the meeting of January 25 that they intended to broadcast nationwide.

February 22

Mao Zedong met with Zambian President Kaunda and put forth the strategy of differentiating the three worlds and called for united struggle against hegemony. On April 6, a Chinese delegation headed by Deng Xiaoping attended the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly. On the 10th, addressing the session, Deng Xiaoping elaborated on Mao Zedong's strategy and China's foreign policy.

May 15

China built the Dagang Oilfield in the coastal area in the vicinity of Tianjin in the eastern part of north China.

June 14

Jiang Qing called a meeting of her writing outfit and urged them to write articles to criticize "the present-day Confucius." Later in a conversation in Tianjin, she said more openly that "the target of the current movement is the chief Confucian in the Party." Acting on her instruc-

tions, one of her followers read out a foreign dispatch in which Jiang Qing was praised as a "radical" while Zhou Enlai was vilified as a "moderate," giving people to understand that Zhou was the "chief Confucian of our time." Afterwards, a wave of "commenting on the Legalist School and criticizing the Confucian School" was stirred up.

June 18

The State Planning Commission reported to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee that in the first half of the year industrial production had "dropped in many places, which was caused chiefly by the unfavourable conditions in coal production and railway transportation. The output of iron and steel and chemical fertilizer and some products of the war industry fell far short of the targets set by the plan. This has considerably affected economic development and preparedness against war." Specifically, compared with the same period of 1973, the output of coal dropped by 6.2 percent, the volume of railway freight by 2.5 percent, steel by 9.4 percent, and chemical fertilizer by 3.7 percent. On July 1, the CPC Central Committee issued a "Circular on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production."

July 17

At the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Mao Zedong criticized Jiang Qing saying, "Stop running those two factories, one the iron and steel factory and the other the hat factory. Stop slapping big hats on others at will." He declared openly, "She doesn't speak for me, she speaks only for herself." Mao also criticized Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan for being engaged in factional activities, warning them "Don't you turn into a small faction of four." For the first time, Mao raised the question of the "gang of four."

September 29

In accordance with the proposal made by Zhou Enlai and approved by Mao Zedong, the CPC Central Committee decided to redress the wrong case of He Long, former member of the Political Bureau of the Eighth Central Committee, vice-chairman of the Military Commission and vice-premier of the State Council. (He Long was persecuted to death on June 9, 1969 in Beijing).

On the same day, construction of the Shengli Oilfield located in the Bohai Bay area in Shandong Province was completed.

October 4

According to the proposal made by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping was appointed first vice-premier of the State Council. The "gang of four" were so displeased with the appointment that they cooked up pretexts to

attack Deng at the Political Bureau meeting on the 17th. On that very night Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen conspired and on the following day Wang Hongwen went to Changsha, Hunan Province to see Mao Zedong and make false charges against Zhou Enlai and other leading comrades of the Central Committee. Wang lied to Mao that a kind of atmosphere similar to that at the Lushan Meeting was prevailing in Beijing, in an attempt to prevent Deng Xiaoping from taking up the post and to have the cabinet formed by the "gang of four" themselves. But he was given a summary dressing down by Mao Zedong. On November 12, in his comment on a letter written to him by Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong wrote point-blank that Jiang Qing had wild ambitions to "form the cabinet" and warned her, "Don't take it upon yourself to organize the cabinet (as the boss behind the scenes)."

October 11

The CPC Central Committee issued a circular on convening the Fourth National People's Congress soon. The circular quoted Mao Zedong as saying, "Eight years have passed since the great proletarian cultural revolution started. It is preferable to have stability now. The whole Party and the whole army should get united."

October 20

Mao Zedong discussed the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat when he met with the visiting Danish Prime Minister Poul Hartling. He said, "In short, China is a socialist country. Before liberation it was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now it practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." On December 26, he told Zhou Enlai, "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to write about the question, because lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." He added, "Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life." These remarks of Mao's showed that he was still confused about socialism at the time, which was one of the causes contributing to his launching of the "cultural revolution."

1975**January 5**

Acting on the proposal made by Mao Zedong, the CPC Central Committee distributed a document appointing Deng Xiaoping vice-chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and chief of the General Staff of the PLA, and Zhang Chunqiao director of the PLA General Political Department.

January 8-10

The Tenth Central Committee of the CPC held its Second Plenary Session in Beijing to discuss preparations made for the Fourth National People's Congress. The participants elected Deng Xiaoping vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of its Political Bureau and approved Li Desheng's request to be relieved of the posts of vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee and member of its Political Bureau Standing Committee.

January 13-17

The First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. In his Report on the Work of the Government Zhou Enlai reiterated the idea of developing the economy in two stages as had been put forward at the Third National People's Congress: "The first stage, that is, before 1980, is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system; the second stage is to accomplish the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world." The congress adopted the new Constitution, approved the Report on the Work of the Government, elected the NPC Standing Committee with Zhu De as chairman, appointed members of the State Council with Zhou Enlai as premier, Deng Xiaoping and others as vice-premiers, thus frustrating the scheme of the "gang of four" to organize a cabinet themselves. After the congress, when Zhou Enlai was seriously ill, Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Mao Zedong, took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee.

February 4

The Liujiaxia Hydropower Station, China's biggest hydroelectric station, was completed. With a capacity of 1,225,000 kilowatts, it could generate 5.7 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity a year.

February 10

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Distributing the Economic Plan for 1975." It called on the entire Party membership "to push the economy forward by persisting in the policy of grasping

revolution and promoting production and other work and preparation against war."

February 18

The CPC Central Committee issued a circular on distributing throughout the country Mao Zedong's instruction on the question of theory. On the 22nd, the *People's Daily* published "Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" to be studied by people of the country. The expositions compiled under the direction of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan were quoted out of context from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

February 25-March 8

The CPC Central Committee called a meeting of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committee secretaries in charge of industrial production to solve the problems in railway transportation. Speaking at the meeting, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that achieving economic development in two stages was the paramount concern. It was utterly wrong to dare to grasp revolution but not production. He added that "factional struggles have come to such a pass that they are undermining the overall interests of the country" and that "this issue of principle must be made clear to all." On March 5, the CPC Central Committee made the "Decision on Improving the Work of Railways." It called for improving centralized and unified Party leadership, drawing up necessary rules and regulations, maintaining railway traffic order, fighting against sabotage and ensuring safe and punctual railway transportation. The Xuzhou sub-bureau was the first to be rectified. After a little more than a month, "great changes have taken place in both revolution and production" there. In April, it fulfilled for the first time in 21 months its monthly plan set by the state three days ahead of schedule. Rectification was also carried out in other fields of work and places in conformity with the decision.

March 1

Speaking at a meeting of political department directors of the greater PLA units, Zhang Chunqiao emphasized that empiricism was the main danger at the time. On the same day, Yao Wenyuan published an article entitled "On the Social Basis of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique," in which he also held that "at present the main danger lies in empiricism." Soon afterwards, Jiang Qing also preached, "Empiricism is the chief enemy at the present time." Under the guise of criticizing empiricism, they were attacking veteran comrades represented by Zhou Enlai. On April 23, Mao Zedong criticized their erroneous remarks, pointing out, "It seems the formulation should mention opposition to revisionism, including opposition to empiricism and to dogmatism."

March 17

The Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress held its Second Session to discuss a proposal made by Zhou Enlai according to instructions from the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong for granting a special amnesty to and releasing all the war criminals in custody. The Standing Committee approved the proposal and decided to release all the war criminals in custody and give them the rights of citizens. The decision was to be executed by the Supreme People's Court. A total of 293 war criminals were to be released. Among them 290 belonged to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, two to the puppet Manchukuo and one to the puppet Mongolian-Xinjiang autonomous government. By then, all the war criminals in custody had been released.

April 1

Zhang Chunqiao published an article "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie," in which he wantonly distorted the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and produced the so-called theory of exercising "all-round dictatorship in all spheres and at all stages of development in the revolution."

April 4

Zhang Zhixin, a fine Communist Party member, was killed in cold blood after long imprisonment on charges of being an "active counter-revolutionary." Zhang was an ordinary cadre in the Propaganda Department of the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee. On many occasions since 1968, she had openly stated her views, crying out against persecution of Liu Shaoqi and pointing out that leaders of the Party had committed "Left" errors. She condemned Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company for their persecution of cadres and usurpation of power of the Party and the state. Adhering to the Party's correct line under extraordinary circumstances, she was an outstanding representative of the Party members. During the "cultural revolution," many fine comrades like her were murdered.

May 3

Mao Zedong called a meeting of the Political Bureau members who were in Beijing and talked with them. He repeatedly emphasized the need of stability and unity, of practising Marxism and being open and above-board. He criticized Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, warning them "not to form a gang of four." At the same time, however, he said, "I don't think the matter is serious. So, don't make a fuss of it. But the problem should be made clear." According to his instruction, Deng Xiaoping presided over Political Bureau meetings on May 27 and June 3 to criticize Jiang Qing and her followers. The criticism served to make the "gang of four" restrain themselves a little.

This was conducive to rectification of various fields of work.

May 17

Mao Zedong wrote a comment on a report submitted by the Military Commission of the Central Committee on the appointment of He Cheng, "He Cheng is innocent and should naturally be given work to do." On July 2, he wrote a comment on another report, "It seems to me that the case of Zhou Yang should be handled with leniency. Those involved can be assigned jobs or provided for if in poor health." In line with Mao's comments, a number of veteran cadres were freed from imprisonment and given medical treatment or assigned jobs.

June 4

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Striving to Fulfil the 1975 Plan for Iron and Steel Production." It approved the report by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, and in view of the fact that the output of iron and steel fell short of the targets, it required Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to provide more effective leadership in this field. It stressed, "Leading comrades of Party organizations at all levels must be aware that without a considerable development of the iron and steel industry, it will be impossible to modernize agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology."

June 16-August 11

The State Council called a planning conference to discuss the line, policies and principles concerning economic work. The participants regarded disorder and lack of discipline as the main problems in the economy, called for resolute rectification and centralization. They held that leading bodies that were weak, lazy or lax must be reshuffled and managerial systems in production be instituted.

June 24-July 15

The Military Commission of the Central Committee called an enlarged meeting. With the aim of eliminating the serious consequences brought about by Lin Biao's interference with and sabotage of army building and by Jiang Qing's and her followers' scheme to throw the army into confusion, the participants concentrated on discussing the questions of correcting unhealthy practices, readjusting the establishment and structure of the army and making arrangements for surplus cadres. Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying made important speeches at the meeting. Deng Xiaoping emphasized the need of rectification in the army to solve the problems of "overstaffing, laxity, arrogance, extravagance and laziness." And Ye Jianying dealt with the question of readjusting and reshuffling the weak, lazy or lax leading bodies. He wittingly told the participants that no careerist would be allowed to put his or her

fingers in the affairs of the army or conduct conspiratorial activities.

July

Mao Zedong talked on two occasions about the question of literature and art. He said, "No longer are a hundred flowers blossoming.... There should be some readjustment in the Party's policy on literature and art, and the performing arts should gradually enlarge their repertoires in a year or in two or three years. There is nothing in the realm of poetry, novels, proses and commentaries on literature and art." On the 25th, in his comment on a letter sent in by the author of the film script *The Pioneers* complaining that the "gang of four" had framed ten charges against the film, Mao Zedong wrote, "There is nothing seriously wrong with this film. I suggest that it be approved for release. We shouldn't demand perfection. And to bring as many as ten charges against it is really going too far. This hampers the readjustment of the Party's policy on literature and art."

July 17

The CPC Central Committee approved a report by the Provincial Party Committee of Zhejiang. In its written comment it said, "It is highly necessary to rectify the Party organizations throughout the country ideologically and organizationally." The question of rectification of Party organizations was thus raised.

On the same day, the CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the country the "Report on Industrial Production in the First Half of 1975" submitted by the State Council. The report said, "Since March, industrial production and transportation have been improving every month. The monthly output of crude oil, coal, electricity, chemical fertilizer, cement, internal-combustion engines, paper making and paper products, and the volume of railway freight reached the all-time high in May and June. The output of the war industry has been satisfactory, too." The improvement in industrial production indicated that the policy of rectification pursued by Deng Xiaoping on the industrial front since he took charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee had been fruitful.

August 14

When talking with a teacher, Mao Zedong said, "The merit of the book *Outlaws of the Marsh* lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists." Taking advantage of Mao's comments, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan launched a movement of commenting on the novel in newspapers and magazines, for the purpose of attacking by insinuation Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and other leaders of the Central

Committee who wanted to correct the mistakes of the "cultural revolution."

August 18

Deng Xiaoping and others took part in the discussions held by the State Council on improving the management of industry. Deng and other leading comrades made comments and suggestions on the development of industry. And these were incorporated into the document "Some Questions on Accelerating Industrial Development (Draft)" (the "Twenty-Point Regulations on Industry" for short). The document stipulated that "the leading bodies composed of petty intellectuals, who have not remoulded themselves, and reckless elements must be reorganized to seize the power back from their hands"; "it is impermissible to criticize efforts to boost production under the command of revolution as advocating the 'theory of the all-importance of the productive forces' and 'placing vocational work in command'"; "the management of production and the rules and regulations in production are always necessary" and "to restrict bourgeois rights should not negate the principle of distribution according to work, in disregard of the material and ideological conditions at the present stage." Owing to obstruction by the "gang of four," the document was not sent to the lower levels, but it helped promote practical work all the same. It was an important document designed to correct the "Left" mistakes on the industrial front while the "cultural revolution" was still going on.

September 15

Speaking at the opening ceremony of the national conference on learning from Dazhai in agriculture, Deng Xiaoping stressed that modernization of agriculture was the key to modernization in the other three fields. He raised the question of rectification in all fields of endeavour. He said, "According to Chairman Mao, the army should be consolidated. The same should be done with regard to the various localities as well as industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, and the ranks of scientific and technical personnel. As for work in literature and art, Chairman Mao said, it should be readjusted. In fact, readjustment means consolidation, too." The policy of consolidating all fields of work stressed by Deng Xiaoping was actually aimed at systematically correcting the "Left" mistakes of the "cultural revolution."

September 23-October 21

Acting on Mao Zedong's instructions, the CPC Central Committee convened in Beijing a forum on rural work to discuss a proposal made by Chen Yonggui on August 14 that the basic accounting unit of the people's commune be quickly changed from production team to production brigade. However, the forum failed to reach a consensus because

Zhao Ziyang, Tan Qilong and others were opposed to it. So, the proposal was shelved.

September 26

Deng Xiaoping and others listened to an elaboration made by Hu Yaobang on the "Outline Report" on the work of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Deng Xiaoping agreed to the thesis that "science and technology belong to the productive forces. They should take the lead and promote the development of production." Deng noted that it was necessary to choose people with strong Party spirit and organizational ability to take charge of supply and maintenance work so as to provide favourable conditions for the scientific and technical personnel in their work. He also emphasized the need to improve education saying, "We are faced with a crisis, which most likely will occur in the education department and will impede the progress of modernization as a whole."

Mid-October

The political research section under the State Council prepared an article—"On the General Programme for All Fields of Work in the Party and the Country" ("On the General Programme" for short)—in the spirit of a number of speeches made by Deng Xiaoping. The article was designed to explode, ideologically and theoretically, the "Left" fallacies that were hampering consolidation efforts. It pointed out that the three instructions given by Mao Zedong on studying the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, promoting stability and unity and pushing the economy forward were "not only the general programme for the current work of the Party, army and country, but also the general programme to be applied throughout the process of achieving the magnificent goal in the coming 25 years." It repudiated the "Left" reactionary views spread by the "gang of four." It called for "seizing back the power usurped by the phony Marxists and political swindlers like Lin Biao." It stated, "Revolution aims at nothing but developing the productive forces. It is sheer lies to assert that revolution can be carried out successfully in a place or a unit where production is in a mess.... It is essential to gradually improve the people's standards of living on the basis of increased production." The article was never finalized, let alone published.

October 20-31

The Chinese Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences convened in Changsha, Hunan Province a conference of agricultural scientists from 21 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to appraise strains of hybrid indica rice which had been under research and experimentation since 1964. Following the conference, this kind of rice was grown in large areas throughout the country, greatly increasing the output of rice.

November 2

After hearing several reports by Mao Yuanxin who attacked Deng Xiaoping with distorted facts, Mao Zedong said, "There are two attitudes towards the cultural revolution: one is to complain about it and the other is to settle accounts with it." Between the end of September and early November, Mao Yuanxin, then serving as the liaison man for Mao Zedong, reported to Mao on more than one occasion that "there is a gust of wind against the cultural revolution, which is even stronger than that in 1972 when 'Left' mistakes were under attack. I'm worried about the Central Committee, something might recur.... I've paid close attention to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's remarks. What has struck me most is that he has seldom mentioned the achievements of the cultural revolution or stressed the need to criticize Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line. Although he talked about taking the three instructions you have given as the general programme, there has remained only one of them, that is, push the economy forward." These views of Mao Yuanxin's were confirmed by Mao Zedong. Speaking of the "cultural revolution," Mao Zedong maintained that it should be assessed as 70 percent achievements and 30 percent mistakes. He noted, "Two mistakes were made in the cultural revolution, namely, striking down everything and the all-out civil war.... My general assessment is that it is basically correct although there are certain shortcomings." Afterwards, in line with Mao's comments, part of the Political Bureau members met several times to criticize Deng Xiaoping unjustifiably. And Deng was stopped from performing most of his functions, being left in charge of foreign affairs only.

November 3

The Party Committee of Qinghua University called an enlarged meeting of the standing committee to relay the written comments by Mao Zedong on a letter forwarded to him by Deng Xiaoping. The letter was written by Liu Bing, deputy secretary of the Party committee of the university, and others to report on problems concerning the thinking, work and conducts of Chi Qun, secretary, and Xie Jingyi, deputy secretary of the Party committee of the university. Mao Zedong commented, "In my opinion, the letter was written with ulterior motives; it was directed against me." Referring to the fact that the letter was forwarded by Deng Xiaoping, he added, "Xiaoping is partial to Liu Bing." Thereupon, the campaign to "criticize Deng Xiaoping and fight back the Rightist attempt to reverse correct verdicts" was started. In late November, the CPC Central Committee gave a briefing in Beijing, at which an outline prepared for the briefing which had been examined and approved by Mao Zedong was read out. It stated, "The Central Committee holds that Chairman Mao's instructions are extremely important. What has happened in Qinghua University is by no means an isolated

matter. It is a reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. It is a Rightist trend of reversing correct verdicts." "Some people are always unhappy about the cultural revolution, are bent on settling accounts with it and reversing the correct verdicts that have been determined." From then on, the campaign to criticize Deng Xiaoping without naming him was gradually extended to various localities and departments in the country.

November 26

China successfully launched another man-made earth satellite which, after orbiting the earth normally, returned to earth on December 2 as scheduled. The success indicated that China had grasped the technology of recovering satellites and it marked a breakthrough in its space technology.

1976

January 8

Zhou Enlai died. He had been vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee, premier of the State Council, chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC. The mourning ceremony was held on the 15th in the Great Hall of the People. Deng Xiaoping delivered the mourning speech. When the hearse carrying Zhou Enlai's body to the Babaoshan Crematorium in the western suburbs of Beijing, millions of people lined the Chang'an Boulevard to pay their last respects to him. The people all over the country deeply grieved over Zhou's death.

January 21 and 28

Upon Mao Zedong's proposal and approval by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Hua Guofeng was appointed acting premier and took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. On February 3, the Central Committee formally confirmed the appointment in a document. Zhang Chunqiao, who had cherished ambition to become the premier, wrote a poem entitled "My Feelings on February 3" to air his resentment.

February 25

The Party Central Committee called a meeting of leading members from the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and greater military areas. Addressing the meeting on behalf of the Central Committee, Hua Guofeng said, "At present, we should focus on criticizing Comrade Deng Xiaoping for his erroneous revisionist line and, under this general objective, unite the cadres and masses." He added, "Comrade Deng Xiaoping can be criticized by name." On March 2, Jiang Qing summoned leading members from 12 provinces and autonomous regions

to a meeting, at which she bitterly condemned Deng Xiaoping. When Mao Zedong knew of this, he wrote an instruction, "Jiang Qing is interfering too much."

Late March-April 5

While mourning the late Zhou Enlai, people in all the big cities voiced opposition to the "gang of four" for their intrigues to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state under the pretext of "criticizing Deng Xiaoping and repulsing the Rightist trend of reversing correct verdicts." Students and workers in Nanjing were the first to denounce the Shanghai *Wenhui Bao* for deliberately deleting an inscription written by Zhou Enlai and publishing articles attacking him by insinuation on March 5 and 25. They put up big-character posters reading "Down with Zhang Chunqiao!" and paraded to the New Meiyuan Village and Yuhuatai to mourn Zhou Enlai and revolutionary martyrs. However, they were unjustly repressed. Meanwhile, for several days in succession, millions of people in Beijing went to Tiananmen Square to lay wreaths and recite poems in memory of Zhou Enlai and in denunciation of the "gang of four." With utter hatred, the "gang of four" resorted to despicable means to suppress the masses. They deceived the Central Committee and Mao Zedong by covering up the truth. On the evening of April 4, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee met to discuss the activities of the masses in Tiananmen Square. Manipulated by Jiang Qing and company, the meeting concluded, "The disturbances were stirred up by counter-revolutionaries in an attempt to oppose the chairman and the Central Committee and to interfere with and undermine the struggle against Deng Xiaoping." Hua Guofeng said that what was going on in Tiananmen Square "was very vicious" and that "a batch of bad people had come up with writings, some directly attacking Chairman Mao while many others attacking the Central Committee." Wu De commented, "It looks like a premeditated action. Deng Xiaoping did much to prepare public opinion in 1974 and 1975.... This is the product of his prolonged efforts." He added, "The nature of the incident is clear; it's a counter-revolutionary incident." In his report to Mao Zedong about the meeting, Mao Yuanxin wrote, "The Political Bureau analysed the situation in Beijing and came to the conclusion that while most of the people were mourning the late premier, some were attacking the Central Committee by insinuation, and a few were very vicious. The Political Bureau held that the incident was a counter-offensive against the revolution and there seemed to be a Petöfi Club engaged in premeditated activities underground. The Political Bureau decided to clear the square of the wreaths and posters and round up the counter-revolutionaries on the night of the 4th." His report was approved by Mao Zedong. On the 5th, the masses in the square protested the action, chanting "Return our wreaths! Return our comrades-in-arms!" But their protests were labelled as a "counter-

revolutionary incident" and they were subjected to cruel suppression, which in turn aroused still greater indignation from the masses against the "gang of four." The Tiananmen Incident laid the foundation for smashing the "gang of four."

April 7

According to a proposal made by Mao Zedong, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Appointing Hua Guofeng First Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the State Council" and the "Resolution on Removing Deng Xiaoping from All His Posts Inside and Outside the Party."

July 6

Zhu De, member of the Political Bureau Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress passed away. A mourning ceremony was held in the Great Hall of the People on the 11th. Hua Guofeng delivered the mourning speech.

July 6-August 1

The Central Committee convened a national forum on the work of planning. The "gang of four" directed their followers from Shanghai and Liaoning to launch attacks on the 1975 meeting convened by the State Council to discuss matters of policy, slandering it as "the source of the Rightist trend to reverse correct verdicts in the economic field." The attack was spearheaded on Hua Guofeng and other comrades of the Central Committee.

July 28

A tremendous earthquake shook Tangshan and Fengnan area of Hebei Province. Tianjin and Beijing were affected. The CPC Central Committee sent a telegram on the same day, expressing sympathy and solicitude for the people of the disaster area. On August 4, a central delegation headed by Hua Guofeng went to the area to convey to the people the sympathy and concern of the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong. The earthquake caused immeasurable losses, killing at least a total of 242,000 people, seriously wounding 164,000. With the vigorous assistance from people throughout the country and the People's Liberation Army, the people of Tangshan were resolved to rebuild their homes. Yet, the "gang of four" accused the Party Central Committee of trying to "outweigh the criticism of Deng Xiaoping by relief work." They went so far as to say, "It's nothing even if Tangshan were erased from the face of the earth."

August

Jiang Qing decided without authorization to print and distribute the

three documents of "On the General Programme for All Fields of Work in the Party and the Country," "Some Questions on Accelerating Industrial Development" and "Some Questions Concerning the Work of Science and Technology." Labelling them as "poisonous weeds" and "products of Deng Xiaoping's revisionist programme," she called for criticism of them, only to be boycotted by the cadres and masses.

September 9

Mao Zedong, chairman of the CPC Central Committee and the Military Commission and honorary chairman of the CPPCC, died in Beijing. The people throughout the country were immersed in grief. On the 18th, a mourning ceremony was held at Tiananmen Square. Hua Guofeng delivered the mourning speech.

The "gang of four" stepped up their conspiracy both before and after Mao's death. In August, their diehard followers in Shanghai hurriedly distributed weapons to arm the militia. On September 11, casting aside the office under the General Office of the Central Committee, Wang Hongwen set up his own round-the-clock office in Zhongnanhai. He notified the authorities of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to report to him directly, in an attempt to act in place of the Party Central Committee. On October 4, the *Guangming Daily* carried an article by Liangxiao, a pseudonym for the mouthpiece of the "gang of four," "Always Act in Accordance with the Policies Already Laid Down by Chairman Mao." By inventing the deathbed injunction of Mao Zedong's, the author insinuated that Hua Guofeng and other Party and state leaders were "revisionist leaders." It showed that the "gang of four" were impatient to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state.

October 6

Acting on the will of the Party and the people, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee with Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian as the nucleus, took drastic measures and put Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen in custody for investigation, thus smashing the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique. The action won warm support from the people across the land. Mass gatherings and parades were held everywhere to hail the historic victory. Thus, the "cultural revolution," which had caused ten years of upheaval, came to an end.

IX. The New Period of Socialist Modernization

October 1976—December 1990

1. Advancing Haltingly

October 1976—December 1978

1976 (October—December)

October 7

Members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee unanimously agreed to appoint Hua Guofeng chairman of the CPC Central Committee and of its Military Commission, which was subject to approval by the subsequent plenary session of the Central Committee.

October 7-14

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee called meetings to brief the leading members of the central departments of the Party, government and army, of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and the greater military areas on the smashing of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan and the policy of stabilizing the situation while solving the problem of the clique. At the meetings, Hua Guofeng stressed "the need of continuing to criticize Deng Xiaoping and fight back the Rightist trend of reversing correct verdicts." He called on Party members and cadres to take a correct attitude towards three things with regard to the "cultural revolution," namely, the "cultural revolution" itself, the masses and themselves. Ye Jianying pointed out that the smashing of the "gang of four's" scheme to usurp supreme power of the Party and the state was only a "preliminary victory." It would require sustained efforts to get rid of the gang's poisonous influence ideologically.

October 8

The CPC Central Committee decided to publish the fifth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* and make preparations for the publication of the *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*. On the same day, the CPC Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Military Commission of the

Central Committee decided to build the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall, which was going against the proposal signed by Mao Zedong and other leaders of the Central Committee in 1956 that after they died, their bodies should be cremated and no graves should be built for them.*

October 8-15

A handful of the remaining followers of the "gang of four" in Shanghai conspired to launch a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion, but their plot was crushed. On the 18th, the CPC Central Committee informed Party organizations at different levels of the smashing of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan and, through them, made it known to the entire Party membership and the people of the country. On October 20, the CPC Central Committee set up a special group to examine the anti-Party crimes committed by the clique. On December 10, it had the first installment of the anti-Party evidence of the clique distributed throughout the country, to be followed by the second and the third installments. A mass campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four" was initiated nationwide. Party members, cadres and other people took an active part in laying bare and criticizing the clique's conspiracy of usurping the power of the Party and the state, their hideous past and the counter-revolutionary fallacies they had spread, and ferreting out their factional setup.

October 26

Hua Guofeng told leading members of the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee that first, they should concentrate on criticizing the "gang of four" and Deng Xiaoping at the same time; second, the line pursued by the "gang of four" was an ultra-Right line; third, no criticism should be made against whatever Chairman Mao had instructed or approved; and fourth, they should avoid mentioning the "Tiananmen Incident." This was the first time Hua Guofeng mentioned the idea of the "two whatevers."

November 15-19

The CPC Central Committee convened a forum on propaganda work in Beijing. The participants began to expose and criticize the errors of the "gang of four" in the propaganda and theoretical field and worked out plans to continue to do it. Because of Hua Guofeng's "Left" erroneous influence, the participants only emphasized criticism of Right deviation, and no mention was made of "Left" deviation.

*In 1956, Mao Zedong suggested that no remains should be kept and no graves built after people died. He was the first to sign on the proposal and practically all the other senior cadres of the Party and the state followed suit.

December 5

The CPC Central Committee notified in a circular, "All those who have been arrested merely on charges of opposition to the 'gang of four' should be set free; the cases that have been placed on file for investigation on such charges should be withdrawn; investigations on such charges should be stopped; people who have been sentenced to imprisonment on such charges should be released; and people who have been expelled from the Communist Party or the Communist Youth League on such charges should be reinstated."

December 10-27

The Second Conference on Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture was held in Beijing. Addressing the conference, Hua Guofeng said that Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan were a "gang of ultra-Rightists." It was essential to defend and expand the fruits of victory won in the "cultural revolution." In disregard of objective conditions, he set the demand that in 1980 one-third of the counties in the country be turned into the Dazhai-type county, that the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions fulfil or overfulfil the targets for the output of grain, cotton, edible oil and pork set in the National Programme for Agricultural Development, and that agriculture be fundamentally mechanized nationwide. Thus he pushed agricultural policies further to the "Left."

As a result of serious sabotage of production and construction by the "gang of four," gross output value of industry and agriculture in 1976 only rose by 1.7 percent over the 1975 figure, falling far short of the planned increase of 7 or 7.5 percent.

1977**February 7**

The *People's Daily*, the *Red Flag* and the *Liberation Army Daily* published an editorial, which was written by decision of Wang Dongxing and approved by Hua Guofeng. The editorial—"Study Documents Well and Grasp the Key Link"—openly advocated the wrong view that "we will resolutely defend whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave" (also known as the "two whatevers.") In essence, the purpose was to continue the "Left" mistakes made by Mao Zedong during his late years.

March 3-16

The National Planning Conference was held in Beijing. The participants discussed the 1977 national economic plan and approved the "Outline Report on Some Questions Concerning the 1977 National Economic Plan" to be submitted by the State Planning Commission to

the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. They reviewed the major struggles waged by the Party against the "gang of four" in the economic field during the "cultural revolution." In view of the confused ideas prevailing in the economic field, they put forward ten questions, including whether or not to uphold Party leadership, to increase production, to have rules and regulations, to have socialist accumulation, to apply the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work, to introduce new technology, and to have a planned economy. These questions were helpful to refuting the reactionary fallacies of the "gang of four."

March 10-22

The CPC Central Committee called a working conference. It reviewed the work done since the smashing of the "gang of four" and worked out plans for the year. Speaking at the conference, Hua Guofeng clung to his wrong principle of the "two whatevers" and repeated the wrong formulations of the "cultural revolution," holding that the "Tiananmen Incident" was a "counter-revolutionary incident" and that it was correct to "carry on criticism of Deng Xiaoping and beat back the Rightist trend of reversing correct verdicts," and preventing Deng Xiaoping from being reinstated. By doing so he obstructed efforts to correct the "Left" mistakes of the "cultural revolution" and to set things right throughout the Party. Chen Yun, Wang Zhen and other veteran comrades opposed his wrong ideas and earnestly suggested that Deng Xiaoping be reinstated and the verdict on the "Tiananmen Incident" be reversed. Rejecting their suggestions, Hua Guofeng instructed that none of their speeches be printed in the bulletin of the conference. However, the principled stand of the veteran comrades won the warm approval of the participants.

March 24

At a forum called by the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, Ye Jianying emphasized that the army must expose and criticize the criminal acts perpetrated by the "gang of four" against the army and thoroughly eliminate their pernicious influence with the help of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, so as to set right the line distorted by them and speed up revolutionization and modernization of the army.

April 10

Commenting on the wrong concept of the "two whatevers" in a letter to the CPC Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping said, "We must guide the entire Party, army and people with Mao Zedong Thought, which should be understood accurately and as an integral whole, from generation to generation, so that the cause of the Party and socialism and the cause of the international communist movement will be advanced victoriously."

On May 3, the CPC Central Committee affirmed his correct comments and transmitted the letter throughout the Party. Deng's criticism of the "two whatevers" heralded the emancipation of the thinking of the Party.

April 14

The *People's Daily* published the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Study of the Fifth Volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*." Beginning on April 15, the volume was put on sale in all parts of the country. The fifth volume contained Mao's writings of the first eight years after the founding of New China, in most of which he correctly expounded the questions concerning socialist transformation and construction.

April 20-May 13

The Conference on Learning from Daqing in Industry was held first in Daqing and then in Beijing. Addressing the conference, Hua Guofeng called for efforts to turn at least one-third of the enterprises in the country into the Daqing-type enterprises during the Fifth Five-Year Plan period. Without grasping confirmed data of geological survey, he proposed, "One Daqing is not enough for oil production. There must be ten or more of it."

May 1

The *People's Daily* carried an article written by Hua Guofeng entitled "Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the End—Study of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*." In the article he regarded the "Left" erroneous theory of "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" as our guidance in struggle.

July 16-21

The Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. The plenary session adopted the resolution on approving the decision made earlier in October 1976 by the Political Bureau on appointing Hua Guofeng chairman of the CPC Central Committee and of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, the resolution on reinstating Deng Xiaoping in his leading posts, the resolution on the anti-Party clique of Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan, and the resolution on convening the Party's Eleventh National Congress ahead of schedule. The session promoted criticism of the "gang of four" and reinstatement of Deng Xiaoping. Hua Guofeng again preached his wrong concept of the "two whatevers" and clung to the "Left" erroneous theory and policies of the "cultural revolution." In view of all this, Deng Xiaoping spoke at the meeting, stressing the need to understand Mao Zedong Thought accurately and comprehensively and to study it assiduously, grasp it and apply

it as the guide to work. Only in this way was it possible to avoid quoting it out of context, distorting or damaging it. He added that one should not understand Mao Zedong Thought in terms of isolated phrases, but should understand it correctly as an integral whole. He suggested that in addition to making preparations for compiling and publishing more selected works of Mao Zedong, theoretical workers should make painstaking efforts to elucidate the system of Mao Zedong Thought in different realms. He said that it was necessary to educate the Party membership in Mao Zedong Thought as a system and make it the guide to advance. He noted that the mass line and the principle of seeking truth from facts were the fundamental and most important of what Chairman Mao had advocated.

July 30

The CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the Party the report by the State Council on industrial production in the first half of the year. It noted in the report that gross industrial output value in the second quarter had risen by 36.9 percent over the first quarter and that 50.9 percent of the target set for railway freight in the annual plan had been fulfilled in the first half of the year. On August 10, the State Council issued the "Circular on Salary and Wage Increases for Part of the Workers and Office Staff." It stated that since the economy and the revenue of the country had begun to improve, the State Council had decided to improve the living conditions of the more than 30 million low-income workers and office staff by raising their salaries or wages.

August 4-8

The CPC Central Committee called a forum on the work of science and education. Speaking at the forum, Deng Xiaoping said that in the 17 years since the founding of New China, a revolutionary line had dominated the fields of education and science. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals in China were working people who were faithfully serving socialism. In a talk with principal leading members of the Ministry of Education on September 19, he pointed out that the "two assessments" of the work of education were not in conformity with realities and that it was absurd to completely negate the millions or tens of millions of intellectuals. He added that most of the talented people we had today had been trained in those 17 years. He called for respect for knowledge and talented people and for efforts to prepare conditions for bringing the initiative of scientists and educationists into full play, and he raised the question of reforming the enrolment system in the institutions of higher education.

August 12-18

The Eleventh National Congress of the Party was held in Beijing. The

1,510 deputies to the congress represented more than 35 million Party members. Hua Guofeng made a political report on behalf of the Party Central Committee, in which he summed up the struggle against the "gang of four," declared the "cultural revolution" ended and reiterated that the fundamental task for the Party in the new period was to make China a powerful and modern socialist state within the century. However, due to the historical conditions prevailing at the time and under the influence of Hua Guofeng's "Left" errors, the congress failed to correct the wrong theory, policies and slogans of the "cultural revolution"; it affirmed them. Therefore, it failed to set things right in theory and in the Party's guiding principles. Ye Jianying made a report on the revision of the Party Constitution. In his closing speech, Deng Xiaoping stressed the need of reviving and carrying forward the fine traditions and style of work Chairman Mao had fostered in the Party—the mass line, seeking truth from facts, criticism and self-criticism, modesty and prudence, freedom from arrogance and impetuosity, and working hard, so as to wholeheartedly serve the Chinese people and the people of the world; and he stressed the need of reviving and carrying forward the practice of democratic centralism, the fine tradition and style, so as to bring about in the entire Party, army and country a political situation in which there were both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. He called on the Party, the army, and the people of various nationalities to hold high and defend the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and work hard to make China a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century and to render a greater contribution to humanity. On the 19th, the First Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party elected Hua Guofeng chairman, and Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Wang Dongxing vice-chairmen, of the Party Central Committee. It also elected the Political Bureau of the Central Committee which was composed of 23 members and 3 alternate members, and five members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

August 13-September 25

The national conference on enrolment of university and college students was held in Beijing. The conference decided to resume entrance examination for the enrolment of university and college students, which had been abolished during the "cultural revolution." The decision was conducive to encouraging students to study hard and to improving the quality of education and thus was warmly received by the public. In 1977 about 5.7 million young people took part in entrance examination, and 273,000 of them were enrolled by the colleges and universities. The quality of students was considerably improved.

August 30-September 8

The president of Yugoslavia and the chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito visited China and the relations between the two Parties were normalized.

September 9

At the inauguration ceremony for the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall, Hua Guofeng generalized the line of the Party's Eleventh Congress as holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, upholding the basic line of the Party, grasping the key link* in running the country, continuing the revolution and working hard to build a powerful and modern socialist state.

September 11

Summoning leading members of the State Council and of the ministries and commissions concerned to a meeting to discuss ways of accelerating economic development, Hua Guofeng criticized the State Planning Commission for being too conservative in its proposal for the growth rate of industry. He stressed, "From now on, industrial departments should go full steam ahead.... The accumulation rate next year should be increased."

October 5

The CPC Central Committee made the "Decision on Making a Success of Party Schools at All Levels." On the 9th, Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying and Hu Yaobang addressed the opening ceremony of the Central Party School.

October 7

The *People's Daily* carried an article entitled "Set Right the Line Relating to Cadres Distorted by the 'Gang of Four.'" The article was written by comrades of the Central Party School in accordance with Hu Yaobang's views. It emphasized the need of clearing away obstructions, exploding the falsehood and reversing the wrong verdicts imposed on cadres by the "gang of four." The comrades took the lead in preparing public opinion for redressing the wrongs suffered by cadres who had been unjustly and falsely charged. Shortly afterwards, the central departments concerned received nearly 10,000 letters from cadres and other people who expressed their warm support for the viewpoints in the article.

November 6

The CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the Party the "Report Requesting Instructions Concerning the Workers' Propaganda Teams" submitted by the Party leadership group of the Ministry of

* Here the "key link" refers to class struggle.

Education. The Central Committee approved withdrawal of the teams from schools.

November 21

The Editorial Department of the *People's Daily* invited some comrades from the literary and art circles to a forum to expose and criticize Jiang Qing and Lin Biao for their sabotage of the undertakings in literature and art and their fallacy of "literature and art being dominated by a sinister line" with which they had negated the achievements scored in the literary and art field. The participants stressed that in the 17 years prior to the "cultural revolution," achievements had been the main aspect of work in literature and art—a fact nobody could deny.

December 1-January 15, 1978

The Seventeenth National Conference on Public Security Work was held in Beijing. The participants exposed and criticized the crimes of the "gang of four" in undermining the judicial and public security organs and affirmed that noticeable achievements had been scored in public security work in the 17 years before the "cultural revolution" and that the overwhelming majority of the police were fine or comparatively fine. Policies for public security work in the new period were adopted and tasks decided on.

December 10

The CPC Central Committee appointed Hu Yaobang director of its Organization Department. Acting on the Party's principles of seeking truth from facts and redressing wrongs whenever discovered, he conducted a great deal of investigations together with all the comrades of the department, bringing about a new situation in which the Party's policies on cadres were implemented and unjust, false and wrong charges repudiated.

December 12-31

The Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee held a plenary session, at which the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission was considered correct, ten tasks were put forward for army building and nine decisions and regulations, including the "Decision on Strengthening Education and Training of the Army," were adopted.

The year 1977 witnessed a fairly quick recovery in the economy, putting an end to the long years' stagnation and decline in production. Although the planned annual targets for agriculture were not met owing to serious natural disasters, the losses were considerably minimized thanks to the efforts of the peasants. Gross agricultural output value rose by 1.7 percent over the previous year. Things were looking up in industrial production, which showed certain increase in some areas. Gross industrial output value rose by 14.3 percent over the previous year.

1978**January 28**

The Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee held a forum attended by vice-ministers from 26 ministries and commissions to discuss assigning work to rehabilitated cadres. Hu Yaobang stressed that cadres were valuable assets of the Party. Work should be assigned as quickly as possible to those who had the ability to work, proper arrangement should be made with regard to those who were aged or in poor health, and conclusions should be made as soon as possible on a small number of cadres whose cases were still under investigation.

February 18-23

The Second Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. The participants discussed documents submitted by the Political Bureau and approved the "Report on the Work of the Government," the "Outline Plan for 1976-1985 Economic Development (Draft)," "Revised Draft of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and "Report on the Revision of the Constitution," which were to be submitted to the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and approval.

February 24-March 8

The First Session of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC was held in Beijing, at which the "Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" was adopted and Deng Xiaoping was unanimously elected chairman of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC.

February 26-March 5

The First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. Hua Guofeng delivered the Report on the Work of the Government on behalf of the State Council. In the report he summed up the work of the government done in the previous 16 months and proposed the general task for the new period. Owing to "Left" ideas in his guiding principles, he underestimated the imbalances that had occurred between different branches of the economy at the time. Being overanxious for quick results, he proposed construction of 120 large projects, including 10 iron and steel bases, 9 nonferrous metal bases and 10 oil-gas fields. Subsequent implementation of the plan added to financial strain on the state and aggravated the imbalances. At the session Ye Jianying was elected chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Hua Guofeng appointed premier of the State Council again.

March 18-31

The National Conference on Science was held in Beijing. Deng Xiaoping made an important speech. He expounded the basic Marxist principle on the position and role of science and technology in social development, pointed out that mental workers in the service of socialism were part of the working people, emphasized the need of building up a huge contingent of scientific and technical personnel and scathingly denounced the fallacies that the "gang of four" had used in their persecution of intellectuals and sabotage of China's science and technology. Hua Guofeng made a report on "Raising the Scientific and Educational Level of the Chinese Nation" which, he stressed, was directly needed for achieving the four modernizations and was a task of strategic importance to bringing up hundreds of millions of educated workers with socialist awareness and to scaling the peak of science and technology. The conference drew up the "1978-1985 National Development Programme for Science and Technology (Draft)," commended advanced individuals and collectives and called on people on the scientific and technological front to have lofty ideals, set high goals and march forward for modernizing China's science and technology.

April 5

The CPC Central Committee approved a report by the United Front Work Department and the Ministry of Public Security requesting removal of the label of the Rightists. On September 17, it distributed throughout the country the "Plan for Carrying Out the Decision on Removing the Label of All the Rightists." It pointed out that people labelled as Rightists on false charges must be rehabilitated according to the principle of redressing wrongs whenever discovered. By November, removal of the labels had been completed in all parts of the country. By 1980, the work of rehabilitating people wrongly labelled as Rightists had been completed in the main, with over 97 percent of people involved rehabilitated.

April 20

The Central Committee made the "Decision on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Industrial Development (Draft)" (also known as the "Thirty Articles on Industry") and had it sent to administrative departments and industrial and transportation enterprises for trial implementation. This was an important document which provided guidelines for setting things to rights in the industrial and transport fields.

April 22-May 16

The National Conference on Education was held in Beijing, at which Deng Xiaoping made an important speech. He called for efforts to improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in

science and general knowledge. He required schools to work hard to maintain revolutionary order and discipline, bring up a new generation with socialist awareness and help promote revolutionization of social values. He stressed the need of gearing education to the needs of economic development, of showing respect for the work of teachers and of enhancing their ability. He charted the direction for educational work in the new period.

April 27-June 6

A conference on political work in the PLA was held in Beijing to discuss the orientation and tasks of the army's political work under the new historic conditions. The participants listened to a report by Wei Guoqing and speeches by Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping. Speaking on June 2, Deng Xiaoping said that seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in doing everything and integrating theory with practice were the points of departure and fundamentals of Mao Zedong Thought and were principles to be abided by in all work. He criticized once again the erroneous "two whatevers," giving a great impetus to the discussion on the criterion of truth which was going on in the country.

May 11

The *Guangming Daily* carried a special commentator's article entitled "Practice Is the Sole Criterion for Testing Truth." The Xinhua News Agency transmitted it on the same day, and the *People's Daily* and the *Liberation Army Daily* published it on the following day. The article expounded the Marxist thesis that practice is primary, correctly pointing out that all theories must be examined in practice; the treasure house of Marxist theory consisted of not rigid, unchangeable dogma but kept enriching itself in practice. It noted that there still existed an erroneous trend of thinking that "nothing is correct unless it is written in the Bible." This yoke with which the "gang of four" had bound people's minds must be shattered. The article started discussions on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, and its arguments were supported by most people inside and outside the Party. Hua Guofeng enjoined certain leading members of the Propaganda Department to refrain from "stating views" on and "getting involved" in the discussion. Wang Dongxing accused on many occasions the article of "actually attacking the thought of Chairman Mao" and tried to suppress it by questioning, "From which central committee is this view produced?" However, the discussion gradually spread across the land with the guidance and support of Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Hu Yaobang and many other comrades of the Party Central Committee. Between June and November, principal leading comrades of the central departments of the Party, government and army and the overwhelming majority of the

provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and greater military areas wrote or spoke on the subject, all agreeing that it was of practical significance to uphold this Marxist principle of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth. The discussions helped people to throw off the prolonged yoke of the erroneous "Left" ideas and ushered in a nationwide Marxist campaign for ideological emancipation, thus preparing ideological conditions for the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party.

May 24

The CPC Central Committee issued a circular announcing the decision that according to provisions of the Constitution, the people's procuratorates should be re-established, which would work in coordination with the public security organs and the people's courts, while restricting each other, to fight against violations of the law and discipline.

May 27-June 5

The Third National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles held its third enlarged meeting in Beijing. The participants criticized the fallacy of "literature and art being dominated by a sinister line" devised by the "gang of four," and it was announced that the federation would formally resume its work.

June 9

The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued the "Statement on Expulsion of Chinese Residents by Viet Nam." The statement noted that early in 1977, Viet Nam had started to push a policy of "purifying the border areas" in the provinces adjacent to China. In October the same year, it began to expel Chinese residents in its northwestern regions. The expulsion later extended to the whole area of north Viet Nam. The statement lodged a solemn protest with Viet Nam on its large-scale campaign of expelling Chinese residents and opposing China since early April. It pointed out that this was a serious step taken by the Vietnamese authorities in following the Soviet Union to oppose China and undermine Sino-Vietnamese relations. By the end of May, more than 100,000 Chinese residents had been driven out of Viet Nam, who were warmly received and well cared for by the Chinese Government.

August 12

The Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed in Beijing.

August 13

The CPC Central Committee transmitted to departments concerned the "Report on the Preliminary Meeting for the Conference on Work Relating to Hong Kong and Macao." The instruction written by the

Central Committee on the report read, "Deep-going and realistic investigations are needed for work relating to Hong Kong and Macao, which should be done in the light of the local conditions rather than following the practice in the interior." The Central Committee decided to set up a group to assist it in handling work concerning Hong Kong and Macao.

August 16-September 21

The Organization Department called three meetings, attended by different groups of people, to hear reports on the selection of outstanding young and middle-aged cadres. Speaking at the meetings, Hu Yaobang emphasized the work as a matter of strategic importance which could be done well only by applying the mass line.

September 8-17

The Fourth National Congress of the Women of China was held in Beijing, at which experience gained in women's movement since the Third National Congress in September 1957 was summed up, the tasks for women's movement in the new period were discussed and decided on, a new charter for the All-China Women's Federation was adopted and new leading organs were elected.

September 20

Speaking at the national conference on letters and visits pleading for help or making complaints, Hu Yaobang said that judgement of whether the verdict on the case of a cadre was correct must be based on facts. All false and wrong verdicts on cadres and mishandling of the cases based on such verdicts must be corrected according to facts no matter when and how the verdicts had been made or what organizations or who had made them.

October 10-November 4

The Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee called forums on the implementation of the policies regarding intellectuals. The participants held that profound changes had taken place in the ranks of intellectuals, that the policy of "uniting with, educating and remoulding" intellectuals formulated in the early days after New China was established was no longer suitable for present conditions, and that at present efforts should be made to re-examine the cases of intellectuals under investigation and redress those based on unjust, false and wrong charges. It was essential to have full confidence in intellectuals, give them a free hand in their work, let them have authority commensurate with their posts and duties, and readjust the work of those who could not use what they had learned so as to bring their knowledge and skills into full play. It was also essential to provide intellectuals with better working and living conditions. After the forums, the Organization Department issued "Suggestions on Implementing the Policies Relating to Intellectuals."

October 11-21

The Ninth National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions was held in Beijing. Addressing the congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that to achieve the great goal of the four modernizations before the end of the century, trade unions should conduct deep-going propaganda and educational and organizational work among the workers. The enterprises should develop a democratic style of work. Major issues in an enterprise should be discussed at congresses or general meetings of workers and office staff. The trade union organization of each enterprise should function as the executive organ of the congress or general meeting of workers and office staff.

October 16-26

The Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Youth League was held in Beijing. On behalf of the Preparatory Committee of the Tenth Congress Han Ying made a work report to the congress, captioned "Dedicate Our Youth to the Great New Long March." Hu Qili made a report on the revision of the Charter of the League. The congress adopted a resolution approving the work report and the new Charter of the Chinese Communist Youth League and elected the Tenth Central Committee of the League.

November 10-December 15

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference. The participants discussed the question of shifting the focus of the Party's work, which was put forward by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee according to Deng Xiaoping's proposal. Chen Yun made six suggestions, calling for solution of the great number of major issues left over from the "cultural revolution" and appraisal of the merits and demerits and the rights and wrongs of some important Party leaders in order to bring about a political situation marked by stability and unity and guarantee smooth shift of the focus of the Party's work. Many other veteran revolutionaries and leading comrades made comments and suggestions on the subject. They also criticized the wrong concept of the "two whatevers" advocated by Hua Guofeng and the mistakes in his work of leadership in the previous two years and suggested restoration of the Party's fine traditions. At the closing session on December 13, Deng Xiaoping made an important speech titled "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite As One in Looking to the Future," which provided the basic guidelines for the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee to be held soon afterwards.

November 14

With the approval of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau

of the CPC Central Committee, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee announced that it was a revolutionary action on the part of the masses to go to Tiananmen Square in the Qingming Festival to mourn the late Premier Zhou Enlai and denounce the "gang of four." All the comrades who had been persecuted on charges of mourning Premier Zhou and opposing the "gang of four" were to be rehabilitated. The announcement was warmly acclaimed by the people.

December 16

The governments of China and the United States issued a joint statement simultaneously in Beijing and Washington D.C. respectively, announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries as of January 1, 1979. The joint statement reiterated the principles which had been contained in the Shanghai Communiqué and which the two sides had agreed upon and declared that the United States recognized that the Government of the People's Republic of China was the sole legal Government of China and Taiwan was a province of China; and that on the day China and the United States established diplomatic relations, the United States would announce its severance of diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

2. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee

December 1978—December 1987

1978 (December)

December 18-22

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party was held in Beijing. The central item on the agenda was to discuss the question of shifting the focus of the Party's work onto socialist modernization. The plenary session resolutely decided to discard such erroneous slogans as "taking class struggle as the key link" and "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"; it firmly criticized the wrong concept of the "two whatevers" and fully affirmed the need of correctly understanding the scientific Mao Zedong Thought as an integral whole; and it highly evaluated the discussion on the criterion for truth and decided on the guiding principles of emancipating the mind, using one's brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking to the future. The communiqué of the plenary session, reaffirming Mao Zedong's thesis made in 1957 that in China "the large-scale turbulent class struggles of a mass character have in the main

come to an end," stressed, "class struggle in socialist society should be carried out on the principle of strictly differentiating and correctly handling the two different types of contradictions and in accordance with the procedures prescribed by the Constitution and the law. It is impermissible to confuse the two different types of contradictions and damage political stability and unity required for socialist modernization." In fact, the communique restored and reaffirmed the correct assessment made at the Eighth Congress of the Party on the fundamental issue of the principal contradiction in Chinese society. The session set out to comprehensively and carefully correct the "Left" mistakes made both during and before the "cultural revolution" and made a timely policy decision of strategic importance that beginning from 1979, the focus of the Party's work would be shifted onto socialist modernization, thus solving the question which had remained unsolved since 1957. This was a move of fundamental significance, which served to set right the Party's political line. On the question of economic development, the session pointed out that the Party should concentrate on correcting the erroneous tendency of being overanxious for quick results and solving the problem of serious imbalances between the major branches of the economy by taking a series of drastic measures to readjust the proportions of the economic sectors and reform the over-centralized economic management structure. On the basis of self-reliance, it should develop equal and mutually beneficial economic cooperation with other countries of the world, introduce advanced technologies and equipment from abroad, and make great efforts to improve work in science and education which was needed for modernization. These ideas marked the beginning of the Party's policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. With a view to bringing into play the socialist enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of peasants, fostering their material benefits economically and protecting their democratic rights politically, the session drew up a series of policies and measures for agricultural development, showing its resolve to concentrate on pushing agriculture forward. The session examined and redressed a number of major unjust, false and wrong cases in the history of the Party and settled the controversy on the merits and demerits, the rights and wrongs, of some prominent leaders; it reversed the wrong verdicts passed on Peng Dehuai, Tao Zhu, Bo Yibo, Yang Shangkun and other comrades, reaffirming their contributions to the Party and the people. It stressed the task of perfecting the rules and discipline of the Party, democratic centralism, socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. The session elected Chen Yun an additional vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee, Deng Yingchao, Hu Yaobang and Wang Zhen additional members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Huang Kecheng, Song Renqiong, Hu Qiaomu and six other comrades additional members of the

Central Committee. It elected the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection with Chen Yun as first secretary, Deng Yingchao as second secretary, Hu Yaobang as third secretary and Huang Kecheng as secretary of the Standing Committee. These momentous changes in leadership signified that the Party had fundamentally ridded itself of the prolonged hard bondage of "Left" mistakes, established correct guiding ideas and freed the cadres and people from personality cult and dogmatism that had been rife for a time, re-established the correct line of Marxism ideologically, politically and organizationally. Thus, the session had put an end to the situation in which the work of the Party had been advancing haltingly since October 1976 and placed China's socialist cause led by the Party onto the road of sound development. Therefore, the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee represented a turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of the Party since the founding of New China.

December 24

The memorial meeting for Peng Dehuai and Tao Zhu was held in Beijing.

December 25

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting in Beijing. It appointed Hu Yaobang secretary-general, Hu Qiaomu and Yao Yilin deputy secretary-general, of the Central Committee to take charge of the day-to-day work of the Party. It removed Wang Dongxing from the post of director of the General Office of the Central Committee.

December 28

The State Council decided to restore and establish 169 regular institutions of higher education throughout the country with a view to expanding higher education to meet the needs of the four modernizations.

In 1978, industrial and agricultural production was further restored with the result that total output value of agriculture rose by 9 percent over 1977 and that of industry by 13.5 percent. However, overanxiousness for quick results began to bring harmful effects to the economy in the year and the ensuing years.

1979

January 1

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China issued the "Message to Compatriots in Taiwan," calling for peaceful reunification of the motherland. It expressed the hope that at an early date transportation and postal services

between both sides would be established to make it easier for compatriots of both sides to have direct contact, write to each other, visit relatives and friends, exchange tours and visits and carry out economic, academic, cultural, sports and art and crafts interchanges, to develop trade to meet each other's needs, and to carry out other economic exchanges. The National Committee of the CPPCC held a forum, at which its Standing Committee members, leading members of various parties and patriots extended warm support to the message and pledged to work hard along with the people of the various nationalities, including the compatriots in Taiwan, for the great cause of reunification of the country. Deng Xiaoping made an important speech at the forum, declaring that the question of peaceful reunification of Taiwan and the mainland was placed on the agenda now.

January 4

The CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the country a report by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee for instructions on the "January revolution." In the report it pointed out that the "January revolution" actually referred to the conspiratorial activities of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to seize overall power in the period from January 4, 1967 to the establishment of the "Shanghai People's Commune" on February 5. This constituted a grave step taken by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to create confusion in the country in their attempt to seize power. Their target of attack was the leading cadres at various levels and their aim was to seize leadership of the Party Central Committee.

January 4-22

The First Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection was held in Beijing. The participants concentrated on drawing up Party rules and regulations and discussing ways to improve general conduct of the Party membership. They also discussed and drew up "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" (draft). Speaking at the session, Chen Yun stressed that upholding the rules and regulations of the Party and rectifying general conduct of the Party would help bring about a lively political situation and that only by doing so was it possible to achieve stability and unity throughout the Party and the country and materialize the four modernizations.

January 7-11

The CPC Central Committee called a meeting of directors of the propaganda departments of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees to discuss the fundamental task for propaganda work after the Party had shifted the focus of its work. In his speech Hu Yaobang, secretary-general of the CPC Central Committee and director

of its Propaganda Department, pointed out that the fundamental task of the Party's propaganda work after the whole Party shifted the focus of its work was: to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought closely with the great practice of achieving the four modernizations, study new developments and solve new problems, make theoretical work as much as possible go ahead of practical work, and constantly enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in practice, so as to guide the new Long March to victory. He declared that the Central Committee had decided to remove the label of "Palace of the King of Hell" put on the Propaganda Department in the "cultural revolution" and reverse all unjust verdicts on it.

January 11

The CPC Central Committee publicized the "Decision on Some Questions Concerning Acceleration of Agricultural Development" (draft) and "Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes" (draft for trial implementation). In the documents stress was placed on strengthening Party and state leadership over agriculture, paying attention to the material benefits of the peasants, guaranteeing their democratic rights and providing effective material support, including technical equipment, for agriculture by the state. The documents contained 25 policy measures (including establishment of responsibility system in production) for developing agricultural productive forces and plans for achieving agricultural modernization. They enormously helped correct the "Left" mistakes that had existed in rural work over a long period of time, arouse the peasants' enthusiasm for production, promote agricultural production and change the look of the countryside.

On the same day, the CPC Central Committee decided on removing the labels of landlords and rich peasants, to the effect that except the ones who stuck to their reactionary stand, all the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who over the years had abided by the laws and decrees of the government, honestly engaged in labour and ceased doing evil things, would no longer be labelled as such but would be given the status of rural people's commune members after being examined by the masses and approved by the county revolutionary committees.

January 18-April 3

The CPC Central Committee called a meeting to discuss theoretical work after the shifting of the focus of the Party's work. Speaking at the meeting on March 30, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that there had emerged two trends of thought: some people who clung to "Left" mistakes attacked the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, alleging that it had deviated from Marxism-Leninism and Mao

Zedong Thought; and some others in the Party and in society at large tended to break away from Party leadership and fell into skepticism about Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the socialist system. Therefore, while continuing to criticize the ultra-Left trend of thought, it was necessary to criticize skepticism about the Four Cardinal Principles, namely, keeping to the socialist road, upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat (the people's democratic dictatorship), upholding leadership by the Communist Party and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. He stressed that to achieve the four modernizations in China, it was imperative to uphold the Four Cardinal Principles. He noted that the Party had upheld them at the Third Plenary Session of its Eleventh Central Committee and that it was necessary to continue to do so in the future. The participants held that to disseminate and adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles was both an important political task and an important theoretical task. They sharply criticized the "two whatevers" and other rigid ways of thinking and called for clarifying, in accordance with the Marxist viewpoint, the many important theoretical questions distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the "Left" guiding ideas—such as the formulations on class struggle in the socialist period, the slogan of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and whether or not all inner-Party struggles were reflections of the class struggle in society. They considered it necessary to continue emancipating the mind, uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, and integrate emancipation of the mind with upholding of the Four Cardinal Principles. They analysed the basic experience and lessons on the theoretical and propaganda front over the past two years and discussed the fundamental task for theoretical and propaganda work after the Party shifted the focus of its work. The session, and Deng Xiaoping's speech in particular, promoted correct implementation of the ideological and political line established at the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee.

February 17-March 16

Chinese frontier troops fought in self-defence in the frontier areas of Guangxi and Yunnan against the Vietnamese hegemonists who had been incessantly carrying out armed invasions in Chinese territory. Major victories were won in the counter-attack politically and militarily.

March 1

In accordance with the proposal made by the CPC Central Committee, the State Council decided to raise the purchase prices for grain, cotton, edible oil, pigs and 14 other principal farm and sideline products beginning in March. As a result, gross index of purchase prices for farm and sideline products in the country rose by 22.1 percent on the average in 1979, and the peasants' income was increased by 10.8 billion yuan.

March 19

The CPC Central Committee decided to rescind the "Summary of the National Conference on Educational Work" which was distributed throughout the country on August 13, 1971. It criticized the "two assessments" contained in the summary, which negated the great achievements scored on the educational front in the 17 years since the founding of New China, thus emancipating the educators from the spiritual yoke put on them by the "gang of four" and arousing their enthusiasm for educational work.

March 21-23

Members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee met to discuss readjustment of the economy in 1979. Chen Yun pointed out that 80 percent of China's more than 900 million people were in the countryside. It was essential to proceed from this actuality and be realistic in the efforts to achieve the four modernizations and make China a powerful socialist state. He stressed that proportionate development of the economy would ensure the quickest possible speed. He said that one must not think that only high targets meant Marxism while low targets meant revisionism. Under given circumstances, marking time could mean Marxism, too. He pointed out that the current imbalances between the different branches of the economy were much more serious than in 1961 and 1962, and it would take two or three years, preferably three years, to readjust the economy. Deng Xiaoping noted that the central task at present was economic readjustment, which called for resolve above all else. It was high time to look into the slogans of "taking grain as the key link" and "taking steel as the key link." What determined the level of industrial development of a country was not steel alone. So far as agriculture was concerned, it would not do just to stress grain production. Farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery must develop simultaneously. The members approved in principle the proposal raised by the State Planning Commission on revising and readjusting the 1979 economic plan and decided to spend three years on economic readjustment. The meeting exploded the "Left" ideas that had shackled people's minds and decided on the guiding principles for China's economic development in a down-to-earth manner. It laid the ideological groundwork for the working conference to be convened soon by the Central Committee, at which the eight-character policy of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement" was formulated.

March 27

According to a decision made by the CPC Central Committee, the Financial and Economic Commission was established under the State Council, entrusted with the tasks of studying and formulating principles

and policies and deciding on major issues concerning financial and economic work. Chen Yun was appointed minister, Li Xiannian deputy minister and Yao Yilin secretary-general of the commission.

April 5-28

The CPC Central Committee called a working conference to discuss economic questions. Li Xiannian made an important speech on the question of economic readjustment. He analysed the economic situation in the country and explained the necessity and significance, policies and tasks of readjustment. In view of the increasingly deteriorating imbalances in the development of the various branches of the economy owing to the influence of "Left" guidelines, the conference advanced the policy of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement" and decided to spend three years on economic readjustment while restructuring, consolidating and improving the economy. This was made the central task of the Party, which was designed to consolidate and expand the achievements scored in economic work since the smashing of the "gang of four," correct the mistakes made in work over the previous two years, eliminate the influence of the "Left" mistakes that had existed in economic work for a long time, and put the economy onto the right track for sound development. A great amount of work was done after the conference to do away with the "Left" deviationist influence and correct the mistakes in economic work. However, owing to lack of unified understanding in the Party, the policy was not executed successfully, hence the tardy progress.

May 3

The CPC Central Committee decided to rescind "Summary on the Forum on Literary and Art Work in the Army." It required that anybody and any literary and artistic work that had been subjected to unjust criticism and treatment under the influence of the summary must be rehabilitated in the light of facts.

June 15-July 2

The Second Session of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC was held in Beijing. In his opening speech, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that China had entered the historic period in which its central task was to achieve the four modernizations and that the revolutionary united front had entered a new historic stage of development, too. The democratic parties had a glorious record during the democratic revolution and had made important contributions to socialist transformation. They were all political forces serving socialism under the leadership of the CPC. He went on saying, "The united front has become a broad alliance of socialist labourers and patriots who support socialism, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The tasks of the united

front and the CPPCC in the new period are to mobilize all positive factors, turn the negative factors into positive ones, unite with all the forces that can be united with and work with one heart and one mind and with concerted efforts to maintain and develop the political situation marked by stability and unity, and make China a powerful and modern socialist state."

June 18-July 1

The Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. Ye Jianying made an opening speech. Hua Guofeng delivered the Report on the Work of the Government. The session approved the important policy decision on shifting the focus of work nationwide and the "eight-character" policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the economy. It made a scientific analysis of the conditions of the classes and the principal contradiction in China and corrected the "Left" views that had existed on this question for many years. The session adopted the "Electoral Law of the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of the People's Republic of China," "The Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China" and five other important laws. After the session, economic readjustment started in all parts of the country.

July 15

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council transmitted throughout the country two reports submitted by the Party committees of Guangdong and Fujian provinces. They decided to execute special policies and flexible measures in the two provinces in their economic relations with foreign countries and delegate more decision-making powers to them; to experiment on the new financial management system under the leadership of the state, a system whereby the two provinces would be responsible for their own profits and losses after handing in a fixed amount of their revenues to the state; and to conduct experimentation with special export zones first in areas selected in Shenzhen and Zhuhai. The Central Committee held that the decision, being of great significance, would help speed up China's modernization drive.

August 25

The memorial meeting for Zhang Wentian was held in Beijing. Later in August 1985, the *Selected Works of Zhang Wentian* (which contained his important writings from 1931 through 1974) was published.

September 24

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council distributed throughout the country the "Summary of the National Conference on Prices and Wages." It was decided that beginning on November 1, prices for part of the farm and sideline products were to be raised. At the same

time, the workers and office staff would be subsidized accordingly. In addition, the salaries or wages of 40 percent of the workers and office staff would be increased.

September 25-28

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party was held in Beijing. The session summed up past experience, discussed and adopted the speech to be delivered by Ye Jianying at the rally celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of New China, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the NPC and the State Council, and the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development." The session elected Zhao Ziyang and Peng Zhen members of the Political Bureau. It also put forward the goal for future work, stressing that while trying to achieve the four modernizations, efforts should be made to build a highly developed socialist culture and ideology and socialist democracy. This was of great significance to achieving unity of views throughout the Party and among the people of various nationalities.

September 29

Ye Jianying delivered an important speech on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the NPC and the State Council at the rally celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. In the speech, he fully affirmed the major achievements scored by the Party and the people since the founding of New China, made a preliminary summing-up of the experience and lessons in the past 30 years and a self-criticism on behalf of the Party of the mistakes in its work. He pointed out explicitly that compared to the capitalist system with its history of three to four hundred years, the socialist system was still in its infancy. Nevertheless, the socialist system had already shown its vitality and promise. But it was still immature and imperfect.

October 30-November 16

The Fourth National Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists was held in Beijing. Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech greeting the congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. Zhou Yang made a report captioned "Carry Forward the Revolutionary Cause and Make Literature and Art Prosper in the New Socialist Period." In his speech, Deng Xiaoping fully affirmed the achievements in China's literature and art and pointed out that the tasks for writers and artists in the new period were to raise the scientific and educational level of the nation, promote a rich and diversified cultural life inspired by high ideals, and advance socialist culture and ideology. He said, our literature

and art belonged to the people, therefore, writers and artists should try harder to portray and help foster the new socialist man and achieve greater successes in doing so, and they should make contributions to the building of a highly developed socialist culture and ideology. The participants expressed unanimous support for Deng Xiaoping's speech, regarding it as the guideline for developing literature and art in the new historic period.

November 2

At the meeting attended by Party, government and army cadres at and above the rank of vice-minister, Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech entitled "Senior Cadres Should Take the Lead in Maintaining and Carrying Forward the Party's Fine Traditions." He called on senior cadres to revive and carry forward the Party's fine traditions of hard work, plain living and close ties with the masses, to refrain from seeking personal privileges, to carefully select successors, and to pay attention to people's well-being. On November 13, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued "Some Regulations Concerning the Material Benefits for Senior Cadres."

November 12

The CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the country the "Report on Differentiating the Labourers from the Former Industrialists and Merchants" submitted jointly by the United Front Work Department and other departments concerned. The report noted that when privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises had been transformed into joint state-private enterprises according to trades, great numbers of small traders, peddlers, handicraftsmen and other labourers like them had been incorporated into those enterprises, too, and become people of the private side and treated as capitalist industrialists and merchants. This was not right. After the report was transmitted to local authorities, 700,000 small traders, peddlers, handicraftsmen and other labourers were differentiated from the former industrialists and merchants and reinstated as labourers.

According to statistics compiled by the State Statistical Bureau, China's economy was growing in the course of readjustment in 1979. Total industrial and agricultural output value went up by 8.5 percent over the previous year, of which industry rose by 8.5 percent, agriculture 8.6 percent, and light industry 9.6 percent, exceeding the increase in heavy industry which was 7.7 percent. The real wages of the workers and office staff of state enterprises increased by 7.6 percent; the average income of peasants from the collective increased by 12.7 percent. However, owing to the fact that no effective measures had been taken to eliminate the consequences of rash advance in economic development in 1978 and that the government had had to increase its expenditure

because of increases in wages, employment and administrative spending, a deficit of 17.07 billion yuan was recorded for the year.

1980

January 16

The CPC Central Committee held a meeting of cadres in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. Deng Xiaoping made a report, entitled "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us," on behalf of the CPC Central Committee. He said that in the 1980s, there were three major tasks we had to perform: First, in international affairs to continue to oppose hegemonism and to preserve world peace. Second, to work for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, for China's reunification. And third, to step up economic development, that is, the drive for the four modernizations. He added that the modernization drive was at the core of all these three major tasks. Efforts should be made to reach a per-capita value of US\$1,000 and achieve a relatively comfortable standard of living by the end of the century. He stressed that to achieve the four modernizations, four questions must be solved: one, there must be a firm and consistent political line; two, there must be political stability and unity; three, there must be a hard-working and pioneering spirit; and four, there must be a contingent of cadres persistent in socialist orientation and with professional knowledge and competence. He also stressed the importance of upholding and improving Party leadership.

February 23-29

The Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party was held in Beijing. The main item on the agenda was to discuss ways of strengthening and improving Party leadership. The session discussed and adopted the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and discussed the revised draft of the Party Constitution. It decided to elect Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang additional members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and to re-establish the Secretariat and elect Hu Yaobang general secretary. According to opinions both inside and outside the Party, it decided to accept the request of Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De and Chen Xilian for resignation, relieving some of them and proposing to relieve the others from their leading posts in the Party and the state. The session also adopted a decision on redressing the wrong case of Liu Shaoqi. On May 17, the CPC Central Committee held a memorial meeting for Liu Shaoqi in the Great Hall of the People. Deng Xiaoping delivered the memorial speech.

March 8-20

Members of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee discussed

and decided on the division of work among its members at the first and fifth meetings. On March 27, with the approval of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee announced in a circular that Zhao Ziyang was responsible for economic work, heading the leading group in charge of financial and economic affairs, and Hu Yaobang was in charge of the overall work of the Secretariat.

March 14-15

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee convened a forum on work in Tibet. The current central tasks and the objectives of struggle for the Tibet Autonomous Region put forward at the forum were as follows: With Tibetan cadres and people as the mainstay, it should promote unity among cadres and people of different nationalities, arouse all positive factors and, in the light of actual conditions in Tibet, try in every possible way to heal the wounds inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," develop the economy, improve the material life and raise the cultural and scientific level of the people of all the nationalities in Tibet, build up the border area, reinforce frontier defence, and draw up plans to make Tibet thriving and prosperous. To achieve these tasks and the objectives of struggle, the forum proposed the following eight principles:

(1) All departments under the Central Committee and the State Council should understand and study the actual conditions in Tibet and, in the light of the local natural conditions, the distinct characteristics of the nationalities, the economic structure, people's political awareness and their living conditions, work out principles, tasks and policies and give concrete guidance. First and foremost, they should make sure that all their decisions and measures win sincere approval and support of the Tibetan cadres and people; otherwise, they should revise them or put off their implementation. In giving leadership and in their work, they should by all means avoid being subjective and one-sided, and giving vague or sweeping directions, and they should not aimlessly or arbitrarily spread the experience gained in work in the interior or among the Han people.

(2) The United Front Work Department under the Central Committee and the State Commission of Nationalities Affairs should assist the Central Committee and the State Council by making a systematic investigation and study of work in Tibet, contributing suggestions and, together with the other departments concerned, satisfactorily solving the specific problems that have cropped up in work in Tibet.

(3) With regard to those of the principles, policies, rules and regulations laid down by the Central Committee or the departments under the Central Committee and the State Council and to those of the documents, directives and stipulations sent by them to all parts of the country that are not suited to the actual conditions in Tibet, the leading organs of the

Party, government and mass organizations there can refuse to implement them or implement them in a flexible way.

(4) Great efforts should be made to train cadres of the Tibetan and other minority nationalities so that they will shoulder the main responsibilities in building Tibet.

(5) When drawing up long-term and annual plans, the central departments, the departments in charge of planning, the economy, culture, education and public health in particular, should take into consideration the special needs of Tibet and try their best to satisfy its reasonable demands and give it material, technological and other assistance.

(6) All localities and units concerned should act in accordance with the instructions given by the higher levels and lend earnest support to Tibet.

(7) All the departments under the Central Committee and the State Council, all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are expected to make a special study of the problems which are mentioned in the "Summary of the Forum on Work in Tibet" and which have arisen in their work, and to work out measures to solve them without delay.

(8) The Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region is expected to conscientiously sum up its work, add to its achievements, overcome its shortcomings and correct its mistakes. It should re-examine and revise its plans for economic development throughout the region, set to rights all the "Left" deviations in its effort to expand farming and animal husbandry, boost foreign trade, readjust and improve economic management, and the "Left" deviations on questions concerning the private plots of land and mountains, privately raised livestock and household sideline production, carry out the Party's policies on farming and animal husbandry, on finance and trade, on culture and education, on the nationalities, on religion, on the united front, etc. It should work hard to solve the important problems which need to be solved immediately. Between May 22 and 30, Hu Yaobang and Wan Li went on an inspection tour to Tibet. They discussed plans for the building of Tibet with local cadres and people.

March 15

The CPC Central Committee promulgated the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." Between June 16 and 21, the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection called a forum to discuss ways to implement the principles. Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, spoke at the forum.

March 19

After reading the outline of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of

China" prepared by the drafting group that had been set up according to a decision of the Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping proposed three guidelines:

First, affirming the historical role of Mao Zedong and upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought -- this was the most essential point.

Second, analysing the rights and wrongs in the major events of the 30 years since the founding of New China, including a fair evaluation of the merits and demerits of some leading comrades.

Third, making a basic summary of past work. It would be better to write it in broad outline and not go into too much detail. The purpose of summing up the past was to encourage people to look to the future.

April 14

The delegation of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party led by General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer visited China. General Secretary Hu Yaobang of the CPC held talks with him, which yielded satisfactory results. Relations between the two Parties were restored.

May 16

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council promulgated the "Summary of the Conference of Guangdong and Fujian Provinces." It was decided to set up special economic zones on a trial basis in areas designated in Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou of Guangdong and Xiamen of Fujian.

May 18-21

China successfully launched a long-range rocket to an area in the Pacific Ocean.

July 21

A Xinhua News Agency report said that more than 6,600 industrial enterprises, representing 16 percent of the state industrial enterprises, had been involved in a pilot project on extending the enterprises' decision-making power. Their output value and profit accounted for 60 percent and 70 percent respectively of those of the industrial enterprises as a whole. Generally, all the enterprises involved in the project had increased both production and profit. The project was an important part of economic restructuring in the country.

July 30

The CPC Central Committee issued "Instructions on Some Questions Concerning 'Less Publicity for Individuals.'" On October 20, the Secretariat of the Central Committee decided that in the future twenty or thirty years, no portraits of the present leaders were to be hung in public places in order to eliminate the influence of personality cult.

August 18-23

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Beijing mainly to discuss the reform of the system of Party and state leadership and related questions. Deng Xiaoping pointed out at the meeting that the purpose of reforming the system of Party and state leadership, which was characterized by an over-concentration of power, and other systems was to institutionalize democratization of the political life of the Party and state, of economic management and of the life of society as a whole; to promote smooth progress of the modernization drive and to take full advantage of the superiority of socialism. He analysed the main problems in the leadership and cadre systems of the Party and state and their harmful effects and root causes. He put forward the historic tasks of overcoming erosion of bourgeois ideology and doing away with the remaining evil influence of feudalism politically and ideologically, and proposed important measures for carrying out gradual reform. The measures included:

First, the Central Committee would submit proposals to the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress for revising the Constitution, in which the principle of preventing the over-concentration of power would be reflected.

Second, the Central Committee had already set up its Commission for Discipline Inspection, and was considering the establishment of an advisory commission. Together with the Central Committee itself, these commissions were to be elected by the National Congress of the Party, and their respective functions and powers were to be specified.

Third, a truly effective work system would be set up for the State Council and local governments at various levels.

Fourth, after experimentation, the system of factory director or manager assuming overall responsibility under the leadership and supervision of the factory management committee, the company board of directors or the joint committee of economic association respectively should be adopted gradually on a larger scale.

Fifth, congresses or conferences of workers and office staff would be introduced in all enterprises and institutions.

Sixth, Party committees at all levels were genuinely to apply the principle of combining collective leadership and division of work with individual responsibility.

He stressed the need to abolish the de facto tenure for life in leading posts and gradually make the cadres revolutionized, younger on the average, better educated and better qualified professionally. The speech was the programme for reform of the system of Party and state leadership.

August 30-September 10

The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. The deputies discussed the formulation of a long-term programme for economic development and the need to carry on economic reforms. They examined the deficit of over 10 billion yuan resulting from excessively high quotas and rash advance in economic development in 1977 and in 1978 in particular. They questioned the government in a straightforward manner and made criticisms and suggestions on its work. In accordance with the proposal of the CPC Central Committee, the session decided that Hua Guofeng was not to serve concurrently as premier of the State Council and the post was to be taken up by Zhao Ziyang; it accepted the requests by a number of veteran revolutionaries to be relieved from their posts as vice-premiers of the State Council or vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the NPC, and the vacancies were to be filled by suitable candidates. The NPC session took an important step forward in promoting the reform of the state leadership system and abolishing the de facto tenure for life in leading posts.

September 14-22

The CPC Central Committee called first secretaries of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees to a meeting to discuss ways of improving the responsibility system in agricultural production. On September 27, it distributed the summary of the meeting captioned "Some Questions Concerning Improvement of the Responsibility System in Agricultural Production." The summary noted that diverse forms of the responsibility system in agricultural production instituted in various localities since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party had served to arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants for production. As a result, agricultural production had been restored and expanded fairly quickly, the peasants' income had increased and the situation in the countryside had been getting better and better. Collective economy provided unshakable foundation for the modernization of agriculture. Efforts should be made to improve the responsibility system in agricultural production in different forms, depending on different conditions in different localities and communes and brigades. It must not be confined to a single pattern or done in a sweeping manner. The contracted household responsibility system with remuneration linked to output to be introduced in the outlying mountainous regions and poverty-stricken areas was a measure necessary for maintaining close ties with the masses, developing production and attaining sufficiency in food and clothing. The measure would not lead people away from socialist road, nor would it lead to the restoration of capitalism.

September 25

The CPC Central Committee issued an open letter to all the Commu-

nist Party members and Youth League members on controlling China's population growth. It pointed out that to control the size of population within 1.2 billion by the end of the century, the State Council had appealed to the entire nation, advocating that each couple had one child only. The Central Committee called on all the Communist Party members and Youth League members to respond to the appeal with concrete action and help spread the appeal among the people.

October 16

The CPC Central Committee decided to expel Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi from the Party, rescind the memorial speeches for them and make known to the entire Party membership their counter-revolutionary crimes. The decision was made after the charges against them were established with conclusive evidence. Being despicable in political quality, the two had directly participated in the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to usurp supreme leadership of the Party and the state during the "cultural revolution."

November 10-December 5

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held nine meetings in succession to work out a proposal for personnel changes to be submitted to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. Since the enlarged meeting held by the Political Bureau in August and during the discussions of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China (Draft)," many comrades had put forward the demand that the posts of Hua Guofeng be changed in view of the grave mistakes he had made in the four years since the smashing of the "gang of four" in 1976 and particularly in the first two. In the light of the opinions of senior cadres, the participants discussed his major mistakes, pointing out that the slogans raised by Hua Guofeng before and after the Eleventh National Party Congress of the Party had been basically the same as the ones raised during the "cultural revolution" and that he had never advanced any suggestions for correcting the mistakes of the "cultural revolution." The attitude he had adopted towards rehabilitating large numbers of veteran cadres and redressing wrongs suffered by large numbers of people who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged was obviously against the wishes of the great majority of the comrades in the Party. He was eager to develop a new personality cult and ready to embrace it. He should bear primary responsibility for rash advance in the economic field in 1977 and 1978, which entailed serious losses in the economy. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee came to the conclusion that it was not appropriate to keep him at the present posts. At one of the meetings, Hua Guofeng requested to resign from his present posts. After full discussion, the participants unanimously adopt-

ed the following resolutions: One, to suggest that the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee accept Hua Guofeng's resignation from the posts of chairman of the Central Committee and of its Military Commission. Two, to suggest that the session elect Hu Yaobang chairman of the Central Committee and Deng Xiaoping chairman of the Military Commission. At the same time, the participants affirmed that Hua Guofeng had rendered meritorious service in smashing the "gang of four" and had done some useful work in the past four years, and they expressed the hope that at the Sixth Plenary Session, he would be elected member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau again and vice-chairman of the Central Committee.

The Political Bureau also decided to rewrite the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China (Draft)" according to comments made at the meetings.

November 14-29

The CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection held the third forum on implementing the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." Speaking at the forum, Hu Yaobang conveyed Chen Yun's views that the style of work of a ruling party had a vital bearing on its life or death, and made important comments on firmly improving the style of work of the Party.

November 16-December 21

The State Council convened a national conference on planning. The participants noted at the conference that while the economic situation was fine in the country, there were unseen dangers. Resolute efforts must, therefore, be made to carry out economic readjustment. The key to this lay in narrowing the scale of capital construction, properly controlling consumption, and closing down, suspending operations of and amalgamating some of the factories or having other factories switch to other products, so as to check the serious imbalances between different branches of the economy and lay a solid groundwork for future economic development. He stressed that in future economic development, the old policy of "high speed, high accumulation, low efficiency and low consumption" must be discontinued, and a new approach must be found in which the speed might not be too high, but the national income and social wealth would increase fairly greatly.

December 16-25

The CPC Central Committee convened a working conference in Beijing to discuss the economic situation and economic readjustment. In his speech "Implement the Policy of Readjustment and Ensure Stability and Unity" delivered on December 25, Deng Xiaoping generalized for

the first time the series of new economic policies since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee as the policy of invigorating the domestic economy and opening to the outside world. He affirmed the marked achievements scored as a result of implementation of the series of policies in the political, economic, organizational and other fields of work over the past few years and called for efforts to carry on the policies of reform, invigorating the economy and opening to the outside world. The participants fully affirmed the great achievements scored in the 31 years since the founding of New China and the favourable situation since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. At the same time, they analysed the "Left" mistakes which had held sway in economic development after 1957, and decided on the policy of making further efforts to readjust the economy and bring about political stability. The conference called for improving the Party's political and ideological work, redoubling the effort to build a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology, criticizing the erroneous trend of thought that ran counter to the Four Cardinal Principles, clamping down on counter-revolutionary activities that undermined the socialist cause, so as to further strengthen political stability and unity. The decisions made at the conference were continuation and development of the principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. They were of great significance to achieving the four modernizations in China systematically in the light of the country's actual conditions.

December 28

The first volume of the *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai* (consisting of his major writings in the period of the democratic revolution) was distributed in the country. Later in November 1984, the second volume (consisting of his major writings in the period of socialist construction) came off the press.

In 1980, new results were achieved in continued implementation of the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the economy. Gross industrial and agricultural output value was up 7.2 percent over the previous year, while that of industry rose by 8.7 percent, of which light industry by 18.4 percent, and that of agriculture by 2.7 percent. A total of 9 million unemployed people in cities and towns and graduates of the year from universities and technical secondary schools were assigned jobs by the state. The living standard of most of the people in the cities and the countryside continued to improve. On the other hand, as the scale of capital construction remained the same as before, a deficit of 12.7 billion yuan was registered and prices rose considerably, which affected the life of the people.

1981**January 5**

The CPC Central Committee issued instructions, asking Party organizations at all levels to convey, study and resolutely act in accordance with the proceedings of the working conference convened by the Central Committee in December 1980, so that the entire Party and army and the people of various nationalities would reach a common understanding, overcome the difficulties with one heart and concerted efforts and promote the drive for the four modernizations. The ministries and commissions under the State Council dispatched 2,241 people in more than 400 teams to the grass-roots units to solicit opinions and demands from the cadres and masses and help solve the problems arising in economic readjustment and production.

January 25

The Special Court of the People's Republic of China sentenced Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao who had committed the most heinous crimes to death with a two-year reprieve, depriving them of political rights all their lives. Other principal culprits including Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenxuan, Chen Boda, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao were condemned to imprisonment. The trial of the principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, which started on November 20, 1980, conformed to the will of the people, upheld justice and marked a big step forward in China's efforts to perfect its legal system.

January 29

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on the Current Policy Concerning the Media." It noted that the press and radio and television were important instruments with which the Party carried out ideological and political work. They had scored noticeable achievements in disseminating Marxism and the line of the Party over the years. But at the same time, there were serious shortcomings, as were shown in the fact that the Four Cardinal Principles had not been disseminated vigorously, boldly and assuredly, convincingly, constantly or systematically, and ideas and remarks against the Four Cardinal Principles had not been combated forcefully. The Central Committee pointed out that it was necessary to provide more effective and centralized leadership over the media, carry out propaganda work strictly according to the line, principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, and conduct education in the need of upholding the Four Cardinal Principles. It was essential to adhere to the principle of serving the people and socialism and correctly implement

the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.

February 28

In response to the call of the Central Committee on promoting socialist culture and ideology, the Propaganda Department and the Ministries of Education, Culture, Public Health and Public Security issued a joint "Circular on Promoting Civility," requiring that this be regarded as an important part of the efforts to promote socialist culture and ideology. In March, a lively campaign to promote civility was unfolded among the people in the country. The campaign took as its main contents "the five things to emphasize" (namely, behaviour, civility, hygiene, discipline and morals) and "the four things to beautify" (namely, thoughts, words, deeds and the environment). Meanwhile, in the light of its own characteristics, the PLA carried out among its officers and men activities under the slogan of "four things to have, three things to emphasize and two things to defy." The "four things" referred to ideals, socialist ethics, general knowledge and professional competence; the "three things" referred to soldier's appearance and bearing, civility and discipline; and the "two things" referred to hardship and sacrifice. The purpose was to revive and develop the army's glorious traditions, enhance the fine quality of the armymen and make the PLA an army with highly socialist awareness.

March 30

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council transmitted throughout the country the "Report on Vigorous Development of Diversified Undertakings in the Countryside" submitted by the State Agricultural Commission. They pointed out that the principle was to keep a firm grip on grain production while developing diversified undertakings and to give full play to the initiative of both the collective and the individual. In the report it was explicitly provided that commune members were allowed to appropriately expand their private plots and plots for growing forage crops in the light of local conditions, that their sideline occupations were a subsidiary part of and supplement to the socialist economy, and that the private plots were important means with which they could engage in sideline production. This principle was of strategic importance to the thriving of China's rural economy.

May 11-21

The Fourth Congress of Academicians of the Chinese Academy of Sciences was held in Beijing. The congress raised the slogan "unite to develop science and invigorate China" and adopted a work report made by Fang Yi, president of the academy, and the "Charter of the Chinese Academy of Sciences for Trial Implementation." The charter provided

that the congress of academicians was the supreme decision-making organ of the Chinese Academy of Sciences which was the supreme academic institution of natural sciences and a comprehensive research centre of the country and that the presidium of the academy was to be elected by the congress and candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the academy were to be recommended for election from among members of the presidium. This represented a significant reform of the system of leadership of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in favour of prosperity in science and technology in China.

May 29

Soong Ching Ling, vice-chairman of the National People's Congress and honorary president of the State, passed away in Beijing. By decision of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee she had been admitted into the Party on May 15 shortly before her death.

Late June

According to information from the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission, marked results had been obtained in both popularizing sports and raising standards thanks to the concern of the CPC Central Committee in the short period of two and a half years since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. During this period, Chinese athletes won 598 gold medals in international competitions; the Chinese table tennis team collected all the seven titles at the 36th World Table Tennis Championships. Their ambitious spirit inspired the comrades working in other fields to greater efforts.

June 27-29

The Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. The participants examined and unanimously approved the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." Applying Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the resolution made correct conclusions on the major events that had occurred during the 32 years since the founding of New China, and during the "cultural revolution" in particular. It scientifically analysed the Party's guiding ideas relating to those events, distinguishing the correct ones from the wrong ones and identifying the subjective factors and social causes for the mistakes; it established the historical role of Mao Zedong in the Chinese revolution in the spirit of seeking truth from facts and fully explained the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of the Party. The resolution affirmed the correct road for turning China into a powerful and modern socialist state—a road which gradually took shape after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee and suited to China's conditions, and charted the

orientation for the advance of the socialist cause and for the work of the Party.

In view of the "Left" deviationist mistakes made by Hua Guofeng in the first two years after the fall of the "gang of four," the session unanimously accepted his resignation from the posts of chairman of the Party Central Committee and of its Military Commission. It elected new members to the principal leading posts of the Central Committee. Hu Yaobang became chairman, and Zhao Ziyang and Hua Guofeng vice-chairmen of the Central Committee, and Deng Xiaoping chairman of the Military Commission. Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng were elected to form the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Xi Zhongxun was elected additional member to the Secretariat.

Following the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, this was another one of great significance. It was a meeting at which experience was analysed and unity achieved for advance. It would go down in the annals of the Party as a meeting at which the Party fulfilled its historic mission of setting its guiding ideas to rights.

July 1

A grand rally attended by 10,000 people in the capital was held to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Hu Yaobang made an important speech at the rally. He said, the 60 years had been years of unflinching, heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation and the happiness of the Chinese people, years of ever close integration, through repeated application, of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and years when right had prevailed over wrong and positive aspects had prevailed over negative aspects in the Party. The historical experience in the past 60 years boiled down to one point, namely, there must be a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary line and a proletarian party capable of formulating and upholding this line. He added that faced with the gigantic task of socialist modernization centring around economic development in the new historic period, the Party was deeply aware that the key to fulfilling the task lay in the Party itself. With higher political awareness, the Party must be a solid core which was more mature politically, more unified ideologically and more consolidated organizationally, and more able to unite with the people of various nationalities and lead them in socialist modernization.

July 2-4

The CPC Central Committee called secretaries of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees to a forum. Speaking at the forum, Chen Yun called for promoting thousands of young and middle-aged cadres to leading posts. But he stressed that these must

not include factional backbone members and people who had engaged in beating, smashing and plundering. He also said that attention must be paid to making good arrangements for cadres who had retired. Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "We should do what we can in international cooperation. However, we must do what we can when there are a few difficulties that we can overcome."

July 7

The State Council issued "Policy Regulations Concerning Urban and Rural Non-Agricultural Individual Undertakings," in which the nature and scope of business of such undertakings were clearly defined and measures of assisting and protecting them instituted. Under the leadership and with the support of Party and government departments, individual undertakings developed rapidly. By the end of 1981 there were 830,000 self-employed households in urban and rural areas involving 1.01 million people. This greatly helped invigorate the economy, flourish the market, increase job opportunities and minimize difficulties in people's daily lives.

July 13

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council transmitted "Provisional Regulations Concerning the Congress of the Workers and Office Staff in State Industrial Enterprises." It was stipulated that the congress of the workers and office staff (or the general meeting of the workers and office staff) was the primary form of democratic management and the organ of power in an enterprise, through which the workers and office staff participated in decision-making and management and supervised the cadres. The local authorities were called on to make practical preparations for the institution of the system of the congress of the workers and office staff. This was an important part of the reform of the Party and state leadership system.

July 17

In a talk with leading members of the central propaganda departments, Deng Xiaoping affirmed the noteworthy successes scored by the Party in its leadership over the ideological and literary and art fronts. But at the same time, he seriously called their special attention to current problems, namely, some people were weak and lax in exercising leadership and dared not criticize wrong trends. He said that this state of affairs must change. He reiterated, "The essence of the Four Cardinal Principles is to uphold Communist Party leadership. The keynote of bourgeois liberalization is opposition to Party leadership. But without Party leadership there will be no socialist system. Party leadership and the socialist system must be improved, but that doesn't mean we can have bourgeois liberalization or anarchy." Between August 3 and 8, the Propaganda

Department of the CPC Central Committee held a national forum on ideological work to relay and discuss Deng Xiaoping's important speech. The forum stressed the need to carry out propaganda and education in the Four Cardinal Principles and to conduct serious and correct criticism of and wage necessary and appropriate struggle against the social trend of thought—bourgeois liberalization—that departed from the track of socialism and Party leadership. Hu Yaobang spoke at the forum. The participants discussed important questions of principle mentioned above, but no common understanding or unity of thinking was reached.

August 26

When meeting with Fu Chaoshu, who was well known in Taiwan and Hong Kong, Deng Xiaoping further explained the Party's policy towards Taiwan. He said that socialism would not be practised in Taiwan, the social system there could remain unchanged, the living standard of the people of Taiwan would not be lowered, foreign capital would be kept intact, and Taiwan could even maintain its own armed forces. Even in case the question of Taiwan had to be solved by means of armed force, there would be no change in the status quo in Taiwan. As a province, a region, of the People's Republic of China, it could keep its present system and way of life. These remarks clearly indicated the concept of "one country, two systems" and won the approval of people of insight both at home and abroad.

September 12

The *People's Daily* carried a summary report by Cheng Zihua on direct election at the county level nationwide. In the report he stated that after experimentation conducted on two occasions in the second half of 1979 and the first half of 1980, direct election at the county level started nationwide in the second half of 1980. By August 1981, the election had been accomplished in 2,368 out of the 2,756 counties. As to the rest, election was going on in 86 counties and it was about to start in 124 counties. The work was expected to complete by the end of 1981 throughout the country. Generally speaking, this was of great significance to perfecting China's socialist democracy and legal system, strengthening the building of government, reforming administration of cadres, making the county people's congress and its permanent organ an authoritative people's government or organ and gradually introducing direct democracy in the government at the primary level and the grass-roots sectors of society.

September

The Beijing Units and the Air Force of the People's Liberation Army conducted military exercises in north China. On September 19, Deng Xiaoping watched the exercises and reviewed the ground, naval and air

forces that took part in the exercises. Addressing the commanders and fighters, Deng Xiaoping stressed that the People's Liberation Army, the staunch pillar for the people's democratic dictatorship, was shouldering the glorious mission of defending the socialist motherland and the four modernizations. It was imperative to build a powerful, modernized and regular revolutionary army. The defensive exercises marked new progress in coordinated combat capability of combined units armed with modern military means to fight the enemy.

September 20

According to a Xinhua News Agency dispatch, China successfully launched a group of three spacephysics experiment satellites with a single carrier rocket for the first time in its history, representing a significant achievement for China.

September 30

Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, in an interview with a Xinhua News Agency correspondent, gave further explanation on the nine principles for peaceful unification of Taiwan and the motherland. The nine principles were as follows:

(1) In order to bring an end to the unfortunate separation of the Chinese nation as early as possible, we propose that talks be held between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang of China on a reciprocal basis so that the two parties will cooperate for the third time to accomplish the great cause of national reunification. The two sides may first send people to meet for an exhaustive exchange of views.

(2) It is the urgent desire of the people of all nationalities on both sides of the straits to communicate with each other, reunite with their families and relatives, develop trade and increase mutual understanding. We propose that the two sides make arrangements to facilitate the exchange of mails, trade, air and shipping services, family reunions and visits by relatives and tourists as well as academic, cultural and sports exchanges, and reach an agreement thereupon.

(3) After the country is reunified, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and it can retain its armed forces. The Central Government will not interfere with local affairs on Taiwan.

(4) Taiwan's current socio-economic system will remain unchanged, so will its way of life and its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries. There will be no encroachment on the proprietary rights and lawful right of inheritance over private property, houses, land and enterprises, or on foreign investments.

(5) People in authority and representative personages of various

circles in Taiwan may take up posts of leadership in national political bodies and participate in running the state.

(6) When Taiwan's local finance is in difficulty, the Central Government may subsidize it as is fit for the circumstances.

(7) For people of all nationalities and public figures of various circles in Taiwan who wish to come and settle on the mainland, it is guaranteed that proper arrangements will be made for them, that there will be no discrimination against them, and that they will have the freedom of entry and exit.

(8) Industrialists and businessmen in Taiwan are welcome to invest and engage in various economic undertakings on the mainland, and their legal rights, interests and profits are guaranteed.

(9) The reunification of the motherland is the responsibility of all Chinese, we sincerely welcome people of all nationalities, public figures of all circles and all mass organizations in Taiwan to make proposals and suggestions regarding affairs of state through various channels and in various ways.

The nine principles were proof of the sincerity on the part of the CPC for peaceful reunification. Before and after the announcement of these principles, the CPC Central Committee had further implemented the policies relating to Taiwan compatriots residing on the mainland and to family members of people in Taiwan residing on the mainland.

October 9

People from all walks of life gathered at a rally to mark the 70th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911. Speaking at the rally, Hu Yaobang noted that Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary spirit would always remain a source of inspiration for all the revolutionaries of the Chinese nation. And respect for Dr. Sun Yat-sen and memory of him would remain a strong spiritual link between the mainland and Taiwan. In his capacity as a leader of the CPC, he invited Chiang Ching-kuo and others to visit the mainland and their natal places.

October 17

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council drew up "Regulations on Exploring New Possibilities and Invigorating the Economy to Create More Job Opportunities in Urban and Rural Areas." In the document it was noted that employment of young people in urban and rural areas was an important question concerning the development of the economy. Over the previous three years, 26 million people had been employed thanks to the common efforts made by the various local authorities and departments, which had significantly helped boost the economy, improve the living standard of the people and promote stability and unity. In future, it was necessary to take advantage of the

collective and individual undertakings that could provide more job opportunities and to encourage people to find jobs for themselves—all for the purpose of solving the question of employment for young people in urban and rural areas.

October 29

The State Council issued a circular with regard to "Suggestions on Questions Concerning the Implementation of the Economic Responsibility System in Industrial Production" made by the State Economic Commission and the Structural Reform Office under the State Council. In the circular it was stated that the orientation of implementing the economic responsibility system in industrial production was correct and the results were good. It stressed the need to provide more effective leadership and improve the economic managerial system whereby responsibilities, powers and interests were closely integrated for the purpose of improving social and economic results under the guidance of state plans.

November 30-December 13

The Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. Premier Zhao Ziyang delivered the report entitled "The Present Economic Situation and the Principles for Future Economic Construction." He announced that by the end of the year the financial deficit was expected to drop to 2.7 billion yuan from 17 billion in 1979 and 12.7 billion in 1980, so that basic balance between revenues and expenditures would be achieved. He put forward 10 principles for future economic development:

(1) Accelerate the development of agriculture by relying on correct policies and on science.

(2) Give prominence to development of consumer goods industries and further adjust the service orientation of heavy industry.

(3) Raise the energy utilization ratio and promote the building of the energy industry and transport.

(4) Carry out technical transformation step by step in key units and make the maximum use of existing enterprises.

(5) Carry out all-round consolidation and necessary restructuring of enterprises by groups.

(6) Raise more construction funds and use them thriftily through improved methods of acquisition, accumulation and spending.

(7) Persist in an open policy and enhance our capacity for self-reliance.

(8) Actively and steadily reform our economic structure and realize the initiative of all concerned to the full.

(9) Raise the scientific and educational level of all working people and

organize strong forces to tackle key scientific research projects.

(10) Proceed from the concept of everything for the people and make overall arrangements for production, construction and the people's livelihood.

He stressed that to promote economic development it was essential to devise a new approach by which the economy would grow at a dependable pace with better results and more tangible benefits for the people and a fundamental turn for the better would be brought about in the financial and economic situation during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. The session approved the report on the work of the government and adopted the "Economic Contract Law," the "Income Tax Law for Foreign Enterprises" and the "Civil Procedure Law."

December 15-23

The CPC Central Committee called first secretaries of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees to a forum to hear their reports on the basic situation of 1981 in their localities and their plans for work in 1982 and their comments on the leadership of the Central Committee. Speaking at the forum, Hu Yaobang pointed out that the Party had made new progress in its work in 1981, which was mainly shown in the fact that the economy had continued to take a turn for the better and begun to develop steadily and the political situation had become more stable. He put forward the objectives for work in 1982 as follows: first, to grasp both economic development and the building of socialist culture and ideology and attain comparatively satisfactory new results in both; second, to develop the economy at a genuinely steady speed with better results; and third, to improve public order, general conduct of society and the Party's style of work. Chen Yun stressed that in agriculture planned economy must play the leading role with market regulation as a supplement. He said that first, the one billion people must be sufficiently fed, and second, socialist construction must be carried out—these constituted another important principle for China's economic development.

According to statistics supplied by the State Statistical Bureau, China's revenues and expenditures were basically balanced in 1981; prices were stable by and large; the ratio between major branches of the economy continued to improve and further progress was made in production and construction. The annual gross output value of industry and agriculture was up 4.5 percent over the previous year; specifically, that of agriculture rose by 5.7 percent and industry 4.1 percent. China's economy had embarked on the track of steady development and the political situation in the country had become more stable.

1982

January 1

The CPC Central Committee transmitted throughout the country the "Summary of the National Conference on Rural Work." The conference had been held in December 1981. It was noted that diverse forms of the responsibility system in production had been set up in over 90 percent of the production teams in the countryside. Now that the period of large-scale changes had been over, it was time to analyse the experience and improve and stabilize the system. In China's agriculture it was necessary to keep to the road of socialist collectivization, to keep public ownership of the means of production and the responsibility system in production intact for a long time to come. It was necessary to take into consideration the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. The summary contained practical policies for improving the flow of commodities in rural areas, increasing economic results through the use of scientific and technological achievements in agriculture, bettering the conditions for production and strengthening ideological work and the building of grass-roots units.

January 2

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council made the "Decision on All-Round Consolidation of State-Owned Industrial Enterprises." They decided to spend two or three years, beginning from 1982, consolidating state industrial enterprises and improving the economic responsibility system, improving labour discipline, financial and economic rules and regulations, labour organization and the leading bodies of the enterprises, and improving ideological and political education among workers and office staff. The consolidation and improvement, which was to be carried out according to plans, first through experimentation, and by stages and in groups, was aimed at bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in China's economy.

January 10

The first volume of the *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi* (consisting of his important writings during the period of democratic revolution) was put on sale throughout the country. Later in December 1985, the second volume (consisting of his important writings during the period of socialist transformation and construction) was published.

January 11

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Urgent Circular," pointing out that there were some cadres, including a number of leading cadres, who were engaged in smuggling, selling of smuggled goods, embezzling public funds, accepting bribes, and stealing large amounts of state property and committed other serious offences. It demanded that the

Party grapple with these problems and take prompt action to solve them. It dispatched several leading cadres to Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang and Yunnan provinces to convey to the local authorities the instructions of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee, requiring them to take measures immediately to crack down on those criminal activities.

January 11 and 13

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee met to discuss the question of streamlining the central Party and state organs. Deng Xiaoping made an important speech entitled "Streamlining Organizations Constitutes a Revolution." He noted that if this revolution failed, if the present overstaffed and overlapping Party and state organizations were allowed to stay as they had been—without clearly defined duties and with many incompetent, irresponsible, lethargic, under-educated and inefficient staff members—no support would be forthcoming from the people. He said that if this revolution was not conducted but the old and ailing were allowed to stand in the way of relatively young people who were energetic and able, not only would the four modernizations fail but the Party and the state would face a mortal trial and perhaps perish. He added that in streamlining the administrative structure, attention should be paid not only to cutting back staff but also to promoting people and that in promotions, the key was to select younger people. On January 19, the CPC Central Committee printed Deng Xiaoping's speech and distributed it to the Party leadership groups of departments under the Central Committee and of the ministries and commissions under the State Council. Soon afterwards, structural reform started in the departments of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council.

On the same day, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Directive on Improving Judicial and Public Security Work," in which it analysed the failure in the efforts to promote a fundamental improvement in public security and required the entire Party to tackle the problem in a comprehensive way so that the general conduct of society and public security would be improved considerably in 1982.

January 14

At a meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee Hu Yaobang spoke on "Questions Concerning China's Economic Relations with Other Countries." He explained the strategic significance of developing economic relations with other countries to China's modernization. He stressed that in socialist construction, China must make use of the resources available at home and abroad, open up domestic and foreign markets and grasp skills of organizing construction at home and developing economic relations with other countries. At present it was essential to analyse experience and formulate a complete set of correct principles

and policies, take correct measures and chart a road that suited both the domestic and international conditions in order to develop China's economic relations with other countries, absorb foreign investment, properly introduce advanced technology from abroad, vigorously develop labour service abroad and export China's products to other countries.

January 15

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued a circular in connection with the transmission throughout the country of the "Summary of the Forum on Economic Relations and Trade with Other Countries by Nine Coastal Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions." In the circular it was pointed out that correct handling of relations between the coastal regions and the interior was a question of strategic importance in China's socialist economic development. Under the new circumstances it was necessary to take advantage of the superiority of the coastal regions and improve economic relations and trade with other countries.

January 30

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Examining the Work with Regard to Intellectuals." In the circular it affirmed the tremendous role of China's intellectuals in revolution and construction. It called for further elimination of prejudices against intellectuals so that the intellectuals would receive equal treatment politically and would be given a free hand in work and receive consideration in their daily lives. It required leading Party organs at various levels to check up on the work before the end of June. In compliance with the circular, Party committees of various localities and departments examined their work with regard to intellectuals, re-examined cases involving intellectuals and redressed unjust, false and wrong cases. Meanwhile, they admitted fine intellectuals into the Party, promoted a number of them with both ability and political integrity to leading posts at different levels, and helped intellectuals solve difficulties in their daily lives.

February 11-13

A forum attended by people from Guangdong and Fujian provinces was held in Beijing. The forum decided to take more resolute and effective measures in compliance with the "Urgent Circular" issued by the CPC Central Committee on January 11 to further crack down on criminal activities in the economic field. At the same time, the participants summed up experience and established correct principles for guiding economic activities with other countries and for further developing the economy of the two provinces by implementing special policies and taking flexible measures. On March 1, the CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted throughout the country the summary on the forum.

February 12

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Summary of the National Conference on United Front Work," pointing out that the united front remained an important magic weapon for the Party to build a powerful and modern socialist China throughout the new historic period. So long as classes were not ultimately eliminated and the Communist Party still existed, it was necessary for the Party to cooperate with people outside it and to maintain genuine relations in which it would show utter devotion to friends outside the Party and share weal and woe with them. It noted that since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, great achievements had been scored by the Party and government leadership at various levels in their efforts to gradually eradicate "Left" influences and carry out the policies on united front work. In the previous three years, the eight democratic parties in China recruited a total of 35,000 new members at least. With more than 700 local organizations and over 4,000 grass-roots branches, they were playing a positive role in the political life and socialist modernization of the country.

February 20

The CPC Central Committee made the "Decision on Instituting the Retirement System for Veteran Cadres," which constituted a major reform of the cadre system. On April 10, the State Council issued "Interim Provisions for Veteran Cadres to Leave Their Posts in Order to Rest."

April 10

Speaking at the Political Bureau meeting to discuss the "Decision on Cracking Down on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Field" made by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that in order to keep to the socialist road, there must be four essential guarantees: first, introducing structural reform; second, building socialist culture and ideology; third, combating economic criminal activities; and fourth, rectifying the Party's style of work and tightening Party discipline, including upholding and improving leadership by the Party. He stressed the need to employ dual tactics, namely, unswervingly to pursue the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the economy and, at the same time, to wage a resolute struggle against economic criminal activities.

April 13

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council announced the "Decision on Cracking Down on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Field." They noted sharply that at present criminal activities in the economic field were much more serious than those exposed in the

movement against the "three evils" in 1952. To crack down on serious economic criminal activities was an important aspect of the class struggle in the economic field under the new historic conditions in socialist China. It was necessary to concentrate on coping with the major and important cases. The decision contained related policies for guiding the drive against economic crimes. On May 31, speaking at a meeting of leading cadres from the central Party, government and army departments, convened by the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, Wan Li called for conscientious efforts of all units in the struggle. The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection sent 154 leading cadres at and above the rank of bureau directors to different localities to help with investigation and handling of major cases. Preliminary statistics showed, by the end of the year, 164,000 cases had been placed on file for investigation and prosecution, of which 86,000 had been concluded. Some 30,000 offenders were convicted, and embezzled money and bribes at the value of 320 million yuan were recovered.

June 7

When meeting with Henk Hoekstra, chairman of the Dutch Communist Party, Hu Yaobang said that the principles guiding the CPC in developing its relations with the Communist Parties of other countries were: independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The CPC was willing to further its relations with the Dutch Communist Party on the basis of these principles.

June 19-25

The Second Meeting of the Fourth National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was held in Beijing. The participants mainly discussed "Opinions on the Experience in the Work of Literature and Art" and adopted the "Pledge of Writers and Artists." They noted that after the Fourth National Congress of the Literary and Art Circles, a situation was taking shape in which literature and art were thriving both in theory and creation and the number of writers and artists was growing. But there were also some shortcomings and mistakes in the past two years. Therefore, it was necessary to improve Party leadership over literature and art, uphold the Party's guiding ideas and policies relating to literature and art so that people working in this field would make greater contributions to building socialist culture and ideology.

End of June

Statistics showed that after streamlining departments of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, the number of ministries, commissions, executive offices and other organs directly under the State

Council had reduced from 100 to 60 and the total staff had been cut back by approximately one-third. According to figures compiled with regard to 38 ministries and commissions only, the number of ministers and vice-ministers was reduced by 67 percent. In the new leading bodies, newly promoted young and middle-aged cadres accounted for 32 percent. The average age of leading cadres came to 58 from 64. The number of departments directly under the Party Central Committee and of bureaus was cut by 11 percent, total staff by 17.3 percent, and the number of department directors and deputy directors by 15.7 percent. In the new leading bodies, newly promoted young and middle-aged cadres accounted for 16 percent, with the average age reduced from 64 to 60. The problem of overstaffed and overlapping structures and the problem of ageing were solved preliminarily.

July 10-24

The CPC Central Committee held a National Conference on Judicial and Public Security Work. It was emphasized that in the new period the main task in this field of work was to improve socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system, strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and defend and promote socialist modernization centring around economic development. The tasks for judicial and public security work were specified at the conference.

August 6

The Seventh Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Beijing. Before the session, a preliminary meeting had been held to work out topics for discussion at the forthcoming plenary session. At the session it was decided that the Twelfth National Congress of the CPC was to be held on September 1. The participants examined and approved the report of the Central Committee to be delivered at the Twelfth Congress of the Party and the "Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party (Revised Draft)" and decided to submit them to the congress for deliberation.

September 1-11

The Twelfth National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. The 1,545 deputies and 145 alternate deputies to the congress represented more than 39 million Party members. In his opening speech, Deng Xiaoping expounded the historic significance, tasks and guiding ideology of the congress. He stressed, "In our modernization programme, we must proceed from the realities in China. Both in our revolution and construction, we should also learn from foreign countries and draw on their experience. But mechanical copying and application of foreign experience and models will get us nowhere. We have had many lessons in this respect. To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with concrete

realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics—this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience.”

On behalf of the Eleventh Central Committee, Hu Yaobang made a report entitled “Create a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization.” He appraised the major achievements scored in various fields of endeavour since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee and proclaimed the victorious fulfilment of the task of effecting a historic change that had started since the downfall of the “gang of four” and particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. He analysed the political and economic situation and put forward the general task of the Party in the new period as follows: to unite the people of all the nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology and to make China a culturally and ideologically advanced and highly democratic socialist country. Centring on this general task, he set the tasks for different fields of work: to bring about an all-round upsurge of the socialist economy, to strive to build a high level of socialist culture and ideology, to strive to attain a high level of socialist democracy, to adhere to an independent foreign policy, and to make the Party a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization. In the light of the guiding ideology of the Central Committee of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, he put forth the magnificent programme of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

The congress examined and adopted the new Party Constitution in which the “Left” mistakes contained in the Constitution adopted by the Eleventh Congress had been eliminated and, at the same time, the strong points contained in the Party Constitutions adopted by the Seventh and Eighth Congresses had been absorbed. In the new Party Constitution many new requirements were raised in relation to Party membership in the light of the characteristics of a ruling party in the new period. The new Party Constitution was a powerful ideological weapon for the Party to strengthen its own building.

The congress elected a new Central Committee and also a Central Advisory Commission and a Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. Many new members replaced the old ones in the central leading organs, which provided an organizationally reliable guarantee for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

September 12-13

The First Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC was held, at which Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun, Wang Zhen, Wei Guoqing, Ulanhu, Fang Yi, Deng Xiaoping, Deng Yingchao, Ye Jian-

ying, Li Xiannian, Li Desheng, Yang Shangkun, Yang Dezhi, Yu Qiuli, Song Renqiong, Zhang Tingfa, Chen Yun, Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qiaomu, Hu Yaobang, Nie Rongzhen, Ni Zhifu, Xu Xiangqian, Peng Zhen and Liao Chengzhi were elected members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Yao Yilin, Qin Jiwei and Chen Muhua alternate members of the Political Bureau. Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun were elected Standing Committee members of the Political Bureau, and Hu Yaobang general secretary of the Central Committee. Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun, Deng Liqun, Yang Yong, Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu, Chen Pixian, Hu Qili and Yao Yilin were elected members, and Qiao Shi and Hao Jianxiu alternate members, of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Deng Xiaoping was appointed chairman, Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and Yang Shangkun vice-chairmen, of the Military Commission under the Central Committee.

September 13

The CPC Central Advisory Commission held its first plenary session, at which Deng Xiaoping was elected chairman, and Bo Yibo, Xu Shiyu, Tan Zhenlin and Li Weiha were elected vice-chairmen, of the commission. Deng Xiaoping made an important speech on the character and tasks of the Central Advisory Commission. On the same day, the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection also held its first plenary session, at which Chen Yun was elected first secretary and Huang Kecheng second secretary of the commission and Wang Heshou secretary in charge of its day-to-day work. Chen Yun made an important speech on the need to conduct rigid discipline inspection in the Party.

October 7-16

China successfully carried out a submarine-based carrier rocket test launched to a designated sea area. This achievement marked a new development in China's carrier rocket technology.

October 14-26

At the invitation of the CPC Central Committee the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, led by General Secretary Georges Marchais, paid a friendly visit to China. During their talks, the CPC and the CPF formally agreed to restore their relations on the basis of the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

November 26-December 10

The Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. The deputies listened to a report delivered by Peng Zhen on the revision of the Constitution and a report by Zhao Ziyang on behalf of the State Council on the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and they adopted the

"Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and approved the "Sixth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China," and the Plan for China's Economic and Social Development for 1983 drawn up in line with the Sixth Five-Year Plan. In his speech at the session Ye Jianying pointed out that promulgation and implementation of the Constitution adopted at the session would help promote to a new stage the building of China's socialist democracy, legal system and modernization. The session called on the people throughout the country to firmly implement the strategic plan adopted at the Twelfth National Congress of the CPC and work hard in an enterprising spirit to accomplish the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

December 3

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved and transmitted throughout the country a circular on the "Summary of Some Questions Concerning Current Experimentation in Running Special Economic Zones." In the summary the achievements scored since July 1979 in the four special economic zones—Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen—were analysed. The achievements were: preliminary progress had been made in absorbing foreign capital, capital construction focusing on infrastructure had started, some advanced technology and equipment had been introduced, and industrial and agricultural production had been growing fairly rapidly. It stressed that the special economic zones should have more decision-making power and legislation on economic matters should be hastened.

December 11

At a forum attended by secretaries of the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, Hu Yaobang made a speech entitled "Work for 1983," in which he pointed out that to fulfil the plan for 1983 we should concentrate on making obvious achievements in the following two aspects of work: First, to accomplish reform of the organizational structure at the level of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as at the level of prefectures and cities, and to start Party consolidation so as to further improve the Party's style of work, general social conduct and public order; and second, to work hard to keep all-round development of the national economy in 1983 at the same level as this year and make adequate preparations necessary for continued development of the economy on a sound basis in 1984 and in the years to come. He stressed the need to carry out reform firmly and strictly in accordance with the plans of the Central Committee and to conduct reform in the economic field systematically.

December 20-30

The Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Youth League was

held in Beijing. Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Deng Yingchao and other Party and state leaders were present and extended their greetings to the congress. Hu Qili made a congratulatory speech on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and on behalf of the Tenth Central Committee of the League, Wang Zhaoguo, first secretary of the League's Central Committee, delivered a work report entitled "Youths of All Nationalities of the Country Unite and March Towards the Brilliant Future of Socialist Modernization." Hu Yaobang pointed out in his speech that the historic mission of the Communist Youth League was to organize the youths of the country and encourage them to stand in the forefront of the modernization drive and carry on the cause initiated by revolutionaries of the older generation.

December 30

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Removing Three Types of People from the Leading Bodies." In the circular it was noted that since the Central Committee decided that none of the three types—people who had risen to prominence by following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques in "rebellion"; people who were seriously factionalist in their ideas; and people who had indulged in beating, smashing and looting—be promoted to important posts, efforts had been made to remove the three types of people from leading posts. However, for one reason or another, in a few localities and departments, people of those types still remained in leading bodies or at key posts or continued to be promoted to important positions, and some of them had even been promoted as successors or were about to be promoted as such. Though small in number, these people were most active and influential, representing a factor leading to instability and a latent danger that one could not afford to ignore. Therefore, it was imperative to remove them from the leading bodies or transfer them from key departments and positions. After these people were removed from the leading bodies intense ideological education should be conducted among them and opportunities offered to them so that they could correct their mistakes and turn over a new leaf.

1983

January 2

The CPC Central Committee printed and distributed "Some Questions Concerning the Current Rural Economic Policies" adopted at the National Conference on Rural Work. According to the document, China was to reform the economic setup and conduct structural and technological reform in agriculture in the light of its own actual conditions, for the purpose of developing its socialist agriculture in agreement with

Chinese characteristics. Policies for current rural work were formulated as follows: to stabilize and improve the responsibility system applied in agricultural production and develop farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery in an all-round manner and encourage combined operation of agriculture, industry and commerce; to develop diverse forms of cooperatives; to allow coexistence of diverse forms of commercial undertakings with state commercial undertakings playing the leading role; to restructure the people's communes and to separate government functions from commune management; and to go on with technological transformation in agriculture so as to make China's rural economy grow faster while the relations of production were daily improving and technology was steadily progressing.

February 10

A report carried by the *People's Daily* noted that on the eve of the Spring Festival, Yang Shangkun, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, told the reporter that nine major achievements had been scored in army work since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party:

- (1) The army men had become more aware of the need to be of one mind with the Central Committee of the Party ideologically and politically.

- (2) The level of military skills and war preparedness had been raised.

- (3) Great efforts had been made for structural reform in the army and for streamlining and reorganizing the armed forces.

- (4) The leading bodies at various levels had become smaller and more competent.

- (5) Scientific research for national defence and the development of sophisticated weapons had entered a new stage.

- (6) Progress had been made in regularizing the army.

- (7) Progress had been made in the building of logistics.

- (8) The army had achieved heartening results in the building of a socialist society with advanced culture and ideology.

- (9) The army had considerably improved its relations with the people and the government.

Yang Shangkun said that the army was experiencing one of the best periods in its building since the founding of the People's Republic.

February 14

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Enforcing Rigorous Education Among Party Members." According to the circular, unhealthy tendencies existed inside the Party, such as liberalism in political matters, extreme individualism in ideology, sectarianism in

organization and bureaucracy in style of work. The entire Party membership were, therefore, required, while receiving education with the new Party Constitution as the main content, to earnestly study and resolutely implement the new Party Constitution, do their best to meet the qualifications as prescribed in the new Party Constitution and play the vanguard and exemplary role in building a socialist society with material progress and advanced culture and ideology.

March 13

The CPC Central Committee held a rally attended by ten thousand people in Beijing to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. Hu Yaobang delivered a speech entitled "The Radiance of the Truth of Marxism Lights Our Way Forward." He said, "We feel more deeply now that, without Marxist theory, China could not possibly have become what it is today. We have learned from Marx, conscientiously studied and drawn wisdom and strength from his works, and will continue to do so." He pointed out that one extremely important factor which had enabled Marx to found scientific communism had been that he had mastered all that was best in the culture and knowledge of mankind and integrated it closely with the workers' movement. He stressed the important role played by intellectuals in revolution and construction, saying that knowledge and intellectuals had been necessary for overthrowing the old world, and they were even more necessary for building the new. He called on the entire Party and the people throughout the country to further eliminate the serious influence of the prolonged "Left" deviationist mistakes, to try to grasp modern science and general knowledge and work hard to build a modern and powerful socialist China with a high level of culture and ideology and a high level of democracy.

March 21-April 1

The State Council convened the National Conference of Industry and Transportation in Beijing. At the conference stress was placed on replacing profit delivery with tax payments in state enterprises, linking growth rate with economic performance for the purpose of increasing economic results; and continuing to implement the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement and speed up the tempo of reform so as to promote consolidation and readjustment of the enterprises. On April 27, the document of "Measures for Trial Implementation of the System of Replacing Profit Delivery with Tax Payments in State Enterprises" was distributed throughout the country. Taxation started from June 1, 1983. The system was of great significance to further expanding the decision-making power of enterprises, improving the managerial responsibility system and ensuring steady increase of state revenues.

April 1

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Circular on Approving and Transmitting the 'Summary of Discussions on Accelerating Development and Construction of Hainan Island.'" It was decided to speed up development and construction of Hainan Island by giving the island more decision-making powers and executing more flexible policies.

April 23-May 6

The Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), led by General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad, visited China. Through consultations the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) agreed to resume relations.

May 6

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Circular Concerning Some Questions on Improving and Reforming Rural School Education." On the 9th, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Personnel jointly issued their "Suggestions on Reforming the Structure of Urban Secondary Education and Developing Vocational Education."

June 6-21

The First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress was held in Beijing, at which Zhao Ziyang delivered a report on the work of the government. He said that China had won tremendous successes during the past five years, bringing about great changes in all fields of work. The main tasks for the coming five years were: to mobilize the people of all nationalities of China to fulfil or overfulfil the Sixth Five-Year Plan, draw up and carry out the Seventh Five-Year Plan, continue to push ahead work in various fields centring on economic development, bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation and in standards of social conduct, and thus win a signal victory in the struggle to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The session adopted the "Report on the Work of the Government," the "Report on the 1983 Plan for National Economic and Social Development," and the "Report on the Final State Account for 1982," and approved the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, the report on the work of the Supreme People's Court and the report on the work of the Supreme People's Procuratorate. The session elected Li Xiannian president of the People's Republic of China, Peng Zhen chairman of the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress and appointed Zhao Ziyang premier of the State Council and elected Deng Xiaoping chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China.

June 10

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on Encouraging Workers and Office Staff to Read Books" submitted by the Party leadership group of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. In its comments the Secretariat noted that this activity of reading books reflected the enthusiasm on the part of the workers and other employees and youths for bringing about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Party and mass organizations at all levels were required to provide more effective leadership and constantly analyse experience to promote this activity on a sound basis. By mid-October, a total of 10 million workers and office staff had participated in the activity.

June 25-29

The CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing, at which the question of concentrating an appropriate amount of financial and material resources on the construction of key projects was discussed. This was an important meeting on economic work held since the Party's Twelfth National Congress.

July 1

The *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (1975-82) was published. At the National Conference on Propaganda Work held between July 7 and 17, it was decided that study and dissemination of the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* was the focus in propaganda work for a considerably long time to come. On July 12, the CPC Central Committee issued a circular, calling on the people to earnestly study Deng's works.

July 16-20

The Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee held a National Forum on Organizational Work in Beijing. At the forum it was decided that the main tasks for organizational work were: to accelerate the building of leading bodies to make their members more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more competent professionally, to improve the composition of the leading bodies to raise the political awareness of cadres, to reform the cadre system, to make a success of consolidation of the whole Party, to further improve Party leadership and to enhance the combat effectiveness of Party organizations.

July 29-August 2

The National Conference on the Work of Public Security, the Procuratorate and the Judiciary was held in Beijing. At the conference the directive of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee on cracking down on crime was made known to the participants for them to carry it out, and

principles and plans relating to social security were discussed. On August 25, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on Cracking Down on Crime," requiring that resolute efforts be made to combat serious crimes by dealing with the offenders severely in accordance with the law in the years to come. Initial successes were scored by November.

August 1

The *Selected Works of Zhu De* (1931-62) was published by the People's Publishing House.

October 11-12

The Second Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Beijing. A preliminary meeting had been held before the session. After discussion the participants unanimously adopted the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Rectification of Party Organizations." The spirit of the Party's Twelfth National Congress was embodied in the decision, in which the situation inside the Party was analysed, the necessity and urgency of the rectification was explicitly expounded, and the basic principles, tasks, policies and measures for the rectification were clearly defined. The basic tasks were: to unify thinking, rectify the style of work, tighten discipline and purify the organizations. At the session, Deng Xiaoping spoke on the need to prevent the rectification movement from being conducted in a perfunctory way, to allow nobody working in the ideological field to spread spiritual pollution and to strengthen Party leadership in this field of work. He said, "The majority of our theorists, writers and artists are good or relatively good; only a few are guilty of spreading spiritual pollution. The problem is that the mistakes of those few have not been severely criticized and that necessary measures have not been taken to put a stop to their harmful actions and to the dissemination of their wrong ideas. Spiritual pollution can be so damaging as to bring disaster upon the country and the people." He stressed, "To strengthen Party leadership in ideological matters and overcome weakness and laxity has become an urgent task for the entire membership of the Party." In his speech, Chen Yun emphasized the need to remove the "three types of people" from the leading bodies and the question that no Communists should abuse power for private gain. The session called on all the Party membership to earnestly study the decision on rectification of Party organizations and take an active part in the rectification. In order to ensure Party leadership over rectification, the session elected the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation with Hu Yaobang as chairman and Bo Yibo and others vice-chairmen.

October 12

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Cir-

cular on Separating the Functions of Government from Commune Management and Establishing Township People's Government." Soon the work was started successively in different parts of the country.

October 21-26

The CPC Central Committee invited 270 people who were not Communist Party members to attend a forum, at which it conveyed to them the proceedings of the Second Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC, solicited their comments and suggestions on the rectification of Party organizations and hoped that they would help the Communist Party with its rectification. It stressed that the rectification was designed only to solve the problems inside the CPC and would not involve democratic parties or people without party affiliation.

November 4-December 16

The Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation issued five circulars to lower levels, including a book-list consisting of *Concise Edition of Important Documents Issued Since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee* and *Comrade Mao Zedong on the Party's Style of Work and Organization*; it sent liaison teams to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and to the ministries and commissions under the Central Committee and the State Council for the purpose of being constantly informed of the development in the rectification and maintaining close links with the lower levels, facilitating exchange of experience gained in the process and providing more effective, unified leadership. It was decided that every Party committee and Party leadership group of the unit included in the first group to carry out rectification should set up two sets of leading bodies, one in charge of rectification and the other economic work or vocational work of its own unit. Then, rectification of Party organizations began in the first group of units.

November 8-December 30

Leading members of the CPC Central Committee attended the national congress of the eight democratic parties—the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, the China Zhi Gong Dang, the Jiu San Society and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. In their speeches of congratulations on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, they affirmed the gratifying achievements scored and experience gained by these parties since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee in participating in consultation and deliberation of important issues concerning the political affairs of the state, economic and cultural

development and the united front, in developing culture and education, and in offering consultant services in science and technology, in supporting the outlying areas with their knowledge and giving assistance to minority nationalities in construction, and so forth. They also expounded the Party's resolve of continuing to adhere to the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe" in relation with all democratic parties and democrats, respect the democratic parties' freedom politically and their independence organizationally as prescribed by the Constitution, as well as equality as prescribed by law, and support them to carry out various kinds of work and activities independently.

December 22

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular Approving and Transmitting the 'Work Report on Readjusting the Leading Bodies at the Provincial and Prefectural Levels' Submitted by the Organization Department of the Central Committee and the Structural Reform Guiding Group of the Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions." According to the report, readjustment of the leading bodies at the provincial level was to start in October 1982 and to be completed in the main by the end of March 1983, so would readjustment of the leading bodies of departments, commissions, offices and bureaus under the provincial Party committees and provincial governments. The 698 people serving as members in provincial leading bodies, members of the standing committees of provincial Party committees, governors and deputy governors were cut to 463, the reduction accounting for 34 percent of the total; their average age went down from 62 to 55; and the number of people who had received college or university education rose from 20 to 43 percent. The 204 cadres who had been newly promoted to provincial leading posts accounted for 44 percent of the total in the provincial leading bodies, among whom 145 had received college or university education, accounting for 71 percent. The number of people serving in the leading bodies of prefectures and cities and of departments, commissions, offices and bureaus under the provincial Party committees, members of the standing committees of the prefectural or city Party committees, directors and deputy directors of prefectures and directors and deputy directors of offices and bureaus had been reduced to 10,603 from 16,658, cutting back by 36 percent; their average age was down from 58 to 50; and the percentage of those who had received college or university education rose from 14 to 44.

December 26

To mark the 90th birthday of Mao Zedong, the *People's Daily* carried an article, written by Hu Yaobang, entitled "The Best Way to Remember Mao Zedong." Before and after this day, commemorative activities were

conducted in various parts of the country. Theorists held academic discussions on different subjects of Mao Zedong Thought, discussing and disseminating the important contributions made by Mao Zedong to the development of Marxist theory and the Party's inheritance and development of Mao Zedong Thought since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. The Department for Research on Party Literature under the CPC Central Committee and other units published *Selected Letters of Mao Zedong, A Selection of Letters by Mao Zedong with Reproductions and the Original Calligraphy* and *Selected Writings of Mao Zedong on Journalism*. The media published and broadcasted a number of academic theses and reminiscences. Through these activities the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people honoured the memory of their beloved Mao Zedong.

1984

January 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Rural Work for 1984," pointing out that rural work in 1984 should be focused on raising the level of the productive forces, unclogging circulation channels and increasing commodity production while trying to stabilize and improve the responsibility system applied in production. The circular also contained policy measures for further developing the rural economy. Between January 16 and 26, the Ministry of Farming, Animal Husbandry and Fishery held the National Conference on Agricultural Work. The participants discussed ways of implementing the principles contained in the circular and resolved to consolidate and improve the system of contracted responsibility in production with remuneration linked to output and immediately shift their chief attention onto the development of commodity production in the spirit of daring to explore new ways and make reform.

February 10-23

The National Conference on Economic Work was held in Beijing. It was stressed that the focus of economic work as a whole should be switched onto improving economic performance and that the main criterion for judging the work of various economic departments and enterprises was whether they could firmly pursue this policy and achieve good results.

February 14-July 15

The *Selected Works of Chen Yun* (1926-49) and (1949-56) were published and distributed respectively.

February 22

When meeting with an American delegation from the Centre for Strategic and International Studies of the United States, Deng Xiaoping said that after China's reunification Taiwan could go on practising capitalism, while the mainland maintained socialism, that there could be two systems within one China and that neither side would harm the other.

February 27-March 28

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee held in Beijing a forum on work in Tibet. In the light of practice over the past few years, the participants reviewed the basic situation in Tibet and restudied the current principles and policies applied there. With their minds further emancipated, they arrived at a fuller understanding of the peculiarities of Tibet. Proceeding from these peculiarities, they formulated a series of principles and policies that were suited to actual circumstances there—principles and policies for promoting economic, social and cultural development in Tibet. Party committees and governments at all levels in Tibet were expected to concentrate their efforts on developing the economy, building an advanced socialist culture and ideology suited to Tibetan conditions and doing a satisfactory job with regard to the united front, nationalities affairs and religion. On April 1, the CPC Central Committee printed and distributed the "Summary of the Forum on Work in Tibet," pointing out that in a considerably long period of time, the summary would be the important document for guiding work in Tibet and hoping that the authorities in Tibet would push the economy forward as quickly as possible so that the Tibetan people would lead a prosperous life. In accordance with the decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, an economic work advisory group of the Tibet Autonomous Region was set up on March 5.

March 1

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council transmitted the "Report on Creating a New Situation in the Enterprises Run by Communes and Production Brigades" submitted by the Ministry of Farming, Animal Husbandry and Fishery, pointing out that since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee the enterprises run by communes and production brigades had become an important force in the national economy and an important supplement to state enterprises. Party committees and governments at all levels were required to give active guidance and assistance to them. In the report it was suggested that the name of enterprises run by communes or production brigades be changed into that of town- or township-run enterprises, and policies for their rapid development were put forward.

March 19

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting to

discuss work concerning Chinese nationals residing abroad. The entire Party was requested to attach importance to work in this field and pay special attention to implementing the current policies for work in this area and solving the problems left unsolved in the past. Between April 10 and 22, a meeting was called in Beijing attended by directors of offices in charge of overseas Chinese affairs in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, at which Hu Yaobang and Xi Zhongxun delivered speeches. Hu Yaobang talked about the great strength constituted by the 30 million returned overseas Chinese and Chinese nationals residing abroad and the significance in doing successful work in relation to them. He said the general policy for work in this field was to attach importance to it and be prudent in the work. He added that it was necessary to take measures to absorb more investment by returned overseas Chinese and Chinese nationals abroad, employ skilled people from abroad and run well the farms and factories of overseas Chinese. From April 11 to 16, the Third National Conference of Returned Overseas Chinese was held in Beijing. The documents distributed at the conference showed that great achievements had been scored in the work relating to overseas Chinese since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. In the past few years, about 270,000 refugees from Indo-China and other parts of the world had been given jobs in the country. Most of the unjust, false and wrong cases involving returned overseas Chinese and family members of the overseas Chinese had been redressed. Federations of returned overseas Chinese had been established in 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and in 400 prefectures, cities and counties. Other related policies were being implemented.

March 26-April 6

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council held a forum attended by people from coastal cities. In accordance with Deng Xiaoping's proposal, the forum decided to open 14 more port cities, namely, Dalian, Qinhuangdao, Tianjin, Yantai, Qingdao, Lianyungang, Nantong, Shanghai, Ningbo, Wenzhou, Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Zhanjiang and Beihai. This was an important policy decision designed to speed up opening to the outside world. On May 4, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council transmitted the "Summary of the Forum Attended by People from Coastal Cities," pointing out explicitly that the building of coastal cities opening to the outside world chiefly depended upon policies: first, to give preferential treatment to foreign businessmen who invested in China or supplied advanced technology; and second, to give more decision-making power to these cities so that they could conduct economic activities with foreign countries with full vitality.

April 16-25

The State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System held

in Changzhou, Jiangsu Province a forum on experimentation with restructuring of the urban economic system. The participants held that practice in Shashi, Changzhou and Chongqing showed that successful experimentation with comprehensive reform in cities was of great significance to promoting economic restructuring as a whole. In the light of the needs of reform, the participants suggested speeding up experimentation. They stressed the need to resolutely adhere to the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy in order to arouse the initiative of enterprises and workers, establish unified socialist market, invigorate the enterprises and unclog circulation channels.

Late April

The frontier troops of the PLA in Yunnan Province launched a counter-attack in self-defence against the Vietnamese troops who had invaded Laoshan and Zheyinshan areas in Yunnan Province. Later, the Chinese frontier troops repulsed several onslaughts by Vietnamese troops in these areas, preserving security in the frontier.

May 10

The State Council issued the "Provisional Regulations on Further Extending the Decision-Making Power of State Industrial Enterprises," according to which the powers of these enterprises in ten aspects of work were properly extended: planning production and management, selling products, fixing prices of products, purchasing material and facilities, using funds, disposing of assets, establishing working offices, handling affairs of personnel and labour, paying wages or salaries and handing out bonuses, and establishing joint operation with other enterprises.

May 15-31

The Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. In his Report on the Work of the Government, Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council, stressed that in future economic work special attention should be paid to two major issues: restructuring the economy and opening to the outside world. In rural reform it was necessary to stabilize and improve various forms of the contracted responsibility system based on the household with remuneration linked to output, promote specialized households and diverse forms of economic associations, continue to improve the structure of the agricultural economy and encourage peasants to expand commodity production. Reform in the cities should be quickened. It was, therefore, essential to start with tackling the relations between the state and the enterprises, and between the enterprises and the workers and office staff and to work out a relatively complete set of reform measures that were suited to present needs and put them into effect simultaneously. The session also exam-

ined and adopted reports on work in other fields and the Law on Regional National Autonomy and the Military Service Law. It decided to establish the Hainan Administrative Region.

June 12

The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee formulated "Regulations on Regular Education Among Cadres in Marxist-Leninist Theory," in which it analysed the fact that theoretical education among cadres had been out of keeping with the needs of the socialist modernization drive owing to the prolonged influence of the "Left" deviationist mistakes and particularly to the ten years of chaos. It pointed out that the entire Party membership were confronted with the important and urgent task of reforming theoretical education among cadres and making such education a regular practice. It set different tasks for the study of theory in accordance with the characteristics of work and educational level of cadres in different trades and requested the work be basically accomplished before the end of 1990.

July 20

According to a report in the *People's Daily*, the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee had decided to reform the management system relating to cadres. Thus management power with regard to cadres would be properly delegated to lower levels so that the affairs of cadres would be administered by different levels. As a result, the number of cadres under the management of the central authorities would be reduced, and in principle the central authorities would only handle the affairs of the principal leading cadres at the next lower level. This would reduce two-thirds of the original number of cadres under the central authorities, making things easier for them. The new management system would be put into effect as of August 1.

July 31

The CPC Central Committee issued a supplementary circular on removing the "three types of people" from leading bodies, in which it stressed the principles to be adhered to, namely, be firm and prudent; making sure that none be left unremoved nor the number of people involved be enlarged; paying special attention to preventing any one of the "three types of people" from being promoted to leading posts at any level or to posts in key department or being included in the third echelon of leaders, and resolutely removing any one of such people who had already been promoted to any of such positions; and strictly distinguishing people of the three types from those who had committed grave mistakes during the "cultural revolution." A supplementary circular was issued, in which policies were defined with regard to people who had made different kinds of mistakes or crime during the "cultural revolution."

September 4

The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Education jointly issued the "Regulations on Improving Education in Marxist-Leninist Theory in Institutions of Higher Learning," pointing out that in order to gear education to the needs of modernization, the world and the future, it was essential to reform the courses offered and the teaching material while resolutely rectifying the erroneous tendency of belittling the course of Marxist-Leninist theory. The principle for the reform was: Persist in integrating theory with practice, make the curriculums and teaching material more scientific and realistic, turn Marxist theory truly into an ideological weapon for students to recognize and transform the world, and help them acquire the world outlook of the proletariat.

September 12

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on Readjustment of the Leading Bodies at the County Level in the Provinces, Autonomous Regions and Municipalities Directly Under the Central Authorities" submitted by the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, according to which except Tibet, most of the leading bodies at the county level had been readjusted. Of the new members of the standing committees of the county Party committees and new county magistrates and deputy county magistrates, 45 percent had received education in colleges or universities, as against the 10.8 percent in the past; 15.4 percent had been conferred professional or technical titles. Except Beijing and Shanghai, their average age was below 45; and the number of the leading members was cut by 18 percent.

September 26

The Joint Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the Question of Hong Kong and three annexes were initialled in Beijing. In the joint declaration, the Chinese Government declared that it would resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong as of July 1, 1997. The British Government declared that it would restore Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China with effect from July 1, 1997. The Chinese Government declared that it had decided to establish the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region upon resuming the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong, that the current capitalist system and life-style in Hong Kong would remain unchanged for 50 years. On December 19, the joint declaration was formally signed by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Beijing. Thus, the Hong Kong question left by history had been satisfactorily solved. The joint declaration itself fully proved the

feasibility of the strategic concept—"one country, two systems" put forward by the CPC—for reunifying the motherland.

September 29

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Circular on Helping Poor Areas to Prosper As Soon As Possible," in which they pointed out that there were still some tens of millions of people in China who remained in poverty and lacked food and clothing. They stressed that solution of this problem was of great economic and political significance. Fundamentally, in order to help the poor areas to become prosperous it was necessary to execute more flexible policies there to lighten the burden on the people, give them preferential treatment, invigorate commodity circulation, increase intellectual investment, and so on. Efforts were required to be concentrated on solving the problem of a dozen contiguous poverty-stricken areas.

October 1

A military review and mass parade were held in Beijing to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Deng Xiaoping reviewed the troops and delivered a speech, in which he highly praised the brilliant achievements scored since the founding of the People's Republic, particularly since the Party's Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. He pointed out that the magnificent goal set at the Party's Twelfth National Congress could assuredly be reached; the primary task confronting the people was to reform the economic structure and at the same time to transform existing enterprises, to redouble efforts in scientific and technological research, and in education at all levels, show true respect for knowledge and let intellectuals play their role. He reiterated China's foreign policy and its determination to reunify the motherland.

October 4

The State Council approved and transmitted the "Provisional Regulations for Improving the Planning System" submitted by the State Planning Commission. It stressed the need to properly narrow the scope of mandatory planning and extend the scope of guidance planning and market regulation in accordance with the principle of tightening control over major issues and relaxing it over minor ones, and to reform the planning system successfully. The regulations were to be put into effect in 1985.

October 5

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Further Developing Physical Culture and Sports," in which the tremendous achievements scored in sports since the founding of the People's Republic and particularly over the past few years and the outstanding role they had

played in bolstering up the national spirit were fully affirmed. With respect to the gap between China's level of sports and the world's advanced level, it stressed the need to adhere to the principle of combining popularization with raising of standards and to take effective measures to develop sports extensively and promote them to a higher level, so as to make China a powerful country in sports before the end of this century. The vigorous development of China's sports over the past few years and, in particular, the high scores made by the Chinese Sports Delegation at the 23rd Olympic Games held in Los Angeles between July 29 and August 13, 1984 marked that China had ascended to world sports arena in all events and embarked on a new path in building a powerful country in sports.

October 20

The Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee was convened in Beijing. A six-day preliminary meeting had been held before the session. The "Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on Reform of the Economic Structure" was unanimously adopted at the session. In the decision, the pressing necessity of accelerating reform of the economic structure with focus on the urban economy was expounded and the objectives, character and tasks of the reform were defined in accordance with the principle of integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with actual conditions in China. It was stated that reform of China's economic structure meant reforming, on condition that the socialist system was adhered to, a series of interrelated links and aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure that were incompatible with the development of the productive forces. The basic task of reform was to establish a socialist economic structure suited to Chinese conditions and with full vigor and vitality, which would help promote the growth of the productive forces. It was made clear that the socialist economy was a planned commodity economy based on public ownership, in which the law of value was consciously applied. Full development of a commodity economy was an indispensable stage in the economic growth of a society and a prerequisite for China's economic modernization. The basic links and various principles and policies were specified in the decision, which was a programmatic document guiding China's reform of the economic structure. The session also decided to hold a national conference of the Party in September 1985.

October 22-23

The Central Advisory Commission of the CPC held its Third Plenary Session in Beijing, at which Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech. He expounded the significance of quadrupling the annual gross output value of industry and agriculture. He emphasized that to reach this goal, it was essential to adhere to the policy of opening to the outside world now and

in future and that isolation from the world would prevent China from building a modern socialist country. He said that opening to the outside world would not lead to capitalism. No matter how wide the door was opened, public ownership would always remain predominant. It was the country and the people who would benefit most from it. As to the "Decision on Reform of the Economic Structure" adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping held that of the ten parts the ninth was the most important, which could be summed up as "respecting knowledge and talented people." The key to success was to identify and employ talented people.

October 31

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on the Summary of the First Campaign Against Serious Crimes and the Plan for the Second Campaign" submitted by the Political and Legal Affairs Commission of the CPC Central Committee. In the report it was noted that practice over the past year showed that under unusual conditions of public order it was not only absolutely necessary but also effective to organize campaigns and concentrate on dealing with serious offenders severely in accordance with the law without delay. The Central Committee required that the effort to crack down on crimes be combined with other efforts for all-round improvement of public order so as to carry out the struggle in depth and breadth.

November 1

Deng Xiaoping stressed in his speech at a forum held by the Central Military Commission that the army should subordinate its work to the general interest—national development, adapting all its work to it and giving all-out assistance to the state in developing the national economy. On December 20, at the working conference of logistics of the entire army Yu Qiuli pointed out that taking the general interest into account was an important guiding ideology for building the army during the new period. The army could make its contributions in support of national development by lightening the burden of state finance, participating in construction of the state's key projects and doing five other things.

According to a report by the Ministry of Public Security, the last group of 79,000 people had been removed of their labels of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries or bad elements, which indicated the successful fulfilment of the historical task of reforming, through education, the 20 million landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements since the founding of the People's Republic.

November 15-December 2

The national conference of directors of propaganda departments was

held in Beijing. The participants concentrated on studying the documents of the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee. Hu Yaobang made a speech entitled "How to Improve Work of the Departments." In view of existing problems, he stressed the need to make ideological and political work, propaganda work and work in other departments serve the modernization drive to overcome the prolonged negative influence of the fallacy "taking class struggle as the key link," and to handle correctly the relations between the partial and the whole, between theory and practice, between destruction and construction and between the leaders and the led. He added that it was imperative to study and analyse Marxism by closely integrating it with the modernization drive and combining theory with practice still more closely.

December 5

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the CPC Central Committee issued a circular in which it listed various kinds of new unhealthy practices that harmed the interests of the state and the people and that had emerged under the new conditions of reform in some government departments and among their staff and in enterprises and other institutions, who by exploiting the loopholes in reform abused their power to seek personal gain, engaged in speculation, resorted to deception, rushed to promote their own ranks and positions, and so on and so forth. It pointed out that these bad practices would entail grave danger to the cause of the Party and impede smooth progress of economic restructuring, and therefore they must be rectified and dealt with severely.

December 29

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on Improving Training of the Cadres" submitted by its Organization and Propaganda departments, pointing out that a fundamental way to ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent was to give in-service training to large numbers of them so as to raise their political and vocational level and their level of operation and management. In order to provide more effective leadership over the work, it decided to set up a central leading group in charge of education among cadres.

December 29-January 5, 1985

The Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers Association was held in Beijing. On behalf of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Hu Qili delivered a congratulatory speech to the congress. The new constitution of the association and the lists of council members of and advisors to the association were adopted. On January 6, Ba Jin was elected chairman of the association.

1985

January 1

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Ten Policies for Further Invigorating the Rural Economy," in which new developments in rural areas were analysed. They pointed out that after the "communal rice-bowl" in the collective economy was smashed, it was essential to take a step forward in reforming management structure of the rural economy by extending the regulatory role of the market under the guidance of state plans so as to gear agricultural production to market demand, rationalize the production structure in rural areas and further invigorate the rural economy. To this end, the Central Committee and the State Council adopted the ten economic policies, such as reforming the system of unified and fixed state purchase of farm produce and sideline products and helping readjust the production structure in the countryside, which ushered in the second step in rural reform.

On the same day Deng Xiaoping's *Build Socialism with Chinese Characteristics* was distributed throughout the country. The book collected his important talks and speeches made from September 1982, when the Twelfth National Congress of the Party was held, through 1984.

January 25-31

The State Council held a forum attended by people from the Yangtze River Delta, Pearl River Delta and Xiamen-Zhangzhou-Quanzhou Triangle in southern Fujian, at which the participants suggested making these areas open coastal economic zones. On February 18, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved and transmitted the "Summary of the Forum on the Yangtze River Delta, Pearl River Delta and Xiamen-Zhangzhou-Quanzhou Triangle in Southern Fujian," pointing out that the three zones should gradually set up a production structure comprising trade, industry and agriculture, namely, they should develop an export-oriented economy. This represented another new policy measure for opening to the outside world following the establishment of special economic zones and the opening of 14 coastal port cities.

February 5-14

The National Conference on Economic Work was held in Tianjin. At the conference it was pointed out that the task in 1985 was to make a success of urban reform and work in other fields to further increase the economic results, with focus on revitalizing the enterprises and in particular the large and medium-sized state enterprises. To this end, ten policy measures were adopted, such as speeding up implementation of

the system under which the factory director assumed full responsibility and developing diverse forms of economic associations—with a view to promoting the enterprises to switch from the productive type to the operational and pioneering type.

February 26

The General Office of the CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Report on Recruiting Large Numbers of Outstanding Intellectuals into the Party" submitted by the Organization Department to the Central Committee. In the report Party committees at various levels were requested to pay attention to the low educational and scientific level of the Party members and admit into the Party large numbers of outstanding intellectuals who were devoted to socialist modernization and the cause of communism, which, the Organization Department stressed, was an important organizational measure to put into effect the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee and provided an important guarantee for improving Party building and accomplishing the general tasks set by the Party for the new historic period. It pointed out that stress should be placed on admitting outstanding young and middle-aged intellectuals.

February 28-March 6

The CPC Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation held a conference in Beijing to discuss work for the second phase of Party consolidation. Hu Qili made the views of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee with regard to work for this phase known to the participants, requiring that stress be laid on checking new unhealthy practices,* strengthening Party spirit and enhancing the sense of discipline. He emphasized that checking the new unhealthy practices did not mean returning to the old track and old methods, but ensuring and promoting the smooth progress of reform.

March 2-7

The National Conference on Science and Technology was held in Beijing, at which Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech. He stressed that

*These practices that had emerged since the fourth quarter of 1984 referred chiefly to the following: Party and government departments and cadres abused power and engaged in commerce, ran enterprises, engaged in speculation, profiteering and reselling of goods in short supply, arbitrarily raised prices against policies, issued excessive bonuses and allowances in cash or in kind under plausible pretexes, raised wages at will, gave lavish dinner parties and gifts on public expenses, indulged in extravagance and waste, resorted to deception, paid lip services, became addicted to formalist practices, arbitrarily issued lottery tickets, sold goods with rewards, rushed to promote people's posts and ranks and let various unhealthy broadsheets go rampant.

both the reform of the economic structure and the reform of science and technology management system were designed to liberate the productive forces. The new economic structure should be beneficial to technological progress and the new science and technology management system should, in turn, be beneficial to economic development. This would help solve the problem of science and technology being long divorced from economic development. The participants discussed the question concerning reform of the science and technology management system. On March 13, the CPC Central Committee announced the "Decision on the Reform of the Science and Technology Management System," which contained its suggestions relating to the contents and basic principle in the reform of the operating mechanism, organizational structure and personnel system in the current system in accordance with the strategic principle that economic development must rely on science and technology and science and technology must serve economic development. In the decision emphasis was placed on the fundamental aim of the reform—to apply scientific and technological achievements in production quickly and extensively, bring into full play the role of scientists and technological workers, liberate the productive forces in the scientific and technological field to the greatest extent and promote economic and social development.

March 4

In his talk with a delegation from the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Deng Xiaoping made an analysis of the world situation from the political and economic points of view. He said that the two issues of global strategic significance today were: first, peace, which involved East-West relations, and second, economic development, or development, which involved North-South relations. In short, countries in the East, West, North and South were all involved, but the North-South relations were the key question. He held that it was not likely that the developed nations could continue to grow while the developing countries remained in poverty. He added, "Although there is still the danger of war, the forces that can deter it are growing, and we find that encouraging.... The growing strength of the Third World—and of the most populous country, China, in particular—is an important factor for world peace." In his analysis Deng Xiaoping made clear once again the fundamental views of the Party and the state on the world situation, which has been serving as an important guideline for China's diplomatic activities.

March 27-April 10

The Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress was held in Beijing, at which Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council, delivered a report on the work of the government entitled "The Current Economic

Situation and the Reform of the Economic Structure." He said, "After several years of readjustment and restructuring, our socialist economic construction has gradually shifted onto a new path better suited to the present state of our country. Our present economic situation is very good and the current problems in China's economy are problems that arise in the course of advance." In the report he discussed plans for reform in 1985. The report pointed out, "The principles guiding the current reform are: Be steadfast, be prudent in fighting the first battle and be sure to win." The participants extensively discussed questions of economic development and economic restructuring in a democratic manner. They also examined and approved reports on other work; approved the Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong; and decided on setting up the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Basic Law Drafting Committee. The session entrusted the State Council with the authority to work out provisional rules or regulations concerning reform of the economic structure and opening to the outside world and adopted the "Law of Succession of the People's Republic of China," etc.

April 4

The State Council approved and transmitted the "Regulations on Controlling the Scale of Loans in 1985" formulated by the People's Bank of China, requiring that efforts be made to keep the scale of loans and the issuance of currency within the limits of state plans. Around this time, in view of the problems caused by lack of macro-control in the fourth quarter of 1984 the Party and government adopted a series of measures to control foreign currency, the scale of loans and investment, restrict price rises and check unhealthy practices, and achieved some results.

April 26

The State Council approved and transmitted the "Request for Instructions on Helping Poor Households in Rural Areas to Abolish Poverty and Become Prosperous by Developing Production" made by the Ministry of Civil Affairs and other departments. It pointed out that the fundamental way for the 14 million poor households to lift themselves from poverty and become prosperous was to develop production and revitalize their economy in accordance with the principle of self-reliance, with assistance from the state and the society as a supplement.

May 15-20

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council held the National Conference on Education in Beijing. In his speech, Deng Xiaoping emphasized that leading members at all levels should attach great importance to educational work as they did the economic work. On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, Wan Li

made a speech on the reform of China's educational structure. On May 27, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Decision on the Reform of the Educational Structure," in which it pointed out that the basic aim of restructuring education was to improve the quality of the nation and produce as many skilled people as possible. In view of the defects in the current educational structure, it stressed the need to place the responsibility for elementary education on local authorities and institute nine-year compulsory education systematically; to reform the structure of secondary education and vigorously promote vocational and technical education; to reform enrolment planning for institutions of higher education and the system of job assignment on graduation; and to extend the decision-making power to these institutions. Corresponding principles and measures were adopted for the reform.

May 23-June 6

The Central Military Commission convened an enlarged meeting in Beijing, at which Deng Xiaoping declared that the Chinese Government had decided to reduce the People's Liberation Army by one million men. This strategic decision was made on the basis of analysis of the international and domestic situation with the aim of reducing expenditures on national defence, stepping up economic development and promoting modernization of national defence. The participants worked out measures to carry out this decision and made reforming the structure, and streamlining and reorganizing the army the central tasks for the army in the coming two years.

June 4

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued a circular to the effect that they had decided to reform the current wage system applied in government departments and institutions and to introduce a structural wage system based on wages appropriate to specific work posts. At the same time, the plan for reform was issued. In large and medium-sized state enterprises, the method of letting total payroll fluctuate according to economic performance had been tried out at selected units beginning early this year, to be gradually implemented on an extensive scale.

On the same day, according to a report of the Xinhua News Agency, the work of separating government functions from commune management and establishing township governments in rural areas throughout the country had been completed. Altogether over 92,000 township people's governments (including autonomous townships) and town people's governments were set up all over the country. At the same time, 820,000 villagers' committees were established. Accomplishment of this work initially changed the situation in the countryside in which the functions of the Party and the government had been combined. It would benefit

the building of primary Party organizations and governments in rural areas and the development of the rural economy.

June 29

The State Council gave a reply to the report submitted by the People's Government of Fujian Province, in which it approved extension of the Xiamen Special Economic Zone to cover the whole of Xiamen Island and Gulangyu Island and gradual application in the zone of some of the policies pursued in free ports.

September 3

Ten thousand people from all walks of life in the capital gathered in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the World Anti-Fascist War. Peng Zhen delivered a speech at the meeting. He analysed the significance of the victory and developments in the international situation after the war, reiterated China's foreign policy of independence and peace and the concept of reunifying the motherland by applying the principle of "one country, two systems." He pointed out that the historical experience of the War of Resistance Against Japan had shown that cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party conformed to the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation, and he hoped that the Taiwan authorities would comply with the historical trend and make a wise choice. Before and after the meeting, various forms of commemorative activities were conducted in Beijing and other parts of the country.

September 9

The *People's Daily* reported that the leading bodies of the 29 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government of the country had undergone another drastic readjustment over the past year. According to the report, by the end of last June the leading bodies of 3,000 large and medium-sized enterprises in the country had basically completed a second readjustment, which was started in early 1984. Most of the leading bodies of the major executive offices under the Central Committee and key departments under the State Council had been readjusted since May 1984. Readjustment of the leading bodies of the General Staff, General Political Department and General Logistics Department and of the various services and arms of the PLA had also been completed in September this year.

September 10-12

The CPC Central Committee invited leading members of the democratic parties, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, democrats without party affiliation and other public figures to attend a forum, at which it informed them of the main topics to be discussed at the forthcoming National Conference of the CPC and the Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions of its Twelfth Central Committee and solicited

their opinions and suggestions. Hu Qili, who presided over the forum, said that the Party had always kept its friends outside the Party informed and solicited their suggestions before it made any important decisions. This long tradition provided an important guarantee for the Party to make decisions in compliance with the conditions of the state and the will of the people and it was also an important approach for the Party to achieve "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe" in its relations with the democratic parties and people from all walks of life.

September 16

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee was held in Beijing. The session decided to convene a national conference on September 18. The participants discussed and adopted in principle the "Proposal for the Seventh Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development (Draft)" made by the CPC Central Committee and decided to submit it to the national conference for deliberation. They also discussed and decided on the principle of furthering the succession of new members to old in the central leading bodies. The session received letters from a number of elderly comrades who requested to resign from membership or alternate membership of the Central Committee or from membership of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection respectively. It praised these comrades highly and approved their requests and would report this to the national conference.

September 18-23

The National Conference of the CPC was held in Beijing, at which Hu Yaobang made an opening speech entitled "Work Together for a Splendid Future," Zhao Ziyang gave an explanation of the Central Committee's draft proposal for the Seventh Five-Year Plan, Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun made important speeches and Li Xiannian delivered a closing speech. In his speech, Zhao Ziyang explained questions relating to the proposal. He emphasized, "The period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan is a crucial one for general reform of the country's economic structure. We must give the reform top priority if we want to lay the foundation, over the next five years and beyond, for a vigorous socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics." Deng Xiaoping talked about the general situation and reform, the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the building of a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology, the succession of new cadres to old and theoretical study. He said, "The period of almost seven years since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee has been a crucial one and one of the best since the founding of the People's Republic. We have done mainly two things: We have set wrong things right, and we have launched the comprehensive reform.... While identifying and tackling problems early,

we must seize the opportunity of the moment and vigorously explore new possibilities, striving to complete the reform in the not-too-distant future.... Material progress will suffer delays and setbacks unless we promote cultural and ideological progress as well. With common ideals we have strict discipline. Now, as in the past and in the future, that is our real strength.... What is most important for the young and middle-aged cadres in succeeding to the old is to emulate their heroic spirit in adhering to the revolutionary orientation. Now I would like to propose a new requirement, not only for new cadres but for old ones as well: the study of Marxist theory in light of the new situation of building socialist modernization." Chen Yun stressed in his speech, "There must be an orderly system of succession for cadres; we must continue to pay attention to grain production; the socialist economy must be developed proportionally and in a planned way; improving Party conduct remains a major task for the entire Party; we must intensify ideological and political work and preserve the prestige of the Party's departments in charge of such work; and the principle of democratic centralism should be adhered to."

The participants unanimously adopted the "Proposal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for the Seventh Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development," approved the requests of veteran comrades for resignation from the Central Committee and the two Central Commissions and elected new members to the Central Committee and the two Central Commissions.

September 22

According to a report by the Xinhua News Agency, gratifying results had been attained in the second phase of rural reform that started early this year. The system of unified and fixed state purchase of farm and sideline products had, by and large, been replaced with market regulation under the guidance of state plans, and the irrational structure in agricultural production that had existed for a long time had begun to undergo comprehensive readjustment.

September 24

The Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC met in Beijing for its Fifth Plenary Session, at which Comrades Tian Jiyun, Qiao Shi, Li Peng, Wu Xueqian, Hu Qili and Yao Yilin were elected additional members of the Political Bureau. The session approved the requests by Comrades Xi Zhongxun, Gu Mu and Yao Yilin for stepping down from the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and Comrades Qiao Shi, Tian Jiyun, Li Peng, Hao Jianxiu and Wang Zhaoguo were elected additional members of the Secretariat. The session also approved the new Standing Committee members and vice-chairmen of the Central Advisory Commission elected at its Fifth Plenary Session, and the new Standing Committee members, second secretary, secretary in charge of routine work and secretaries of

the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection elected at its Sixth Plenary Session.

November 24

The Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation issued the "Circular on the Plan for Party Consolidation in Rural Areas," in which it pointed out that the requirements for Party consolidation in rural areas were: to raise the Party members' understanding of the Party's fundamental objective and of the Party's policies concerning rural reform and development of the rural economy, to seriously deal with the Party members who committed grave mistakes and to do a good job in building the leading bodies.

November 26

The General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council issued a circular, requiring that the Party and government departments at various levels should firmly implement the directives given by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on checking unhealthy practices. In the coming winter and spring, they should concentrate on solving six serious problems existing in the departments, such as vying with each other for purchasing imported cars or for replacing their cars with imported ones and aimlessly sending people abroad, in order to improve their style of work and eliminate all forms of corruption. In mid and late December, after listening to reports by Party committees of departments directly under the CPC Central Committee and of the central government departments and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee on rectifying Party conduct, checking and combating unhealthy practices, the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee decided to concentrate on rectifying Party conduct in the central departments of the Party, government and army as well as in the Beijing municipal departments.

December 29

According to a Xinhua News Agency report, in an interview given to reporters of the Xinhua News Agency, Hu Qili said that in 1985 the CPC had maintained more extensive and effective contacts with the parties of other countries than in the previous years. More than 30 principal leaders of friendly parties had visited China, and the CPC had established different forms of relations with about 200 political parties and organizations throughout the world. He stressed that the chief purpose of developing relations with other parties was to work for the common goal of preserving world peace through extensive exchange of views.

The year of 1985 was the final year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Facts had shown that good results had been achieved in implementing the plan and practically all the tasks and targets had been fulfilled or overful-

filled. During this period, China's total industrial and agricultural output value increased at an average annual growth rate of 11 percent, of which total industrial output value (including rural industries) went up by 12 percent and total agricultural output value (excluding rural industries) by 8.1 percent. National income increased at an annual rate of 10 percent. Important successes were attained in capital construction and technological transformation. National revenue reversed from a downward trend, growing markedly and steadily in the last three years. Scientific, technological, educational and cultural undertakings flourished once again. A new situation was created in China's economic relations, trade and technological exchange with other countries, and the policy of opening to the outside world was implemented in greater depth and breadth than ever before. The living standard of the people improved more than at any other time since the founding of the People's Republic. So far as economic work was concerned, the following changes of historic significance were effected: The strategy for economic and social development changed from a lopsided pursuit of increased output and output value of industry, and especially heavy industry, to emphasis on the need for balanced development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and for all-round economic, scientific, technological, educational, cultural and social development, with focus on achieving better economic results. The petrified economic structure characterized by excessive and rigid control began to be replaced by a vigorous new one appropriate to planned development of a commodity economy based on public ownership. As for economic relations with other countries, a closed and semi-closed economy had given way to an open economy characterized by positive use of international exchange. The shortcomings and mistakes made in work were: failure to exercise effective control over sharp increases in total social demand, and to take effective measures or exercise proper supervision to improve economic results, product quality in particular; and failure for a time to attach due importance in some aspects to promoting cultural and ideological progress. In the last quarter of 1984, some factors leading to instability appeared. In short, the results of the implementation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan showed that China was forging ahead along the correct track of socialism suited to Chinese characteristics and that the all-round reform aimed at socialist modernization would continue irreversibly.

1986

January 1

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Plan for Rural Work in 1986," according to which the general requirement

for rural work in 1986 was to implement relevant policies; deepen the reform; improve conditions for agricultural production, provide services before and after production—all for the purpose of promoting sustained, steady and coordinate development of the rural economy.

January 6-9

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting of cadres from the central departments in Beijing, calling on all Party members and cadres in the central Party, government and army departments to set an example for people all over the country in rectifying their style of work. In his speech, Hu Yaobang said that the central departments should set an example in four aspects of work: improving efficiency, studying assiduously, tightening discipline and enhancing Party spirit. It was announced at the meeting that the Secretariat had decided to establish a leading group for rectifying the style of work in the central departments with Qiao Shi as its leader.

January 7

The national conference on work in the special economic zones was held in Shenzhen. It was pointed out at the conference that China's special economic zones should build an export-oriented economy during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, that they should truly become a medium for introducing technology, management and knowledge and also a window for China's foreign policy. Their key role in introducing things from abroad and exporting products to other parts of the world should be further brought into play. They should increase their ability to earn more foreign exchange by export, deepen the reform of the economic structure and manage their economic work by economic means and modern means of information, and sum up their experience in the light of Chinese characteristics.

January 11-20 and January 12-February 3

The national conference on economic work and the national conference on planning were held in Beijing to discuss the situation of the restructuring of the economic system and the tasks for this year. They pointed out that the first battle in the reform had been won according to plan through twelve months of hard work. However, the factors leading to instability in economic activities in the previous year remained and total social demand still exceeded total social supply. On the basis of reform carried out last year, the task this year was to consolidate, assimilate, supplement and improve what had been achieved in 1985 and to make full preparations for significant progress of reform in the coming two years. To this end, attention should be paid this year to the following: first, improve macro-control; second, assimilate and supplement what had been done in reforms of prices and wages, with focus on the

problems outstanding; third, further invigorate the large and medium-sized key enterprises and enterprises that manufactured products for export; and fourth, greatly promote lateral association between different regions and departments.

January 24

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council transmitted the "Report on Reform of the System of Evaluation of Professional Titles and on Introducing the System of Recruiting Professional and Technological Personnel by Invitation." According to the report, the reform of the system of evaluation of professional titles was to be focused on the institution of the system of recruiting professional and technological personnel by invitation and, at the same time, of a structural wage system based on wages appropriate to work posts. This represented an important reform in China's management system relating to professional and technological personnel.

January 25

According to statistics supplied by departments concerned, noticeable changes had occurred in urban and rural individual undertakings that had been growing rapidly over previous years. There were more than 5.8 million individual commercial networks throughout the country, from which residents in cities and towns got an increasing supply of farm and sideline products, such as vegetables, poultry, eggs, fish and meat, as well as small articles for daily use. Individual industrial and commercial undertakings had kept extending their scope of production and operation, developing from small retailers and peddlers and small handicrafts undertakings in the 1950s to the present small factories and mines, and small enterprises engaged in building and transportation.

January 28

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Selecting and Appointing Cadres Strictly in Accordance with the Party's Principle." It pointed out that the striking problem that existed in current work of selecting and appointing cadres was that some leading cadres refused to follow the Party's principle and violated the discipline concerning organizational and personnel affairs. Therefore, the Central Committee made the following notification: leading cadres must set an example in observing the Party's principle and in maintaining the discipline for organizational and personnel work in making appointments; in selecting leading cadres, they must follow strict procedures and the mass line, and decisions should be made collectively by the Party committee through discussion; it was strictly forbidden to set up extra departments, raise the ranks of departments and increase the number of leading posts without authorization.

February 4

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Regulations on Further Preventing Party and Government Departments and Party and Government Cadres from Engaging in Commercial Activities and Running Enterprises," which contained ten regulations. Orders and prohibitions were expected to be strictly executed. Those who should refuse to follow these regulations would be severely dealt with and leading members would be held responsible for it.

February 21-March 4

The National Conference on Political and Legal Affairs was held in Beijing. It stressed the need to redouble efforts to promote the building of socialist democracy and the legal system, unswervingly uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and crack down on serious crimes and economic criminal activities—for the purpose of bringing about a turn for the better in public order for the benefit of reform, the opening to the outside world and the building of a socialist society with material as well as cultural and ideological progress. On June 13, the CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Summary of the National Conference on Political and Legal Affairs." On July 10, it issued the "Circular on Resolutely Upholding the Socialist Legal System by the Entire Party Membership."

March 10

The State Education Commission held a working conference, at which Li Peng, minister in charge of the State Education Commission, said in his speech that the central task for the educational front in 1986 was to continue to implement the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Party on the Reform of the Educational Structure," make nine-year compulsory education universal, pay more attention to rationalizing the educational structure and the overall arrangement, and improving the quality of instruction in higher education; continue to develop adult education and professional and technical education; and improve ideological and political work in schools. He hoped that leading members of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and of the ministries and commissions would attach importance to education and make efforts to solve more problems to advance education with visible and tangible results.

March 10-16

The State Council held the First National Conference on Reform of the Urban Economic Structure, at which the participants concentrated on discussing ways of developing and promoting lateral economic association. The conference required that the principle of consolidation, assimilation, supplementation and improvement be implemented to ac-

celerate urban reform, improve macro-control and develop lateral association, so as to prepare for reform in the coming year.

March 25-April 12

The Fourth Session of the Sixth National People's Congress was held in Beijing. After careful deliberation, the session approved the "Report on the Seventh Five-Year Plan" delivered by Zhao Ziyang on behalf of the State Council and approved in principle the "Seventh Five-Year Plan of the People's Republic of China for National Economic and Social Development" (1986-90). It also examined and adopted reports on other work. At the same time, the session adopted the "General Principles of the Civil Law of the People's Republic of China," the "Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China" and the "Law of the People's Republic of China on Foreign Enterprises."

April 30-May 7

The national conference of directors of labour and personnel departments was held in Beijing. At the conference it was pointed out that during the period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, reform of China's labour, wage and personnel systems should be focused on reform of the wage system in enterprises and reform of the employment system and on restructuring state organs.

May 9

The CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Report on the Work of Family Planning During the Sixth Five-Year Plan Period and Suggestions for the Work of the Seventh Five-Year Plan Period" and issued a circular in which it pointed out that China had achieved marked successes in family planning during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period and hoped that Party committees and governments at all levels would pay close attention to the work and strictly control population growth in face of the peak of child-bearing during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period.

May 30

The State Council approved and transmitted the "Report on Some Questions Concerning Reform of the Commercial Structure in 1986" submitted by the State Commission for Reform of the Economic Structure, the Ministry of Commerce and others. In the report they stressed the need to do a good job in consolidating, assimilating, supplementing and improving the reforms, to explore new channels of circulation, new forms of commerce and new managerial systems and measures for macro-economic regulation. The measures they suggested were: first, extensively develop lateral economic association in the commerce; second, further invigorate the large and medium-sized state commercial enterprises; third, continue to relax control over small state commercial enterprises; fourth, tighten macro-control and management of commod-

ity circulation on the market; and fifth, go on streamlining administration and delegating powers to lower levels.

May 31

In line with the principles of the CPC Central Committee on reform of the economic and educational structure and of science and technology management system, the State Economic Commission, the State Education Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences jointly issued the "Circular on Promoting Cooperation Between Large and Medium-Sized Enterprises and the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Institutions of Higher Education." In order to provide overall guidance, the three parties established a coordination group for economic, scientific and technological cooperation. It had made plans to promote 100 large and medium-sized enterprises to cooperate with the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the institutes under it in 1986 and plans to develop 100 major technological projects in cooperation.

June 15

The *Selected Works of Chen Yun* (1956-85) was distributed throughout the country. So, all three volumes of the *Selected Works of Chen Yun* had been published according to plan.

June 15-18

The national conference of provincial governors was held in Beijing. The participants chiefly discussed the following: first, the four provisional regulations on reform of the labour system; second, the three regulations on reform of the leadership system in state enterprises; and third, the economic situation in the first half of the year and plans for work in the second half. On July 12, the State Council issued the "Provisional Regulations on Instituting Contracted Labour System in State Enterprises," the "Provisional Regulations on Employment and Recruiting of Workers by State Enterprises," the "Provisional Regulations on Dismissing Workers and Other Employees in State Enterprises Who Have Violated Discipline" and the "Provisional Regulations on Providing Insurance for the Workers and Other Employees in State Enterprises Who Are Waiting for Jobs." The key point in these provisional regulations lay in the reform of the system of employment and recruiting of workers. In other words, a contracted labour system would be applied to workers employed by state enterprises, thus abolishing the methods whereby the sons and daughters were allowed to replace their retired parents or the sons and daughters of the workers and other employees were employed by the same enterprise. By the new system, workers would be recruited from society at large if they met the moral, intellectual and physical requirements. This would serve to ensure the qualifi-

cations of workers. On September 15, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council promulgated the "Regulations Governing the Work of Directors of State Industrial Enterprises," "Regulations Governing the Work of Primary Organizations of the Chinese Communist Party in State Industrial Enterprises" and "Regulations Governing Congresses of Workers and Office Staff of State Industrial Enterprises." They also issued a notification in which they pointed out that reform of the leadership system in enterprises was an important component of the reform of urban economic structure. This reform chiefly involved the following: to introduce in the enterprise a system under which the factory director assumed full responsibility in production, management and administrative work; to make it clear that in its work the Party organization of an enterprise should focus on guaranteeing and supervising the implementation of the various principles and policies of the Party and the state and to make a success of ideological and organizational building and ideological and political work in the enterprise; and to further improve the system of the congress of workers and office staff and systems of democratic management so as to bring into play the role of the trade unions and the representatives of the workers and office staff in examining major policy decisions of the enterprise, supervising the work of administrative leaders and protecting the rights and interests of the workers and other employees.

September 9

The *Selected Readings of Mao Zedong*, which included 68 articles written by the author from 1921 to 1965, was published and distributed throughout the country.

September 13

After hearing a report from the Central Financial and Economic Leading Group, Deng Xiaoping said that reform of the political structure was aimed at bringing the initiative of the masses into play, increasing efficiency and overcoming bureaucracy. On November 9, when meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Deng Xiaoping said, "We feel more and more keenly the urgent necessity to reform the political structure, yet we haven't worked out a plan for it. However, there should be three objectives. The first objective is to ensure continued vitality of the Party and the state; the second is to eliminate bureaucracy and increase efficiency; and the third is to encourage the initiative of grass-roots units and of the people." In October, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council began to organize people to study and discuss the issues relating to reform of the political structure and work out plans for the reform.

September 26

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Circular on Strengthening the Building of Government at the Primary Level in Rural Areas," requiring the various local authorities to make further efforts to straighten out the relations among Party organizations, governments and enterprises in rural areas now that government functions had been separated from commune management and township governments established. And the township Party committee was expected to separate the functions of the Party organization from the government in line with the provisions of the Party Constitution and concentrate on implementing the Party's line, principles and policies, ensuring that the township government independently exercise its functions and powers as prescribed in the Constitution of the People's Republic and the law, and supporting the head of the township government to work boldly. The township government should develop commodity production by economic, legal and administrative means and support the township economic organizations in executing their decision-making power.

September 28

The Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. The participants reviewed the achievements scored in the previous years in promoting cultural and ideological progress and examined the problems that had arisen in the process and adopted the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology." In the resolution stress was placed on the need for all the Party comrades to correctly understand the strategic importance of building advanced socialist culture and ideology from the overall perspective of China's socialist modernization. Specifically, they should, taking economic development as the central task, persevere in reforming the economic and political structures and in speeding up the country's cultural and ideological progress, making sure that these aspects of work were coordinated and mutually complementary. The strategic importance in building socialist culture and ideology determined the basic guiding principles for building socialist culture and ideology as follows: it should be socialist culture and ideology that was capable of pushing forward China's socialist modernization, promoting all-round reform and the opening to the outside world and embodying the Four Cardinal Principles. The fundamental task was to train socialist citizens with lofty ideals and moral integrity and encourage them to become better educated and cultivate a strong sense of discipline—to meet the needs of the socialist modernization drive and enhance the moral integrity and ethics and the scientific and educational levels of the Chinese nation as a whole. Several questions relating to the building of

a socialist culture and ideology were expounded: mobilizing and uniting the people of all China's nationalities with common aspirations; cultivating and enriching socialist ethics; intensifying education in socialist democracy, legality and discipline; universalizing education, disseminating general and scientific knowledge and raising the people's cultural level; emphasizing the guiding role of Marxism in building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology; and defining the duties of Party organizations and Party members in promoting socialist cultural and ideological progress. The resolution was a programmatic document in strengthening the building of a socialist culture and ideology in the new historic period. The session also adopted the "Decision on the Convocation of the Thirteenth National Congress of the Party." Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech on adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. He explained that such liberalization was in fact an attempt to turn China's present policies in the direction of capitalism and that if the ideological trend of liberalization had been allowed to spread, it would have undermined political stability and unity, without which construction would be out of the question.

On the same day, the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC met in Beijing for its Sixth Plenary Session, at which the participants expressed their unanimous support to the resolution adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the Party. Between December 3 and 7, the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the CPC was held, the main purpose being to study and put into effect the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the Party. In his speech, Chen Yun asked departments for discipline inspection at various levels to ensure smooth progress of economic and political structural reforms by doing a good job of discipline inspection and attach importance to political and ideological education and education in Party spirit among members of the Communist Party that was in power. On December 3, the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Youth League held its Fifth Plenary Session, at which it adopted a resolution calling on its members in all trades and fields of work to take the lead and be the vanguard in implementing the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology."

September 28-30

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and president of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland, paid a visit to China. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the rapid development in the fields of economy, trade, science and technology. On September 29, Deng Xiaoping,

Hu Yaobang and Li Xiannian met with him respectively.

October 21-26

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the German Socialist Unity Party and chairman of the Council of the State of the German Democratic Republic visited China. Leaders of both countries held cordial and friendly talks on relations between the two parties and two countries. On October 21, Li Xiannian and Deng Xiaoping met with him respectively.

October 24

According to a report in the *People's Daily*, the latest statistics released by the State Statistical Bureau showed that initial results had been achieved in the reform of science and technology management system, instilling great vitality in China's science and technology, as was manifested by the following. First, there were more sources of funds; second, the situation of "eating from the same big pot" in terms of funds for science and technology had changed to some extent; third, reform of science and technology management system had encouraged science and technology to serve economic development (according to incomplete statistics of 24 provinces, more than 6,000 associations combining scientific research and production had been established); and fourth, the technology market was thriving, and attention had been paid to exploring such a market abroad while trying to expand the domestic one.

November 4

The national conference on the plan of philosophy and social sciences during the period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan was closed. Three hundred and fifty-four key research topics were decided on. In selecting topics, special attention was paid to the ones that were of theoretical and practical significance to China's socialist modernization drive and ones that were important to the development of science, as well as ones that were closely related to reform, opening to the outside world and practical development. The participants also discussed the "Provisional Regulations on State Funds for Social Sciences."

November 8-12

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council held the conference on rural work in Beijing. At the conference the achievements scored in rural reform and economic development over the past year were affirmed: continued readjustment of the rural production structure; good harvest in grain production; continued expansion of farm produce bases, more diversified undertakings and township enterprises; new progress in helping the poor areas become prosperous; more marketable farm products and a brisk market, etc. The participants held that viewing from every perspective the development of rural economy had shown new features chiefly in that rural reform had begun to go in depth and

breadth and the rural economy had turned from excessive to normal growth. They pointed out that the fundamental point of departure or objective of the reform of the rural economy as a whole was to develop the planned commodity economy and build a new socialist countryside with Chinese characteristics. They suggested that the general tasks for rural work in 1987 should be to carry on reform, build primary Party organizations, increase grain output by a wide margin, develop the commodity economy in an all-round way, and promote sustained and steady growth of the rural economy.

November 16-22

The national planning conference was held in Beijing. The participants concentrated on discussing and studying the general guideline and important questions of a general character. First, to develop agriculture vigorously, particularly grain production, and readjust the product mix in industry. Second, to continue to control the scope of investment and readjust the structure of investment so as to ensure construction of key projects. Third, to increase products for export to earn more foreign exchange and reform the foreign exchange management system. Fourth, to narrow the scope of material and equipment under unified allocation and expand the market of the means of production. Fifth, to adopt the new strategic point of view for development and shift the focus of work to increasing economic results. The conference made it clear that striving to achieve basic balance between total social demand and total social supply and create conditions favourable for overall reform was the general point of departure for drawing up plans for 1987; and approved eight key points in economic and social development in 1987 advanced by the State Planning Commission.

November 27-December 4

The national conference on united front work was held in Beijing. The participants discussed united front work under the new situation and exchanged experience in this work. Xi Zhongxun, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, said at the conference that current patriotic united front work should be aimed at reunifying the motherland and reviving the Chinese nation, and uniting all the nationalities, people from all walks of life, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese to promote the implementation of the concept of "one country, two systems"—for the benefit of reunifying the motherland; giving play to the tradition of patriotism and intellectual superiority to carry on reform, opening to the outside world and expedite material as well as cultural and ideological progress; and improving multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the Communist Party and the building of socialist democracy and the legal system. Efforts should be well coordinated and complementary.

December 11-25

The Central Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Beijing. The meeting was important in that army building in the new period was further deliberated after a strategic change had been made in the guiding ideology for the building of the army—a change from making preparations against war to construction in peacetime. The participants chiefly discussed the “Decision of the Central Military Commission on Political Work in the Army in the New Period,” studied ways to put into practice the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC to improve political work and the building of an advanced culture and ideology in the army. They also discussed plans for military, political and logistics work. Material provided at the meeting showed substantial successes achieved in streamlining and reorganizing the army and in reforming the structure of the army. By then, the number of armymen had been cut by 410,000, and more than 30 units at and above the corps level and over 4,000 units at the divisional and regimental levels abolished, and nearly half of the staff working in the general departments of the PLA had been reduced. The original 11 military area commands had been reorganized into seven. Arming-the-people departments at the county and city levels had been placed under the jurisdiction of local authorities.

December 23

According to the Xinhua News Agency, the spokesman of the Shanghai Municipal People's Government said in an interview given to reporters on demonstrations by students from a few colleges and universities that the students' concern for reform was understandable, but the method they used was not desirable, because their demonstrations over the past few days had blocked traffic, hampered production and undermined public order. People should be vigilant against a handful of persons who might stir up trouble and engage in activities in violation of the law. On the same day, the *People's Daily* carried an editorial entitled “Treasure and Develop Political Stability and Unity,” pointing out that a review of the course the people had traversed led to the most important conclusion: political stability and unity was the key to China's success in its socialist modernization drive and provided the most essential guarantee for reform and opening to the outside world.

December 30

When discussing recent students' disturbances with Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li, Hu Qili, Li Peng and He Dongchang, Deng Xiaoping said, “It is essential to adhere firmly to the Four Cardinal Principles; otherwise bourgeois liberalization will spread unchecked.... In developing our democracy, we cannot simply copy bourgeois democracy, or introduce the system of a balance of three powers.... We must confi-

dently keep to the socialist road and uphold the Four Cardinal Principles.... Bourgeois liberalization means rejection of the Party's leadership; there would be nothing to unite our one billion people, and the Party itself would lose all power to fight."

1987

January 6

The CPC Central Committee issued the circular on making "Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Remarks on Recent Students' Disturbances" known to all Party members, cadres and the masses. It held that in his remarks Deng Xiaoping correctly analysed the political situation in China, explained the supreme importance of adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and combating bourgeois liberalization to the preservation of the excellent situation characterized by stability and unity, to reform and opening to the outside world and to the socialist modernization drive, and correctly expounded the principles of the Central Committee on handling the students' disturbances. The Central Committee hoped that Party and Youth League organizations at all levels would firmly implement them. On January 15, the Party Central Committee decided to transmit to the whole Party membership the speech made by Deng Xiaoping at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee on combating bourgeois liberalization.

January 10-15

In accordance with the decision made by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a meeting was held attended by Party Central Committee members to make criticism and self-criticism. At the meeting, Hu Yaobang requested to resign from the post of general secretary of the Central Committee.

January 13

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection issued the "Circular on Party Members' Strict Observance of the Party Constitution," calling on Party members to consciously adhere to provisions of the Party Constitution, strictly observe Party discipline, keep in line with the Party Central Committee ideologically and politically, and firmly implement its line, principles, policies and decisions. Party organizations at all levels and Party members were duty-bound to combat all erroneous views and deeds that were against the Party Constitution. Whoever violated the Party's political discipline, or went against the Four Cardinal Principles or advocated bourgeois liberalization would be subject to disciplinary sanctions. A handful of people who, in total disregard of warnings of Party organizations, bent on taking reckless action to harm

the Party should be firmly expelled from the Party so as to keep the purity of the ranks of the Party. On January 13, in accordance with these requirements the Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee expelled Wang Ruowang, council member of the Shanghai Writers' Association, from the Party. On January 17, the Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee expelled Fang Lizhi, vice-president of China Science and Technology University, from the Party. On January 23, the Commission for Discipline Inspection of the *People's Daily* Party Committee expelled Liu Binyan, reporter of the *People's Daily* and vice-chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association, from the Party.

January 16

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting, at which the following decisions were made: one, all the participants agreed to accept Hu Yaobang's request to resign from his post of general secretary of the Party Central Committee; two, Zhao Ziyang was unanimously elected acting general secretary of the Party Central Committee; three, the two decisions were to be submitted to the next plenary session of the Party Central Committee for approval; and four, Hu Yaobang was to remain member of the Political Bureau and of its Standing Committee. At the enlarged meeting it was pointed out that the entire Party membership should keep to the line, principles and all the domestic and foreign policies adopted by the Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee held in 1978, they should go on upholding the Four Cardinal Principles, opposing bourgeois liberalization, concentrating on developing the productive forces with focus on economic development, carrying out all-round reform and the policies of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy, developing socialist democracy, improving the socialist legal system and consolidating and expanding the patriotic united front, and mobilizing the entire Party membership and people of all nationalities in the country so that they would unite as one and work with might and main to fulfil the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

January 22

At its nineteenth meeting, the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress adopted the "Decision of the Standing Committee of the NPC on Intensifying Education in the Legal System and the Need to Preserve Stability and Unity." On January 28, the CPC Central Committee issued a circular in which it pointed out that the decision was an important material for education among the people in the legal system focusing on the Constitution of the People's Republic and a powerful legal and ideological weapon for adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles, combating bourgeois liberalization and preserving

stability and unity. Therefore, it should be earnestly studied, disseminated and implemented.

On the same day, the CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Deepening Rural Reform." It stated that important achievements had been scored in rural reform over the previous years and the framework of a rural economic structure had begun to take shape. The rural areas were in the period of replacement of the old structure by the new. In order to deepen the reform, it was necessary to continue to reform the system of unified and fixed purchase of grain and expand the market of farm produce; invigorate banking in the countryside and stabilize the system of contracted household responsibility with remuneration linked to output; develop diverse forms of economic association, readjust production structure and encourage transfer of the labour force; strengthen the building of organization and ideology of primary units and establish experimental areas for reform according to plan, etc. By mid-September 1987, 14 experimental areas of different sizes for different reforms had been set up in ten provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in accordance with the plans of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, where experiments were carried out to institutionalize the results of reform and explore new ways for reform.

January 22-25

The State Council held a conference on economic work. The participants perceived the following new features in the economic development in 1986: the national economy was brought to steady development; new progress was made in the reform of the urban economic structure in the course of implementing the principle of consolidation, assimilation, supplementation and improvement; product mix was readjusted to some extent; and the enterprises had advanced in technology. However, special attention should be paid to putting a brake on spending and cutting back the swelled amount of outside budget investment and the excessively high non-productive expenditures, easing the contradiction between excessive social demand and inadequate social supply, so as to create a stable economic environment for deepening the reform. The conference pointed out that the central tasks for national economic work in 1987 were: to deepen the reform of enterprises, to increase production, practise economy and increase economic results in an all-round way, so as to ensure sustained, steady and well-coordinated development of the national economy.

January 28

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Questions of Combating Bourgeois Liberalization." Party organizations at all levels were required to become fully aware of the importance and protracted nature of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. The struggle was

to be strictly confined to the Party and carried out chiefly in the political and ideological fields, with a view to solving the fundamental problems relating to political principle and orientation. Stress was put on adhering to the principle of conducting positive education and uniting with the overwhelming majority of people. Correct methods were to be used, and there would be no political campaign. It was specially emphasized, "Comrades of the entire Party must clearly understand that there are two basic points in the line the Party has followed since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee: one is to uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, and the other is to adhere to the policies of reform, opening to the outside world and invigorating the economy. These two points are interdependent. Carrying out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization is precisely aimed at correctly and comprehensively implementing the line, principles and policies of the Party formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. It is also an important step towards carrying out the 'Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology' adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee."

February 6-10

The State Council held a working conference on the special economic zones in Shenzhen, at which it summarized the achievements scored by the four special economic zones [Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen and Shantou] in 1986. According to preliminary statistics, total industrial and agricultural output value of the four zones hit 7.6 billion yuan, of which total industrial output value was 6.8 billion; foreign exchange earned through export came nearly to US \$1 billion; both representing an increase of more than 20 percent over the previous year. The central task for the zones in 1987 was: to continue to boost production and improve product quality and economic performance; to deepen reform and administer vigorous management; advance in the course of consolidation, augmentation and improvement; and to absorb more foreign capital and make their exports more competitive on the world market.

March 3

When meeting with George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, Deng Xiaoping said that the struggle against bourgeois liberalization was an issue of long-term education among the people and that it would go hand in hand with the modernization programme.

March 8-15

The State Education Commission held a working conference in Beijing, at which Li Peng pointed out that efforts would be concentrated on two important tasks on the educational front in 1987: one, to combat

bourgeois liberalization, and the other to continue various reforms in the educational field.

March 9-14

The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee held a national conference of heads of propaganda departments. The participants, centring on how to carry on the struggle against bourgeois liberalization on a sound basis, reviewed what had been done before, analysed the current trend of thought, and concentrated on discussing propaganda and theoretical work in the days to come and ways of rectifying the press at present.

March 19

The revised edition of Deng Xiaoping's book *Build Socialism with Chinese Characteristics* (including the important speeches and talks made by Deng Xiaoping since the Twelfth National Congress of the CPC) was off the press. The newly added articles were mainly about two points: one, upholding the Four Cardinal Principles, and the other, persisting in reform, the open policy and invigorating the domestic economy.

March 26

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Portugal initialled a joint declaration on the question of Macao in Beijing, according to which China would resume the exercise of sovereignty over Macao as of December 20, 1999. On April 13, the Chinese premier and Portuguese prime minister officially signed the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on behalf of their respective governments. This marked another great stride forward made by the Chinese people in their efforts to reunify the country following the settlement of the Hong Kong issue.

April 13-17

At its Fourth Plenary Session held in Beijing, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Basic Law Drafting Committee adopted the "Methods of Collecting Suggestions on and Approving a Flag and Emblem for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China." When meeting with all the members present at the session on April 16, Deng Xiaoping further expounded the concept of "one country, two systems," saying that success of the concept should be embodied in the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. There were two aspects to the concept, he added. On the one hand, capitalism was allowed in some special regions in a socialist country not for a short period of time, but for decades or even a hundred years. On the other hand, it must be made clear that socialism was predominant in the country as a whole. Unless importance was attached

to both aspects, he concluded, it would be impossible to keep things unchanged under the concept of "one country, two systems" for a few decades.

April 17

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved and transmitted the "Report on Some Important Questions Concerning Work Among the Nationalities." According to the report, work in this field had entered a new historic period since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. Two autonomous prefectures and 41 autonomous counties had been newly established, and 2,944 nationality townships had been restored or established. In the future, the general ideology guiding work among the nationalities and the fundamental task were: to uphold the Four Cardinal Principles and the basic state policies of reform, opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy, do everything in the light of the actual conditions of the minority nationalities and the areas where they lived and in accordance with the principles of equality, unity and progress among the nationalities, and of learning from each other and working for common prosperity, help the minority nationalities develop politically, economically and culturally, centring on economic development, constantly cement the new-type socialist relations between nationalities, and bring about prosperity among all the nationalities.

May 5-10

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, paid a friendly visit to China. His visit had enabled the restoration and development of the friendly relations between the two Parties and the two countries.

May 26-30

A national conference was convened by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation to summarize work in this field. Bo Yibo made a report entitled "Basic Summary of Party Consolidation Work and Further Efforts for Party Building" on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the commission. The commission's general evaluation of the consolidation work was: the entire Party had made progress in ideology, style of work, sense of discipline and organization, and accumulated important experience of correctly handling inner-Party contradictions and other problems. All this had laid a fairly favourable foundation for Party building and development in the new period. However, Party consolidation work was uneven; some leading organs, including Party and government leading organs at higher and intermediate levels, failed to fulfil the four basic tasks set for Party consolidation, and some

just went through the motion, making a bad impression on the masses. In view of the experience gained in Party consolidation and the new tasks confronting the Party, Bo Yibo offered the following suggestions on strengthening Party building in the new period: to separate the functions of the Party and the government in line with the principle that the Party must administer its own affairs; to work hard to improve the political awareness of the Party membership by strengthening ideological education and theoretical work; to improve Party conduct in order to bring the Party closer to the masses; to constantly reinforce the leading bodies at various levels in order to meet the needs of new developments and tasks; and to improve the Party's organizational and institutional building in order to further increase the fighting capacity of the Party.

June 4-20

Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and premier of the State Council, visited Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. This was the first visit paid by a chief Chinese Party and government leader to the five East European countries in more than 20 years and a major event in the history of relations between China and the East European socialist countries, and it indicated the beginning of a new historic period in China's friendly relations with these countries.

June 30

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection decided to expel from the Party anyone who should extort bribes in future, regardless of the circumstances.

July 31

The CPC Central Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission held a grand meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In his speech Yang Shangkun, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission, said: The Nanchang Uprising that had taken place 60 years before was a great event in the history of the Chinese revolution as well as in China's modern history and marked the beginning of the Party's establishing of armed forces and exercising independent leadership in armed struggle. Over these 60 years, the People's Liberation Army troops had fought numerous battles here and there at the risk of their lives and rendered immortal services in founding New China and preserving peace and in socialist construction. The general task for army building in the new period, he stressed, was to build a powerful modernized and regularized revolutionary army. On August 1, the *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "Pillar of the Country" in celebration of the occasion.

August 27

According to a Xinhua News Agency report, since the founding of New China, its economy had developed most successfully and the masses had benefited the most in the recent nine years since the introduction of the policy of reform and opening China to the outside world. Gross industrial and agricultural output value had doubled—in 1986 it exceeded 1,500 billion yuan, an increase of 170 percent over 1978; gross national product had doubled, or an increase of 170 percent over 1978; state revenues had doubled; and the income of rural and urban residents had doubled—in 1986 the average annual per-capita net income of peasants increased by 170 percent over 1979, and the annual income of city dwellers that could be spent on living expenses increased by 82.5 percent over 1979. All this showed that China's economic strength had increased and that the living standard of the people in both town and country had improved.

August 28-September 5

At its 22nd meeting, the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress examined and discussed the proposal on establishing Hainan Province submitted to it by the State Council, decided to submit the proposal to the First Session of the Seventh National People's Congress for examination and approval, and authorized the State Council to make preparations for the establishment of Hainan Province; and adopted the Law of the People's Republic of China on Prevention and Treatment of Atmosphere Pollution and the Archives Law of the People's Republic of China. Since 1979, the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee had formulated 60 laws and adopted 58 decisions relating to law. In the same period of time, the State Council had made more than 500 administrative statutes, and the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government had made nearly 900 local statutes. All this indicated that there were laws to go by in the principal aspects of China's political, economic and social activities, and it marked an end to the situation in which there were no laws.

September 22-29

The national planning conference and the conference on economic restructuring were held in Beijing. The participants concentrated on working out plans for national economic and social development in 1988 and discussing plans for economic restructuring reform. Yao Yilin, vice-premier of the State Council and minister in charge of the State Planning Commission, pointed out that to deepen the economic structural reform in 1988, reforms were to be carried out in support of the reform of operational mechanisms of enterprises which was to be accelerated. Reform of the planning system should focus on reform of the distribu-

tion system of investment, material and foreign exchange, so as to invigorate large and medium-sized state enterprises, arouse the enthusiasm of localities and notably improve both micro- and macro-economic performance. The participants stressed that under the present circumstances, it was most important to boost production and increase the supply of commodities so as to maintain a stable market and ensure the people a stable life. As far as agriculture was concerned, priority should be given to production of vegetables and non-staple foodstuffs so as to solve the question of the "shopping basket" for the residents. In industry, it was necessary to speed up readjustment of the industrial structure and product mix, considerably increase the amount of readily marketable products and products in short supply and trial manufacture and develop new products so as to meet the different needs of rural and urban markets.

September 30

According to a report in the *Guangming Daily*, over the previous eight years 53,768 major scientific and technological achievements had been scored in China, of which 1,114 were awarded the state invention prize and 1,761 were given the state scientific and technological progress prize. Some key technologies, such as those involving the launch of carrier rockets, experimental communications satellites and microwave control systems, had reached or approached advanced world levels. Since China began to introduce the "spark programme" for science and technology in 1985,* progress had been made. In 1985 and 1986 the number of the state "spark programme" projects reached 670 which involved a total investment of nearly one billion yuan. The domestic technology markets had sprung up like mushrooms and developed steadily. Gratifying successes had been achieved in opening up international technology markets.

*The "spark programme," launched by the State Science and Technology Commission in May 1985 to meet the needs of rural economic development, was designed to spread the spark of science and technology to the vast rural areas and help the villages, and town and township enterprises in particular, to develop by leaps and bounds. In early 1986, the State Science and Technology Commission, together with relevant departments of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and departments under the State Council, drew up the "1986-87 Outline Plan for Implementing the 'Spark Programme,'" in which three targets were set: help towns and townships train one million young people and grass-roots cadres; develop 100 complete sets of technological equipment suited to rural conditions; and establish 500 small town and township enterprises for demonstrating the use of technologies. This programme served to introduce many applicable technologies to the countryside, thus ensuring sustained growth of the rural economy and promoting agricultural development, and especially technological progress of town and township enterprises and development of the local economy.

October 10-14

Kadar Janos, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, visited China on invitation. His visit had promoted the development of the friendly relations between our two Parties and two countries. The two sides expressed their desire to promote friendship and cooperation in the economic, trade, scientific and technological fields.

October 20

The Seventh Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC was convened in Beijing. It decided that the Thirteenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was to be convened in Beijing on October 25, 1987. The participants discussed and adopted the report and the "Proposal Concerning Revisions of Some Articles of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China" to be made by the Central Committee to the Thirteenth National Congress; discussed and approved in principle the "General Plan for Reform of the Political Structure," and decided to have the main ideas of the plan incorporated in the report to be made by the Central Committee to the Thirteenth National Congress. The session also affirmed the decision made at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on January 16, 1987 on accepting Hu Yaobang's request to resign from his post as general secretary of the Central Committee and on appointing Zhao Ziyang acting general secretary of the Central Committee.

October 24

According to a Xinhua News Agency report, since its Twelfth National Congress held in 1982, the CPC had established or resumed contacts with more than 130 political parties in other countries. So far, it maintained different forms of friendly relations and contacts with 230 political parties in the world.

October 25-November 1

The Thirteenth National Congress of the CPC was solemnly convened in Beijing. Attending the congress were 1,936 deputies, representing more than 46 million Party members. Sixty-one persons were specially invited to attend the congress. The central topic on the agenda for discussion was speeding up and deepening reform. On behalf of the Twelfth Central Committee Zhao Ziyang made a report entitled "Advance Along the Road of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" to the congress. He began by giving a general account of the historic achievements that had been scored and the profound changes that had taken place in China in the nine years since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. He emphatically pointed out, "China is now in the primary stage of socialism. There are two aspects to this thesis. First, the Chinese society is already a socialist society. We must persevere in socialism and never deviate from it. Second, China's socialist society

is still in its primary stage. We must proceed from this reality and not jump over this stage." He said that the primary stage of socialism in China was, in a particular sense, the specific stage China had to go through while building socialism under conditions of backward productive forces and an underdeveloped commodity economy. He added that a correct understanding of the present historic stage of Chinese society was of primary importance for building socialism with Chinese characteristics, that it was the essential basis on which to solve all the problems in present-day China and that the Party's basic line during this primary stage was as follows: to lead the Chinese people of all nationalities in a united, self-reliant, intensive and pioneering effort to turn China into a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and modern socialist country by making economic development the central task while adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and persevering in reform and the open policy.

Proceeding from China's actual conditions in the primary stage of socialism, he set forth China's strategic plan for economic development, pointing out that in the final analysis, success in the strategy for economic development hinged on accelerated and intensified reform of the economic structure.

When discussing reform of the political structure, he said, "The long-range goal of reform is to build a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy and a complete set of laws, a system that is effective and full of vitality.... The immediate objective of reform is to institute a system of leadership that will help to raise the efficiency, increase the vitality and stimulate the initiative of all sectors of society." He pointed out that the key issues involved in the reform were, first of all, separating the functions of the Party and government and at the same time, delegating more powers to lower levels, reforming government organs, reforming the personnel system relating to cadres, establishing a system of consultation and dialogue, improving a number of systems relating to socialist democracy, and strengthening the socialist legal system. He stressed the need to strengthen Party building in the course of reform and opening to the outside world, to stand the tests of power, reform and the open policy, and to be strict with Party members; and he also emphasized that it was generally recognized that Marxism needed further extensive development in present-day world.

For the first time in the history of the Party the electoral method was adopted under which the number of candidates was greater than the number of positions. A hundred and seventy-five members and 110 alternate members were elected to form the Thirteenth Central Committee. The congress also elected the Central Advisory Commission comprising 200 members and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection consisting of 69 members, and adopted the Resolution Concerning the Report of the Twelfth Central Committee and the Resolution on the

"Proposal Concerning Revisions of Some Articles of the Party Constitution." The Party's Thirteenth National Congress, convened to systematically accelerate reform and opening to the outside world in an all-round way, would go down in the annals of the history of the Party as a congress of reform, opening to the outside world, democracy and unity.

November 2

The Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC held its First Plenary Session in Beijing, at which its leading organs in charge of day-to-day work were elected. Wan Li, Tian Jiyun, Qiao Shi, Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Li Tieying, Li Ruihuan, Li Ximing, Yang Rudai, Yang Shangkun, Wu Xueqian, Song Ping, Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qili, Hu Yaobang, Yao Yilin and Qin Jiwei were elected members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Ding Guangen alternate member of the bureau; Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Hu Qili and Yao Yilin were members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau; and Zhao Ziyang was general secretary of the Central Committee. Upon nomination by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the participants elected Hu Qili, Qiao Shi, Rui Xingwen and Yan Mingfu members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and Wen Jiabao its alternate member. The session decided on the appointment of Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the Central Military Commission, Zhao Ziyang as its first vice-chairman and Yang Shangkun as vice-chairman in charge of the day-to-day work of the commission. The session approved Chen Yun as chairman of the Central Advisory Commission, and Bo Yibo and Song Renqiong as vice-chairmen of the commission. It also approved Qiao Shi as secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, and Chen Zuolin, Li Zhengting and Xiao Hongda as deputy secretaries of the commission.

November 7-23

Chinese President Li Xiannian visited France, Italy, Luxembourg and Belgium at the invitation of the four countries. During his visit, President Li met with French President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Gorla, Luxembourg Grand Duke Jean and Prime Minister Santer, and King Baudouin I and Prime Minister Wilfred Martens of Belgium. President Li exchanged views with them on matters of common concern. The visit had deepened mutual understanding between China and the four Western European countries and was a great success. China signed contracts separately with France, Italy and Belgium on economic cooperation, as well as on other fields. Li Xiannian and his party also met with Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, and Alessandro Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, and widely contacted personages from all walks of life in the four countries. They were interviewed in Paris, Rome and Brussels.

November 12-24

The 23rd meeting of the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress (NPC) was held in Beijing. The meeting decided to accept Zhao Ziyang's resignation as premier of the State Council and appointed Vice-Premier Li Peng the acting premier to exercise the powers of premier and be in charge of the State Council's routine duties. The meeting adopted the Organic Law of the Villagers' Committee (for trial implementation), the Procedural Rules of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Decision of the Standing Committee of the NPC on the Approval to the Law Committee's Report on the Suggestions and Check-up on the Laws Issued Before the End of 1978.

December 9-10

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPC held a forum to discuss some important issues on improving the Party's work style. It pointed out that the Party's work style was closely related to the reform and opening to the outside world. Reform had brought vigour to the Party and enabled it to increase its power to resist corruption. Meanwhile, problems had inevitably emerged along with the open policy. While the new system was replacing the old one, unhealthy tendencies arose because of the imperfect legal system, the lack of a complete set of policies, incomplete regulating mechanisms and unequal opportunities. On the issue of improving the Party's work style, a new way must be sought out that does not rely on political movements but on reform and adopting new rules and regulations. The whole Party and the state must move onto the track of solving problems according to rules and regulations. The participants held that to improve the Party's work style, two things must be done. First, reform should be quickened and deepened to gradually reduce the soil for unhealthy tendencies. Second, the Party should be rectified strictly. They pointed out at the forum that the improvement of the Party's work style during reform and opening to the outside world was a very important issue demanding prompt solution.

December 16

The Second Plenary Session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was held in Beijing. The participants discussed and agreed in principle to the plan for the structural reform of the Party Central Committee and the State Council. It decided that the plan for the structural reform of the Party Central Committee would be carried out by its Secretariat and that of the State Council by the State Council itself after the plan was approved by the NPC.

1988**February 6**

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was held in Beijing. The participants discussed the economic situation and the current economic work. They held that the overall situation in production, construction, circulation and foreign trade in the country in 1987 was better than expected. The major problem existing in the previous year's economy was the overly price increases. Soaring food prices were the heart of the problem. To resolve the problem, efforts should be made to do more research into the new situation and adopt new methods. The key point was to follow the law of value, and to introduce comprehensive measures that were favourable for the development of production and could also make proper compensation for people's life. The session pointed out that the economic work in 1988 should follow the requirements set down at the Thirteenth National Congress of the CPC to speed up and deepen reform, summarize carefully experiences of last year's work and make good use of them, comprehend correctly and grasp the principles of further stabilizing the economy and deepening reform, consider reform to be the key of the overall situation and resolve contradictions and problems so as to ensure a continuous, steady and coordinated development of the entire national economy.

February 23

The State Council held a plenary session. State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian gave a speech on the current international situation. The session passed the Emergency Circular on Strict Control over Institutional Purchases and Cutting Down Expenditure. The circular stipulated that the purchasing power indexes of offices, groups, army units, enterprises and institutions at all levels should cut down by 20 percent in 1988 on the basis of last year's actual expenditures. In 1988, all Party and government organs should stop buying cars and eighteen other kinds of special commodities controlled by the government, no non-academic seminars should be held this year and visits and tours arranged for retired cadres should be cancelled.

March 15-19

The Second Plenary Session of the Thirteenth National Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing. The participants discussed and approved the report on political work released by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. The session examined and approved the list of candidates of leaders of government organs and the list of candidates of leaders of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), put forward by the

Political Bureau of the Central Committee after extensive consultations with people both inside and outside the Party. The two lists were to be recommended separately to the presidium of the First Session of the Seventh NPC and the presidium of the First Session of the Seventh CPPCC.

March 19

The Second Plenary Session of the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC Central Committee approved a communique, agreeing to the work report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee released at the Second Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC and the lists of candidates of leaders recommended to the Seventh NPC and the Seventh CPPCC.

March 20-22

The Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection was held in Beijing. It approved unanimously the work report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee released at the Second Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC. The participants examined and approved Qiao Shi's report at the meeting.

March 24-April 10

The First Session of the Seventh National Committee of the CPPCC was held in Beijing. Qian Xuesen delivered the work report on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Sixth National Committee of the CPPCC. Li Xiannian was elected chairman of the CPPCC; Wang Renzhong and 27 others were elected vice-chairmen. The session approved, in principle, the political resolution and the report on the examination of proposals of this session. The session also approved the lists of the chairman, vice-chairmen and members of the Proposals Handling Committee of the National Committee of the Seventh CPPCC.

March 25-April 13

The First Session of the Seventh National People's Congress was held in Beijing. This was a term meeting of the National People's Congress. Of the 2,970 representatives expected to attend the meeting, 2,892 were present at the opening ceremony. On behalf of the State Council, Li Peng delivered a report on the work of the government. The report pointed out that, over the past five years, our national economy, stimulated by the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, had kept progressing. The overall situation was good. Reform of the economic structural system, carried out both in cities and in rural areas, had made great progress and had accumulated rich experience. Promoted by the economic structural reform, reform had begun to unfold gradually in scientific, educational, cultural and political fields and played an increasingly greater role. The opening to the outside world had expanded continuous-

ly, scientific and technological exchange and cooperation with foreign countries were increasing and the closedness or semi-closedness status had been reversed. The experience of reform and construction had forcefully stimulated renewal of the people's ideology and strengthened the building of advanced socialist culture and ideology. The report set down goals, principles and tasks for construction and reform in the five years to come: 1. vigorously develop agricultural production and the building of basic industries and infrastructure to keep a sustained growth of the national economy; 2. speed up the development and reform of science, technology and education, and realistically bring economic construction onto the road of relying on scientific and technological development and improving workers' qualifications; 3. deepen the comprehensive supplementary reform, which has enterprise reform as the centre, and gradually establish the leading position of the new economic system; 4. spare no opportunity to speed up the implementation of the development strategies of coastal areas and further expand opening to the outside world; 5. earnestly do a good job in the reform of governmental institutions, strive to overcome bureaucracy, improve work efficiency and enforce administrative rules and regulations and law and discipline; 6. further strengthen the building of socialist democracy and legal system, uphold equality and unity among all our nationalities and consolidate and develop the nationwide political situation of stability and unity; 7. vigorously build socialist advanced culture and ideology and promote the smooth development of reform, opening to the outside world and modernization drive; 8. standing in reality and facing the future, seriously implement the two state policies of population control and environmental protection; 9. on the basis of developing production, increase urban and rural people's income and improve people's material and cultural lives; 10. as the economy develops, further strengthen the building of national defense. The meeting elected Yang Shangkun president of the state, Wang Zhen vice-president, Wan Li chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Xi Zhongxun and eighteen others vice-chairmen, Deng Xiaoping chairman of the Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee; the meeting also appointed Li Peng premier of the State Council, Zhao Ziyang and Yang Shangkun vice-chairmen of the Military Commission. The meeting approved the Report on the Work of the Government and other decisions, the State-Owned Industrial Enterprises Law and the Chinese-Foreign Cooperative Enterprises Law, the Decision on the Establishment of the Macao Special Administrative Region Basic Law Drafting Committee, the Decision on the Establishment of Hainan Province and the Decision on the Establishment of Hainan Special Economic Zone.

June 1

The CPC Central Committee issued the Circular on Keeping Honest

in Performing Office Duties in Party and State Organizations. The circular pointed out that our Party was a party which served the people heart and soul and our government was an honest government. This was the mainstream which must be affirmed. But there were a few people working in governmental institutions and a few Party cadres who had directly infringed upon the interests of the state and people by malfeasance, extortion, embezzlement and the acceptance of bribes. Whether or not Party and state institutions could keep honesty concerned the support or opposition from the people and the success or failure of the reform. Thus, during the whole process of reform and opening to the outside world, we must unswervingly stick to the policy of reform and opening to the outside world and bring about a prosperous economy, as well as unswervingly keep honesty and avoid corruption. The principal requirements for the Party and the government to keep honesty were that they must correctly apply the rights entrusted to them by the people to work for the people and that they must be obedient to the law and discipline, loyal to their duties, thrifty and hard-working, they must not abuse their powers or break the law, seek for personal gains or indulge themselves in extravagance and waste. All Party members working in Party and government institutions, especially those holding leading posts, should naturally set good examples for others in this respect. The circular emphasized that illegal activities including the extortion and acceptance of bribes, corruption, malfeasance and extortion must be severely dealt with in accordance with the law and that malpractices like sending or receiving gifts and lavish feasts must be firmly stopped so that Party and government institutions became honest, efficient and law-abiding institutions.

June 22

While meeting with Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that there was a good international environment now and the Third World countries should take economic construction as the centre of their work and must not lose the opportunity. He said that, over the past ten years, the speed of China's construction was not slow, but China still needed to overcome some difficulties and the biggest one was the overall readjustment and the reform of the price and wage system. We had the confidence to overcome these difficulties and create conditions for China's development in the next century.

June 25-July 1

The Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee held in Beijing a national meeting on organization work. In terms of the building of the Party ranks and Party organizations, the meeting seriously discussed how to strictly rectify the Party and deepen the reform of the cadre system. Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

and head of its Organization Department, Song Ping made a speech entitled "Deepen the Reform, Strictly Rectify the Party and Guarantee Organizationally the Implementation of the Party's Basic Lines." Song Ping said that the foremost problem in strengthening the ranks of the Party in the new period was to stick to the Party memberships' criteria and improve their qualifications, enabling them to stand the test as a member of the ruling party in the reform and opening to the outside world. As to the few corrupt members in the Party, the policy of expulsion must be firmly enforced. From now on, in deepening the reform of cadre and personnel systems, organization work must be done well and there should be more democracy in the cadre work.

July 21

The CPC Central Committee transmitted the "Opinions of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee on Problems Concerning the Gradual Withdrawal of Party Leadership Groups from the Departments Under the State Council." The CPC Central Committee pointed out in the document that the withdrawal of present Party leadership groups from government institutions should be carried out step by step and in combination with the structural reform. The work of Party committees in government institutions must be strengthened after Party leadership groups were withdrawn. On the 27th, the CPC Central Committee transmitted a proposal of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection to withdraw gradually discipline inspection groups under Party leadership groups in the departments under the State Council and discipline inspection groups sent by the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and to strengthen the work of committees for discipline inspection of various governmental institutions.

August 15-17

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held its Tenth Plenary Session at Beidaihe. The meeting discussed and approved in principle the "Preliminary Plan for Price and Salary Reforms." The meeting held that, based on overall conditions and the actual feasibility, the target of price reform in the coming five years or so was to basically straighten out price relations, namely, to solve the most irrational problems in prices which had an important effect on the development of the economy and the growth of the market. General requirements for the wage reform were: in the process of the price reform, to raise and readjust wages and properly raise subsidies to guarantee that the real living standards of most workers and staff members, instead of decreasing, improve with the development of production; and to solve some of the most irrational problems in distribution by further implementing the principle of work-based payment.

August 21

According to a Xinhua News Agency report, after the structural reform plan for organizations directly under the CPC Central Committee was approved in principle last December at the Second Plenary Session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, the Secretariat of the Central Committee, after close study, put forward the "Plan for Reforming the Organizations Directly under the CPC Central Committee" and made earnest arrangements for its implementation. The organizations and institutions directly under the CPC Central Committee after the reform included: the General Office, Organization Department, Propaganda Department, United Front Work Department, International Liaison Department, Research Centre for Reforming Political Structure, Rural Policy Research Centre, Office of the Central Advisory Commission, Office of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, Work Committee for Offices Directly under the CPC Central Committee, the State Organs Work Committee of the CPC Central Committee, Central Party School, the *People's Daily*, Party History Research Centre, Party Literature Research Centre and the Compilation and Translation Bureau. The reform was based on the principle of separating the functions of the Party from those of the government, improving efficiency, stimulating enthusiasm and strengthening and improving Party leadership. The stress was put on clarifying the functions and differentiating the responsibilities of the Party from those of the administrative departments and readjusting the relationship between the Party and the government organizations and between the Party and mass organizations. The purpose was to set up a highly efficient working system. Now, all the departments were defining their scopes of responsibilities and the number of personnel. All the reform measures were being carried out.

August 31

The 20th meeting of the Standing Committee of the State Council was held to discuss and analyse the current market and price situation. Six important regulations were approved to stabilize prices and the market: 1. the State Council would take effective measures to guarantee that the range of the retail price rises next year would be lower than that of this year; 2. all regions and departments must continue to implement the State Council's decision that there would not be any new price rises during the second half of the year; 3. in order to stabilize the market and finances and to protect the consumers' interest, the People's Bank of China was authorized to introduce the new value guarantee service for Renminbi (RMB) savings deposits by offering subsidies to RMB saving term deposits of three or more than three years; 4. in order to continue to implement the policy of stabilizing the economy and deepening the reform, each region and department must take strong measures to cut

down on investment in fixed assets, to stop or suspend the capital construction of office buildings, hotels and meeting halls, to control institutional buying, to speed up rectifying and cleaning up companies and non-bank financial institutions, and to put the scale of currency issuance and the total amount of credit within the limitation determined by the government; 5. fulfill the purchasing targets of grain, cotton and edible oil, especially the purchasing targets based on contracts with peasants; 6. people's governments at various levels must make efforts to guarantee good market supplies and be strict with the market management. Premier Li Peng pointed out that governments at all localities should be conscientious in their work and enforce strong measures, including economic and administrative ones, to control price rises. Meanwhile, criticisms from the masses and the supervision of mass media were welcomed. According to incomplete statistics from the institutions concerned, by the end of November, the ten inspection groups sent by the State Council to local places had cooperated closely with local governments, and decided to stop and postpone over 10,000 construction projects, thereby cutting 33.4 billion yuan of investment. The work of the nationwide cleaning up of fixed assets had won initial success.

September 26-30

The Third Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. The session listened to, discussed and adopted the report given by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, agreed with the Political Bureau's opinions on the present political and economic situation and approved the guiding principles, policies and measures for improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order, and for furthering the comprehensive reform. The session decided to put the stress of reform and construction in the coming two years on improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order. The session held that, to fulfill the task smoothly, it was necessary to strengthen Party leadership and give full play to our political advantages. The session also agreed with, in principle, the "Preliminary Plan for Price and Wage Reforms" and the "Notice of the CPC Central Committee on Reinforcing and Improving the Ideological and Political Work in Enterprises."

September 30

Both the Third Plenary Sessions of the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the CPC were held in Beijing. Both sessions consented to the guiding principles, policies and measures for improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order, as well as deepening the reform comprehensively, which were approved by the Third Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC.

October 3

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Decision on Cleaning Up and Rectifying Companies," which demanded that: in order to improve the economic environment and rectify the economic order, to reinforce the management of commodity circulation and to guarantee the progress of reform, it was necessary to clean up and rectify all companies, to cancel the companies' governmental administrative functions, to implement the regulations of the Party Central Committee and State Council that the cadres in Party and government institutions were not allowed to do business or run enterprises, to strictly forbid making illegal profits from the fraudulent selling of important means of production and scarce durable consumer goods and to make sure that every company paid taxes according to the law.

October 24

The State Council issued the "Decisions on Reinforcing Price Management and Strictly Controlling Price Rises." The decisions included: 1. resolutely stabilize the prices of people's daily necessities; 2. end the irrational price rises of the means of agricultural production; 3. observe strictly the price limitations of the important means of production produced in excess of the state plan; 4. guide and manage the prices of industrial consumer goods on which the original mandatory prices had been lifted by the government; 5. rectify the prices in the field of circulation and prohibit profiteering as middlemen; 6. rectify the fee-charging in cities' public utilities and service trades; 7. enforce strictly the laws and disciplines on prices; 8. supervise the price rectification by the people; 9. make sure that next year's commodity price increase rates were lower than this year's. The decisions required governments at various levels and departments involved under the State Council to take concrete measures as soon as possible, and to carry out them seriously.

October 29

The Thirteenth Plenary Session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was held in Beijing to discuss how to enhance rural reforms and agricultural development. The meeting maintained that China's rural economic reforms had made notable progress in the past decade, which had promoted the transformation of the agricultural economic system and brought important changes in rural areas. The great success of rural reforms supported the national economic development, created favourable conditions and accumulated helpful experience for the reform of the whole economic system. However, due to the population growth and the increase of people's consumption levels in recent years, the strain between supply and demand on major agricultural products still existed at a new level. The meeting pointed out that agriculture was

the base of the country's national economy, and agricultural production, the production of grain in particular, must not be neglected at any time. Effective measures must be taken to solve agricultural problems and the long and mid-term plans for agricultural reform and construction should be made as early as possible, striving to push agricultural production to a new level. Moreover, the meeting held that the fundamental way to solve agricultural problems and speed up agricultural production lay in improving the rural contracted responsibility system with remuneration linked to output, deepening rural reforms, increasing investment in agriculture and popularizing knowledge of agricultural science and technology.

November 2-7

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council held a meeting on national agricultural work. The main topics of the meeting were to deepen rural reforms, vigorously develop agriculture, work out the measures for enhancing agricultural production in the coming two years and strive for a good harvest in agriculture next year by every possible means. On November 25, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Decision on Striving for a Good Harvest in Agriculture Next Year." The decision required that: 1. peasants be widely informed of the current situation in the countryside this winter and the coming spring; 2. peasants be mobilized and organized to undertake capital construction on farmland; 3. the supply of chemical fertilizers and other means of agricultural production be increased; 4. in order to encourage the peasants' initiative for increasing the production of grain, the peasants' task for selling grain based on contracts not be changed in the next year, and, in addition, the purchasing prices of grain based on contracts rise appropriately next year; 5. vigorously develop the production of meats, eggs and vegetables to ensure better supplies of non-staple foodstuffs; 6. provide a good service for popularizing agricultural technology with focus on the popularization of improved varieties of grains, improving the skills of fertilizing, developing dry land farming and farming sparing of water; 7. increase the investment in agriculture; 8. the township enterprises, which had become the mainstay of the agricultural economy, should develop steadily in the process of improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order; 9. since the contracted responsibility system with remuneration linked to output based mainly on household management conformed to the level of development of the current productive forces in most rural areas and was still very effective, it should be maintained and improved continuously; 10. the leadership over the agricultural work be strengthened.

November 8-12

The Fifth National Conference of the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC) was held in Beijing. Xia Yan, a noted Chinese writer, delivered the opening speech. Hu Qili delivered a congratulatory message on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. Wu Zuqiang delivered a speech entitled "Explanations on Revising the Constitution of the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles." The representatives listened to "A Report on the Routine Work of the CFLAC (1979-1988)." The participants approved in principle the report and the revised constitution of the CFLAC and elected Zhou Yang and eight others honorary members of the CFLAC National Committee. On the 13th, the First Conference of the Fifth National Committee of the CFLAC elected Cao Yu executive chairman of the federation.

November 28-December 5

The State Council held in Beijing a National Planning Conference and a National Conference for Economic Structural Reform. The main tasks of the two conferences were to discuss and draw up the national economic and social development plan for 1989 and to discuss and deploy work of the economic structural reform of 1989 in the light of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee. At the beginning of the conference, Premier of the State Council Li Peng pointed out that it was actually economic readjustment to improve the economic environment and rectify the economic order. The readjustment inevitably required some units and trades to make temporary and necessary concessions to long-term, stable and harmonious development of the economy as a whole. Therefore, the Party Central Committee and the State Council urged all departments and localities to reach a common understanding in line with the principles of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, take measures to carry out the policies and uphold the principle of "the part must be subordinated to the whole" so that the whole Party can be united in thought and in action, overcome difficulties and push reform and construction to the right track of healthy development. He said that improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order were closely connected with deepening the reforms. The improvement of the economic environment and the rectification of the economic order needed the coordination provided by the reform effort, and, at the same time, the endeavour would provide conditions indispensable to the in-depth and healthy development of the reforms.

Vice-Premier Yao Yilin delivered a report entitled "Carry Out the Spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC and the Development Plan of 1989." He pointed out that the overall current economic situation was bright, but the high inflation rate

and price hikes were striking in the economic life. The overheated economy and excessive consumer demand had not been brought under control. In light of the guiding principles of the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Thirteenth Central Committee and the current practical situation, Yao Yilin set forth the guidelines for the plans and arrangements of the next year: 1. the major goal and tasks for the next year were to gradually cool the overheated economy, ensure price rises significantly lower than in 1988 and strive for a good harvest in agriculture; 2. the excessive total social demand should be curbed and reduced, while an austere financial and banking policy should be implemented; 3. the economic structure and relations should be rationally readjusted and economic efficiency should be increased, while the phenomenon of economic stagnation which might happen in the course of curbing excessive total social demand should be avoided; 4. the improvement of the economic environment and the rectification of the economic order should be combined with deepening reforms and gradually a macro-regulating system should be established in the period of replacing of the old systems by the new ones; 5. prudence should be exercised in working out the plan for the next year, and this plan and the ones for the following years should be dovetailed.

December 18-22

A symposium to mark the tenth anniversary of the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee was held in Beijing. The symposium was cosponsored by the Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, the Central Party School and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences at the request of the CPC Central Committee. The participants pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party had developed a series of scientific theories in the practice of China's reform and construction and in the process of reunderstanding socialism. It marked that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought had developed in China and new content was added to the treasure-house of Marxist theories. But our theoretical research, lagging behind the needs of practice, was not suited to the practice of China's modernization efforts, reform and opening to the outside world. China's reform must be guided and supported forcefully by theories. The symposium urged theorists to come up with new results from their theoretical research and give theoretical force to the people in advance.

December 24

The fourteenth meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was held to discuss the current international situation and China's foreign affairs. The meeting pointed out that since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee, China's foreign policy had been regulated greatly and won evident success.

Practices had demonstrated that the independent, peaceful foreign policy pursued by China was correct and should be continuously enforced in the future. China actively advocated the setting up of a new international political order based on 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, and peaceful coexistence) and a new international economic order based on equality and mutual benefit.

December 30

A forum was held by the National People's Congress (NPC) Standing Committee to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the publication of the "Message from the NPC Standing Committee to Compatriots in Taiwan" in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. Wu Xueqian, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice premier, said at the forum that the relationship between the two sides of the strait had changed greatly since the "Message from the NPC Standing Committee to Compatriots in Taiwan" was published ten years ago. He said that the principles of "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems" set forth and adhered to by the Communist Party of China reflected the interests of all Chinese people, including the people in Taiwan. The Communist Party and the Kuomintang in Taiwan should make contact and negotiate with each other on an equal basis as soon as possible. The two sides may consult on all matters. High-ranking KMT party and government officials were earnestly welcome to visit the mainland. Their safety and freedom of coming and going would be guaranteed. Some of the participants at the forum pointed out that the Taiwan authorities should conform to the aspiration of the people on both sides and allow the people to come and go across the strait freely.

1989

January 27

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting to discuss how to strengthen the work in the political and legal field and how to maintain the social order and stability under the new circumstances of reform and opening to the outside world. The meeting pointed out that to solve the problem in public security the whole society should be mobilized, and overall rectification of the public order should be combined with concentrated efforts. It stressed that continuous efforts should be made to strengthen the ranks of people working in these fields and to improve their political and professional qualifications. On February 17, the CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Summary of the Forum on the National Political and Legal Work"

submitted by the Central Political and Legal Affairs Leadership Group.

February 2-4

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze formally visited China. On the 4th, Deng Xiaoping met with Shevardnadze and pointed out that the exchange of visits by foreign ministers of the two countries indicated the beginning of the normalization of the Sino-Soviet relationship.

February 14

The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee listened to reports from some participants to the Forum on an Honest and Clean Government. The Secretariat stressed that to strengthen the system for an honest and clean government was to meet the needs of the development of a socialist commodity economy and the establishment of socialist democratic politics; to improve standardization and openness in the management of governmental departments. By making public the work regulations and how matters were handled as well as relying on the supervision of the people, the hotbed of the exchange between money and power would be removed. The Party should accelerate and guarantee the institution of an honest and clean government.

February 15

Selected Works of Li Xiannian was published, containing his 94 important articles written between 1935 and 1988.

February 17

The CPC Central Committee issued "Some Suggestions on Making Literature and Art More Prosperous." The suggestions held that literature and art should adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism and to the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." It was necessary to speed up and deepen reform of the literary and art system and consolidate its ranks on the basis of improving and strengthening the Party's leadership.

February 25-26

US President George Bush visited China. On the 26th, Deng Xiaoping met with and entertained Bush. Deng said it was very important for China to have a stable environment. Without the stable internal environment, it would be difficult to achieve any success, and even the success already obtained could be lost. He hoped that foreign friends would understand this point. Deng also hoped that in Bush's term, the friendly Sino-US relations and cooperation would be further developed, that Sino-Soviet relations would be normalized and that Gorbachev's reform would be a success. Bush believed that the development of US-Sino relations had great potential. In the United States, he said, the support

for the development of US-Sino relations had never been so strong as present.

March 5

In Tibet, a handful of separatists deliberately created serious riots in Lhasa. They broke into, smashed, looted, set fire to some institutions and shops and even opened fire on armed police and public security men. To restore social order, guard the safety of the citizens and their property, and protect public property, the State Council decided to impose martial law in Lhasa from zero o'clock on March 8, to be enforced by the people's government of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

March 20-April 4

The Seventh NPC had its second meeting in Beijing. Premier of the State Council Li Peng delivered a report on the work of the government entitled "Resolutely Carry Out the Principles of Improvement, Rectification and Deepened Reform." He pointed out in the report that the key point of the nation's construction and reform as well as the work of the government for this year and the next was to improve the economic environment and rectify the economic order. The report stressed that by improvement and rectification it meant to squeeze social demand, rectify circulation order, readjust the economic structure, guarantee the development of science, technology and education, as well as to combine deepening reform with opening to the outside world and create a favourable and stable social and political environment. The session also examined and approved the work report concerned and "The Administrative Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China" and "The Procedural Rules of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China."

April 15

Former Party general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Political Bureau Hu Yaobang died of sudden extensive myocardial infarction in Beijing. People all over China sank into great sorrow. On the 22nd, the memorial meeting was held at the Great Hall of the People. Zhao Ziyang delivered the memorial speech, in which he highly eulogized Hu Yaobang's great and glorious life.

April 15-24

During the memorial activities after Hu Yaobang's death, student unrest of fairly large scale took place in Beijing and spread gradually to some major cities in other localities. The Party and the government fully affirmed the students' patriotic enthusiasm for the elimination of corruption and promotion of democracy. But a handful of individuals with ulterior motives attempted to take advantage of the student unrest to oppose the Communist Party's leadership and the socialist system. Under

their instigation and plot, the student unrest developed into political turmoil. On the 24th, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee put forward four suggestions to the Central Committee: 1. the Central Committee should clearly state its attitude towards the present situation; 2. media, including newspapers and magazine of the Central Committee, must be put firmly under the unified guidance of the Central Committee; 3. the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and Beijing Municipal Government should be authorized to arouse the masses to fight back and defeat the attack of the reactionary ideological trend; 4. it suggested the Party Central Committee and the State Council adopt some effective measures to solve the problems people had felt most strongly about for a long time.

April 24

Li Peng presided over a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. Participants earnestly analyzed the development of the situation and agreed to the analysis of the current situation in the capital and the four suggestions of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and Beijing Municipal Government. The meeting believed that it was a planned and organized political struggle opposed to the Communist Party and socialism. It decided to form a leading group in the Central Committee to curb the turmoil. Meanwhile, the meeting required the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and Beijing Municipal Government to arouse the masses to stabilize the situation as soon as possible. The meeting also decided to publish an editorial in the *People's Daily*, pointing out the nature of the struggle to the whole Party and the people.

April 25

Deng Xiaoping expressed his approval of and support to the decisions of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee. He also emphasized that it was not an ordinary student unrest but a political turmoil aiming at negating the Party's leadership and the socialist system.

April 26

The *People's Daily* carried an editorial entitled "Take a Firm Stand Against the Turmoil." The editorial pointed out that, during the mourning period for Hu Yaobang, people all over China expressed their deep sorrow in various forms. But there was also an abnormal phenomenon. A handful of people flaunted the banner of democracy while sabotaging democracy and the law. Their purpose was to confuse people's minds, create national turmoil and sabotage the political stability and unity. This was a planned conspiracy and a turmoil, which, in essence, aimed at negating the Communist Party's leadership and the socialist system. The editorial called on the whole Party and the whole nation to unite,

taking a firm stand against the turmoil.

On the same day, meetings attended by ten thousand Party members and cadres were held respectively in Beijing and Shanghai calling on them to take a firm stand to stop the turmoil quickly and protect the political stability and unity.

May 4

Zhao Ziyang met with representatives attending the Asian Development Bank's 22nd annual meeting. He said at the meeting, "There will be no big riots in China. I'm fully confident about this." He also said that most students in the demonstration absolutely did not mean to oppose the fundamental system of China but to urge the government to get rid of maladies in its work. He added that what we needed most at present were calm, reason, restraint and order and solutions through a democratic and legal process. After Zhao Ziyang made remarks opposite to those of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee, some media organs carried articles with themes opposing the April 26 *People's Daily* editorial. In some universities and colleges big-character posters appeared, supporting Zhao Ziyang's speech and demanding the recognition of the "Autonomous Union of University Students" as a legal organization. On the 9th and 10th, tens of thousands of students launched demonstrations in Beijing. Political advocations and ideological trends opposing the Party's leadership and the socialist road continued to spread.

May 13-19

A handful of organizers and instigators of the turmoil expressed their willingness to have a dialogue with the government. On the other hand, they declared that the government had no sincerity. On the 13th, they aroused a student hunger strike and petition, thus bringing pressure on the government. From the 15th on, large-scale demonstrations of the masses were launched. The number of demonstrators increased from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands, including college students, workers, peasants, government workers, intellectuals, members of democratic parties, and even high school and primary school students and kindergarten children. Hundreds of thousands of students from outside Beijing also joined in the demonstrations and hunger strike in the capital. The turmoil spread to the whole society and Beijing was in a state of anarchy. A tiny minority again advocated political slogans attacking the Communist Party and socialism. They directed their attack at Deng Xiaoping.

May 15-18

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Gorbachev paid a visit

to China. It was the first time a Soviet top leader visited China since 1959. Because the students at Tiananmen Square went on their hunger strike and petition, the welcoming ceremony had to be held at the Capital Airport instead of the square and the motorcade had to make a detour. On the 16th, Gorbachev met with Deng Xiaoping. Before and after that, he also met with Yang Shangkun, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng respectively and exchanged with them his views on the relations between the two countries and current international relations. The Sino-Soviet summit meeting indicated the normalization of the two countries' relations. The relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also began to normalize. On the 18th, a Sino-Soviet joint communique was issued.

May 19

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council convened a meeting of the cadres from the Central Committee and cadres from the Party, government and army institutions in Beijing Municipality. At the meeting Li Ximing introduced the breakout and the recent development of the student unrest in Beijing. He explained that the turmoil had created serious disturbances to all walks of life in Beijing. Li Peng, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, called for urgent action to resolutely check the turmoil in Beijing and to quickly restore order in all aspects. Li Peng also declared the decision to impose martial law in parts of Beijing. Yang Shangkun stressed in his speech that to maintain the capital's public security and restore normal social order there was no other alternative but to call some PLA troops in from other localities to assist armed police and public security personnel in Beijing in their work. They were definitely not aimed at the students.

May 20

Premier of the State Council Li Peng signed an order of the State Council on imposing martial law in parts of Beijing, deciding to enforce the order as from ten a.m. on May 20. On the same day, Mayor of Beijing Chen Xitong signed orders No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 of the Beijing Municipal People's Government, deciding to impose martial law in the eight districts of Eastern, Western, Chongwen, Xuanwu, Shijingshan, Haidian, Fengtai and Chaoyang. That day the Beijing Municipal Government answered reporters' questions on calling some PLA troops into Beijing to participate in the enforcement of martial law in the capital. On the 21st, the PLA headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops issued a letter to Beijing residents, pointing out that enforcing martial law was to restore normal public order and was definitely not aimed at the students, and hoping that students and people of various circles would give full understanding and great support and cooperation. On the same day the Xinhua News Agency transmitted the editorial of the

Liberation Army Daily entitled "Important Measures to Maintain Stability in the Capital and the Whole Country." After the martial law enforcement troops were moved into Beijing successively, order in Beijing took a turn for the better for some time in late May.

June 3

From the early morning on, the martial law enforcement troops were ordered to head for their positions of duty, including Tiananmen Square. The turmoil of more than one month in Beijing instigated by a handful of people with ulterior motives developed to be a counter-revolutionary riot. The CPC Central Committee decided to order the martial law enforcement troops to force their way into the urban area to quell the riot. Meanwhile, the Beijing Municipal Government and the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops, in order to avoid hurting the masses, issued an emergency announcement through radio and TV, asking Beijing residents to heighten their vigilance and remain at their posts, keep off the streets and not to go to Tiananmen Square. At about ten in the evening, the martial law enforcement troops entered the urban area successively from different directions. At four thirty on June 4, the martial law enforcement and the armed police began to clear out Tiananmen Square, finishing the clearing operation at five thirty. According to the figure given by Mayor of Beijing Chen Xitong on June 30, during several days of riot, several dozens of public security personnel, and soldiers of the martial law enforcement troops and armed police died and more than 6,000 were wounded; more than 1,280 military and police vehicles and public buses and trolley buses and more than 70 other kinds of vehicles were destroyed; more than 200 civilians died, including 36 university students, and over 3,000 were wounded. At the same time that the counter-revolutionary rebellion occurred in Beijing, serious events, such as ruffians' attacking law-enforcing offices, destroying traffic, burning shops and killing innocent people, successively happened in Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Chengdu, Guiyang, Harbin, Lanzhou and other big cities.

June 5

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council pointed out in their "Letter to All the Communist Party Members and the Whole Nation" that the primary triumph of quelling the rebellion had been won and the Party and the government had all the power and confidence to put it down completely. All the Communist Party members, the broad masses of the people and patriots of all circles should respond to the call of the Party and the government, distinguish clearly between right and wrong, take the overall situation into consideration and struggle for stabilizing the situation and creating a stable and good social environment.

June 7

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection issued a "Circular of Strictly Observing the Party Discipline and Maintaining the Unity and Centralization of the Party." The circular required Party organizations at all levels and all the Communist Party members, in the struggle of quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion, to strictly observe political discipline, firmly be in line with the Party Central Committee both in ideology and action; to take the lead in holding fast to their work posts and maintaining the normal order of production, work and life; to vigorously support and cooperate with the PLA, the armed police and the public security personnel in carrying out their duties entrusted by the Constitution and the law; and to strictly observe the Party discipline and severely punish the Communist Party members engaged in the beating, smashing, looting and burning during the rebellion. It also required organizations for discipline inspection at all levels and all the cadres engaged in discipline inspection to take a firm stand, withstand tests and give full play to their functions in this sharp political struggle.

June 9

Deng Xiaoping met with commanders above the corps level of the martial law enforcement troops in the capital and made an important speech. He pointed out that this storm was bound to happen sooner or later. It was determined by the international climate in general as well as China's domestic climate and it was to our favour that it had happened now. The outbreak of the rebellion prompted us to calmly think about the past and consider the future. Perhaps this bad thing would enable us to go ahead with our reform and opening to the outside world at a more steady, better, and even a faster pace. Also it would enable us to more speedily correct our mistakes and better develop our strong points. Deng Xiaoping emphasized that it could not be said that the line, goals and policies laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, including our "three-step" development strategy, were wrong because of the occurrence of this incident. The general conclusion of the Thirteenth Party Congress of "one focus [referring to making economic development the nation's central task] and two basic points [referring to upholding the Four Cardinal Principles and persisting in the policy of reform and opening up]" was not wrong. If there was anything amiss, it was that the Four Cardinal Principles hadn't been thoroughly implemented; they hadn't been taken as the basic concept to educate the people, educate the students and educate all the cadres and Party members. The nature of this incident was the confrontation between the Four Cardinal Principles and bourgeois liberalization. The worst omission of the past ten years was in education. We had not conducted enough education of what kind of a country China was and what kind of a

country it would become. There was nothing wrong with the concept of reform and opening up. The positive results of ten years of reform and opening up must be properly assessed. There should be no change in the basic line, principles and policies. We must conscientiously sum up our experiences, persevere in what was right, correct what was wrong and make a greater effort where we had lagged behind. In short, we should sum up the experiences of the present and look forward to the future.

June 14

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council pointed out in their joint notice of transmitting the "Report on the Plan for Thoroughly Ferreting Out and Firmly Suppressing the Counter-Revolutionary Rioters" that in Beijing and other big and middle-sized cities where turmoil occurred, special bodies should be formed under the unified leadership of the Party committees and the governments and headed by chief leaders, fully arousing and relying on the masses, beginning with investigating the key events, key units and key targets in respective localities to deepen the checking task. In this struggle, on the one hand, we should maintain a firm attitude and not be softhearted, on the other hand, we should seek truth from facts, avoiding expanding the scale of the attacks.

June 23-24

The CPC Central Committee held the Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee in Beijing. The session examined and approved the "Report on Comrade Zhao Ziyang's Mistakes in the Anti-Party, Anti-socialism Turmoil" delivered by Li Peng on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. The session held that at a critical juncture involving the destiny of the Party and the country, Zhao Ziyang made the mistake of supporting the turmoil and splitting the Party and he had unshirkable responsibilities for the development of the turmoil. The nature and consequence of his mistakes were very serious. The session pointed out that although he did some things beneficial to reform and opening to the outside world and economic work when he held principal leading posts in the Party and the government, he obviously erred in guidelines and practical work. Especially after taking charge of the work of the Central Committee, he took a passive attitude towards the principle of adherence to the Four Cardinal Principles and opposition to bourgeois liberalization, and gravely neglected Party building, cultural and ethical development and ideological and political work, causing serious losses to the cause of the Party. In view of Zhao Ziyang's serious mistakes listed above, the session decided to dismiss him as general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, member of the Politburo Standing Committee, member of the Central Political Bureau, member of the Central Committee and first vice-chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee.

The session made necessary partial adjustments in the Party's central leadership. Jiang Zemin was elected general secretary of the Central Committee; Jiang Zemin, Song Ping and Li Ruihuan were elected additional members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; Li Ruihuan and Ding Guangen were made additional members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; Hu Qili was removed from the Politburo Standing Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee; Rui Xingwen and Yan Mingfu were removed from the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The session stressed that the line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party would continue to be resolutely implemented, and the basic line consisting of the "one focus and two basic points" established at the Thirteenth National Party Congress would also continue to be resolutely carried out. The Four Cardinal Principles, as the foundation of the country, must be adhered to unswervingly and consistently and reform and opening to the outside world, as the road to lead the country to strength and prosperity, must be implemented as usual in a steadfast manner. The country must not return to the old, closed-door path. At present, special attention should be given to the following four important tasks: 1. resolutely stop the turmoil and quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion, strictly distinguish between contradictions of two different types and further stabilize the situation of the whole country; 2. continue to carry out the policy of improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order so as to better implement the policies of reform and opening to the outside world and develop the economy in a sustained, steady and coordinated way; 3. earnestly enhance ideological and political work and make great efforts to carry out education in patriotism, socialism, independence and self-reliance, plain living and hard work, and oppose bourgeois liberalization in real earnest; 4. greatly enhance the building of the Party, democracy and legal system, resolutely penalize corruption, and accomplish a few things of popular concern so as to live up to the people's expectations of the Party.

June 24

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Advisory Commission and the Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Commission for Discipline Inspection were separately held. The two sessions discussed and approved their communiques, firmly supporting the communique of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth CPC Central Committee.

June 28

Jiang Zemin delivered an important speech on questions of universal

concern at a forum held by the CPC Central Committee and attended by non-Communist Party figures. He pointed out that we must be resolute and prompt in thoroughly quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion and putting an end to the turmoil, but at the same time, we must strictly differentiate between two different types of contradictions; we must continue to concentrate on economic construction and do our economic work well; the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, the multiparty cooperative system and the political consultative system under the leadership of the Communist Party must be adhered to, and the role of the People's Political Consultative Conference, and of all the democratic parties and various people's organizations in the country's political life must be given fuller recognition.

June 29-July 6

The Eighth Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Seventh National People's Congress was held in Beijing. The meeting approved the "Decision on Dismissing Zhao Ziyang from His Post as Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China" and the "Resolution on Quelling the Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion and Putting an End to the Turmoil." The meeting decided to publicize the draft law on mass rallies and demonstrations to consult the broad public opinion. The Tenth Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Seventh National People's Congress held from October 25 to 31 approved the "Law on Mass Rallies and Demonstrations of the People's Republic of China."

July 10

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council pointed out in the notice to transmit the State Educational Commission's "Opinions on Some Issues in the Work of Institutions of Higher Learning" that what kind of people should be trained had always been the fundamental problem on the educational front. Party committees, governments and educational departments at all levels should earnestly enhance their leadership of the work in institutions of higher learning and put firm and correct political direction in the first position in the educational work, adhering to the socialist direction and education in Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, strengthening ideological and political work, and conducting strict management of school discipline and atmosphere, and implement educational reform so as to turn all institutions of higher learning into a real strong position for fostering socialist successors.

July 28

The CPC Central Committee pointed out in the "Circular on Strengthening Propaganda and Ideological Work" that it was imperative to publicize the significance of the organic decisions of the Fourth Plenary

Session of the Central Committee and continue to carry out the propaganda and ideological work on putting an end to the turmoil, quelling the rebellion and stabilizing the situation; to strengthen the propaganda on construction, reform and honest and clean government; to rectify firmly and properly the work in the realm of propaganda, the media and culture; to strengthen and improve the ideological and political work, and strengthen and stabilize the ranks of cadres in charge of political work; to strengthen the theoretical research, propaganda and education, rigorously enforce discipline in propaganda work and strengthen the building of the legal system; and to strengthen foreign propaganda so as to maintain the dignity of the socialist China.

August 15

The Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate issued a circular that criminals, including grafters, bribees and speculators, must confess their crimes in a limited period. On the 19th, the Ministry of Supervision issued a circular that all the staff members in governmental administrative offices who were guilty of graft and bribery should make a voluntary confession in a limited period.

August 17

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council made a decision on further cleaning up and rectifying companies. The decision pointed out that this task had not acquired the expected effects due to the lack of knowledge on the arduousness and complexity of cleaning up and rectifying companies, measures that were not clear and forceful enough, some regions and departments that were hesitant and slow in action, and also the interference from the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion. The excessive companies and chaos caused by them had seriously disturbed the building of an honest and clean government and the establishment and improvement of the socialist economic order, intensified the contradiction of unfair social distribution, and interfered with the stability of society. The decision emphasized it should be more resolute, earnest and thorough to clean up and rectify companies, and it shouldn't become a mere formality and all the interference and obstruction should be firmly removed. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council decided to set up a nationwide leading group headed by Tian Jiyun for cleaning up and rectifying companies.

August 20

The *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (1938-65) was published, consisting of Deng Xiaoping's 39 important articles and speeches in the 28 years before the "culture revolution."

August 24

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council held a national

telephone-meeting on cleaning up and rectifying the market of newspapers, magazines and audio-video tapes. Li Ruihuan emphasized at the meeting that the leadership of beating down pornography should be strengthened and the policy and the demarcation line should be conscientiously mastered, while beating down pornography should be combined with bringing about a prosperous literature and art and enlivening the cultural life of the people.

August 28

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a plenary session in Beijing, discussing and approving the "Circular of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening Party Building." The circular pointed out that, during the recent turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion, the Party had withstood a severe test, but meanwhile serious problems had been revealed in the Party. Therefore, from now on, Party committees at all levels should concentrate their attention on Party building according to what was required by the Party's basic line, and determine to solve current urgent problems in Party building. Otherwise, not only those serious, long-standing problems in our country could not be solved, but new troubles would also be left unsolved and become hidden dangers, then it would be hard to avoid new political disturbance. The circular demanded that all Party committees make earnest efforts to clean up, investigate and examine the leading cadres and democratically appraise Communist Party members; ideology and the style of work should be rectified, and corruption and other negative phenomena should be overcome; the standards for Party membership should be strictly followed so as to guarantee the quality in recruiting new Party members; Party organizations at the grass-roots level should be enhanced; the study, propaganda and research of the theory of Party building should be strengthened.

September 7

The CPC Central Committee transmitted "Views of the Organization Department of the Central Committee on Re-registration by Party Members in Some Units." The department held that re-registration was an important measure in strengthening the Party. By ferreting out the hostile and anti-Party elements and resolutely clearing them out of the Party, purifying the ranks and re-registration by Party members, hidden political dangers would be removed; by getting rid of corrupt elements in the Party and properly handling unqualified Party members, the purity of the Party as a vanguard would be maintained and its combat effectiveness would be enhanced.

On the same day, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate issued an "Announcement on Stopping the Pro-

secution of Those Having Left for Taiwan Who Have Committed Criminal Offences After the Founding of the People's Republic of China and Before the Establishment of the Local People's Governments."

September 29

More than ten thousand people from various walks of life in the capital gathered in the Great Hall of the People to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Yang Shangkun presided over the celebration. Jiang Zemin, in his long speech, affirmed the achievements made during the past forty years in construction, reform and opening to the outside world under the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. The speech mainly summed up the historic experiences of the past forty years and stated four basic conclusions: the establishment, consolidation and development of the socialist system reflected the objective law of the movement of China's modern society and constituted the greatest and most profound change in China's history; the socialist system is a system that requires constant development and improvement on its own basis; giving full play to the spirit of patriotism and upholding the principle of independence and self-reliance is an essential approach to the victory of the Chinese revolution and socialist construction; the Communist Party of China, armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, shoulders supremely important responsibility for China's independence and development. The speech also discussed several important issues concerning the work in the Party and the state that required in particular a unified understanding.

October 1

More than one million people from all walks of life in the capital held at Tiananmen Square a celebration to mark the National Day. Attending the celebration were Jiang Zemin, Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, Li Peng, Chen Yun, Wan Li, Li Xiannian and others. On the same day, *People's Daily* published an editorial headlined "Advance Bravely Along the Socialist Road."

October 30

The Beijing Municipal Government and the Headquarters of the Martial Law Enforcement Troops announced that, thanks to the gradual stabilization of the situation in the capital, all the martial law sentries posted along overpasses and at crossroads would be withdrawn on the same day; beginning from November 1, armed police would replace the martial law enforcement troops to guard Tiananmen Square.

November 6-9

The Fifth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. Before the session, the Political Bureau of the

Central Committee held a meeting on the work of the Central Committee from October 30 to November 3, discussing and studying the current economic problems facing China. The session examined and adopted the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Furthering the Improvement and Rectification and Deepening the Reform." The session held that the decisions of the Third Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee on improving and rectifying the national economy was correct. To continue to carry out the policy of improvement and rectification and deepening the reform was the basic approach to overcoming the current economic difficulties and to the realization of a continuous, stable and coordinated growth of the national economy. The difficulties facing us as we were advancing were temporary and perfectly soluble under the conditions available. Efforts should be made to complete basically the task of improvement and rectification in three years or a little longer. On September 4, Deng Xiaoping wrote to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, hoping earnestly that the Central Committee would grant his request to resign from his post as chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee. The session also discussed and approved the "Decision on Consenting to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Resignation from the Post of Chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee." The session highly appraised Deng's outstanding contribution to the founding of the Party and the new China. The session paid high homage to Deng for having set an example for the state leaders to stop the practice of holding their posts lifelong. It held that Deng had proceeded from the fundamental interests of the Party and the state to resign from his present post when he was still hale and hearty, thus realizing his long-cherished wish of retiring from the leading posts. The session also decided to appoint Jiang Zemin chairman, Yang Shangkun the first vice-chairman, Liu Huaqing vice-chairman, Yang Baibing secretary-general of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and Yang Baibing, an additional member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.

November 13

Deng Xiaoping met with the 1989 Delegation of Japan-China Economy and Trade Association in the Great Hall of the People. Deng told the Japanese guests that "I want to take this opportunity to bid farewell to my political career. Yours is the last official delegation I'll meet. Retirement must be a true one so that new leaders will not feel embarrassed in their work."

November 25

Li Ruihuan made a long speech entitled "Adhere to the Principle of Positive Reporting" at a national symposium on the work of mass media attended by the editors-in-chief of the Party newspapers at provincial,

municipality and autonomous region level. In his speech, Li stressed that upholding positive reporting as the principal task for newspapers had proved successful. In journalism Party spirit should integrate with affinity to the people, and the press reform must adhere to the socialist orientation. On November 28, Jiang Zemin pointed out while meeting with the editors-in-chief attending the symposium that as an important part of our ideology, socialist journalism must adhere to the basic principle of serving socialism and the people.

December 11-17

An army-wide meeting on political work was held in Beijing. The meeting adopted the important document entitled "Questions on Strengthening and Improving the Army-Wide Political Work Under New Circumstances." The meeting called for further strengthening and improving political work under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the Military Commission of the Central Committee centred around Jiang Zemin to ensure the Party's absolute leadership over the armed forces and the quality of the army politically.

December 19

The National Meeting of Science and Technology Rewards was held in Beijing. Jiang Zemin made a speech entitled "Promoting Scientific and Technological Advance Is the Historic Task for the Whole Party and the Whole People." He pointed out that the millions of people working in the field of science and technology were the real elite belonging to the Chinese nation. We must uphold the strategy of giving the priority to the development of science and technology, and must be persistent in relying on scientific and technological advance to raise the economic and social efficiency, Jiang said.

December 21

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Strengthening and Improving the Party's Leadership over the Trade Unions, the Communist Youth League and the Women's Federations." The circular pointed out that Party committees at all levels must foster the idea of relying wholeheartedly on the working class and the vast masses and attach importance to the work of trade unions, the Communist Youth League and women's federations. Party committees should exercise unified leadership over these organizations and support them to work independently in accordance with law and their respective regulations, and to defend the interests of their own organizations on condition that they observe the common interests of all the people. They should also be encouraged to play roles in participating and supervising the country's democracy in ideology, politics, education, and the management of national and social affairs. The vigor of these organizations should be

increased, and training of cadres for these organizations should be strengthened.

On the same day, Jiang Zemin and Li Ruihuan met with a Hong Kong press delegation led by Yang Qi, director of *Ta Kung Pao*. Jiang reiterated that "one country, two systems" would be practised in the mainland and Hong Kong. He said that "China does not intend to export revolution, nor will China allow others to change its direction."

December 27

In its "Circular on Establishing and Perfecting the Study System of Leading Cadres at Their Posts at Provincial and Ministerial Levels," the CPC Central Committee pointed out that well-led and well-planned study and training would help senior cadres of the Party improve their understanding of Marxism and enhance their leading abilities.

December 29

Jiang Zemin and other members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee had a discussion with people attending the Theory Class on Party Building at the Party School of the CPC Central Committee. Jiang made an important speech on Party building, stressing that the leadership of both the Party and the state must be held by people faithful to Marxism.

December 30

In its "Views on Upholding and Perfecting the Multi-Party Cooperation and Political Consultation System Under the Leadership of the Communist Party of China," the CPC Central Committee pointed out that the multi-party and political consultation system under the leadership of the Communist Party of China is the basic political system in China. It is by no means like the multi-party system or two-party system in Western capitalist countries. It is also different from the one-party system in other socialist countries. It is a creation resulting from the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the revolution and construction in China. And it is a socialist political party system which conforms to China's realities. The CPC Central Committee stressed that the cooperation and consultation between the Communist Party and all democratic parties should be enhanced, the role of democratic party members and non-party personages in people's congresses should be further stressed; democratic party members and non-party personages should be recommended for leadership posts in governments and judicial organs at all levels; the role of democratic parties in the People's Political Consultative Conference should be further enhanced; and the self-building of democratic parties should be supported.

1990**January 4-8**

The State Council held a national conference on economic structural reform in Beijing. The main topics of discussion were: to study and carry out the principles set forth at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth CPC Central Committee and to deepen the reform with the focus on improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order. The conference put forward seven major measures to be taken in the course of deepening the reform of enterprises: 1. the contracted managerial responsibility system should be maintained and improved; 2. the factory-director responsibility system should be carried out and improved; 3. all big and medium-sized enterprises must be invigorated by improving their management and play the part of the backbone of the national economy; 4. enterprise groups should be further developed; 5. measures should be taken to encourage the merging of enterprises; 6. enterprise management should be improved and strengthened, and economic efficiency should be increased; 7. all variety of experimental reform work should be developed in a planned way.

Premier Li Peng pointed out in his concluding speech at the meeting that the convocation of the meeting showed to the people in China and all over the world that reform and opening to the outside world was China's consistent long-term policy and it should be improved and perfected.

January 5-10

The Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture held a National Seminar on Cultural and Art Work in Beijing. Li Ruihuan delivered a speech entitled "On Questions of Carrying Forward Our Brilliant National Culture" at the meeting. He pointed out that China should continue with the campaign against pornography and meanwhile enable literature and art to flourish. The fine tradition of China's national culture should be carried forward. China should actively draw on everything useful from foreign cultures to better reflect the spirit of the times of socialism; fully carry out the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend"; do our best to create an environment in which public opinion would set great store by our national culture.

January 10

Premier Li Peng signed an order of the State Council, announcing that beginning from January 11, 1990 the martial law imposed in parts of Beijing would be lifted. On the same day, Mayor of Beijing Chen Xitong also signed a corresponding order on lifting the martial law.

On the evening of January 10, Li Peng pointed out in a televised

speech that the lifting of the martial law imposed in parts of Beijing indicated that the situation in the capital and the country as a whole had become stable, the social order had returned to normal, and a great victory had been won in checking the turmoil and quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

January 16-20

The 1990 Working Conference of the State Education Commission was held in Beijing. According to Li Tieying, minister in charge of the State Education Commission, the most pressing task in China's education was to strengthen ideological and political work in schools, to uphold consolidation and rectification in education and to deepen the reform in education so as to develop education in a sustained, stable and coordinated way.

January 18

According to a report from the Xinhua News Agency, the Ministry of Public Security announced that a total of 573 law-breakers who took part in the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing last year had been granted leniency and recently released because during investigations they had owned up to their crimes and shown willingness to mend their ways.

February 5-8

The State Council held a Working Conference on the Special Economic Zones in Shenzhen. Li Peng pointed out that special economic zones should focus on the export-oriented economy. Like other parts of the country the special economic zones should carry out the principle of combining the planned economy with market regulation, adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles and spare no effort to foster advanced socialist culture and ethics. According to the introduction of the conference, during the economic rectification drive last year, the five special economic zones came out first in China in terms of increase of economic force. These zones had approved more than 5,700 foreign-funded projects by the end of last year; the contracted volume of foreign investment was US \$9.4 billion. More than US \$ 4.1 billion of foreign investment had been put to use, one quarter of the total volume of foreign investment used in China so far. Their total volume of exports was US \$3.85 billion last year, coming to nearly 10 percent of the country's total. In the past, the zones were haunted by a serious shortage of foreign exchange. But, with ever-expanding exports in recent years, the zones had achieved a balance of foreign exchange revenue and expenditure and even enjoyed a slight surplus.

February 8

Luo Gan, secretary-general of the State Council, announced that by

the end of January this year, more than 60,000 companies had been merged or closed down, accounting for 20.4 percent of the total of 299,000 companies before the clearing up.

February 13-17

The Ninth Session of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Basic Law Drafting Committee was held in Beijing. The session adopted the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Basic Law (Draft)", which fully reflected the concept of "one country, two systems." It also endorsed the flag and emblem (draft) of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and decided to submit the revised basic law (draft), flag and emblem (draft) to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for examination. On the 17th, Deng Xiaoping met with the members attending the session and made a speech, saying, "Through nearly five years of hard work, you have written a law book of historic significance. This is a creative masterpiece."

February 16-19

A national meeting of the heads of the organization departments of Party committees of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities was held in Beijing. When talking to participants in the meeting Jiang Zemin pointed out that "We have realized from the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion which happened last year that the leadership of Party and government organizations at all levels should be placed firmly in the hands of people loyal to Marxism." The Party Central Committee emphasized that it was very important to examine cadres. Through the examination of cadres, leading bodies of Party and government organizations at all levels should be strengthened. In setting up leading bodies they should have their eyes on both the present situation and the 21st century. He urged cadres at all levels to study Marxist-Leninist theories in real earnest and build up an honest and clean administration, and they should take the lead in doing so. Song Ping emphasized at the meeting that in examining and judging cadres, it was most important to see if they adhered to the Four Cardinal Principles and the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, and opposed bourgeois liberalization; if they were honest in performing their official duties and keep close ties with the people. Cadres at all levels should be determined to do the work well.

February 27

According to a report from the Xinhua News Agency, the CPC Central Committee recently transmitted the document issued by the General Political Department of the PLA "On Questions in Strengthening and Improving Political Work in the Army in the New Situation." It also issued a circular, pointing out that the basic spirit of the document

was applicable for strengthening and improving ideological and political work in all spheres of endeavour in China.

March 4

According to a report from the Xinhua News Agency, leaders of the Central Committee Jiang Zemin, Yang Shangkun, Li Peng and others had separately inscribed calls to the nation to learn from Comrade Lei Feng under the new circumstances. Jiang Zemin inscribed, "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng, carry forward Lei Feng's spirit." Yang Shangkun wrote, "The nation should all learn from Comrade Lei Feng, serve the people heart and soul, and make every effort to build socialism with Chinese characteristics." Li Peng wrote, "Further carry forward Lei Feng's spirit in the new situation. May many more Lei Fengs emerge in China."

March 9-12

The Sixth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. The session examined and approved "The Decision on Strengthening the Party's Connection with the Masses." The session held that, in view of historical and current experiences, the following seven points should be stressed to continuously strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses: 1. stick to the principle of "from the masses, and to the masses"; establish and perfect democratic and scientific policies and the policy-making process, and guarantee policies and their implementation to suit the people's interest; 2. stick to the practice that leaders at all levels should often go to the grass-roots and to the masses to do work there in a down-to-earth manner and to carry out earnestly the Party's line, principle and policies; 3. strengthen the socialist democracy and legal system while deepening the reform in the political structure, and actively open up and widen the contact channels between the Party and the people; 4. continue unswervingly to strengthen the practice of an honest and clean government and improve the Party's work style, carry forward the spirit of plain living and hard struggle, and overcome corruption and other negative factors; 5. set up and perfect the supervision system in and outside the Party, and earnestly strengthen the supervision over leading organs and leaders at all levels; 6. give full play to the role of the Party organizations at the grass-roots level as fighting bastions and the role of Party members as advanced models, unite with and organize the masses and lead them to advance together; 7. carry out a general education in Marxist mass viewpoint in the Party, enhance the consciousness in carrying out the Party's mass line. The session demanded that all Party organizations organize their members to study and carry out the decision of the Central Committee with the spirit of rectification. At present, special efforts should be made to solve the problems that people cared about most and

that were possible to be solved, making the ties between the Party and the masses closer by action.

March 20-April 4

The Seventh National People's Congress held its Third Session in Beijing. It examined and approved Li Peng's report on the work of the government, and adopted the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, including Annex I, "Method for the Selection of the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region"; Annex II, "Method for the Formation of the Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Its Voting Procedures"; Annex III, "National Laws to Be Applied in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region"; and the designs of the regional flag and regional emblem of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The session passed the Decision on Acceptance of Deng Xiaoping's Request to Resign from the Chairmanship of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China and elected Jiang Zemin to the post. The session, in accord with Jiang Zemin's nomination, appointed Liu Huaqing vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission and removed Hong Xuezhi as member of the Central Military Commission.

April 7

China launched the American-made Asiasat I with a Chinese Long-March 3 carrier at a launching pad in Xichang. This was the first time for China to succeed in launching a satellite for a foreign country.

April 18

Li Peng declared in Shanghai that the Party Central Committee and the State Council had given their approval for Shanghai to speed up development in the Pudong area where developers could enjoy the policies like those for economic and technological development areas and for some special economic zones.

April 30

Premier Li Peng signed an order, stating that the martial law in Lhasa, Tibet Autonomous Region, would be lifted from May 1.

May 3

Young people in Beijing held a rally commemorating the 71st anniversary of the May 4th Movement. Jiang Zemin made a long speech entitled "Patriotism and Chinese Intellectuals' Mission." Jiang pointed out that China's intellectuals were "an excellent contingent supporting the Four Cardinal Principles and the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, and capable of making great achievements." During the political disturbance last year, the great majority of the twenty

million intellectuals behaved well. They treasured the hard-earned political situation of stability and unity, opposed the turmoil and successfully withstood the new test. Leaders at all levels should be clear in mind that it was an important task for the whole Party to do a good job among intellectuals and to adopt a serious attitude, sum up experience and lessons and further enhance and improve the Party's work among intellectuals.

May 12-17

Jiang Zemin pointed out during his inspection in Hainan Special Economic Zone that the Central Committee's strategic decision on setting up the zone was correct. All policies implemented in Hainan would not change. The Party Central Committee and the State Council supported Hainan's measures to attract foreign investment to develop the area on a large scale. Hainan should speed up its economic development through reform and opening to the outside world and change its economic backwardness.

May 25

The CPC Central Committee printed and distributed "Some Regulations on Criticism and Self-Criticism Meetings Among Party Leaders in Party and Government Organizations Above County Level." Also issued was a notice, pointing out that to perfect and strictly carry out the system of holding criticism and self-criticism meetings regularly among Party leaders was very important for improving the ideology and work style of the leading bodies, solving contradictions with their own strength, carrying out effective supervision in the Party, enhancing unity, and guaranteeing the correct implementation of the line, principles, policies and decisions of the Party. Party organizations above the county level, especially comrades in responsible positions, should pay serious attention to criticism and self-criticism meetings. The higher Party organs should strengthen their inspection and guidance to the lower ones.

June 6

A Ministry of Public Security spokesman declared that another ninety-seven lawbreakers involved in last year's turmoil and counter-revolutionary rebellion were given lenient treatment and released.

June 11-15

The National Conference on the United Front Work was held in Beijing. At the opening ceremony Jiang Zemin delivered an important speech entitled "Make Every Effort to Develop the Widest Patriotic United Front." He said that the united front had always been a component part of the Party's general line and policy. During the socialist modernization drive, the united front had the same important strategic position in the Party's cause. To guarantee that the patriotic united front

advanced in correct direction and better played its role in the great socialist cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, the following points should be made clear in organization and in practice: 1. to unite people widely under the banners of patriotism and socialism; 2. to adhere to the Party's leadership over the united front; 3. to carry forward socialist democracy and strengthen political consultation and democratic supervision; 4. to maintain close ties with people of all walks of life outside the Party, and further strengthen the Party's alliance with those people; 5. to energetically advocate and expand the good tradition of self-education. Jiang Zemin also made important remarks on the Taiwan issue. He pointed out all problems could be put on the table for deliberation and discussion to realize the reunification of China based earnestly on the principle of "one China" instead of "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan" or "one country, two governments." While talking with representatives attending the conference on the 14th, Jiang Zemin further stated the Central Committee's policy towards Chinese students studying abroad and overseas intellectuals.

June 13

According to a report from the Xinhua News Agency, over 95,800 cases of violation of laws and regulations committed by companies had been discovered and dealt with, among which over 20,000 belonged to serious cases.

June 16-22

The Policy Research Centre of the Central Committee convened a forum on the work in rural areas. Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Yao Yilin, Song Ping and other leaders from the Central Committee attended the meeting. Jiang Zemin stressed at the forum that to feed a population of 1.1 billion was the most important matter. Agriculture should be given the prime position in economic work. To deepen rural reform, we should continue to stabilize and perfect the contracted responsibility system with remuneration link to output based on the household. To perfect the system it was necessary to take the actual conditions of different localities into consideration, improve gradually the two-level managerial system which combined both unified management and diversified management and give full play to the superiority of the collective economy as well as the enthusiasm of the economy based on the household. He stressed that we must further strengthen and improve the Party's leadership of the peasants and rural work and firmly carry out the Party's principles and policies in rural areas.

July 12-28

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection held forums on discipline inspection work of the central Party and government organi-

zations and the Central South, Southwest, Northwest, North China, East China and Northeast administrative areas. The forums stressed that the Party should be strictly rectified and make unremitting efforts to improve its style of work and strengthen the work of promoting clean and honest government. On November 4, the CPC Central Committee approved and transmitted the "Suggestions on Strengthening the Party's Style of Work and Promoting Clean and Honest Government," submitted by the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. The suggestions pointed out that since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth CPC Central Committee, the Party Central Committee had adopted a series of measures to rectify the Party's style of work and punish corruption, and had achieved initial successes. Since 1989, 300,000 cases of discipline violation inside the Party had been found and dealt with. Although the work in this field had a good start there were still some obvious problems. The document required the whole Party to fully realize the importance and protracted nature of the work in rectifying the Party's working style and promoting honest government, stick to the principle of building a society with both high material standards and advanced culture and ideology and go on solving in a down-to-earth manner the problems that the people strongly called out to be solved. In the near future, the Party should earnestly correct the unhealthy tendencies in various trades and deal with problems of Party and government cadres who had violated regulations and law to build private residences and renovate houses with public funds exceeding the amount permitted. The document emphasized that stress should be placed on improving the working style of leading organizations and leading cadres and promoting a clean and honest government and it called for a continuous effort to do it well.

August 5-10

With the approval of the CPC Central Committee, the Organization Department of the Central Committee, the Policy Research Centre of the Central Committee, the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League and the All-China Women's Federation jointly convened a national forum on the organization work at the village level in Laixi County, Shandong Province. Song Ping, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, pointed out that the focus of the peasant problem and the problems in rural work at present, in the final analysis, was that the Party, according to the basic political line of the new period, should strengthen its construction at the village level with the Party branch as the nucleus; educate, guide, unite and organize peasants; continuously improve agricultural productive forces; promote the rural economy; firmly follow the socialist road; and upgrade the overall development in the countryside. On December 13, the CPC Central Committee transmit-

ted the summary of the forum and required all localities to carry out the summary according to their respective conditions.

September 5

The CPC Central Committee issued the "Circular on Strengthening the Work in Party Schools." It analysed the importance and urgency, in the new situation, of arming all Party cadres with Marxism, and pointed out in particular the important role of Party schools in teaching Marxist theories. To run well Party schools was a strategic measure in strengthening Party building and the building of the ranks of cadres. The document also required Party schools at all levels to do their best to make the schools an important centre for educating and training the Party members as leaders, for fostering the Party's theorists, and for studying, researching, upholding and developing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

September 16

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Decision on Firmly Stopping Arbitrary Charges, Fines and Various Levies." The decision called for ten measures to be taken to stop the present arbitrary charges, fines, collecting of funds and various other levies.

September 22-October 7

The XI Asian Games was held in Beijing. Under the motto "Unity, Friendship and Progress," delegations from 37 Asian countries and regions including 6,578 people participated in the Games and made outstanding achievements. Chinese athletes, with their indomitable efforts, won 183 gold medals, 107 silver medals and 51 bronze medals. It was the third time that China was placed first on the gold medal tally in the Games. Chinese Party and state leaders Jiang Zemin, Yang Shangkun, Li Peng and Wan Li attended the opening and closing ceremonies of the Games. The number of delegations, athletes and records being broken all surpassed those of the previous ten Games. Its successes well indicated China's political and social stability and well-trained organizational skill.

October 22-26

The national anti-pornography conference was held in Beijing. Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Li Ruihuan, in his speech, affirmed the achievements in the year-long anti-pornography work. He required that the whole Party acquire a long-term attitude towards the struggle against pornography and further carry out the struggle.

November 7-11

The national conference on the work of building advanced culture

and ideology sponsored jointly by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council was held in Shashi, Hubei Province. On the 9th, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Li Ruihuan made a speech on the overall plan and arrangement for the work to develop advanced culture and ideology during the period of the Eighth Five-Year Plan and the next decade.

November 13

According to a Xinhua News Agency report, noticeable results had been obtained in improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order and deepening the reform since the CPC Central Committee made the "Decision on Further Improving the Economic Environment, Rectifying the Economic Order and Deepening the Reform" in 1989.

First, the decision had stopped price hikes and brought inflation under control. The inflation rate of the first ten months this year stood at around 4 percent, below the rate as planned.

Second, overheated industrial development, the excessively large scale of construction and overheated consumption had been brought down. Industry was picking up gradually, and the total industrial output value might increase by 6 percent in the current year. The scale of capital construction was well controlled and the consumer market was recovering.

Third, the readjustment of the economic structure had made a good start. The proportional relations between industry and agriculture, as well as the internal structures within industry, had now grown to be more rational.

Fourth, the chaotic situation in the economy had changed greatly. About one-third of the companies across the country had been closed down or merged with others. Some cases of economic crimes had been investigated and dealt with. A better economic environment was taking shape.

December 1

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued a "Notice on Agriculture and Rural Work in 1991." The notice required the Party committees and governments at all levels to continue to give first priority to agriculture and rural work and pay close attention to six aspects of work to further develop the favourable situation in the countryside. The six aspects of work are: 1. stabilize and better the contracted responsibility system with remuneration linked to output based on the household, establish and perfect the agricultural service system; 2. pay close attention to the construction of water conservancy works; 3. comprehensively boost agricultural production in a down-to-earth manner; 4. help the

peasants in every possible way to solve the difficulties in selling their products; 5. carry out socialist education; and 6. do a good job in the building of primary organizations in rural areas.

December 5-9

The national working conference on religious affairs was held in Beijing. On the 7th, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, pointed out at a forum attended by some representatives to the conference that the Party's policy on religions was correct and remarkable achievements had been accomplished in the work in this field. The policy of freedom of religious belief should be implemented in future to guarantee its stability and continuity so as to unite both converts and non-converts to concentrate on the socialist modernization drive.

December 6-12

The national working conference on work concerning Taiwan was held in Beijing. Participants in the conference held that the Kuomintang and the CPC should start a dialogue as soon as possible. Other parties, organizations and representative personages on both sides of the Taiwan Strait could be included in the negotiations. Negotiations could be either held at a high level or initiated at a lower level. The participants warmly welcomed the "one China" opinion of the Taiwan authorities and the measures they had taken to ease relations between the two sides of the strait and to widen mutual exchanges. But their "one country, two governments" and "elastic diplomacy" politics and the activities in creating "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" and their tolerant attitude towards "independent Taiwan" activities must be firmly opposed. The conference stressed that it was necessary to build up extensive contacts with various political parties, organizations and people from all walks of life in Taiwan, enhance mutual understanding and seek common ground. During the conference, Party and state leaders Jiang Zemin, Yang Shangkun and Li Peng made important speeches respectively.

December

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen wrote an article for *Seeking Truth* magazine No. 24, in which he pointed out that, in the changing international situation, China had achieved some breakthroughs in developing its relations with foreign countries. China had established diplomatic relations with Namibia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the Republic of Marshall Islands, and had resumed diplomatic ties with Indonesia. Through bilateral visits of leaders, China had made new progress in its friendly relations with its neighbours and Third World countries. China firmly adhered to the principled stand in international

affairs and played an important role in the solution of the Kampuchea issue and in the effort for a peaceful solution of the Gulf crisis. China had also eased and improved its relations with some Western countries. The past year had proven that it was impossible to isolate China or force it to submit, although some advanced Western countries had interfered China's internal affairs and imposed economic sanctions and political pressure upon China.

December 25-30

The Seventh Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Beijing. It examined and adopted the Proposals of the CPC Central Committee for the Drawing-Up of the Ten-Year Programme and the Eighth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development." Jiang Zemin delivered an important speech at the meeting. Li Peng gave an explanation to the draft proposals. The plenary session paid high tribute to the tremendous achievements China had scored in reform and opening to the outside world and in the socialist modernization drive since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee. It fully affirmed the outstanding achievements in various fields since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth CPC Central Committee. It pointed out that the years beginning from 1991 to 2000 would be pivotal in the historical development of China's socialist modernization. The Party should grasp opportunities, meet all the challenges and work hard to attain the second-step strategic objectives of the modernization programme—to promote the overall quality of the national economy to a new level. The session maintained that in drawing up and implementing the Ten-Year Programme and the Eighth Five-Year Plan, correct guiding principles must be observed, namely to firmly follow the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics; to make unremitting efforts in pushing forward reform and opening to the outside world; to firmly implement the principle of developing the national economy in a sustained, steady and coordinated manner; to firmly follow the principle of self-reliance, hard struggle and building the country through thrift and diligence; and to firmly adhere to the principle of building the country with high material standards as well as advanced culture and ideology. The session stressed that the key to the smooth implementation of the Ten-Year Programme and the Eighth Five-Year Plan lay in strengthening and improving Party leadership, so great efforts were required to build the Party well. It emphasized that the formulation and execution of the Ten-Year programme and the Eighth Five-Year Plan marked a new stage of development in China's socialist modernization.

The year of 1990 was the last year for the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Through the efforts of the whole nation and the promotion of reform

and opening to the outside world, the targets set for the Seventh Five-Year Plan had been fulfilled basically. According to relevant statistics, during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, the average annual growth rates of GNP and national income had reached 7.6 percent and 7.2 percent respectively. The average annual increase rates for industry and agriculture had hit 12.4 percent and 4.2 percent, both surpassing the targets set by the state plan. Most of the sixty major industrial and agricultural products had reached or surpassed the planned targets. The increase of investment in fixed assets, the social retail sales volume and the foreign trade volume had all surpassed the originally planned targets. The productivity had improved and the people's living standards were further improving. Scientific, educational, cultural and public health undertakings had recorded new progress. However, because of the work of replacing the old system with the new and due to faults in our work, the national economy during this time had experienced considerable fluctuations, and the inflation rate had been obvious. The Party and government therefore had launched the third major economic readjustment focusing on improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order and deepening the reform. Although serious problems still exist in the development of the economy, China had attained the first-step strategic objective of the economic development—GNP, by the end of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, had doubled that of 1980.

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