

**REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA  
TO THE SECOND SESSION OF THE  
EIGHTH NATIONAL CONGRESS**

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LIU SHAO-CHI

Comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee I now report to the Second Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress on its work. My report deals with the present situation, the Party's general line for socialist construction and its future tasks.

**I**

Over a year has passed since the First Session of the Eighth National Congress. During this time, the Party has correctly carried out and developed the policies laid down at the First Session, and achieved great successes in every field of work.

In the past year or so, many changes of great historic significance have taken place, internationally and at home.

Internationally, all of us know the now famous conclusion drawn by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the world situation has recently reached a new turning point in its development. In extent of popular support, size of populations and rate of development of production, the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has long since surpassed the imperialist camp. For a time in 1956, however, the sky was overcast. The imperialist camp and reactionaries in various countries

on more than one occasion launched violent campaigns against communism, against the people and against national independence. The imperialists incited and aided the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary, and at the same time carried out armed aggression against Egypt. At that time we pointed out that the dark clouds would soon disperse. As it turned out, the revolutionary proletariat of Hungary, with the help of the Soviet Union and the support of the revolutionary forces of the world, quickly stamped out the uprising. The struggles of Egypt and Syria against aggression also triumphed with the support of the Soviet Union and the forces of peace throughout the world. In October and November last year, the Soviet Union launched two artificial earth satellites. This made the whole world acknowledge that in science and technology too the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States, the most developed of the capitalist countries. In November last year, a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries was held in Moscow, followed by a meeting of sixty-four Communist Parties. These meetings issued two declarations of historic significance, greatly strengthened the solidarity of the ranks of the international working class and the socialist camp, and promoted the development of the world peace movement. All this shows that the east wind has prevailed over the west wind, and will continue to do so in the future:

The Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties marked the beginning of a new stage in the present-day international communist movement. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping will give a special report on the Moscow meetings and the declarations adopted at these meetings. All I wish to say here is that the development of the international situation over the past six months has proved that the appraisal and analysis made in the Moscow declarations are wholly correct. The United States, leader of the imperialist camp, is now in the throes of another serious economic crisis; its production has fallen off drastically and the number of unemployed

increased enormously. This crisis is hitting the entire capitalist world, and has thoroughly exploded the deceptive propaganda spread since the war by bourgeois politicians and scholars, reformists and revisionists that capitalist economy can avoid crises. The contradictions within the imperialist countries have deepened, and the workers' and people's movements in these countries have made much headway. The contradictions among the imperialist countries, first of all those between the United States, Britain and France, have sharpened, though at present they are still mutually linked up in the NATO, the Bagdad Treaty Organization and the SEATO for the objective of opposing communism, the people and the national independence movements. The tendency to neutralism continues to grow in many capitalist countries. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, national independence movements are forging ahead. Though the imperialists are trying to undermine these movements by underhand means and by force, and though certain sections of the bourgeoisie in those nations are trying to restrict the growth of the people's forces which are most resolutely opposed to imperialism, facts have proved that they cannot hold back the historical advance of the people's national and democratic struggles. The struggle of the Indonesian Government and people in defence of their national sovereignty and unity is pushing ahead triumphantly. The Algerian people are waging heroic struggles against the colonial rule of the French imperialists. The people of the whole world strongly demand peace. They demand that the proposals made by the Soviet Union for a summit conference, for the easing of international tension, for the reduction of armaments and the banning of the use and testing of nuclear weapons, be put into effect and that colonial rule and interference in the internal affairs of other countries be ended. But the imperialist bloc headed by the United States is stubbornly opposed to all this. Thus U.S. imperialism is becoming increasingly discredited in the eyes of the world. The U.S. imperialists still continue their war

threats and preparations for a new war. We must be keenly vigilant against this. But, as the Moscow Declaration says: "Should the bellicose imperialist maniacs, regardless of everything, venture to unleash war, imperialism will doom itself to destruction, for the peoples will not tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices."

In contrast to the situation in the imperialist camp, the socialist camp is growing stronger and more prosperous day by day. The economies of the Soviet Union, China and many other socialist countries are developing much faster than before; the living standards of their peoples are steadily improving. The unity of the socialist camp is becoming more firmly consolidated and its relations of mutual aid are being further extended. The peace proposals of the Soviet Union and our other fraternal countries of Eastern Europe, and the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea have greatly enhanced the prestige of the socialist camp among the peace-loving peoples and countries the world over. The fact that the economies of the countries in the socialist camp are making rapid progress and are free from crisis, is bringing more and more people in the capitalist countries to a clear realization that socialism is the only bright road before them.

Faced with acute contemporary struggles between the socialist system and the capitalist system and between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, in an attempt to save themselves from destruction, have not only resorted to threats of war, war preparations, armed aggression and intensified exploitation and suppression of the people in their own countries and in the colonies and semi-colonies, but have tried hard to find new tools among the ranks of the working class so as to undermine from within the socialist countries and the international communist movement. Recently at its Seventh Congress, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia adopted an anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist programme in opposition to the Declaration of the Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties. This

programme runs diametrically counter to the interests of the international communist movement and only suits the needs of the imperialists and particularly the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, we must wage a resolute struggle against modern revisionism. This is one of the major tasks facing us internationally at the present time. Only by thoroughly crushing modern revisionism and resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism can the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist countries be strengthened. By basing ourselves on this unity we can further rally the working people throughout the world and all those who oppose imperialism, war and national enslavement in a common struggle to win greater victories for the cause of world peace, national independence, democracy, freedom and socialism.

The present international situation is undoubtedly favourable to the peoples striving for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism and those engaged in peaceful socialist construction in various countries. It is unfavourable only to the aggressive imperialist bloc and the revisionists who persist in defending imperialist policies and betraying the interests of socialism.

In China, as everyone can see, the rectification campaign led by the Chinese Communist Party and conducted in accordance with the guiding principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the correct handling of contradictions among the people, has achieved great results on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts. It is the purpose of the rectification campaign, by means of criticism and self-criticism, to raise the level of communist consciousness of the masses and to adjust relationships among the people in a systematic way so that they may meet the needs of consolidating the socialist system and further expanding the productive forces of society. Serving as a lever, the rectification campaign has pushed forward the work of the Party and the state in every field. The rectification campaign of the Communist Party and the struggle against the rightists have developed into a

rectification campaign among every section of the people, and the upsurge in this nation-wide rectification campaign has in turn brought about a new upsurge in production and construction throughout the country.

The rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle are the socialist revolution carried out on the ideological and political fronts in our country. They are a decisive struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Thanks to the victory in this struggle, a communist ideological emancipation movement is taking place among the broadest masses of the people. This is bringing about profound changes in the alignment of class forces in our country.

There are two exploiting classes and two labouring classes in China today. One of the exploiting classes comprises the bourgeois rightists who oppose socialism, the landlord and compradore classes whose rule had been overthrown, and other reactionaries. The bourgeois rightists are to all intents and purposes agents of the imperialists, the remnant feudal and compradore forces, and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. The other exploiting class comprises the national bourgeoisie and their intellectuals who are accepting socialist transformation step by step. Most of them are in a state of transition, wavering between the socialist road and the capitalist road. One of the labouring classes comprises the peasants and other labourers who formerly worked on their own. The overwhelming majority of these have joined co-operatives and are becoming increasingly enthusiastic supporters of socialism. The other is the working class, the most advanced contingent of the whole people and the leading force in our state power and the cause of socialism. All these four categories of people have undergone tremendous changes in the course of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle.

As a result of the anti-rightist struggle, the anti-communist, anti-popular and anti-socialist bourgeois rightists have been thoroughly isolated by the masses and their ranks have begun to disintegrate. With victory won in this struggle, further

heavy blows have also been dealt against the remnant counter-revolutionaries and all sorts of bad elements who tried to undermine socialism. Socialist public order has been greatly strengthened.

The anti-rightist struggle has also been of profound significance within our Party. We expelled a number of rightists from the Party. They were alien class elements who had sneaked into the Party and renegades to the cause of socialism. They developed individualism, sectarianism, localism and nationalism to an extreme degree within the Party and carried out revisionist and other anti-socialist and anti-communist activities. In league with the rightists outside the Party, they attacked the Party and the socialist system. To rid the Party of these alien class elements and renegades is a great victory for its cause.

The national bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals and the members of the various democratic parties, who stand in the middle of the road and are half-hearted about socialism, have changed, or are changing, to a greater or lesser degree, their old political outlooks in the course of the struggle against the rightists, in the subsequent drive against waste and conservative ideas and practices, and in the great leaps forward in production and other fields of socialist construction. Most of these people, sensing "the compelling force of circumstances," now feel that they must make further progress and must not remain in their middle-of-the-road position as before. They have begun to admit their dual character in relation to the socialist revolution and the need to correct their many wrong views. They have expressed their determination to remould themselves, "give their hearts" to the Communist Party and strive to become left-wingers. Many intellectuals have taken an active part in the rectification campaign and indicated their resolve to become socialist-minded and professionally expert so as to turn themselves into thoroughly red specialists. Some of them have gone among the working

people, taking part in manual labour, so as to build sincere contacts with the broad masses of the working people.

In many regions inhabited by national minorities, in the course of the rectification campaign and the struggle against the rightists, local nationalism has been seriously criticized, certain separatists and bourgeois rightists among the national minorities who impair the unity of the motherland have been exposed, and, at the same time, the tendency towards Han chauvinism among certain Han cadres has been further overcome. In this way, the socialist consciousness of the masses among the national minorities has been raised and there is a new look to the brotherhood and unity of the various nationalities.

The experience of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle once again shows that throughout the transition period, that is, before completion of the building of a socialist society, the main contradiction inside our country is and remains that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. In certain fields this contradiction manifests itself as a fierce life-and-death struggle between the enemy and ourselves; that was the case in the attack launched by the bourgeois rightists in 1957. This attack was repelled, but in the future they will try again to make trouble whenever opportunity arises. We must, therefore, be prepared to wage prolonged and repeated struggles against the bourgeois rightists before their contradictions with the people can be fully resolved. We must also continue to suppress other remnant counter-revolutionaries and all sorts of criminals breaking law and order. In the actual conditions existing in our country, however, the contradictions between the two classes and the two roads in most cases manifest themselves as contradictions within the ranks of the people. As to the contradictions among the people — be they contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat on the other, or contradictions within the proletariat arising from

bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences upon sections of the proletariat — they should, as a rule, be resolved through the rectification campaign. As to contradictions among the working people arising from differences in their conceptions of right and wrong, or between the advanced and the backward elements among them, since some are connected with bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences, and most of them do not fall into the category of contradictions between classes at all, it is all the more obvious that such contradictions should be resolved by means of the rectification campaign.

The political atmosphere among the working people has also undergone a deep change following the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle. The political consciousness and socialist initiative of the masses, whether workers or peasants, have been greatly enhanced, as a result of the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts and the great debates on the capitalist road and the socialist road, which have been carried out on the broadest scale among the masses, and as a result of the development to the fullest extent of criticism and self-criticism in regard to mistakes and shortcomings in our work, by encouraging a full and frank airing of views, great debates and the posting of *tatsepao*.\* Leading cadres in many units have made sincere self-criticisms before the masses and earnest efforts to improve their work and ways. This has moved the masses and strengthened their faith in the leading role of the Party; at the same time it led them on their own initiative, to criticize their own shortcomings, rectify the wrong ideas and backward habits which they carried over from the old society, and to improve their own work. This, in all places where the rectification campaign has been carried out thoroughly, has put both the masses and the cadres at ease; any estrangement that existed between them in the past has been eliminated. Feeling that the Party has given its heart to them, the masses too give their hearts

\*Opinions and criticisms written out in bold Chinese characters on large sheets of paper and posted freely for everybody to see.

to the Party. As a result, all sorts of negative trends reflecting surviving bourgeois ideas in these places have been greatly reduced and the just spirit of communism is in the ascendant. Many who were formerly backward are now ideologically emancipated and, becoming communist-minded, they are rapidly catching up with the more advanced. This is an important sign of the great victory we have won in the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts.

In the greater part of the country today, in the cities and countryside, in offices, enterprises, schools and army units, *tatsepao* are being put up, debates are being held, criticism and self-criticism are being vigorously conducted. Throughout the nation a new custom, a new habit is taking shape — to handle all contradictions among the people correctly by way of the rectification campaign, namely, by “starting from the desire for unity, to solve contradictions through criticism or struggle and thus to achieve a new unity on a new basis.” Criticism and self-criticism among the masses and cadres all aim at overcoming bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism, doing away with the “five bad airs”: bureaucratic airs, apathetic airs, extravagant airs, arrogant airs and finicky airs, doing away with every kind of waste and conservative practices in construction, correcting what is irrational in the organization and management of labour and changing those regulations and institutions that restrain development of the forces of production and the initiative of the masses. By relying on the exposures, criticisms, and proposals made by the masses and their supervision and practical work, many problems long unresolved have been solved rapidly. The masses openly criticize leading personnel by name and also openly criticize each other by name without mincing words and without the slightest hesitation. The aim of such criticism and self-criticism is to serve the interests of the state and the collective, to do better work in the common cause of socialism. Towards those being criticized their attitude is that of a real comrade; they don’t aim to “deal them a fatal blow,”

but acknowledge their achievements and help them to correct their shortcomings and make progress. This is the noble, communist way of doing things.

Radical changes in human relations have taken place in our country with the development of criticism and self-criticism. Cadres in industrial and mining enterprises and agricultural co-operatives have begun to devote regularly part of their time to participation in manual labour alongside the rank and file of workers and peasants. Many leaders of rural work are working on "experimental plots" alongside the peasants. Large numbers of office workers and intellectuals have gone to the countryside and the mountain areas or to work in the basic units of enterprises. The example set by the masses has inspired the cadres and that set by the cadres has also inspired the masses. Managerial personnel now directly participate in some manual labour; and the workers in some managerial work. The relationship of mutual aid and co-operation, of learning from each other and of emulation, between those in the upper and the lower grades, between the managerial personnel and those who directly take part in production, between brain and manual workers, between city and countryside, has greatly developed. Many who were prone to bossiness have changed a great deal in this rectification campaign. So long as we continue to make use of the *tatsepao* and the debates, and constantly practise criticism and self-criticism, we shall certainly be able to get rid of the bossy style of work effectively and thoroughly, and gradually eliminate the evil bureaucratic habits carried over from thousands of years of history.

Such universal criticism and self-criticism as was unfolded in the course of the rectification campaign, such sharp attacks against bureaucracy and the subsequent achievement of such equality in human relations, are unthinkable in any capitalist country. Never before has there been a political party like our Party of the proletariat that regards the interests of the people as its only interest, that firmly trusts the majority

of the masses and is bold enough to practise democracy on such an extensive scale. The bourgeois rightists and the revisionists allege that bureaucracy is a product of the proletarian dictatorship. The fact is just the opposite. Only the socialist state can, under the leadership of the Communist Party, gradually eliminate bureaucracy by relying on the revolutionary initiative of the working people. In order to develop the people's democracy and eliminate bureaucracy, it is necessary to strengthen the leading role of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, not to weaken them.

Our principle is democratic centralism. Our democracy is democracy under centralized guidance and our centralism is centralism based on democracy. The facts prove that the practice of the most broadly-based democracy among the people, instead of hampering centralism, facilitates the realization of a high degree of centralization. Instead of weakening socialist discipline, it facilitates the consolidation of socialist discipline based on conscious acceptance by the masses. When cadres shed their bureaucratic airs and haughty attitude and mix with the masses, the prestige of the leadership waxes instead of waning. Thanks to the rectification campaign, a vigorous and lively political situation is developing throughout our public life in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

The broad masses of the working people have realized more fully that individual and immediate interests depend on and are bound up with collective and long-term interests and that the happiness of the individual lies in the realization of the lofty socialist ideals of all the people. That is why they have displayed an heroic communist spirit of self-sacrifice in the work. Their slogan is: "Hard work for a few years, happiness for a thousand." This mighty torrent of communist ideas has swept away many stumbling blocks — individualism, departmentalism, localism and nationalism. In city and countryside, people vie with each other in joining in all kinds

of voluntary labour. In building irrigation works, the peasants in many places have thrown aside the age-old narrow-minded idea of only looking after their native places. In the nation-wide emulation drive, many advanced units and individuals have enthusiastically passed on their technical experience, inventions and creations to the backward units and individuals so that the latter can catch up with them. Many enterprises, organizations, schools, army units and individuals have taken the initiative in co-ordinating their activities with those of others so as to promote the progress of all concerned. All this is, as Lenin said, "the actual beginning of communism," "the beginning of a change which is of world historic significance."

All the factors mentioned above have combined to form the great revolutionary drive for socialist construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has put forward the slogans "catch up with and outstrip Britain in 15 years," "build socialism by exerting our utmost efforts and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results," "to be promoters of progress not of retrogression," "build our country and run our households industriously and with frugality" and "battle hard for three years to bring about a basic change in the features of most areas" — all these calls have quickly gripped the imagination of the huge army of hundreds of millions of working people and have been transformed into an immense material force. There has emerged in physical labour and other work a high degree of socialist initiative, a surging, militant spirit, a keenness in learning and studying that will not rest short of its aims, a fearless creative spirit. An emulation drive in which the backward learn from and catch up and compete with the advanced has been launched between individuals, production teams, enterprises, co-operatives, counties and cities. Set norms are being constantly surpassed and new techniques invented. Time after time the masses outstrip the targets set by enterprises and administrative organs.

The spring of 1958 witnessed the beginning of a leap forward on every front in our socialist construction. Industry, agriculture and all other fields of activity are registering greater and more rapid growth.

To begin with industry. The total value of industrial output for the first four months of this year was 26 per cent higher than in the same period last year; the April increase was 42 per cent. According to estimates made on the basis of the present situation, China's steel output this year will be over 7.1 million tons, coal output will reach 180 million tons; 60,000 machine-tools will be produced and irrigation machinery with more than 3.5 million horse-power; the output of chemical fertilizers will amount to 1.35 million tons. In view of this, the rate of growth of China's industrial production this year will be much higher than that set in the original plan and will surpass that of any year in the First Five-Year Plan period.

The revolutionary energy of the masses of workers has also found expression in the trial manufacture of new products, in technical renovation, in the improvement of quality and lowering of production costs. In the first four months of the year, many kinds of small-sized tractors were successfully produced on a trial basis. Several of them can be used equally well for the cultivation of paddy fields, dry fields, mountain areas and terraced fields or for transport, for operating irrigation machinery or generating power for the processing of agricultural products and other purposes. In the first four months of the year, Shanghai successfully produced more than one thousand kinds of new products on a trial basis. By adopting the new technique of three-tapping troughs, the Taiyuan Steel Plant has raised productivity by nearly 50 per cent. As labour productivity is being raised and raw materials are saved, it will be possible to reduce production costs in industry this year by about 10 per cent compared with last year. This will save the state about 1,400 million yuan.

An upsurge is shaping up in capital construction in industry this year. Nearly one thousand above-norm\* projects will be under construction this year; this is more than the total number of such projects under construction in the First Five-Year Plan period. In addition, construction work has already started on thousands of medium and small-sized coal mines, power stations, oil refineries, iron and steel plants, non-ferrous mines, chemical fertilizer plants, cement plants, engineering works and agricultural and animal products processing plants.

The output of local industry this year will show a considerable increase as a result of wide-spread industrial capital construction undertaken by local authorities. Take iron and steel for example. The amount of iron to be produced by local enterprises this year will reach 1,730,000 tons (as against the 593,000 tons produced last year) and that of steel will reach 1,410,000 tons (as against the 790,000 tons of last year). The rapid growth of the local industries is one of the outstanding features of this year's industrial upswing.

As a result of the intensive drive against waste and conservatism, the costs of capital construction in industry this year will be greatly reduced. In many cases, the same amount of funds needed to build one factory in the past now suffices to build two. For example, in terms of the planned costs, where it would previously have cost about 1,000 million yuan to build an iron and steel plant with an annual capacity of one million tons, such a plant can now be built for little more than 400 million yuan; for 60 million yuan we can now build a nitrogenous fertilizer plant with an annual capacity of 50,000 tons of synthetic ammonium, in the past such a plant would have cost 130 million yuan. The time needed for building a

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\*The "norm" of investment in capital construction for heavy industry ranges between five and ten million yuan and that for light industry, between three and five million yuan.

capital construction project, too, is much shorter now than in the past.

The upsurge in agriculture last winter and this spring gave a vigorous push to the new industrial upsurge of this year. The rapid development of industry in turn has prompted an even swifter growth of agriculture.

In agriculture, the most striking leap took place in the campaign of the co-operative farmers to build irrigation works. From last October to April this year, the irrigated acreage throughout the country increased by 350 million *mou*, that is, 80 million *mou* more than the total added during the eight years since liberation and 110 million *mou* more than the total acreage brought under irrigation in the thousands of years before liberation. At the same time, more than 200 million *mou* of low-lying and easily waterlogged farmland was transformed and irrigation facilities were improved on another 140 million *mou* of land. The loss of water and soil was brought under control over an area of 160,000 square kilometres. This gives proof of the power to conquer nature which the masses of the people have demonstrated in the field of agriculture following the great socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts and the release on a tremendous scale of our social productive forces.

In the same period, the peasants all over the country accumulated about 310,000 million *tan* of fertilizers (including all kinds of fertilizers, mostly clay and mud fertilizers). This averages over 18,000 catties to a *mou*, which, calculated according to the amount of plant nutrients, is more than three times the amount accumulated in 1956, one of the best of recent years. In many places, work was undertaken on a large scale to improve the soil and level the ground.

In the first four months of this year, over 290 million *mou* of land was afforested in the country, one and a half times the total acreage afforested in the past eight years. Big advance was also registered in the development of mountain areas, land reclamation, utilization of wild plants, etc.

The labour organization of our agricultural co-operatives has made further improvement. In most co-operatives, attendance by able-bodied members (men and women) in collective work was over 90 per cent in last winter and this spring.

A mass movement to improve farm tools is now spreading throughout the countryside. Tens of millions of peasants have made all sorts of improved and semi-mechanized farm implements, water lifts, means of transportation and equipment for processing farm produce. Thus the centuries-old tradition of primitive manual labour has begun to change and labour productivity has increased enormously. At the same time, the peasants in various places have made energetic efforts to improve systems and methods of cultivation in accordance with local conditions. This is the budding of a great technical revolution in the rural areas.

Work is also going ahead by leaps and bounds in transport and communications, commerce and other branches of the national economy. New records and inventions are being made continuously.

Rapid developments are also taking place in the fields of culture, education and public health. Energetic efforts are being made in many villages throughout the country to eliminate illiteracy and establish large numbers of primary and secondary schools financed by the people. Cultural and artistic activities among the masses are advancing quickly. The public health campaign centred on the elimination of the four pests\* has already spread to every urban and rural district and achieved notable results.

The fact is that the growth of the social productive forces calls for a socialist revolution and the spiritual emancipation of the people; the victory of this revolution and emancipation in turn spurs a forward leap in the social productive forces; and this in turn impels a progressive change in the socialist

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\*Rats, flies, mosquitoes and grain-destroying sparrows.

relations of production and an advance in man's ideology. In their ceaseless struggle to transform nature, the people are continuously transforming society and themselves.

Karl Marx prophesied that the proletarian revolution would usher us into a great epoch when "twenty years are concentrated in a day." If in past revolutionary struggles we experienced such great times, then is not our present socialist construction another great time again? Here one can see how the courageous and hard-working Chinese people, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and its leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have poured forth their history-making strength and wisdom in endless measure.

## II

The current mighty leap forward in socialist construction is the product not only of the successful development of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign but also of a correct implementation of the Party's general line — to build socialism by exerting our utmost efforts, and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often said that there are two methods of carrying on socialist transformation and construction: One will result in doing the work faster and better; the other slowly and not so well. Which method shall we adopt? This has been an issue. In his work *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation* published in 1955, Comrade Mao Tse-tung provided a theoretical solution to the struggle between these two methods regarding the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production. Furthermore, this struggle was decided in practice by the upsurge in socialist transformation which took place between the autumn of 1955 and the spring of 1956. There was also a conflict between the two methods in connection with the so-

cialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, and this too was worked out theoretically by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his article *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published last year, and was resolved in practice by the rectification campaign and anti-rightist struggle which began last year. In connection with socialist construction too, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always taken a clear-cut stand, insisting that the method of working faster and better be adopted and the other method, of working slowly and not so well, be rejected. However, on this question some comrades still clung to such outmoded ideas as "keeping to the right is better than keeping to the left," "it's better to go slower than faster" or "it's better to take small steps than to go striding forward." The struggle between the two methods in dealing with this question was not fully decided until the launching of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle.

As early as March 1949, the Seventh Central Committee of the Party pointed out in its resolution adopted at its Second Plenary Session: "China's economic heritage is backward but the Chinese people are brave and industrious, and with the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and the help of the proletariat in other countries throughout the world, and primarily the help of the Soviet Union, economic construction in China will be carried on not slowly but probably at a considerable speed. We can already count the days when China will attain prosperity. There are no grounds whatsoever for being pessimistic about China's economic revival." In mapping out the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy, the Central Committee of the Party refuted all fallacious views favouring the slowing down of economic construction. The rate of development of the national economy envisaged in the First Five-Year Plan was unprecedented in China's history. Nevertheless, the Central Committee of the Party believed

that the Plan not only could be fulfilled, but could probably be fulfilled ahead of schedule and overfulfilled. As a matter of fact, in the winter of 1955 when it was apparent that a decisive victory of the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production was to be won very shortly and when a mass upsurge in production and construction was beginning to take place, the "norms" set in the First Five-Year Plan should have been revised upward. Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued a timely call for a speedier tempo than that envisaged in the First Five-Year Plan. In December 1955, he wrote in the preface to the book *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*:

The problem facing the entire Party and the nation is no longer one of combating rightist conservative ideas about the speed of the socialist transformation of agriculture. That problem has already been solved. Nor is it a problem of the speed of transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, by entire trades, into state-private enterprises. That problem too has been solved. In the first half of 1956 we must discuss the speed of the socialist transformation of handicrafts. But that problem will easily be solved too. The problem today is none of these, but concerns other fields. It affects agricultural production; industrial production (including state, joint state-private and co-operative industries); handicraft production; the scale and speed of capital construction in industry, communications and transport; the co-ordination of commerce with other branches of the economy; and the co-ordination of activities in science, culture, education, public health, and so on, with various economic undertakings. In all these fields there is an underestimation of the situation which must be criticized and corrected if these activities are to keep pace with the development of the situation as a whole. People's thinking must adapt itself to changed conditions. Of course no one should go off into wild flights of fancy, or make plans

unwarranted by the objective situation, or insist on attempting the impossible. The problem today is that rightist conservatism is still causing trouble in many fields and preventing work in these fields from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation. The present problem is that many people consider impossible things which could be done if they exerted themselves. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to keep on criticizing rightist conservative ideas which actually exist.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung subsequently summed up the ideas expounded in this preface in the slogan of building socialism by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." He pointed out that the urgent task confronting the entire Party was to overcome rightist conservative ideas which actually existed. He called on all members of the Party to be promoters of progress and not of retrogression in construction, in order to push forward vigorously the country's industrial and agricultural production and construction.

On the proposal of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party in January 1956 put before the people a "Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development, 1956 to 1967." This is a programme for developing socialist agriculture by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." Not only did it set great goals for rural work throughout the country but it gave a correct orientation for development of the entire work of socialist construction.

In April of the same year, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a report on "Ten Sets of Relationships" in which he called the whole Party's attention to the correct handling of the relationships:

- 1 — between industry and agriculture and between heavy and light industries;
- 2 — between coastal industries and inland industries;
- 3 — between economic construction and national defence;

- 4 — between the state, the co-operatives and the individual;
- 5 — between the central and local authorities;
- 6 — between the Han people and the national minorities;
- 7 — between the Party and non-Party people;
- 8 — between revolution and counter-revolution;
- 9 — between right and wrong inside and outside the Party, and
- 10 — international relations.

In this report, Comrade Mao Tse-tung outlined a series of important policies in amplification of the general line of building socialism by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." Under items 1 and 5, he set forth the principle of developing industry and agriculture simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry, and the principle of combining centralization of powers with decentralization. Under items 2 and 3, he pointed to the necessity of making full use of the industrial bases in the coastal areas and amassing ample funds for economic construction. He pointed out under item 4 the necessity of handling correctly the relations between the individual and the collective, between the part and the whole, and between consumption and accumulation. The remaining items centred mainly around the view of correctly handling contradictions among the people, a view which was later elaborated. The general idea of the report was to mobilize all positive factors and available forces for building China into a modern, prosperous and mighty socialist state in the shortest possible time. It was on the basis of the guiding lines and policies laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on handling the ten sets of relationships that the Central Committee of the Party drew up its political report for the First Session of the Eighth National Congress.

These guiding lines and policies formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung have played a tremendous role in our work. In 1956, every phase of China's economy and culture made a mighty leap forward. In that year, industrial output shot

up 31 per cent, capital construction 62 per cent, and agricultural output 4.9 per cent despite severe natural calamities. Thus, within a space of four years, we reached ahead of schedule the targets set in the First Five-Year Plan for total value of industrial output, and total output of food crops and communications and transport; in capital construction, we also created favourable conditions for the overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan.

There were individual defects in our work during the leap forward in 1956. These consisted mainly in a certain strain in supplying the market due to the taking on of an excessive number of new workers and staff and excessive increases in certain categories of wages. These defects paled before the tremendous achievements made at the time and the problems arising from these defects were solved after a few months of efforts by the people throughout the country in a campaign launched at the call of the Party to increase production and practise economy. However, some comrades at the time magnified these defects and underestimated the great achievements attained, and hence regarded the leap forward of 1956 as a "reckless advance." In a flurry of opposition to this so-called "reckless advance," some people even had misgivings about the principle of "achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results" and the 40-article Programme for Agricultural Development. This dampened the initiative of the masses and hampered progress on the production front in 1957, and particularly on the agricultural front. But the Party soon corrected this error. The Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party held in September last year reaffirmed the need to adhere to the principle of achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results" in building socialism. Following that, the Central Committee made public a revised version of the Draft Programme for Agricultural Development, and Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued a militant call to overtake and surpass Britain in the output of iron and steel and other major in-

dustrial products in 15 years. Such correct guidance by the Central Committee, combined with the initiative of the masses evoked by the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle, gave rise to the all-round forward leap which is currently developing on an even larger scale in our socialist construction. Many of those comrades who expressed misgivings about the principle of building socialism by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results," have learned a lesson from all this. But some of them have not yet learned anything. They say: "We'll settle accounts with you after the autumn harvest." Well, let them wait to settle accounts. They will lose out in the end!

The development is U-shaped, i.e., high at the beginning and the end, but low in the middle. Didn't we see very clearly how things developed on the production front in 1956 — 1957 — 1958 in the form of an upsurge, then an ebb, and then an even bigger upsurge or, in other words, a leap forward, then a conservative phase and then another big leap forward?

The Party and the masses have learned a lesson from this U-shaped development.

Now the people everywhere are full of confidence in the forward leap in production; they are determined to further speed up socialist construction. They are eager to remove the obstacles placed in their way by technical and cultural backwardness. In view of basic victory of the socialist revolution already achieved on the economic, political and ideological fronts, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung consider that the time is ripe to set new revolutionary tasks before the Party and the people, that now is the time to call for a technical revolution and, along with it, a cultural revolution.

Marx, Engels and Lenin often pointed out that the watchword of the working class should be "uninterrupted revolution." In putting forward new revolutionary tasks in good time, so that there is no halfway halt in the revolutionary advance of the people, the revolutionary fervour of the

masses will not subside with interruptions of the revolution, and Party and state functionaries will not rest content with the success won and grow arrogant or apathetic, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always guided the Chinese revolution by this Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution. Already on the eve of the victory of the democratic revolution, the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, in a resolution adopted in March 1949 at its Second Plenary Session, clearly put forward the task of "transforming the new-democratic state into a socialist state." After the founding of the People's Republic of China and immediately following the completion of land reform, the Central Committee, in December 1951, pointed out the road to collective farming through the mutual-aid and co-operative movement, and in 1953 carried out extensive publicity and education among the people for the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private industry and commerce. After the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production had been basically won, the Central Committee launched the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts. All this has enabled the revolution to advance at the opportune moment from one stage to another, scoring one victory after another.

The issuance of the call for the technical and cultural revolution means that our constantly developing revolution must now advance to a new stage. The broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals have given an immediate and enthusiastic response to this timely call of the Party. In fact, the masses have already swung into action. In many places, the great march to overcome our technical and cultural backwardness has already started with vigour and vitality.

As we have noted above, the Party's general line for socialist construction, which has gradually taken shape during the past eight years of construction, has proved its correctness at every step in the course of practical work. While this line still needs to be tested further in future practice, to be

developed and perfected, we believe that the correctness of its basic orientation and its major principles should and can be regarded as established.

In the light of the practical experience gained in the people's struggle and of the development of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking in the past few years, the Central Committee of the Party is of the opinion that the following are the basic points of our general line, which is to build socialism by exerting our utmost efforts, and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results:

To mobilize all positive factors and correctly handle contradictions among the people;

To consolidate and develop socialist ownership, i.e., ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and proletarian international solidarity;

To carry out the technical revolution and cultural revolution step by step, while completing the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts;

To develop industry and agriculture simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry;

With centralized leadership, over-all planning, proper division of labour and co-ordination, to develop national and local industries, and large, small and medium-sized enterprises simultaneously; and

By means of all this to build our country, in the shortest possible time, into a great socialist country with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

Based on the requirements of this general line, what are the main tasks facing the Party and the people in the technical and cultural revolutions?

The main tasks of the technical revolution are as follows:

To put the national economy, including agriculture and handicrafts, systematically and in a planned way on a new technological basis, i.e., the technological basis of modern, large-scale production, so that machinery can be used wherever

feasible and electrification is brought to all the cities and villages of the country;

To turn all big and medium-sized cities throughout the country into industrial cities; and to build up new industrial bases in those places where the necessary conditions exist, to enable all the county towns and many townships to have their own industries, and to increase the value of industrial output of all the provinces and autonomous regions and even most of the special administrative regions and counties so that it exceeds the value of their agricultural output;

To set up a transport network and post and telecommunications services equipped mainly with modern facilities, reaching every part of the country; and

While introducing as far as possible the world's up-to-date techniques, to launch a widespread mass movement in the cities and villages throughout the country to improve tools and introduce technical innovations so that semi-mechanized or fully mechanized operations can be properly combined with the necessary hand work.

To meet the requirements of the technical revolution, we must at the same time carry through a cultural revolution, promoting culture, education and public health in the interest of economic construction. The main tasks in this are as follows:

To wipe out illiteracy, to institute compulsory primary education and step by step to bring secondary schools to the townships in general, and higher educational institutions and scientific research bodies to the special administrative regions in general and to many counties;

To complete the work of devising written languages for the national minorities or improving those already in existence and to make energetic efforts to reform the written languages used by the Han people;

To wipe out the "four pests," improve sanitary conditions, promote sports, eliminate the principal diseases, break down superstitions, reform customs and change habits, and invigorate the national spirit;

To promote cultural and recreational activities among the masses and develop socialist literature and arts;

To train new intellectuals and remould the old intellectuals in order to establish a gigantic force of tens of millions of working-class intellectuals, consisting of technicians, who will account for the greatest number, professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theoreticians.

By vigorously carrying out the Party's general line for socialist construction and bringing about a technical revolution and a cultural revolution, we shall achieve an enormous development of our social productive forces and a great increase in our labour productivity. This will enable our industry to catch up with and surpass Britain within 15 years or less in the output of iron and steel and other major industrial products, enable our agriculture, on the basis of carrying out the National Programme for Agricultural Development ahead of schedule, to surpass quickly the agricultural achievements of the capitalist countries, and our science and technology, on the basis of carrying out the twelve-year Programme for the Development of Science, to catch up with the world's most advanced levels in the shortest possible time.

The speed of construction has been the most important question confronting us since the victory of the socialist revolution. The aim of our revolution is to expand the social productive forces as quickly as possible. Our country's economy has been very backward, and there are imperialist countries abroad; only by speeding up construction to the utmost can we, within the shortest possible period, consolidate our socialist state and raise the people's standards of living. The speedy building of socialism in a big country like ours, with a population of more than 600 million, will greatly enhance the supremacy already possessed by the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, promote mutual aid and co-operation between the countries in the socialist camp and between all the forces of peace throughout the world, and help to defend world peace.

Some people do not recognize the importance of increasing the speed of construction; they do not approve of the policy of consistently achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, and they have raised various objections.

Some say that speeding up construction makes people feel "tense," and so it's better to slow down the tempo. But are things not going to get tense if the speed of construction is slowed down? Surely one should be able to see that a really terribly tense situation would exist if more than 600 million people had to live in poverty and cultural backwardness for a prolonged period, had to exert their utmost efforts just to eke out a bare living, and were unable to resist natural calamities effectively, unable to put a quick stop to possible foreign aggression and utterly unable to master their own fate. It was to pull themselves out of such a situation, that the hundreds of millions of our people summoned up their energies to throw themselves, full of confidence, into the heat of work and struggle. This is simply normal revolutionary activity to which we should give our heartiest approval. This kind of "tension" is nothing to be afraid of.

It goes without saying that we should guide the workers and peasants to direct their efforts to improve their technique, tools, methods of work and labour organization so as to bring about a forward leap in production. We should see to it that the masses enjoy necessary rest periods as production surges ahead, so as to alternate hard battles with necessary rest and enable production and construction to advance in a rhythmic manner; in addition, we should pay attention to safety measures.

During this great movement in which hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized, it is inevitable that there should be some defects in our work even while great successes are being scored, and that, as we advance, we should meet with some difficulties — even great, unforeseeable difficulties. We should make provision for all this. The broad masses of our people who have forged a solid unity among themselves will

certainly not be frightened by these defects and difficulties, and they will surely be able to overcome them in good time. Some people criticize us for "craving greatness and success," for seeking "quick success and instant benefits." What they say about us is right! And shouldn't we crave greatness for our 600 million people and the success of socialism? Should we rather crave smallness and court failure, reject success and benefits, and rest content with lagging behind and doing nothing?

Some people wonder whether the implementation of the policy of consistently achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results won't lead to waste. Of course, if this policy is followed out piecemeal and if we merely go in for quantity and speed and neglect quality and economy, or vice versa, then of course there will be waste. "Greater" and "faster" results are concerned with quantity and speed; "better" and "more economical" with quality and cost. They supplement and condition each other. Facts have proved that by implementing the policy of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in a comprehensive way, the initiative and potentialities of the people can be brought into fullest play, and the greatest economies can be effected in developing production and construction. Conversely, opposition to this policy and restriction of the initiative and potentialities of the people will certainly result in great wastes of manpower, money, materials and precious time.

Others are worried that implementation of this policy will throw the various branches of production off balance as well as financial revenue and expenditure. There is bound to be imbalance. Even if we do not carry out this policy, there will always be imbalance, because any balance is temporary and conditional, and hence relative. There is no absolute balance. Of course, in order to conform to the objective law of the proportionate development of socialist economy, a balance should be maintained between the various branches of our national economy over a certain period of time and to a certain extent.

This is precisely the purpose of planning in a socialist state. The question is how that balance should be brought about: by getting the backward to catch up with the advanced, or by forcing the advanced to fall back in line with the backward? To overcome the imbalance between financial revenue and expenditure, the positive approach is to expand production and better exploit financial resources; the negative approach is to view things purely from the financial angle, and put a curb on the development of construction. Back in 1942 in his work *Economic and Financial Questions During the Period of the Anti-Japanese War*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out why the negative approach is wrong. "While a good or bad financial policy may affect the economy," he wrote, "it is the economy as a whole that determines the financial situation. We will never overcome our financial difficulties unless we have a sound economy, or achieve an abundance of financial resources without developing the economy." He wrote: "The conservative view which overlooks the development of the economy or fails to exploit financial resources better, but wants to overcome financial difficulties by cutting down on essential expenditures, cannot solve any questions at all." Since the time of the Anti-Japanese War, our financial difficulties have all been solved successfully on the basis of this principle put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is clear, therefore, that what we should guard against is not the occurrence of imbalance, but alarm when imbalance appears, and proneness to get the advance to fall back in line with the backward—a desire "to trim the toes to fit the shoe," or "to give up food for fear of choking."

Thus, none of the criticisms directed against the policy of increasing the speed of construction and of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, can hold water.

Why is it that, to increase the speed of construction, industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously? This is because ours is a large agricultural country, and of our over 600 million people, more than 500 million are peasants who

constitute a most powerful force both in the revolutionary struggle and construction. Only by relying on this powerful ally and giving full play to the peasants' initiative and creativeness can the working class of our country achieve victory. The paramount importance of the peasantry as an ally is just the same in the period of construction as it was in the period of revolution. Whenever political mistakes were made they invariably had something to do with this question. While giving priority to the growth of heavy industry, we must make great efforts to develop agriculture, which means to get the greatest domestic market in the world to place immense orders for heavy and light industrial products, including farm machinery, chemical fertilizers, building materials, fuels, electrical power and transport facilities; and to mobilize the biggest labour force in the world to increase the production of foodstuffs, meat, vegetables, etc., and the output of cotton and other industrial crops, to contribute its astonishing labour power to produce enormous wealth, accumulate large amounts of funds for national industrial construction, and itself to build small industrial enterprises in the villages. The energetic development of agriculture, therefore, will certainly speed up the industrialization of our nation and growth of the entire national economy; it will help greatly to improve the livelihood of the people throughout the country and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. Without the rapid development of agriculture, there can be no rapid development of light and heavy industries, or of the national economy as a whole. The facts in the past eight years, and in this year in particular, have fully proved this.

Some comrades are worried that, though the development of agriculture can accumulate funds for industrialization, it will for the present at least divert some funds which could be used by the state for industrialization. The upsurges in agriculture in 1956 and 1958 have proved such worries unnecessary. So long as we know how to rely on this great force of our 500 million peasants, we can greatly expand the scope of agricultural construction even if there is no increase in state invest-

ments in agriculture. The state has invested 1,450 million yuan to harness the Huai River, and completed over 1,600 million cubic metres of masonry and earth work in the past eight years. But by depending mainly on the labour, money and material resources of the peasants themselves, in six months of the winter of 1957 and spring of 1958, more than 12,000 million cubic metres of masonry and earth work were completed in Honan and Anhwei Provinces alone.

Some people doubted whether agricultural production could expand very rapidly. They quoted authoritative works, chapter and verse, to prove that agriculture could only advance slowly and that, what is more, its growth could in no way be guaranteed. Some scholars even asserted that the rate of agricultural growth could not keep pace with the growth of population. They argued that as the population grows, consumption will increase and there won't be much of an increase in accumulation. From this they draw their pessimistic conclusions on the rate of growth of agriculture in our country, and, indeed, of the national economy as a whole. Underlying such ideas is an underestimation of the organized revolutionary peasants of our country, and the facts inevitably gave them the lie. The great forward leap in agricultural production and construction this year has not only completely knocked the bottom out of their contention that agriculture cannot make quick progress but also blown sky high their argument that a big population impedes accumulation. All they see is that men are consumers and that the greater the population, the bigger the consumption. They fail to see that men are first of all producers and that when there is a large population there is also the possibility of greater production and more accumulation. Their views obviously run counter to Marxism-Leninism.

Why is it necessary to undertake the simultaneous development of national and local industries, and of large, small and medium-sized enterprises to increase the speed of construction? Since the development of industrial production is the universal demand of the whole population, it is necessary to follow the

principle of building industries by the efforts of the whole Party and population, and completely explode the myth that industry can be run only by the few. "The fire burns high when everybody adds wood to it" — it is only when all central and local authorities at every level down to the co-operatives get going at it, only when there is a division of labour and co-operation between big, small and medium-sized enterprises, that we can achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. It is necessary for the central, provincial, municipal and autonomous region authorities to build a certain number of big enterprises. Big enterprises which have a big output and a high technical level can solve key problems having a decisive bearing on the national economy. They form the backbone of the force that pushes forward the industrial development of the country. But small and medium-sized enterprises have the advantages which big enterprises do not have: they require less investments and can more easily absorb funds from scattered sources; they require less time to build and produce quicker results; they can be designed and equipped locally; they can make do with various simple types of equipment which are readily available in the localities. They can be set up over a wide area so as to facilitate industrialization of the country as a whole, promote the training of technical personnel throughout the country and a balanced development of the economies of the various regions. They can produce a great variety of goods and can be flexibly adapted to produce new types of goods. Close to the sources of raw materials and markets, they can reduce transport costs and make flexible use of available resources, making it easier to bring about a satisfactory relation between supply, production and sales. It is easier for them to make flexible use of the labour power available in the countryside and of casual labour, depending on the amount of work to be done, and thus help reduce the differences between city and countryside, between workers and peasants.

In the period of the First Five-Year Plan, we paid attention first of all to the development of industries run by the Central Government, to giant enterprises; this was absolutely necessary. But not enough attention was paid to the development of local industries and small and medium-sized industries; this was a shortcoming. In the past two years or more, the Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that this shortcoming must be remedied. With the improvements made in the system of industrial management and the encouragement to develop small and medium-sized industries, there is a growing initiative in various regions to develop their own industries. In quite a short space of time, industrial plants will dot every part of the country like stars in the sky provided the twenty-odd provinces, municipalities under the central authority and autonomous regions, over 180 special administrative regions and autonomous *chou*, over 2,000 counties and autonomous counties, over 80,000 towns and townships, over 100,000 handicrafts co-operatives and over 700,000 agricultural co-operatives in the country display full initiative in a proper way in developing industry. In that case, industrial development in our country will naturally be much faster than if it depended solely on a number of big enterprises run by the Central Government. This will inevitably result in: 1. quickening the pace of the nation's industrialization; 2. quickening the pace of mechanization of agriculture; and 3. quickening the speed at which differences between city and countryside are reduced.

A big development of local industries, and of small and medium-sized enterprises, will give rise to many new problems which it is difficult for us to foresee at the moment. But here it must be especially emphasized that this growth of local industries and small and medium-sized enterprises which we encourage must be placed under centralized leadership and over-all planning, with a proper division of labour and co-ordination of efforts; there must be no blind development nor development through free competition. To prevent or reduce

any possible waste in resources and funds and idle stocks of products, the Central Government and local authorities at all levels must seriously improve the work of co-ordination and balance, firmly oppose capitalist ideas in management, and any tendency to localism or departmentalism. At the same time, whether in national or local industries, in giant enterprises or small and medium-sized enterprises, it is necessary to oppose resolutely any tendency to chase only after the latest technical equipment, while failing to make full use of all that is on hand; oppose any tendency to overemphasize the role of experts to the disparagement of the great role that can be played by the workers and peasants in developing new production techniques. All such tendencies which lead away from reality and from the masses, no less than the tendency to resign oneself to backwardness and make no attempts to advance, are detrimental to the nation's progress in construction.

The Party's general line for socialist construction is the application and development of its mass line in socialist construction. We must fully combine centralized leadership with decentralized management and co-ordinate, the resources of the Central Government with those of the local authorities, the resources of the state with those of the masses, the giant undertakings with small and medium-sized plants, the striving to raise the quality of work with popularization — all this is applicable not only to industry but also to other economic and cultural undertakings, and to the technical and cultural revolutions as a whole. All Party and state functionaries must acquire a deep and comprehensive understanding of the Party's general line for socialist construction and follow this line in their work. As for scientific, technical, cultural and educational workers, they must be specially taught to adhere firmly to the principle of keeping in close contact with reality, production and the masses so that they can effectively serve the socialist cause of the proletariat and promote the growth of the social productive forces.

### III

The tasks of the Party at present are, on the basis of the rectification campaign, to continue to handle contradictions among the people, systematically improve the work of the state, strengthen the work of Party organizations at all levels, and work unswervingly for the implementation of the general line for socialist construction.

As mentioned above, the rectification campaign which started in May 1957 has achieved great results. But, we would be making a big mistake to become dizzy with the successes already won and think that now everything is all right. We must not overlook the fact that the development of the campaign is not even. In some units, some places and among some people, it has not been carried out thoroughly enough, it has not got down to the roots of things. In some units, styles of work marked by bureaucracy, commandism, sectarianism and subjectivism have not been shaken; there are even cases where leading positions are still occupied by bourgeois rightists and rotten elements; and the initiative of the masses is still being hampered. Even in places where the campaign has been carried out fairly thoroughly, not all the problems brought up by the masses that must be solved have received satisfactory solutions. The leading organizations must undertake a thorough check-up, make energetic efforts to strengthen weaker units, give serious consideration to the suggestions of the masses, and persist in carrying through the rectification campaign to complete victory.

The central task of the rectification campaign is to handle correctly the contradictions among the people and improve human relations in socialist labour and all other group activities. We have in the main accomplished the socialist transformation of the means of production, which is the prerequisite for changing the relationships between men. In a society where exploitation of man by man exists, such as in economic organizations under Kuomintang rule, there is antagonism

between the exploiters and the exploited, and class antagonisms are also reflected in the relations between the ordinary administrative personnel and actual producers, between the ordinary brain workers and manual workers. With the carrying out of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, these antagonisms have been transformed in the main and a comradely relationship of mutual aid and co-operation is shaping up between the administrative personnel and brain workers on the one hand and the rank and file on the other. However, many of the administrative personnel and brain workers have not yet learned to treat the masses on a footing of complete equality; they have not yet done away with some survivals of the working style of the Kuomintang and still have certain bureaucratic airs. This makes it difficult for them to gain the full confidence of the masses. This has also prevented part of the workers and peasants from taking the sort of attitude to socialist labour that befits the masters of the state and the enterprises. This state of affairs has been radically changed as a result of the rectification campaign. In many state enterprises and co-operatives, genuine comradely mutual aid and co-operation develops successfully between the administrative personnel and brain workers and the masses, the advantages of socialist production relations are given full play, and thereby the productive forces of society are further released.

The present task is to effect a thorough and systematic readjustment in the relationships between people, rooting out the capitalist and feudal survivals of bygone days and building completely new socialist relations, not only in all our enterprises and co-operatives, but in all government and popular organizations, schools, and in every walk of life. All functionaries (and first of all those who are members of the Communist Party) must, irrespective of their position or seniority, get rid of their bureaucratic airs, behave like ordinary labouring people, treat their subordinates and the rank and file as real equals, and make them feel that you are one of them

and that you have given your hearts to them, in a word, be at one with the masses. The leading personnel at all levels must go down to the lower levels of administration and out among the masses. The system under which leading personnel at the national, provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels spend one-third of their time each year at the lower levels of administration and among the masses must be carried through.

The rectification campaign must also be carried through to the end in the People's Liberation Army. The People's Liberation Army is the defender as well as builder of the cause of socialism. It has a glorious tradition of industry, bravery, hard work and plain living, and of forging close ties with the masses. Thanks to the rectification campaign, this glorious tradition has been further developed. The relations between the higher and lower ranks in the army, between officers and men and between the army and the people have become still closer and the leadership of Party committees of various levels over army units has been strengthened. Earnest efforts must be made to consolidate all these achievements of the rectification campaign. The Central Committee of the Party and the local Party committees must further strengthen their leadership over military work, pay attention to political work in the army, military training, and the work of the militia. They should look into these things several times a year. This will greatly help raise the political and military qualities of the army, thereby helping to strengthen our national defence, and the cause of liberating Taiwan and defending peace.

In those enterprises, offices, organizations, schools and army units where reforms have been carried out, the rectification campaign will soon enter the fourth stage when each individual studies documents, and undertakes self-criticism and self-examination so as to raise his own ideological level. During this stage, all cadres, and those who are Party members in particular, must seriously study the Party's policies and its style of work, sum up the gains derived from the rectifica-

tion campaign, examine the shortcomings in their thinking and work, undertake criticism and self-criticism so as to raise their own level of political understanding, and further strengthen unity within the Party and unity between the Party and the masses. Leading cadres at the county level and above and those at the battalion level and above should pay special attention to studying the Party's general line for socialist construction and the Marxist-Leninist ways of thinking and doing things.

A positive attitude must be taken towards the rectification campaign among the national bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intelligentsia and the various democratic parties and groups; they must be given help in educating and remoulding themselves. A thoroughgoing rectification campaign among these people will result in the further consolidation of the people's democratic united front, which is led by the Communist Party, on the new basis of serving socialism. It will enable the people's democratic united front to continue to play its part in the life of the state, and the democratic parties to co-exist for a long period of time with the Communist Party and exercise mutual supervision in meeting the needs of the new society.

Of course, it is impossible to resolve all contradictions through one single rectification campaign. To build a socialist and communist society, we must not only wipe out all the old systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man, but also utterly eliminate obsolete ideas and habits which are derived from and served these old systems; we must eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology, that is to say, eventually eliminate all vestiges of the exploiting classes and exploiting systems from the minds of the people. This is a much more difficult task than that of eliminating the exploiting classes economically. It can be accomplished only through a long and complicated process of education and struggle. As to other contradictions among the working people outside this scope, such as those between the right and the wrong, between the advanced and the backward,

they will always exist and must be resolved continually as they arise. Progress will be made in the process of resolving them. Therefore it is undoubtedly wrong to imagine that a single rectification campaign can settle all questions at a single stroke and that there will be no more twists and turns or ups and downs in the struggle. That is why from now on the method of the rectification campaign, the method of criticism and self-criticism through full and frank airing of views, great debates and posting *tatsepao* must be made the regular method of reforming ideology and improving work. All-round rectification campaigns should be launched at set intervals to handle systematically the contradictions among the people and other contradictions that may have come to light at that time.

Under all circumstances, a strict distinction must be drawn between the methods used to handle contradictions among the people and those used to handle contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. So far as ideological problems among the people are concerned, no matter whether it is a case of a few against the many, or of the many against a few, they must be tackled by means of persuasion and education, not by means of force and coercion. In the fields of culture and academic studies we must continue to carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." This is a method, a scientific Marxist method, of promoting constant progress and advance in the sciences and arts. It is also a method of resolving contradictions among the people. As to the utterances and activities of those who aim to undermine socialism and restore capitalism, we have never sanctioned such utterances and activities, because they are not permitted under the socialist system. But we allow the anti-socialist poisonous weeds to grow and confront the people with contrasts, so that by way of comparison, the people can see clearly what they really are, and roused to indignation, rally together to uproot them. In this way, the fighting ability of the masses will be tempered and it will

open up bright prospects for the socialist blossoming of a hundred flowers. This policy has been publicly announced. It was followed in the past and will be followed in the future. The existence of poisonous weeds is an objective phenomena. They will keep cropping up ten thousand years hence. But the poisonous weeds which will emerge in the far distant future will not wear the stamp of class struggle as they do now. Since poisonous weeds exist objectively, if we did not allow them to grow as they are, they would have appeared in disguise, and poisoned the people in secret. We had better tell them openly: "Poisonous weeds are illegal, they've got to be uprooted when they grow. But we do not stop you from sprouting if you want to. Whoever wants to come out and fight, let them do so!" This policy has proved very effective. Large numbers of poisonous weeds furiously attacked the people, and were uprooted by them. Those which have not been uprooted have learned nothing from those which have been eradicated; they still come out and fight. They will certainly come out if they are given the chance, and we shall have to uproot them again. To uproot poisonous weeds is a question between the enemy and ourselves. To let a hundred flowers blossom is a question among the people. These are two different kinds of contradictions and there are two different methods of handling them. The reactionary rightists of the bourgeoisie claimed to be one of the hundred socialist flowers. But that was simply a fraud. They can't be recognized as such.

In improving the work of the state, the most important task at the moment is to find quick and correct solutions to the problem of combining centralization with decentralization. As I said before, this is at present a key problem in carrying out the Party's general line for socialist construction. Local authorities should be allowed greater scope so that construction in all fields throughout the country can develop along the line of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, and the central government departments can

concentrate upon the things they should assume responsibility for. This principle was put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung back in April 1956 in his report on "Ten Sets of Relationships." In actual work, we commenced to carry out this principle, but until quite recently it was being carried out very slowly and not at all thoroughly. In accordance with the discussions at the Nanning and Chengtu conferences convoked by the Central Committee of the Party in the spring of this year, from now on, with the exception of some special, key enterprises or enterprises of an experimental nature, all enterprises formerly run and managed by the various ministries under the State Council will, as a rule, be handed over to the local authorities and placed under their management. Light industries will be handed over to the local authorities first; later, heavy industries will gradually be handed over. Authority to run other economic undertakings, as well as cultural, educational, political and judicial affairs will also be handed over to the local authorities. The central authorities must see to it that the initiative of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions is brought into full play; on their part, the latter must see to it that the initiative of the special administrative regions, autonomous *chou*, counties, autonomous counties and townships is brought into full play.

With the improvement in the managerial system, the forward leap in production and construction and the raising of the political consciousness of the masses, existing rules and regulations governing economic and other work must be improved thoroughly and systematically. The experience of the rectification campaign shows that many of these rules and regulations are necessary and suitable, but that there are also quite a few which are wholly superfluous or even breed waste and conservatism, hamper the initiative of the local authorities and the masses and hinder the carrying out of the general line for socialist construction. Our task is thus to mobilize the masses to make an over-all examination of all existing rules and regulations in the light of the policy of building so-

cialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, by means of full and frank airing of views and great debates so that things may be dealt with in a discerning way after a serious study has been made of the opinions voiced by the masses. Those parts of existing rules and regulations which are necessary and justifiable should be preserved; the rest should be revoked or revised, or replaced by new ones suited to local conditions and current needs, which should be introduced to other places after an experimental phase. Improvement of rules and regulations is a work of great importance; the various regions and departments must devote a certain amount of time and manpower to it and, while doing so, concretely solve urgent problems so as to keep the high tide of production and construction rolling.

One of the important questions of the day which must claim our attention is the continued streamlining of state organs, enterprises and undertakings, improvement of organization and management of labour and the reform of irrational rules and regulations in these fields. Since being streamlined last year, many state-owned and joint state and private enterprises, building, transport and commercial enterprises, and other undertakings and state organs have overcome in great measure the overlapping and overstaffing which resulted from previous defects in the allocation of labour power and management of labour. But this problem has not yet been completely settled. There are even cases where workers and employees who have not done any work at all over long periods are still kept on the payroll. Such cases of waste of manpower and funds, which amount to expropriation of the fruits of other people's labour, are impermissible. We must, while improving the managerial system and rules and regulations, further streamline our organizations and use every possible rational means to raise the rate of utilization of labour power and labour productivity. We must promptly transfer redundant workers and employees to other jobs, so that not a single working day is wasted, and everyone who

has some ability can be properly engaged in production or other useful work.

On condition that production is expanded and the living standards of the people are steadily improved, the proportion of funds in the national income going to accumulation should be suitably increased both in state and collective economies so that we can build socialism with greater and faster results. State policies in regard to wages, subsidies, welfare, bonuses, prices, taxes and profits must take state, collective and individual interests into account. Certain reasonable differentials between the living standards of workers and peasants, between living standards in city and countryside, and between the wages for various trades, technical grades and localities are necessary, but unreasonable and excessive differences must be avoided. Measures suited to conditions in the rural and semi-rural regions must be worked out in regard to wages, labour insurance and welfare in enterprises run by the counties and administrative units below the county level; the measures now in force in big enterprises in big cities should not be mechanically applied here.

Both the rectification campaign and improvements in the work of the state are aimed at making the superstructure meet the needs of the economic base, and the relations of production meet the needs of the development of productive forces. Therefore, these efforts must, directly or indirectly, result in the development of production and construction and, first of all, in the successes of great forward leaps in production and construction this year. This year is the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, the first of three years of hard struggle; it is also the first of the fifteen years in which we are to catch up with Britain. Our achievements this year will be an important gauge of the success of the rectification campaign and the general line for socialist construction, and everybody is watching. So, we must pay great attention to the work of this year and try to do it well. The important thing here is that the leadership must really be in the van

of the masses, in the van of the movement, and not lag behind them. The masses are now very enthusiastic; this is the main thing we must rely on if we are to make all our undertakings advance rapidly. We must set great store by this enthusiasm, and never throw cold water on it. Leaders, however, must combine revolutionary enthusiasm with business-like sense. They must be able not only to put forward advanced targets but also to adopt effective measures in time to ensure the realization of the targets. They must not indulge in empty talk and bluff. The targets we put forward should be those that can be reached with hard work. Do not lightly publicize as plan that which is not really attainable, lest failure dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and delight the conservatives. Allowance should be made for difficulties and shortcomings and care should always be taken in the course of the work to uncover difficulties and shortcomings and, without exaggerating or minimizing them, and by working together with the masses overcome them, by every possible means and in a realistic manner. If this is done, we shall surely achieve very great things in our work, unless exceptionally severe natural calamities or other accidents intervene.

The guarantee of success in all our work of socialist construction is the Party's correct leadership. The Central Committee of the Party and local Party committees at all levels must be the leading core of the government at all levels. In the past few years, the leadership of the Party concentrated its efforts mainly on the socialist revolution. While we shall continue to pay attention to this work, we now can and must concentrate greater efforts on socialist construction. Party committees at all levels must give the same resolute leadership to socialist construction and the technical and cultural revolutions as they have been giving the democratic and socialist revolutions. The mistaken tendency among some people both inside and outside the Party to think that the Party cannot lead construction work, or work in the fields of

science and technology, culture and education must be thoroughly corrected.

In the period of socialist construction, the period of technical and cultural revolutions, the Party cadres must have a real understanding of their jobs and the necessary knowledge in science and technology to guide the work properly. All Party cadres must put themselves to work on "experimental plots," since this is a good method of combining political work with professional activities and enabling the cadres to keep in close touch with the masses. Naturally, while paying attention to technique and one's own speciality, one must never ignore politics. We must neither become shallow "politicians" who know nothing about their jobs, nor "practical men of business" who have lost their bearings. To be both "red" and "expert"—this is the way of progress for intellectuals and technicians throughout the country; this is also the way of progress for all Party cadres at all levels.

Ideological and political work is always the soul and guide of every kind of work. In every case, abandonment or neglect of ideological and political work by the Party will divorce us from the masses and lead us astray. In the past few years, among leading cadres in the field of construction, we have seen, on the one hand, the shortcomings of not being well versed in their jobs or not trying to learn about them, while, on the other hand, there has also been a tendency to ignore ideological and political work although they have learned their jobs. It should be realized that machines are made and operated by men, and materials are produced only through the efforts of men. It is man that counts; the subjective initiative of the masses is a mighty driving force. To ignore this great driving force will run counter to Marxism-Leninism. Some people say that ideological and political work can produce neither grain nor coal or iron. This is like failing to see the wood for the trees. One may ask: have we not produced more grain, coal and iron by formulating and carrying out correct political lines, by correctly handling contradictions

among the people, and by raising the socialist consciousness of the workers and arousing the enthusiasm of the masses, and are we not going to produce more and more by so doing?

Party committees at all levels must pay attention to ideological trends inside and outside the Party, strengthen ideological and political work, pay attention to theoretical problems, seriously study the line and policies of the Party and put a firm stop to the vulgar habit which has prevailed hitherto in many places and departments, of talking about professional matters only and ignoring ideological problems. Party committees at all levels must pay attention to work in connection with the press, the school education and culture, and must regard as a major political task the fostering and training of an army of working-class intellectuals and Marxist-Leninist theoreticians.

Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical foundation on which all the work of our Party is based. The whole Party must learn to apply Marxism-Leninism and dialectical materialism to practical work, and thoroughly oppose any tendency to doctrinairism and empiricism. Doctrinairism and empiricism are forms of subjectivism and metaphysics which are divorced from practice and from the masses; they hinder people from acquiring the ability to analyse and sum up experience, to distinguish between the essence and the outward appearance of things, between the main trend and side issues and thus make them prone to commit political mistakes. We must free ourselves completely from the shackles of doctrinairism and empiricism, and foster a lively and active growth of our minds and our work. We must respect the practical deeds of the masses, their revolutionary drive and creative spirit; and this means respect for materialism and dialectics. We must learn from Comrade Mao Tse-tung and from many other comrades who keep in close contact with the masses (including the many leaders of the Party at the central, provincial, special administrative regional, county and township levels and among the masses). We must follow their examples in

invariably applying Marxism-Leninism, dialectics, and materialism to practical work, in combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, and combining a serious and principled stand with a lively, creative spirit, in identifying themselves with the millions, seeing the correct direction, grasping the truth, and throwing themselves into the struggle for that truth, dauntlessly braving all difficulties.

We are now in a great period in the history of our country, the period of development by leaps and bounds. Our Party and our country now need a host of people who think, speak and act with courage and daring, who dare to topple the old idols, to make innovations and create new things, who dare to uphold the truth, conquer ever new positions for the truth and raise the banner of progress and revolution. Only by relying on such people can we lead the people of the whole country in making one forward leap after another and complete the great work of socialist construction by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

For more than a hundred years our country suffered from the oppression of foreign aggressors which made us backward in many respects. Although China has been liberated and has made rapid advances in every field, the mentality of quite a few of our people still bears the imprint of the oppressed, their minds are still filled with all kinds of shibboleths, fears and feelings of inferiority. Instead of exerting their utmost efforts, they are apathetic, and instead of pressing ahead consistently, they are resigned to backwardness. The proletariat and the people's militants must rid themselves lock, stock and barrel of such states of mind; they should cultivate the noble way of firmly believing in the truth, resolutely relying on the masses and being fearless of any authority. We must remember that modesty helps one to make progress whereas conceit makes one lag behind. But the practical modesty we advocate has nothing to do with any sense of inferiority. We have a population of more than 600

million and our Party has ties of flesh and blood with this vast population. By relying on this great force we can, or soon can, do anything within the realms of human possibility. It is true that for the time being this population of 600 million and more is economically poor and culturally is like a clean sheet of white paper. But what does this matter to Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries? Comrade Mao Tse-tung has put it well: "In addition to other characteristics, our more than 600 million people are characterized by poverty and 'whiteness.' This appears to be a bad thing, but in fact it is a good thing. Poor people want to change, to work hard and make a revolution. A clean sheet of white paper has nothing written on it and is therefore well suited for writing the newest and most beautiful words on and for drawing the newest and most beautiful pictures." Isn't this a fact? Our 600 million and more people have already far surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries in the West in the speed of the upsurge of their revolutionary consciousness and of the victories of their revolutionary struggles and will definitely far surpass them too in the speed of economic and cultural growth. In history, it is always the newcomers who outstrip the old, always the new-born things, which for a time appear weak and small but represent what is progressive, that defeat the moribund things, which appear powerful but represent what is conservative. Within a very short historical period we shall certainly leave every capitalist country in the world far behind us. And so, shouldn't we have confidence in ourselves and discard everything that smacks of superstition, fear and feelings of inferiority?

The inevitable victory of our cause is also grounded in the fraternal aid of the countries in the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union — which is internationally the most important factor in our favour. We shall continue to draw on the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other countries, continue to strengthen mutual assistance and co-operation with the other countries in the socialist camp

and, shoulder to shoulder with our fraternal parties in all countries, raise still higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism and reinforce the militant solidarity of the international communist movement. We resolutely support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, the efforts of the peoples of all lands to safeguard peace, and all national movements which oppose aggression, defend their sovereign rights and seek independence. The struggles of the people of all countries support our cause and through our work we in turn support the people of all countries.

Comrades! Let us, on the basis of the Party's general line for socialist construction, strengthen ceaselessly the unity of the entire Party and unity between the Party and all the people. Let us strengthen ceaselessly our solidarity with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist camp and with all the peoples of the world in the common cause of peace, democracy and socialism. Victory will surely be ours!