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JPRS-61269-1

MISCELLANY OF MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT  
(1949-1968) PART I

Joint Publications Research Service  
Arlington, Virginia

February 1974

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 61269-1	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
	4. Title and Subtitle MISCELLANY OF MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT (1949-1968) PART I		5. Report Date 20 February 1974
7. Author(s)	8. Performing Organization Rept. No.		6.
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	11. Contract/Grant No.
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	14.
15. Supplementary Notes MAO TSE-TUNG SSU-HSIANG WAN-SUI, 1967, 1969			
16. Abstracts The report contains selected speeches and writings of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors People's Republic of China Behavioral and Social Sciences Political  <b>PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE</b>			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms   Reproduced by <b>NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE</b> U S Department of Commerce Springfield VA 22151			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 05			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	



20 February 1974

MISCELLANY OF MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT  
(1949-1968)

PART I

Selected items from two Chinese-language volumes, Mao Tse-tung Ssu-hsiang Wan-sui (Long Live Mao Tse-tung Thought), totalling 996 pp, published in 1967 and 1969, with no other publication information or attribution. Those items in these two volumes which are already generally available in English-language translation in various publications were not selected for translation and publication in this report. The items in this report are arranged in chronological order irrespective of the Chinese-language volume in which they were published. Photo on cover of this report is of the Exhibition Hall at the National Institute of Peasant Movement in Canton sponsored by Mao Tse-tung.

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## EXPLANATION

We cherish Great Leader Chairman Mao with our proletarian sentiments of boundless love, boundless adoration, boundless faith, and boundless devotion. As a result of the prolonged efforts in many quarters, the important speeches and articles by Chairman Mao since the founding of the People's Republic have now been published!

In the publication process, owing to the fact that we have not studied Mao Tse-tung thought well, that our source materials were limited, that the overwhelming majority of the speeches and articles have not been officially made public, and that some of them have been copied several times, errors and omissions are unavoidable. These publications are offered for internal study only and are not to be quoted publicly.

The Editor

August 1969

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE ARMY'S PARTICIPATION  
IN PRODUCTION AND CONSTRUCTION WORK IN 1950

(5 December 1949)

The People's War of Liberation has scored in the main a victory throughout the country. Aside from those units which have to concentrate on pursuing and annihilating remnant enemy forces on a few battle fronts, large numbers of troops of the People's Liberation Army have already begun, or are about to begin, training and consolidation. The Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference provides: "In peacetime, soldiers of the People's Republic of China, under the condition that they shall not be hindered in carrying out their military duties, should in a planned way take part in agricultural and industrial production and contribute to national construction." Here, in addition to their great duties of safeguarding national defense, consolidating peace and order, and intensifying training and consolidation, our people's army has been assigned a glorious and arduous task. For this reason, the People's Revolutionary Military Council appeals to the whole army that apart from those units which are continuing the fighting or performing service duties, they should shoulder a part of the production task. This will make our People's Liberation Army not only a national defense army, but also a production army in order to coordinate with the people of the country in overcoming the difficulties passed down to us from the long years of fighting and accelerating the new democratic economic construction.

This production task must and can be realized.

This production task must be realized because the long years of war unleashed by reactionaries at home and abroad against the Chinese people have brought serious disaster to the people and serious destruction to our economy. Today, we must carry out the revolutionary war to the end, heal the wounds left by the prolonged war, and engage in economic, cultural and national defense construction work. But state revenue is inadequate and expenditures are very great. This is the great difficulty facing us at present. As to the method of overcoming such a difficulty, first of all, the people of the

whole country, under the leadership of the Central People's Government, must resume and develop production step by step. Then the People's Liberation Army must undertake specific production tasks by joining the people of the whole country to overcome this difficulty.

This production task will be realized because the overwhelming majority of soldiers of the People's Liberation Army come from among the laboring people and possess a high degree of political consciousness and various production skills. Also, during the most difficult period of the anti-Japanese war, they undertook production tasks. Thus, they have experience in production and a tradition in doing labor. The vast number of cadres and veteran fighters of the People's Liberation Army all understand that after the participation of the army in production, they will not only overcome difficulties, cut down government expenditures, and improve the livelihood of the army, but after undergoing tempering through labor, they will also enhance the political quality of the army and improve relations between officers and men and between the army and the people. This production task will be realized because in areas where fighting has ended, in addition to safeguarding national defense, mopping up bandits, consolidating peace and order, and strengthening training, the People's Liberation Army has ample time to take part in production and construction work. All these are conditions for the realization of production tasks by the People's Liberation Army.

The participation of the People's Liberation Army in production is not a temporary task. It should be looked at from a long-term construction point of view. Its main point lies in increasing national wealth through labor. Hence, commanders of all military districts must direct their subordinates to put participation in production and construction work into effect beginning from spring 1950 in order to improve their own livelihood and effect some savings of state expenditures. Such production and construction work should take the form of a movement to facilitate its popularization. Such a production movement should set down long-term plans and concrete steps. Production projects should, with the consent of the People's Government, come within the scope of agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery, water conservancy undertakings, handicraft work, various construction works, and other production tasks for industry and transport enterprises. It is forbidden to engage in business. The leading organs of army units should, in accordance with conditions at their place of station, conduct investigation and study, and complete all preparations by this winter.

From past experience, it is imperative that the army's production movement be strictly prohibited from opening up shops and engaging in business. Among the cadres, if there are thoughts of attempting to amass quick profits through smuggling, hoarding and profiteering, or if any such acts are detected, it is imperative that they be promptly corrected and halted. These acts are not only a violation of the correct policies governing production and disturb the economic order, but also certainly give rise to corruption and decadence, and destroy our own comrades. All this is prohibited by law. Moreover, in

the course of carrying on agricultural production, the army must not cause floods by opening up wasteland, it must not cause dissatisfaction among the people by competing with them for land.

For the army to correctly perform its production tasks and develop its production movement, it is stipulated that:

1. At all levels above the division, army and military subdistricts, a committee of representatives from the headquarters, political department, and rear services department of the units concerned is to be established. Its duties are to take charge of the direction of production, examine production plans, supervise the implementation of production plans, and investigate violations.

2. Producer cooperatives are to be established in the army. The leading organs set up at different levels of the cooperatives, under the supervision and leadership of army production committees, control the capital for production, the activities of production, and the fruits of production. The cooperative system and the army's command system are on an equal footing, and maintain close and mutual contact with each other. But they are not to be confused with each other.

3. Both public and private interests are to be given due consideration. Production dividends are to be distributed fairly and reasonably, of which 40 percent should go to the individual producer and the balance to his production unit and the state, in order to establish both public and private revolutionary households, and attain partial self-sufficiency for the army on the one hand and on the other hand enable the individual producer to obtain a return. Such a return for the individual is to be kept by himself or remitted back home to his family or deposited in the cooperative for his future use. This is to be decided by the individual.

4. In areas where there is a lack of available land, in addition to participation in all kinds of possible handicraft, industry, water conservancy undertakings, transport enterprises and construction work, commanders of army units may confer with local people's governments, and under the principle of voluntariness on the part of peasants, about the army sharing in the labor, capital, fertilizers and farm implements, cultivating the land jointly with the peasants, and distributing the fruits fairly. However, it is necessary to see that the army does not pursue this matter forcibly or fight with the people for benefits.

5. The production plans of army units in the various military districts must be integrated with the production plans of the various administrative areas and provincial people's governments. Capital for production must be planned in a unified manner. All army capital for production must be invested, interest computed, and date of return of capital fixed. All army production undertakings must pay taxes according to regulations and observe all laws of the people's governments. These laws should not be violated.

It is hoped that all military region commanders will scrupulously take note of the said items and absolutely make it possible for the People's Liberation Army's 1950 production and construction work to attain a remarkable achievement, and that they will conduct regular check ups and rectify all possible errors and shortcomings. The people's governments in all areas have the duty to guide and assist local army units in their production work.

COMMENTS ON THE WORK OF SUPPRESSING AND  
LIQUIDATING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

(1950-1951)

In this struggle against secret agents, it is imperative that we adhere to a policy of not killing even a single agent and not arresting the majority of them. If we do not kill even a single agent, then the other agents will dare to make confessions. If we do not arrest the majority of the agents, then security organs will have to deal with only a small number of agents and the various government offices and schools can deal with the majority of them. Party committees everywhere must adhere firmly to this policy.<sup>1</sup>

The leadership role of the party must be emphasized in security work. In practice, it must be put under the direct leadership of party committees. To do otherwise is dangerous.

(27 September 1950)

In regard to the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, please strike steadily, accurately, and fiercely so that there will be no complaints from the various circles of society.

(19 December 1950)

To strike steadily is to say we must pay attention to strategy. To strike accurately is to say we must not kill by mistake. To strike fiercely is to say we must firmly kill all those reactionary elements who deserve to be killed (Those who don't deserve to be killed, of course, we must not kill).

(17 January 1951)

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<sup>1</sup>In the 1967 volume this comment is dated 9 October 1943.

As to those secret agents and headmen of religious sects against whom we have not obtained any evidence, in order not to make a mistake and put ourselves on the defensive, we should conduct investigation to gather conclusive evidence and not arrest people or kill people at will.

(24 January 1951)

Persons under coercion are those who were coerced into taking part in a wrongdoing but did not commit a wrongdoing or a serious wrongdoing. As to people against whom we have evidence to show that they have abetted a wrongdoing, they are accessories to a crime and therefore subject to punishment. If the chief culprit is given capital punishment, then the accessories must be sentenced at least to imprisonment. Certain accessories who have committed bigger crimes should receive the death penalty. They are not in the same category as those who were under coercion.

(28 February 1951)

Those areas which have realized the general policy of total suppression should stop this activity for a while and not arrest or kill more people. All areas should formulate plans, have a strategy, conduct propaganda, and not kill people by mistake. All this is a matter of course.

(9 March 1951)

The suppression of counterrevolutionaries is a great struggle. It must be done well before our government can be consolidated.

(24 March 1951)

The suppression of counterrevolutionaries consists of: 1) the counterrevolutionaries in society; 2) the counterrevolutionaries hidden among old personnel and new intellectuals in the military and administrative systems; and 3) the counterrevolutionaries hiding in the Party. To suppress the counterrevolutionaries in these places, we must without question proceed step by step. We cannot do it in all places simultaneously. However, in the most important departments in the Party, the government, and the army, particularly in the public security departments, it is absolutely necessary to promptly deal with the suspicious elements so as to place these organs in the hands of reliable personnel.

(24 March 1951)

Please exercise strict control over the work of suppressing counterrevolutionaries. You must act cautiously. You must correct tendencies toward carelessness. We certainly must suppress all counterrevolutionaries, but we must be sure not to arrest or kill people by mistake.

(30 March 1951)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>In the 1967 volume this comment is undated.



The suppression of counterrevolutionaries always must be carried out precisely, cautiously, and in a planned and methodical way. Besides, it must be controlled from above.

(30 March 1951)

Whether this work is done well or poorly should be measured by the way the masses react to it.

(30 March 1951)

The suppression of counterrevolutionaries must be strictly limited to such categories of people as bandit chiefs, bandits with long records, local tyrants, secret agents, and headmen of reactionary religious sects. We cannot include among them petty thieves, opium addicts, ordinary landlords, ordinary members of the Kuomintang and the [San-min Chu-i] Youth Corps, and ordinary officers of the Kuomintang army. Those sentenced to death must be people who have committed serious crimes. It is a mistake to deal lightly with a person who has committed a serious crime. It is equally a mistake to deal harshly with a person who has committed a small offense.

(2 April 1951)

The policy of "suspending a sentence for two years" should under no circumstance be explained as not wanting to execute a criminal who has committed a capital crime or other serious offenses and of whom the people demand death. If we do this, it will be a mistake. We must explain this clearly to the cadres and the masses in the districts and villages. Those who have committed heinous crimes and aroused popular wrath so deep that it cannot be calmed without execution must be put to death. Only those who have committed capital crimes, but against whom popular wrath is not deep and of whom the people do not demand death, can we sentence them to death, put them on two years' probation, implement reform through labor, and watch over the consequence.

(15 June 1951)

If the measures of watching over them are sound, let them engage in their activities. If we are careful in our observations, then our purposes will be served. They are in the palm of "Thus-Come Buddha" and cannot leap out. You should treat it as a big thing and carry out observation and inspection work enthusiastically and artistically.

(18 September 1951)<sup>3</sup>

Unless we take steps to wipe out the activities of counterrevolutionaries, the people's country will be in jeopardy.

(1 October 1951)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>In the 1967 volume this date is given as 18 September 1959.

<sup>4</sup>This comment is not included in the 1967 volume.

RESOLUTIONS OF THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC SECURITY

(15 May 1951)

The great number of criminals who are waiting to be sentenced constitutes a very big labor force. In order to remold them, solve the difficulties of prisons, and disallow counterrevolutionaries serving a sentence to eat without working, it is necessary to take steps immediately to organize the work of reform through labor.

\* \* \*

After this campaign for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries on a nationwide scale, it is inevitable that the activities of those secret agents and spies who have not been uncovered will go underground even more. Accordingly, public security departments should conduct inspection in a more systematic way and educate the masses in paying attention to the many aspects in the work of safeguarding [our country] against traitors.

\* \* \*

As to those who have committed capital crimes or other very serious crimes, for which punishment short of the death penalty will not calm public wrath, and those who have impaired most gravely the national interests, it is necessary to impose the capital sentence firmly and carry it out promptly. As to those who have not committed capital crimes and for whom the hatred of the people is not deep, and those who have seriously impaired the national interests, but not yet to the most critical extent, and are subject to the death penalty, it is proper to adopt the policy of imposing the death sentence and placing them on two years' probation with forced labor, and watching over the consequences. Particularly with regard to those counterrevolutionaries purged from the ranks of the Communist Party, the People's Government system, the People's Liberation Army system, cultural and educational circles, business circles, religious circles, democratic parties, and people's organizations, who are subject to the death penalty, generally it is necessary to exercise the principle of imposing the capital punishment on 10-20 percent of them and adopt the policy of passing the death sentence

on the rest, then placing them on probation with forced labor, and watching over the consequences. In this way, we will be able to gain the sympathy of society, avoid mistakes on our part in regard to this problem, and split up and disintegrate our enemies. This will be advantageous in utterly destroying the counterrevolutionary force, and preserve a big labor force, which will be beneficial to national production and construction.

\* \* \*

In addition, it should be clearly stipulated that if there is a question as to whether or not a person should be arrested, then he should not be arrested. To make an arrest in such a case would be a mistake. If there is a question as to whether or not a person should be executed, then he should not be executed. To carry out an execution in such a case would be a mistake.

\* \* \*

The campaign for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries now going on throughout the country is a great, acute and complex struggle. Everywhere in the country, we have carried out an effective work line which calls for leadership by party committees, mobilization of the whole party, mobilization of the masses, drawing people from all the democratic parties and various circles into taking part in the campaign, unified planning, unified action, strict examination of the namelists of those people making arrests or carrying out executions, paying attention to struggle tactics at various stages, carrying out extensive propaganda and educational work, smashing closed-door sectarianism and mysticism, and opposing resolutely any tendencies toward careless work. Those who comply fully with this line in their work are completely correct; all those who do not comply with this line have erred. All those who have in the main complied with this line, but not completely, are more or less correct, but not completely correct. We believe that this work line is a guarantee for continuing the work of thoroughly suppressing counterrevolutionaries and achieving complete victory. Henceforth, we must adhere closely to this work line in suppressing counterrevolutionaries. In this line the two most important points are the strict examination of the namelists of people identified for arrest or execution, and carrying out propaganda and educational work well and extensively. If we accomplish these two points, we shall avoid making mistakes.

DIRECTIVE ON THE FIVE-ANTI MOVEMENT

(20 March 1952)

//  
In the past, this matter was treated with leniency. In the future, it will be dealt with strictly. To the majority be lenient; to the minority be strict. To those who confess, be lenient; to those who resist, be strict. To industry, be lenient; to business, be strict. To ordinary business be lenient; to opportunists in business, be strict.

## DIRECTIVE ON WORK IN TRADITIONAL CHINESE MEDICINE

(30 July 1954)

Traditional Chinese medicine has contributed greatly to the people of our country. China with a population of 600 million is the most populous country in the world. There are, of course, many reasons why our people can grow and multiply and flourish with each passing day. But one of the important reasons must be the part being played by public health undertakings in the country. In this respect, credit is due to traditional Chinese medicine.

By comparison, Chinese medicine has a history of several thousand years while western medicine has been introduced into China for only several decades. To this day, there are still 500 million Chinese people who depend on Chinese medicine for the treatment of their illnesses while those who count on Western medicine number only several tens of millions (and most of these people live in the big cities). Thus, so far as China's public health undertakings since the beginning of history are concerned, the contributions of Chinese medicine and its achievements are great indeed....

For a number of years, there was no fostering of the medical heritage of the motherland. On the contrary, it was despised and repudiated. (For example, examinations for doctors of Chinese medicine were held in which there were papers on physiology and pathology. Those who failed these examinations were not given diplomas. In addition, there were regulations prohibiting doctors of Chinese medicine from entering hospitals.) The directive of the Party Central Committee on integrating Chinese and Western medicine has not been carried out. The true integration of Chinese and Western medicine also has not been resolved. This is incorrect. This problem must be resolved. Mistakes must be corrected. First, public health administration organs at different levels must undergo ideological changes.

Henceforth, it is most important that doctors of Western medicine study Chinese medicine, and not vice versa. First, detach 100-200 graduates of medical universities or colleges and turn them over to some prominent doctors of Chinese medicine to learn from the latter's clinical experience.

In their studies, these graduates should assume a very modest attitude. It is a glorious task for doctors of Western medicine to learn Chinese medicine. Because after learning and promoting Chinese medicine, they will be able to do away with the line dividing Chinese and Western medicine and turn the two into a unified medicine of China and make a contribution to the world. Second, all hospitals must regularly invite doctors of Chinese medicine to the hospitals to give treatment to patients and for consultations, and permit patients to take Chinese medicine. The hospitals must also set up various systems to accord respect to doctors of Chinese medicine and through these systems ensure that they will not be embarrassed and have misgivings about treating patients in hospitals. Third, Chinese medicine should be well safeguarded and developed. Chinese medicine of our country has a history of several thousand years and is an invaluable treasure of the motherland. If we let it wither away, then it is our fault. Therefore, we should investigate and safeguard all medicinal herbs grown in the various provinces. We should encourage their production, facilitate their transportation, and improve their marketing. For example, because their planting period is comparatively long, certain herbs require upwards of 2-3 years from planting to harvesting. White peony takes four years to grow into a plant and a bitter herb known as *Coptis teeta* six years. Individual peasants frequently do not have the manpower to plant them. Also, in some medicinal herb producing areas, such as Kansu and Tsinghai provinces where transportation is lacking, herbs grown there cannot be shipped out promptly, thus often forcing the peasants to use them as fuel. In the past, the waste of some Chinese drugs was enormous due to incorrect technique in processing or brewing. Loss through mildew and spoilage due to inadequate methods of packaging and storage was also very serious. All this should be improved. From now on, all organizations engaged in this work should change to joint state-private operated enterprises. All drug-making personnel should be regarded as technical cadres in accordance with their technical levels. In studying Chinese medicine, it is not enough just to engage in chemical analysis. We should go a step further in performing pharmacological and clinical experiments. Especially, we should all the more pay attention to the compounding effect of Chinese drugs. Fourth, books on Chinese medicine should be revised. Formerly, nobody bothered because the subject was hard to understand. Moreover, we attached no particular significance to it. If traditional Chinese medical books are not revised, they may soon go out of publication. We should organize knowledgeable doctors of Chinese medicine to engage first in the work of rendering those useful ones from classical language into modern language, according to plan and with emphasis on key topics. When the conditions are ripe, they should be organized to sum up their own experience and compile a set of books on Chinese medicine.

In order to carry out the different kinds of work mentioned above, first of all, it is up to you to rectify that bourgeois individualism and sectarian thinking. Only when there is a change in ideology can these tasks be carried out thoroughly.

Henceforth, those first level personnel in public health administrative departments will be dismissed if they do not perform well in these tasks.

SUMMING-UP SPEECH AT 6TH EXPANDED PLENUM  
OF 7TH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(September 1955)

I. This session has involved a very wide range of things, and has been one big debate.

This session has resolved a large number of problems, and has been one great debate. It has been a great debate on whether the Party's General Line during the transition period is entirely correct or not. This big debate by the whole Party stemmed from the question of general policy of agricultural cooperation. It has involved a very wide range of things -- heavy industry, light industry, finance, money, trade, communications, culture and education, public health, science, suppression of counter-revolutionaries, transformation of handicraft industries, transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, Party, League, trade unions, youth, women, internal affairs, the army, and so forth. We should have this big debate. Since the proclamation of the General Line, we had not developed such a debate. We should extend this debate to the comrades of Party branches in the rural areas. The debate must also be developed among Party members of branches in the cities so that the tempo and quality of work in all fields can conform with the tasks prescribed in the General Line. There must be overall planning in all work.

The socialist transformation of agriculture will take about three five-year plans to complete. The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce will also be completed at the same time. By then, the alliance of industry and agriculture and of workers and peasants can be consolidated on the basis of new socialism. Accordingly, it will be possible to cut off completely the relations between peasants and the bourgeoisie, to isolate fully the bourgeoisie, and to root out thoroughly for the last time the sources of capitalism on the vast expanse of land in the countryside.

At present, we have not yet completed the organization of cooperatives in agriculture, and workers and peasants have not yet formed a strong alliance. The old worker-peasant alliance established on the basis of

agrarian reform is now in a state of flux. Peasants have already become dissatisfied with the gains of agrarian reform. Some of them have already forgotten these gains. We have not given new gains to the peasants. (New gains will be socialism.) Peasants still are not collectively well-off. Staple foods and industrial raw materials still are not plentiful. The bourgeoisie will still be looking for a setback on our part to launch an attack against us.

After a few years we will see a new situation. Workers and peasants will have formed a stronger alliance on a new basis. The old worker-peasant alliance set up on the basis of agrarian reform is a temporary affair and therefore not solid. If we do not change the production relationships in the countryside we cannot increase the productive forces of agriculture and the peasants cannot become collectively well-off. Thus, classes will split up and turn toward two extremes, both the poor and the well-to-do will have no faith in us, and the worker-peasant alliance can not be strengthened. After a number of years, landlords and rich peasants might believe us. When all peasants prosper year after year, and commodities and staple foods increase, an entirely new situation will have arisen and the mouth of the bourgeoisie will have been stopped up.

We now have two alliances. One is the alliance with the peasants and the other is with the bourgeoisie. Under the conditions of China's economic backwardness, both these alliances are necessary. Our alliance with the bourgeoisie, under which we exercise utilization and restriction in dealing with them and for the time being we do not confiscate their property, is for the purpose of continuing the manufacture of their industrial goods so as to amply provide the peasants with what they need. Like us, the peasants have to eat and be clothed. They are paying for many things (industrial products) with coupons alone. This will not do. They will still conceal their grains and not sell them. We are making use of the alliance with the bourgeoisie to cope with the peasants' thought of being stingy in selling their grains. We are also utilizing the alliance with the peasants to acquire the grains and industrial raw materials to subjugate the bourgeoisie. We want them to turn out the industrial products and accept remolding. If you do not turn out the industrial products, we will not give you the grains and the industrial raw materials. In this way we curb the bourgeoisie economically by organizing a free market. And we isolate the bourgeoisie politically. Without this provision, they will be reluctant to submit. This is the inter-relation of the two transformations.

The two alliances. The alliance with the peasants is a basic one, a permanent one. The alliance with the bourgeoisie is a temporary one, because the bourgeoisie is to be liquidated. In the future, the ranks of the proletariat will be augmented by several million people of the bourgeoisie. However, the struggle against bourgeois ideology is a protracted one. The agrarian reform was a democratic revolution of a bourgeois nature. It destroyed feudalism, but it did not destroy capitalist ownership and individual ownership. It enabled the peasants to receive a share of the land, caused the workers and the peasants to form an alliance on the basis



of a democratic revolution, and made the bourgeoisie feel isolated for the first time. In 1950, the 3rd Plenum [of the 7th CCP Central Committee] already pointed out that if we did not carry through agrarian reform, we would not be able to attack on all sides. After the completion of agrarian reform, the peasants were drawn to our side and because of that, we were able to launch the "3-anti" and the "5-anti" movements. After the realization of agricultural cooperation, it was on the basis of socialism that the worker-peasant alliance was finally consolidated. This new worker-peasant alliance has caused the bourgeoisie to be isolated at last and capitalism to die out in China with its population of 600 million. Some people say that we were too ungrateful. We say that a Marxist's gratitude toward the bourgeoisie isn't much. In this respect, it is better to have a little less gratitude. Some of our comrades are too kind. We want to make capitalism die out on this earth and the bourgeoisie a thing of history. This is very significant. It is a good thing. All things that occurred in history must be liquidated. Capitalism likewise must be liquidated.

International conditions today are favorable to our accomplishing our tasks during the transition period. In another 12 years, we will be able to build up socialism in the main. Every year we will be able to produce 18-20 million tons of steel, about 73 billion kilowatt hours of electricity, about 280 million tons of raw coal, about 18 million tons of crude oil, about 60,000 metal-cutting machine tools, 183,000 tractors (converted to 15-hp each), 208,000 motor vehicles, about 16.8 million tons of cement, about 7.5 million tons of chemical fertilizers (these levels correspond to the 1940 levels of the Soviet Union; speaking of tractors alone, the output is about the same as that of the Soviet Union in 1954), 600 billion cabbies of grains, an increase of 100 percent, over 6 million tons of cotton, an increase in excess of 100 percent (all compared with 1952 yields), and 600,000 tractors. Also by then, we will have increased the acreage under mechanized cultivation to 61 percent of the total arable land. After another two five-year plans, we will have accomplished technical transformation and increased the acreage under mechanized cultivation to 100 percent. To carry out these tasks, we need a period of peaceful construction. Can we have this period of peaceful construction? Our comrades in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the International Liaison Department, and in the army will have to exert themselves before we can achieve it.

During these five years, the class struggle at home and abroad will be very acute. In this struggle we have already won a very big, very big victory, and will gain even more and even bigger achievements. In the past few years we scored victories in four sectors, namely: the opposition to idealism and the propaganda for materialism, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the unified purchasing and marketing of grains, and the organization of cooperatives in agriculture. The victories in these four sectors, which bore anti-bourgeois characteristics, have dealt a heavy blow to the bourgeoisie and will, in the days to come, deal it a shattering blow. The campaign against idealism will have to be continued for a long time. Through three five-year plans we can uproot idealism and establish the ranks of Marxist materialism. This year and the next, we will carry out suppression of counterrevolutionaries among 11-12 million people.

Counterrevolutionaries cannot be seen. But once you investigate you will find out. The Organization Department and the Public Security Department of the Central Committee have detected counterrevolutionaries. All over the country, 110,000 counterrevolutionaries have been discovered from among 2.2 million people. There are 50,000 major suspects still around. The work of suppressing counterrevolutionaries must be in conformity with specifications and standards. It must be for real. To let a few people escape punishment is unavoidable. But these must be kept to a minimum. On the question of grains we won a big victory. We also won a victory on the question of agricultural cooperation. On all of these four questions, we launched an even bigger struggle against the bourgeoisie to deal a blow to the bourgeoisie so that it could no longer rear its head and that we could gain the initiative. Otherwise, we would be in a state of passivity.

II. This session has smashed many erroneous viewpoints and exposed many outworn myths.

During the session many opinions were voiced to expose a multitude of outworn myths and smash a great number of erroneous viewpoints.

First of all, whether to develop rapidly or slowly? The question was resolved this time. The masses demanded rapid development. Agriculture, which is conforming with the needs of industry, also demanded rapid development. Those who advocate slow development are erroneous.

Can new areas be developed? New areas also can be developed.

Can mountainous areas be developed? Mountainous areas also can be developed.

Can disaster areas be developed? Disaster areas also can be developed.

Can backward rural areas be developed? Backward rural areas also can be developed.

Can areas populated by minority nationalities be developed? Aside from Tibet and Greater and Lesser Liang-shan [0404 1472], areas populated by minority nationalities also can be developed.

Can we organize a cooperative without capital? Yes, we can.

Can we organize a cooperative without culture? Yes, we can.

Can we organize a cooperative without a small number of cadres? Yes, we can.

In the past, some people said: "To build is easy, but to consolidate is hard." To build is not altogether easy and to consolidate is not necessarily hard. If you say it is hard, then it is a bit hard. If you say it is easy, then it is a bit easy. Why insist on saying "To consolidate is hard"? That is to say not to organize a cooperative.

That a cooperative cannot be organized without machinery is not being aired much now.

Faulty cooperatives, third-class, fourth-class or fifth-class cooperatives. Aside from dissolving them, what roads are open to us? Aside from individual cooperatives which are impossible not to dissolve and bogus cooperatives set up by rich peasants, the rest need not be dissolved. After readjustment, they can be run well.

The Rural Work Department of the Central Committee does not turn out rural ditties alone. It also deals out reason. Some people say: "If we do not dismount quickly, we will destroy the worker-peasant alliance." We will dispute only one character. We say: "If we do not mount [the horse] quickly, we will destroy the worker-peasant alliance."

The death of a draft animal is in part a "misdeed" of the cooperative. But the main reason does not lie with the cooperative. The reason for its death is a question of grains, a question of the price of cowhide, a question of the senility of the animal, a question of floods and drought.

In spring this year there was tension in the countryside. Some people said that this was caused by the many cooperatives being set up. In no way can this be said. Primarily, it was due to the clamor of landlords, rich peasants and well-to-do peasants who rushed to buy up grain when no shortage existed. Partly it stemmed from the grain problem and partly from false appearances. It was good that they clamored a bit. We got to acquire an understanding of the grain problem. Last year, owing to natural calamities, there was a decrease in output and we purchased 6 billion cattles more. This year there was an increase in production of 20 billion cattles and we purchased 6 billion cattles less. As a result, on the part of the peasants, there was an increase of 26 billion cattles of grain.

The sentiment that "the superiority of cooperatives can last only three years" is pessimism. The Soviet Union has been working at socialism for several decades and it still retains its superiority. As I see it, the superiority of socialism generally will endure several decades. At the end of that period, when socialism loses its superiority, we will be working at communism.

Should we in the next few years establish some cooperatives of an advanced type or not? We should. As to how many, people in different places should decide at their own discretion.

Wooden sailing vessels and animal-drawn carts can also form cooperatives. The several million working people should all organize themselves.

### III. Overall planning and strengthening of leadership.

We must have overall planning. In my article I deal with cooperative planning. Apart from this, agricultural production, overall economic

planning (subsidiary occupations, handicraft, diversified economy, land reclamation, migration of people over short distances, afforestation of mountains -- especially the barren mountains of North China and rocky Pei-tai-ho [0554 2071 3109] and Hsiang-shan [7449 1472], which also can be afforested -- supply and marketing cooperatives, credit cooperatives, and technical dissemination centers), culture and education (current events, elimination of illiteracy, primary schools, traditional Chinese medicine, operas, movies, radio and publications), Party consolidation and Party building, League consolidation and League building, suppression of counter-revolutionaries (you may read the talk given by the Secretary of the Chiang-chin Local Committee, Szechwan Province), women's work (if there are no women there will be no children; we were all born to a woman; to look down upon women is to oppose mothers and to oppose mothers is to be unfilial), and youth work all should have plans.

Each cooperative must have its own plan. Each township must have its overall plan. Therefore, throughout the land there should be 220,000 township plans. Some people say that plans are not needed for districts. It seems to me that it is good for them to have one, otherwise they do not have any possibilities. Each country must have a plan for the whole country. The different provinces should work out one or two plans for the townships and the counties, send them out and ask everybody to follow suit.

Rate of development. According to everybody's opinion, this should be divided into three areas: the majority of areas, certain minority of areas, and the other minority of areas.

1. The majority of areas: Three waves in the three winter-spring periods of 1956, 1957 and 1958. Before one wave subsides, another wave rises. Between two waves there is a trough, between two mountains there is a valley. There should be a break. By 1958, semi-socialist cooperativization is to be virtually accomplished.

2. Certain minority of areas (North China, the Northeast, and suburban areas): It is to be divided into two waves, one each in the two winter-spring periods of 1956 and 1957. Isolated areas may be allowed one wave. Semi-socialist cooperativization is to be accomplished by and large in one winter-spring period.

3. The other minority of areas (except Tibet and Greater and Lesser Liang-shan): Four, five or even six waves are required. Semi-socialist cooperativization is to be accomplished in the main by 1960. Although it is like this, it cannot be considered as socialism because it requires such a long time, which cannot be shortened. In a word, if conditions are not ripe, don't work at it.

What is meant by virtually accomplishing semi-socialist cooperativization?

It simply means accomplishing 70, 75 or 80 percent.

Either too slow or too fast is no good. Both are called opportunism. There is slow opportunism and there is fast opportunism.

Leadership needs to be strengthened. At the provincial, district and county levels, it is necessary to grasp the state of development of a campaign at all times. The moment we spot a problem we solve it then and there. Whenever there is a problem, solve it right away. Don't fire the cannon after the enemy is out of sight. (Half a province still can call a meeting.) Don't take a liking to criticizing only after the event. It is best to criticize as soon as the problem crops up. Don't wait until problems pile up before you criticize. When conditions are not right, you must immediately apply the brakes. Province, district, and county levels have the right to apply the brakes.

It is necessary to keep in mind guarding against the "left." Guarding against the "left" is also Marxism. Marxism is not guarding against the right alone. When the pace is as fast as what has been mentioned before, it will be all right. Later, both quality and specifications will be compared. The criterion of quality is increased production. We don't want dead cattle. (I didn't say we don't want dead pigs, but pigs cannot be dead [sic].) How can we achieve this criterion? 1) Implement the policy of voluntariness and mutual benefit; 2) overall planning; and 3) flexible guidance. The leadership must grasp well these three items. Some people caution us that the Soviet Union previously committed "leftist" mistakes. We must not forget the experience of the Soviet Union.

The key lies in the two years ahead. The next five to six months (from October to March next year) are crucial. We must not have a big problem crop up in these five to six months.

We should consider the dead cattle practice as something that is past and will not be repeated. Cattle, too, care about clothing, food and lodging. They need someone to look after them. Whether a price is set on them or not when they join a cooperative, we don't want dead ones. If the Chinese Communist Party has the ability, the dead cattle practice will not occur again in the future. We have to accomplish "three don't call out": people don't call out, cattle don't call out, and pigs don't call out. If they call out, they are likely to die.

During the next five months, the principal responsible persons, above all the secretaries and deputy secretaries of provinces, areas, counties, districts and townships, must go into cooperatives and become experts. If they cannot do that, they will have to change jobs. Then we won't ask them to enter deeply into cooperatives any more.

Five months later, the Central Committee perhaps will call another such meeting. Various provinces perhaps will ask a few county committee secretaries to take part, meaning an increase of 200 to 300 people for the whole country. Everyone will have to prepare a speech. It must contain something new and deal with a new topic, such as overall planning or management.

Some suggestions regarding the method of leadership (on how to achieve greater, faster and better results):

1. Call several meetings each year -- big meetings as well as small meetings.

2. When you encounter a problem, solve it immediately. Don't wait until problems pile up. You only have to get a clear understanding of a few cooperatives, then you can already form a conclusion. Catch a sparrow and dissect it. Although the sparrow is small, the gall and liver are all complete. Chinese sparrows and foreign sparrows are alike. You don't have to dissect every one of them.

3. Use the telegram and the telephone.

4. Go on tours of inspection. You may do so by riding in a jeep, riding in a horse-drawn carriage or walking.

5. Improve the periodicals. I have seen all of the provincial periodicals. Some are well edited. One shortcoming is that the editors are irresponsible. They see an article and publish it, without regard for its contents. The type used in a periodical should not be too small, and the lines should not be too close together. Don't use the New No. 5 type, but use the Old No. 5 type to make them easy to read. When the articles on "How to Run an Agricultural Producer Cooperative" were written, the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee read 1,200 of them. I closed my door for 11 days and read 120 articles. I seemed to be making a tour of various countries. I appended notes and wrote prefaces. As I see it, each province and each autonomous region should compile a book annually. Each county should contribute an article to the book, which should be published for public consumption. It is said that "party secrets" will be involved. To me, there are no secrets. We will have the People's Publishing House put out "How to Run an Agricultural Producer Cooperative" and send a copy to each of the democratic personages.

6. Issue brief reports. County committees should submit to the area committees, and the latter to the provincial committee, a brief report every 10 days, or in an emergency every five days. Its contents should include what troubles arose and what progress has been achieved in resolving them. Provincial committees should submit to the Central Committee a brief report every fortnight, or in an emergency every 10 days. Its contents should be terse and concise. A few hundred characters should be sufficient.

#### IV. Concerning ideological struggle.

At this meeting we have crossed swords ideologically. This is very good. Historical experience has proved that ideological struggle should be sound and that ideas should cross swords, you with a sword and I with a gun. If no swords are crossed, there will be a lack of definitiveness and thoroughness. After swords are crossed, it will help the majority of comrades to

understand the problem and those comrades who have committed mistakes to rectify them.

There were two kinds of people who made mistakes in history. One kind consisted of those who were willing to correct their mistakes; the other kind consisted of those who were unwilling to correct their mistakes. We should stand for those people who are willing to rectify their mistakes. There are two lines of comrades who have made mistakes. One line comprises those who themselves are willing to continue the revolution; the other line comprises those who would like to approve who should make revolution. All those who disallow others to make revolution are very dangerous people. Wang Lun, the accomplished scholar in white, and District Magistrate Chao would not allow people to make revolution. So did Ch'en Tu-hsiu Chang Kuo-t'ao, Kao Kang, and Jao Shu-shih. As it turned out, they lost their lives in so doing. Historically, people who committed mistakes of empiricism and dogmatism were for the most part able to make corrections. Some did their own rectification. Some needed the assistance of others. They, of course, had to assume an attitude of welcoming criticism. Apart from a handful, like Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Tai Chi-t'ao, all could rectify their mistakes.

Some of the comrades of the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee committed mistakes, first and foremost being Teng Tzu-hui [6772 1311 1863]. The nature of their mistakes was rightist empiricism. In the past, Comrade Teng Tzu-hui performed much work in the prolonged struggle and scored many achievements. But do not treat achievements as a burden. If only one becomes a little modest and not put on the airs of a veteran, he can rectify his mistakes.

The "Four Great Freedoms" and "consolidation of the new democratic order" are the programs of the bourgeoisie, and run counter to the resolutions of the 2nd Plenary Session. That such slogans were put forth was a program mistake. There should be restrictions on the "Four Great Freedoms." They should be changed into "Four Small Freedoms." After being utilized, restricted and transformed, the bourgeoisie should ultimately be eliminated. It cannot be neither restricted nor transformed. To eliminate it, it is necessary to make preparations. We must have something to replace it. If we eliminate it before we find something to replace it, we will be committing "leftist" mistakes.

Some comrades are "used to saying something which is not what they actually mean" and "fond of doing things that call for a little cleverness." These comrades do not study well and they will not listen to what takes place outside their windows. They do not follow Party resolutions at all. They themselves do not turn to their books and will not ask their secretaries to look it up for them.

Some comrades delight in excessive decentralization, love to set up independent kingdoms, and have a fancy for dictatorship. They do not like to confer with other people, and do not exchange views with others. They are always lecturing to people. These comrades cannot sense the political

climate. Although things have existed everywhere in quantity, they are not aware of them. This is what is called catching a political cold.

#### V. Concerning certain isolated problems.

1. To change the leading position of well-to-do middle peasants in the cooperatives, we have to be careful about steps and methods. We must make them and the masses realize that they are not fit to be leaders. Besides, we must have substitutes for them who are comparatively better. With regard to methods of handling these well-to-do middle peasants, we must differentiate disparity in conditions and not drag them all down in a gust of wind. Some people may be dragged down, some may be demoted to minor positions or appointed as committee members. Do not touch those who have performed well, let them remain. Do not treat well-to-do middle peasants as rich peasants. Their attitude toward cooperativization is different from that of rich peasants. They are vacillating while rich peasants are in opposition. They are laboring people and not exploiters.

2. In Party branches and among the masses, we must offer the explanation that our division into the strata of upper-middle and lower-middle peasants is not a redrawing of class lines. It is being done because the economic positions and political attitudes of the upper-middle and lower-middle peasants are not the same and there is a difference between their enthusiasm and lack of enthusiasm toward cooperatives. Even in the same stratum, attitudes may be different. For this reason, we should draw people into the cooperatives by stages and by groups. After a few years, all peasants will be admitted and there will be no distinction between strata.

3. Landlords and rich peasants may join cooperatives. In areas already cooperativized in the main, they may be drawn into the cooperatives group by group according to their specific situations. Previously it was said that only after the whole country had been cooperativized more than 50 percent could they be admitted. Now, we can draw them in when a county has been basically cooperativized. We can give the honest among them the designation of cooperative member. To some of those dishonest people we give not the designation of cooperative member, but that of "alternate cooperative member," and make them undergo reform through labor with the same economic remuneration. To some we do not give the permission to join up at all. None of the landlords and rich peasants who are admitted are allowed to undertake leadership duties for three to five years. Can intellectual youth born of a landlord or rich peasant family become a teacher? I think he can, but I will not form a conclusion. You study the question further. Don't ask them to be a bookkeeper. To make them bookkeepers is a little dangerous.

4. Each area will study the conditions for advanced cooperatives in accordance with the actual state of affairs. When the conditions are ripe, you may organize them.

5. Do not mistake cooperativization for the "three fixes" in grains. As to how to arrange the timing of the "three fixes" in grains and cooperativization, each area should make a decision on its own.



6. Each area may postpone conscription until April next year. But, in general, do not postpone conscription [indefinitely].

7. Cooperatives may be organized between summer and autumn. Do not concentrate completely on winter and spring. However, you must stop organizing between two waves. People must take a rest every day. If you do not stop organizing for a while, you cannot get a second wind.

8. "Work industriously and exercise thrift in running the cooperatives" is a very good slogan. In the cities there is an anti-waste campaign going on. There should also be one in the countryside. Run one's household with industry and frugality, run the cooperatives industriously and thriftily, and build our country through hard work and thrift. Don't be lazy, don't be extravagant. We must raise the labor productivity, lower production costs, practice economy, oppose waste, and carry out economic accounting. However, economic accounting must be pushed through step by step.

9. We do not want counties, districts and townships to carry out liquidation of counterrevolutionaries before April of next year. Last year, they were crude and careless in integrating the work of setting up cooperatives, producing grain, and carrying out conscription. This year, they must be meticulous and not make a lot of noises.

10. One shortcoming is that the question of state farms was not addressed at this meeting. Next time we must have someone speak on it. The Rural Work Department of the Central Committee should go down and make a study of it. In future, the relative importance of state farms will grow with each passing day.

11. We must oppose Han chauvinism consistently and vigorously. Han chauvinism is bourgeois ideology. Of course, we should also oppose narrow-minded nationalism. But first and foremost, we oppose Han chauvinism. We must render assistance to the minority nationalities with sincerity and good intentions. We cannot do without the minority nationalities. They occupy 70 to 80 percent of the land that is rich in resources. We cannot do without Saifudin and X X X.

12. Within the cooperatives we must eliminate illiteracy and not do away with the campaign to eliminate illiteracy.

13. What is "left" deviation? What is right deviation? Things move through time and space (especially time). If people's observation of these things is out of keeping with actual conditions, those who have observed are called "left" and those who did not observe are called right. For example, when the conditions are ripe for developing cooperatives rapidly and you do not develop them, then it is right. Next year, you want the whole country to attain cooperativization 80 percent within the year, then it is "left." There is an old Chinese saying to this effect, "when the melon is ripe, it falls by itself," "when the water flows, the drain is completed." This is to say that we must attain our goal naturally and not by forcing ourselves.

Take for example a woman giving birth to a child. If we force it after seven months of pregnancy, then it is "left." If after nine months of pregnancy we restrain its birth, then it is right.

14. Is there any possibility of "left" deviation? It is entirely possible. If the leadership does not pay attention to conditions of development or to mass awareness, if it lacks overall planning or does not realize targets by stages and by groups, if it favors quantity to the neglect of quality or loses control, then "left" deviationist mistakes will certainly occur. And these will certainly make people cry out, cattle cry out, pigs cry out. After crying out, there will be death, dead people, dead cattle, dead pigs. This is no "perverted propaganda." We must envisage every kind of unfavorable situation or difficulty that is likely to emerge, like a possible decrease in production or the death of animals, and tell it to the masses so that they will be prepared. Naturally, we must not alarm the masses. At an opportune moment, when a person's head has swelled, it is necessary to compress it a little so that it will not swell too much. "

Should we not worry at all? The necessary worries and taboos and commandments must still remain with us. It is not that we want none of it. Even Chupachieh (Piggy) [character in Pilgrimage to the West, the celebrated Ming dynasty novel about a Buddhist monk and his three disciples on their way to India] has his three taboos and five commandments. The necessary pauses, the application of brakes, and the closure of sluice gates are all essential. When people lift their tail, assign new tasks to them (for example, next year there will be an emulation drive on quality) so that they will not have enough time to be conceited.

15. Can we allow the county level to have 90 percent flexibility? I think we can. But don't form any conclusion yet. Give the suggestion your consideration.

16. Kerosene is too expensive; shall we reduce the price or not? Comrade Ch'en Yun says that the question can be solved.

17. Some people are skeptical about whether or not decisions will be reversed in the future. It seems to me that as things are going generally, decisions will not be reversed.

18. Other people ask what is the general trend today. Ten years or so from today, that is about three five-year plans later, we will have built up socialism. Some 50 to 70 years from now, that is about 10 to 15 five-year plans later, we will be striving to catch up with or overtake the U.S. During this period, at home and abroad, within and outside the party, it is certain that there will occur many conflicts and struggles in varying degrees of gravity and complexity, and there will arise many difficulties, such as another world war, atomic bomb brandishing, and the emergence of more Berias, Kao Kang's and Jao Shu-shih's. There are many things which we cannot foresee at this moment. However, we are Marxists. And to us, all difficulties can

be overcome. It is certain that a big and strong socialist China will emerge. Fifty years from now, a communist China will emerge.

19. After the resolutions and regulations have been passed by the Resolutions Conference and revised by the Political Bureau, they will be published promptly. The regulations will amount to a second constitution. The State Council will promulgate the regulations and ask for the people's opinions on them, then present them to the National People's Congress for its approval.

20. You may take with you copies of all speeches. But do not print them. Everybody should leave behind a copy of his revised draft. Send all drafts to the General Office of the Central Committee for exchange before 25 October. You may also take with you sample copies of "How to Run an Agricultural Producer Cooperative." Most of today's articles are written in the old style, with the result that they are part classical language and part vernacular language. "Ying-kai" (must) is written only as "ying"; "ping-ch'ieh" (moreover) is written only as "ping"; "shih-hou" (time) is written only as "shih"; and "kuan-ch'e chih-hsing" (to adhere consistently to) is written only as "kuan-ch'e." In writing an article, one must be careful about logic (The structure of an article has inner relations so that there is no conflict between the first and last parts), and about grammar and rhetoric (The writing must be compact and the language must be vivid). You should seek help from expert essayist.

21. How [should the things discussed here] be transmitted? During work discussions, express in your own words what you can remember. Resolutions and regulations need to be studied.

22. See to it that you make a success of the work of electing delegates to the 8th Party Congress.

23. Premier Chou will give you a report on current events.

24. Provincial and large areas will call a small meeting on their own.

## TALK OPPOSING RIGHT-DEVIATION AND CONSERVATISM

(6 December 1955)

"Left" is better than right. Wrong. Right is better than "left." Wrong again. The ideas of some people have fallen behind reality. Their heads have no horns and they lack militancy. In the struggle between the two roads, they do not conduct criticism, or if they do, it is not sharp. They are afraid of criticism and are afraid of losing votes. All these are manifestations of right deviation and it is necessary for the Party to oppose them. The 6th Plenary Session criticized the right-deviationist empiricism of the Rural Work Department. That the thought of its leading cadres has fallen behind reality is a serious problem. It was like this during the transformation of capitalism, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, and the organization of cooperatives in agriculture. We underestimated our own strength. In the past, agriculture lagged behind industry. After the "17 Articles" came out, agriculture caught up with industry and forced it to advance. If the basic level cooperatives are not improved in three or four years, it will be disadvantageous. It is possible that socialism will be here by 1959. Ideologically, the 17 Articles are against conservatism. Half a year ago, we did not consider overall planning, strengthening leadership, fundamental measures, and advanced experience. Now things have changed. In fact, tremendous changes have taken place. Immense productive forces have appeared. It is like discovering a new continent. The continent was there all the time, but we did not see it. The socialist transformation of industry and commerce will be 90 percent completed by 1957. The transformation of handicrafts will also be rushed. The plan is too small, however. By 1957, transformation will be completed 70 to 80 percent. Originally, the nationalization of industrial and commercial enterprises was planned for 1962. Perhaps this will be fulfilled ahead of schedule. To nationalize jointly-operated enterprises is not difficult. The cooperative movement was changed to 10 years from 18 years. This shows that it lags behind reality. The potential strength of the masses is enormous. They can handle more affairs. We should oppose right deviation and conservatism and finish the transformation ahead of schedule. I suggest we achieve it before the targeted 15 years. ✓

We should revise such indefinite words as "about," "in the main," and "around 15 years." We should strive for what we can strive for. Like in the case of ordering merchandise, we can ask that delivery be advanced to an earlier date. We should take advantage of the truce to speed up the tempo and accomplish the overall task. This is our thinking in connection with the 8th National Party Congress. If we can fulfill the overall task during the transition period ahead of schedule, taking care of the battlefield should be easy. Doing it quickly will be extremely advantageous to us. If fighting is to resume, we will be in a better position to fight. But it will be difficult if we have not fulfilled the construction task. We must hurry and achieve faster, greater and better results in all work projects. We must obtain better results in a shorter period of time. Handling work in an orderly manner is the demand of the masses. Achieving greater and better results will mean steady advance. There were defects in our past campaign against making venturesome advances. We lost the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses. That was wrong. Instead of eliminating illiteracy and opposing venturesome advances, we came out losers. Uprightness did not stand up, but evil emanations increased greatly. The cadres and the masses became listless. It was neglect of duty on the part of the Central Committee that it did not bring up such a question at an early date. The masses say "One can't go wrong when he follows the Communist Party." In terms of main orientation they cannot go wrong. But specifically speaking, we were wrong and the masses were misguided. There are several ways to advance -- the best way, the middle way, and the worst way. Relatively speaking, the correct and proper way is to stand in the forefront and encourage the masses to advance, and not stand in the rear and pour cold water on them to dampen their spirits. To achieve greater results in a relatively short period of time is to make steady advance. To transact business according to convention when there is much time and little work is the conservative line. There are two methods to overcome the conservative line: carry out overall planning and come into close contact with the masses. Methods having nothing to do with sitting inside an office. When you come into close contact with the masses, you will uncover new things, new experiences, advanced experiences, and how to popularize them. You do not have to catch a lot of sparrows to know about the liver and gall. When you know that Chekiang and Anhwei will be cooperativized soon, you will realize that the whole country can organize the cooperative movement. Conservatism is not the problem of any one man. To grasp the progressive and criticize the laggards, and to discover new productive forces and the potentialities of the masses are the rules and the method of leadership. We have to do all this before we can convince people. It will not do to sit in an office and not come into close contact with the masses or grasp the progressive. Official business has to be transacted, but it will not do to just transact official business. When you go out, you also have to grasp the progressive. You cannot just tackle the laggards and come back. A responsible person should be close to the masses for seven to 10 weeks. The sitting-in-the-office style can only be conventional. Advanced experience always calls for breaking through conventions. Objective things can be broken every day. Imbalance is regular, while balance is temporary. This is the law of advance.

It is wrong to balance unalterable viewpoints. We grasp the progressive and bring up the others in the midst of imbalance so as to make progress. If we are not afraid of breakthrough, contradictions will arise. But if it is forever calm and peaceful, mistakes are bound to occur. To break through and then seek balance is dialectics. Only in this way can we inspire the initiative of the masses, advance socialist construction to an early date, surpass the target with faster, greater and better results before the targeted 15 years, and proceed by steady steps.

Our country as compared with the Soviet Union: 1) Ours has been evolved from over 20 years of experience in the base areas and three revolutionary wars, and therefore is a country of much experience. Before victory we already had experience in every field. After casting about several times, we quickly founded the nation and accomplished our revolutionary task. (The Soviet Union was a newly developed country. It went through the October Revolution and had neither army nor government, and party members were few.) 2) We have the assistance of the Soviet Union and other democratic nations. 3) Our population is big and our position is favorable. Peasants work industriously and bear much hardship, but they have no way out if they do not cooperativize. Chinese peasants are even better than British and American workers. Hence, they can achieve greater, better and faster results in reaching socialism. We should not always compare ourselves with the Soviet Union. By being able to produce 24 million tons of steel after three five-year plans, we will be faster than the Soviet Union. Now, our two flanks are riding high and it is possible that our main body is lagging behind. The two flanks are apt to be conceited, but most prone to arrogance will be industry, above all heavy industry. The Anshan Iron and Steel Mill is already giving itself airs. It is very likely that the country will be socialized, but not industrialized (The proportion is no more than 60; the system has not been established yet). Can we let the peasants wait or not? The answer is no. The socialization of the peasants will not hinder industrialization. We cannot let them wait. We should check closely the work on the two flanks. Besides, we should also seriously review the industrial question and make industry go through the big campaigns on schedule. An inspection of finance, trade, and culture and education should also be made. At the 8th National Congress, a summing-up review should be carried out. This then is the pivotal question. We should oppose conservatism, right deviation, passivity, and arrogance. We should discover advanced experiences, change the method of leadership, and achieve faster and better results. We should mobilize the masses to conduct criticism and self-criticism, get rid of conservatism, and score greater achievements. The whole party must be prepared, the whole people must be prepared.

SPEECH AT EXPANDED MEETING OF CCP POLITICAL BUREAU

(April 1956)

There are those who show no vigor and vitality in their expressions of opinion. The relationship between the lower echelon and the higher echelon is like that of a mouse when it sees a cat. It is as if their souls have been eaten away. Thus many dare not speak up. The various provinces have this same problem. They are not sufficiently democratic, although the exemplary workers speak up quite spiritedly. Our financial and economic conference and the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee have an auxiliary function, because there are several rules and regulations on which not everyone dares speak. At the financial and economic conference, some comrades do not speak appropriately and some comrades do not dare express themselves at all.

Another reason for this is that they do not have sufficient understanding of the situation and thus do not speak clearly and profoundly. In regard to the financial and economic system, Comrades X X and Hsien-nien have their own opinions, but this is not a question of men. Only by changing the system can we change the way of doing things, and we must give some power to those below. Our discipline has come mostly from the Soviet Union. By being too strict, we will tie the hands of the people. If we cannot crush bureaucracy in this way, then the proletarian dictatorship must have an appropriate system. In regard to the problem of the division of power between the central government and the local areas, and how the single-head system of the Soviet Union came about, the Political Bureau and the State Council have still been unable to make a decision. If the various localities want division of power, they should not be fearful of talking up independence. Since the central government has not made any decision on this, all of it can be brought up for discussion. It is allowable for the various localities to first work up their own regulations, by-laws, methods, and statutes. We should allow the various localities to be full of creativity, spirit, and liveliness. Starting next year, a large meeting should be held once a year. On 1 May there need not be a large meeting; there can be small meetings and entertainment, and 1 May slogans of the Soviet Union need not be posted.

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Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, we have been dull and mechanical, and lacking in spirit. The Fourth Plenary Session should be convened. Its resolutions are very necessary. Letting Kao Kang hold sway for another year is unthinkable. But this has produced an over-cautiousness about everything, and some do not dare speak of national affairs, and this is not right. Before the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, there were some sabotage incidents; these must be overcome. The sabotage activities of Kao and Jao should be terminated. But some are over-cautious and do not speak of national affairs. A clear distinction should be made between two kinds of national affairs. One type is destructive, like that of Kao and Jao, and should be opposed. One type is constructive, and should be thoroughly discussed. At the time of the financial and economic conference, some comrades said the wrong thing and were subject to criticism, but the Kao and Jao affairs should be distinguished from them. The party at the time of the Great Revolution was full of vitality. Later Ch'en Tu-hsiu committed the mistake of right opportunism, and subsequently also started the blind leftist movement. After defeat, he was no longer lively. In these eight years, the brief period following the "7 August" Conference, the Sixth National Congress, and the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee were correct. During the period of land reform, there were three leftist tendencies. During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, there was a rightist trend. Two of the leftist trends were our own, and the third leftist trend and the Communist International were related to each other. The Fourth Plenary Session's resolutions on the third leftist trend were written by the Russians who forced us to accept them, especially the Wang Ming line. It was the greatest loss to our revolutionary power, the loss incurred amounting to over 90 percent. In view of this lesson, we should accept things analytically and critically. Chang Kuo-t'ao was rightist. During the Anti-Japanese War, he was also rightist. The three rightist movements were especially for centralization, and they were not allowed to express a difference of views. In defeat, they were not allowed to talk of defeat. In view of the lessons of history, later every effort was made to remedy the situation, and there was unity and fighting spirit. During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, the spirit of independence of the base areas was very great, and local activism was given expression, but there was a kind of decentralization. Some who were working for independence expressed what should not be expressed. This was related to the Wang Ming line. In order to correct this kind of phenomenon, the central government made the decision to strengthen party nature. There was to be centralization, but a good deal of autonomy was preserved. During the period of the War of Liberation, there was formulated the system of reporting for instructions, rectifying the previous tendency of decentralization. During the past few years, it has been irregular, and there has been more centralization. After all, how much autonomy should the industrial plants, the villages, the cooperatives, and the localities have? The Soviet Union during the past 40 years has had no experience in this, and we have no experience to study this. Since some things are decided neither by the Central Government nor the localities, they are just carried out as such, as for example the single-head system. Comrade Hsueh-feng would bring up the question before the central government would



discuss it. Our party historically has had the over-centralization of the Wang Ming line and the over-decentralization of the Second Wang Ming line. It is necessary to have an adequate amount of centralization, but too much centralization is not right and not beneficial for the mobilization of power to carry out large-scale economic reconstruction. Our comrades will please study carefully our party's history on this.

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The question of the individual and the state, and the ratio of collective income. I agree that 60-70 percent of the total income should go to the commune members, and 30-40 percent to the state and the commune. At most this should not exceed 40 percent; and 30 percent is the best (including agricultural taxes, besides the cooperative public welfare fund, the public accumulation fund, administrative fees, etc.).

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The question of the system of the socialist economy:

The party committee system is not to be doubted. Please study Lenin's directives. The industrial plants and mines, cooperatives, commercial flow and transport, as well as other enterprises must have a definite independence, but the extent to which they should be independent should be carefully studied. We are not Kao Kang's Independent Kingdom, but should encourage open and legal "independent kingdoms" (not above the constitution) if we are to manage our affairs well. If we have none of this at all, we cannot manage our affairs well. How should the State Council have division of labor in management and control? This must be studied in order to find a solution. How many departments the central government should have and how much power they should have are questions which should be decided on shortly. As to how many departments the localities should set up, over what matters they should have jurisdiction, and how much power they should have, we should draft a resolution on this within the next few months. The various departments of the central government should stress the teaching of cadres for the lower levels to solve their problems. When the localities come to the central government and cannot see the people in charge, and there is delay and indecision, some problems do not get to be solved for several years, and the reasons for this should be studied. These two problems need solution: What method should be used so that the people in charge can be seen, and also how can problems be expeditiously solved. Will the various departments of the central government please give this their attention.

The localities have the power to resist all inoperable, impractical, and subjective orders, directives, instructions, and forms which the central government issues to the localities, and if they are restrained a bit more, it would not matter. This power is only given to the provincial and municipal committees (which are comparatively more mature politically), and they are not given to the committees of the localities and the counties.

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The Party regulations should show discipline and creativeness: the mass line should be manifested here, and the various provinces should study them a bit. It will not do not to have discipline; but discipline, when enforced inflexibly, can obstruct an attitude of positivism. Discipline which obstructs creativeness and positivism should be abolished. In the draft party regulations it should be stipulated that a vice chairman or several vice chairmen should be designated. Whether or not it is possible to emulate the methods of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and designate regular delegates with 5-year terms to serve in a supervisory function, is something to which everyone will please give consideration.

In the field of arts, "Let a hundred flowers bloom"; and in the literary field, "Let a hundred schools of thought contend" (as they contended during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods.) This should be our policy. This was the view of the people 2,000 years ago.

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Democratic control of the cooperatives is very important. This is natural. In collectivized labor, the peasants also should be given some free time. It is right to listen to correct orders, but when orders are profuse, they become too inflexible and inoperative. We also must have some liberalism; it will not do otherwise. Strictness is derived from dealing with the unstrict. Discipline arises from dealing with liberalism. What we are opposed to is: We should not stir up the liberalism of the local liberals. But we must have some liberalism in order to facilitate getting things done. It will not do to be strict at all times. It is still necessary to have liberalism within the family, otherwise each family will have to set up supervisory members.

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It is necessary to have national balance. Local independence should not obstruct national balance. Only with national balance can there be partial balance for the localities. Without national balance, the country would be in great chaos. Peking's things cannot match those of Shanghai, and they are afraid that Shanghai goods will flood the market. So it is necessary to have national balance. Without this balance, it will not be possible to make the nation industrialized. When we encourage independence of the localities, we must not lean to one side. Now it is necessary to stress independence.

We must positively touch on the economic activities of this year and next year. Each provincial and municipal committee should report once, and work up some exemplary models. We have had no experience in these matters, and must try to find some departments, districts, and industrial plants to study. Other people say the central government has brilliant leadership. We know some things, but also do not know other things.

In four days of meetings, we cannot talk about everything. We have talked too little about the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, the unification of war efforts, the minority nationalities, and international problems. Will the various areas please stress this to their subordinates. We should take affirmative action in regard to the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. In the past, we have killed, locked up, and controlled 2-3 million such persons, and this was extremely necessary. Without this stroke, it would not do. The democratic parties have divergent views from us. Now the counterrevolutionaries are fewer. We should take affirmative action to see if there are still any counterrevolutionaries, and this year decide upon having some of them killed. They must be liquidated in the strategic organizations and schools. Those not yet liquidated must be liquidated. We cannot be lax and lenient; we must carry out this bitter task. We should telephone once every half month to urge them into action. You can also use the telephone method towards the local committees.

Punishment within the party: In regard to some cadres in the counties, districts, and townships, this has been too much and too severe. In regard to high level cadres (including bureau chiefs and above) who commit errors and on whom it is difficult to reach a conclusion, the punishment should be carried out (and the reasons therefore should be clearly investigated). It is not right for the punishment to be too severe and too heavy. With the exception of the counterrevolutionaries, they should be given the chance to reform.

In regard to the problem of minority nationalities, Comrade X X has said that Szechwan is right. Although some retribution has been made, attention needs to be paid to other areas.

The question of international relations. Some points should not be blindly followed. On some matters we already have experience. The Soviet Union has already initiated a mass criticism campaign. Some of it is neither suitable for our country nor the Soviet Union. We have committed many errors in view of their direct leadership. For example, in regard to the repression of counterrevolutionaries, we would not catch most of them and would not kill any of them. The single-head system is a military standpoint. The mass line is still the standpoint of graceful favors. Whether the method of capital accumulation should be by disparity (in prices between industrial goods and agricultural produce) or by tax collection is a problem. But this is not to say that we have nothing to learn from the Soviet Union. They have many things which are worthy of our study. The Soviet Union helped us in our reconstruction, and socialist countries are still the best at this. Now even with this one country, although it has made many errors, there is still much that merits our study. We should not follow blindly, but should subject everything to analysis. There is good and bad in everything. We cannot say that everything the Soviet Union does is good. Now, people are saying that we have been following even what is bad. We should learn whatever is suitable for our use. Even the good in capitalism should be learned.

We should adopt an attitude of equal treatment to all small nations abroad. We should not cock our tail. Although we are not imperialists, do not have an "Octobrist Revolution," and in the beginning cannot cock our tail; we shall soon learn a few things and shall soon be able to cock our tail. We should teach our comrades who are sent to foreign countries to be honest and sincere, and call a spade a spade; and we must let everyone see what is good, bad, or mediocre in us. The Soviet Union had its Czars; and we have our Chiang Kai-shek. If our country has small feet, and others want to photograph them, let them do it. If our clothes are not good, let us not be afraid they will look unsightly. If we tell lies in front of foreigners, some day these lies will surely be exposed.

As to the problem of communication, some things can be talked about anywhere. The bad things about Stalin and the Third International can be communicated to the local committee secretaries and also to the county committee secretaries. It is out of consideration for the total situation that these are not written about in articles. (This article had only one sentence "about "certain bad ideas being brought up,") and we have no intention of discussing them in newspapers or among the masses.

INSTRUCTIONS AT A DISCUSSION MEETING ATTENDED BY SOME OF  
THE DELEGATES TO THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE  
OF THE ALL-CHINA FEDERATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

// (8 December 1956)

I am a layman in economics and therefore I shall give a laymen's talk. You have raised many questions which are very helpful to me. I heard quite a few within the limited time. Yesterday I had a meeting with the chairman and the vice chairman at which I heard a number of things and began to understand certain general conditions. As to details, you should hold a meeting to discuss them. Ch'en Yun and X X X, vice premiers of the State Council, will make a report to you. The government would like to discuss with you ways to solve your problems. All solvable problems will have to be solved. Some of the problems I haven't studied and therefore I cannot offer any solutions. The government will make a study of the problems that you have brought up and Vice Premier Ch'en Yun will consider ways to solve those solvable problems.

Since the inauguration of public-private joint enterprises, great progress has been achieved by industrial and commercial circles. We feel we have come to know you better and to be closer with you. Subsequent to the inauguration of public-private joint enterprises, the only problem of the capitalists is that of fixed interests. Their reputation in society has changed, and they have shown great enthusiasm in learning -- politics, current events, skills and methods of administration. I was told that training classes have been inaugurated at all places with several hundred people joining in each city. In Shanghai several thousand people take part in one session. In 10 sessions there will be tens of thousands of participants. This is a manifestation of great patriotism and the fervent spirit of learning of the industrial and commercial circles. They are anxious to work for a new state, to study economics, and to acquire skills. All members, large, medium or small, are willing to learn.

My classification of capitalists in three categories -- large, medium and small -- shows the improvement of my understanding of them. Previously, I thought it would be very difficult to reform them. Even you yourselves

had not expected that you would have reformed so quickly and that the tide of learning would be so high. Are you going to develop self-criticism? (Answer: "We will.") At last year's conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce many made a self-examination. This is a technique of the Communist Party. We have thought of promoting this technique among democratic parties but as yet without too much success. This technique was recently employed at the conference of the China Democratic National Construction Association, developing criticism and self-criticism. This is a technique for the people to solve their internal problems -- advancing opinions, presenting demands, solving problems, and achieving unity.

We have undergone two revolutions. The democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie is over and presents no more problem. Now the socialist revolution has been essentially accomplished, but not yet fully accomplished, for many problems remain unsolved such as agricultural cooperativization, handicraft cooperativization and public-private joint enterprise. Even when the whole reform program has been completed, there will still be many problems, endless problems. What are said to be problems are contradictions, disharmony, and disequilibrium. Problems of livelihood and employment as well as domestic and foreign problems are full of contradictions. Somebody has said: Why should there have been a Beria in Russia? Even Stalin himself made mistakes. In China there was Kao Kang. Even Hong Kong was engulfed in turmoil. There were problems of Poland, Hungary, and the Suez Canal. The world is full of problems. The problems that we brought up today are of one type: they are the problems of the industrial and commercial circles and of the large, medium and small components of these circles.

Let me now talk about current events.

Do you think that socialism will succeed? Do you have doubts about its success? Do you fear that the socialist camp will collapse? In my opinion, even if it should collapse, there will be no big danger. But I don't think it will collapse, not at all. The principal components of the socialist camp are the Soviet Union and China. China and the Soviet Union stand together. This is a right policy. But there are still people who have doubt about this policy. They say, "Don't stand together." They think that China should take a middle course and be a bridge between the Soviet Union and the U.S. This is the Yugoslav way, a way to get money from both sides. Is this a good way? I don't think it is good at all for it does no good to the nation. For on one side is powerful imperialism under whose oppression China had been for a long time. If China stands between the Soviet Union and the U.S., she appears to be in a favorable position and to be independent, but actually she is not. The U.S. is not dependable. She would give you something but not much. How could we expect imperialism to give us a full meal? It won't. Imperialism has been oppressive to Asia, Africa and Latin America. India has suffered oppression for more than 200 years. She has never been given a full meal. Imperialism is stingy. The imperialist powers are such nations as Britain, the U.S., France, and the Netherlands. It was the eight powers whose allied expeditionary forces

burned down Yuan Ming Yuan. It was also the imperialist powers that seized Hong Kong and Taiwan. Hong Kong is Chinese territory. Why should it have been ceded to Britain? Why was the Bandung Conference able to unify the Afro-Asian countries? Because these countries had been under the oppression of imperialism which, in this case, was the U.S. Latin Americans who came to visit China were very friendly to us. Just today I received a Brazilian representative. Brazil is a large country with a population of 60 million and an area as large as China's. It has been under the oppression of U.S. imperialism all these years. Illusions of serving as a bridge between the Soviet Union and the U.S. and Britain for profit -- this kind of thinking is wrong. We do not know how to design a big plant. Who would do it for us? Who would design large plants for us -- such as chemical industry, steel industry, petroleum industry, tanks, airplanes and manufacture of automobiles? Britain had never designed these for India. Recently, because the Soviet Union designed a steel and iron works for India, Britain and the U.S. each followed up with designing one, too, just to try to win her over. India's first alkali plant was designed by a Chinese engineer Hou Te-pang [0186 1795 2831]. Imperialism wants to keep its technology secret. No imperialism has ever designed anything for us. Democratic parties, democratic personages with no party affiliations, high-class intellectuals, religious circles, industrial and commercial circles and certain proletarians still have the illusion that the U.S. and Britain would help us. We should launch a propaganda campaign on the rationale of leaning to one side. When we lean to one side, we are with the Soviet Union and on equal footing with her. We won't encounter problems such as those Poland and Hungary have faced. We are followers of Marxism but we do not blindly copy Soviet experience. To do so would be a mistake. Our industrial and commercial transformation and agricultural cooperativization differ with the Soviets'. In the several years after agricultural cooperativization, their production decreased, but our production has increased. We have reformed all capitalist industrialists and businessmen, eliminating them as a class and taking them all into our fold as individuals. Industry and commerce are not a burden to the state but rather a source of wealth. In the past they have been a positive force. Economically, they have been modernized; they are no longer in the handicraft stage. Politically, they are against imperialism. Therefore, they have two-sidedness, one of which is its revolutionary character. Since the establishment of the people's government, they have cooperated with it and all enterprises have been put under public-private joint operation. For these things we cannot say that the bourgeoisie is useless to us; it is useful, very useful. The workers do not understand this because, in the past, they have had conflicts with the capitalists in the factory. We should therefore explain the situation to the workers. Especially since the high tide of learning of the industrial and commercial circles and in view of your desire for learning, the workers would change their attitude toward you. Our propaganda aimed at the capitalist should stress the importance of linking individual interests with state interests, promoting patriotism, and, in short, keeping in mind the state. In the cooperativization movement in Hopeh province the former slogan was "If you want to develop your home, plant cotton." The result was that people only took care of their homes.

The slogan was defective and has since been changed to: "If you love your country and want to develop your home, plant more cotton," thereby linking the home with the country. You should now link up your home and your country to which you belong. Our country is poor, very poor. This year steel production amounts to only 4.5 million tons. Not until next year will there be 5 million tons. Japan's production is 7 million tons. If we want to catch up with Japan, we will have to wait until the third five-year plan before reaching a production of 10 million tons.

The main point of discussion of this meeting concerns your own affairs, but they should be linked with state affairs. When you return to your own town, your propaganda on education should also be linked with state affairs. It will take decades and even centuries for us to produce tens of millions or hundreds of millions of tons of steel. We should stimulate patriotism. Why must we promote public-private joint enterprises? Why must we promote socialism? Because we want to develop our country, to develop a national economy and a culture better than the system of private ownership and to ensure national independence. Economically, we are still not independent. We cannot manufacture big machines nor precision instruments. We can manufacture only medium-sized machines. We have just begun manufacturing airplanes and automobiles. Which country made the designs for us? It was the Soviet Union. We should cooperate with the Soviet Union. In our country there is no anti-Soviet movement as in Poland and Hungary; nor in industrial and commercial circles or among college students. About 70 percent of our college students are the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. We need to rally and educate them. Since they are your sons and daughters, solving your problems will also benefit them. The Youth League wishes to solve their problems of enrolling in schools, joining the League, getting stipends, and wearing the red scarf. Stipends should be given on the basis of scholastic achievements and family conditions. They should not be given to those from big families, but from middle, small and poor families. Joining the League and the Party should also be on this basis. These conditions can be fully carried out in China. Colors and thoughts are not uniform. There is always two-sidedness--progressiveness and backwardness. This is a fact. One's duty is to learn. If everything were good, then everybody would be Confucius. If everybody in the street was a sage, would Chiang Kai-shek and Hitler who had also been in the street be sages too? Would aggressors against Egypt and secret agents be sages also? Men are different from each other. If we say that all capitalists are patriotic, the statement is untrue. There are positive and negative elements. To differentiate them is to learn. Otherwise one doesn't need to learn and can automatically become a sage. K'ang Yu-wei [1660 2589 3634] said that before he was 30 he could write a well-developed essay. After 30, his power of learning was developed to the highest point. It was not without reason that he later played a leading role in the restoration movement. One should not feel satisfied with one's own knowledge. Even when one is 70 or 80, there is much that one doesn't know. We should make a greater effort to learn, for there are still many things we don't know. Uncle Ch'en, you are a Hanlin [holder of a literary degree in the old system]. You know astronomy, geography, all the ancient philosophers, the three religions and the nine



schools of thought. Are you really well-versed in all these fields? You are a Hanlin. I am nobody. I don't even have a degree. I know very little. To admit one's shortcomings has its merits. Among you are holders of second and third [advanced] degrees who will be given the task of aiding others in study.

Was the Hungarian incident good or bad? Problems should be exposed. It is good to expose them. A pustule will burst and emit pus. Those countries that imitated the Soviet pattern and failed to face up to reality have not been doing well and, in fact, have gone wrong. Herein we learn a lesson. What we do should be based upon the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and should be in accordance with the reality of China. We have brought up the slogan "Learn from Soviet experience," but never have we proposed to learn from the Russians' backward experience. Do they have any backward experience? Yes, they do. For instance, their suppression of counterrevolutionaries is carried out by public security organs. In China it is carried out by organizations and schools under the direction of local party committees, not by public security organs. We do it under total mobilization and in full array but the Russians do it mysteriously. Democratic parties do it themselves. Are there some persons who are afraid of suppressing the counterrevolutionaries? Are they afraid that the move might affect themselves? You have your hardships; the workers have theirs. The government will listen to the views of both sides. You have problems of employment; so do the workers. Your unemployment problem has not been solved; nor has the workers'. The Hungarian incident shows that underground counterrevolutionaries had established a counterrevolutionary command and started plotting rebellion several months ago in collusion with foreign powers. The situation in China is different. Counterrevolutionaries have been largely liquidated. They have also been liquidated from industrial and commercial circles. Only a few individuals remain. We can absolve those who connived and dealt with the Juomintang in the past, especially prominent men who were compelled by circumstances to cooperate with them. Even our party cooperated with the Juomintang at one time. I was a member of the legislature in the capacity of a distinguished personage of society. I went to Chungking to attend meetings. In the past I participated in the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. I mention this fact but no importance need be attached to it. Some counterrevolutionaries are active right now. If anyone is now a transgressor, then we should not let him go, no matter to which class he belongs. I think the number is small. Today industrial and commercial circles are purer than before. Unlike their old selves, they have far fewer counterrevolutionaries. We can set our minds at ease. The few individuals are exceptions. No Hungarian incident would happen in our country. Since the Pan Han-nien [3382 3352 1628] and Hu Feng affairs of last year to the present, over 4 million people have been investigated. Of 160,000 suspects, only 38,000 were counterrevolutionaries, or 1.2 percent [sic]. The previous estimate of 5 percent was inaccurate because it was based on subjective observation, not objective fact. Actually, there is only 1.1 percent in organizations and schools and the percentage in society is even smaller. If these germs are not eliminated, they will multiply to tens of thousands and will cause disturbance from within. Eliminating them

is an education for the broad masses. The remaining 120,000 suspects were declared innocent. We apologize to them for having accused them wrongly. Those 38,000 counterrevolutionaries will not be killed. About 1 percent will be reformed through labor while the rest will remain in their original positions. This year we are planning to clean up X X X persons, using far better methods. There are about 4 million people who need to go through this process. Major factories and private enterprises will not be included so that they won't be disturbed for the present. Later on, when they are subject to being cleaned up, we shall need your participation. The All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the urban Communist Party organizations will all have to take part in this cleaning up. It will still be directed at individuals -- the genuine counterrevolutionaries, not those who had associated with the Kuomintang, or had joined the Kuomintang or the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, nor those who first did bad things but later did good things. My talk today is on political problems. You are concerned with economic problems. You may not be too interested in my talk. To sum up, China's position vis-a-vis foreign powers is good. The Hungarian incident has been basically settled, though there may be further disturbance in the world. Don't feel upset because of Kao Kang, Beria, Stalin's mistakes, or the Hungarian incident. Sleep at ease. On 19 October many people in Hong Kong could not sleep. But after a few days they were able to sleep again. If you think the government has not given you enough help, you may bring this up. The government can give you more help. By now you should know well the characteristics of the government. We are the same group. We consult the people, the workers, the peasants, the capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie, and the democratic parties on whatever we plan to do. You can call us the consulting government. We do not put on a stern face and lecture people. We do not give anyone a stunning blow if his opinions are not sound. We are called the people's government. You may bring up whatever ideas you have. We don't ill-treat people under any pretext.

You are concerned about how to solve the problems of the large, medium and small enterprises and the problem of fixed interest. The large, medium and small ones should be separated into different levels. I have some suggestions to make in this regard and wish you to think them over to see whether they are feasible. The small ones, which represent 80-90 percent of the total, should not be included in the bourgeois group, but should be called upper-level petty bourgeoisie. This was done before. For example, a doctor with 2 or 3 apprentices was considered a petty bourgeois, fisherman and boatmen employing 10-odd persons were also not classified as bourgeois. During land reform, some owners of small plots of land for lease were not called landlords. This benefited several tens of thousands of people who were very interested in their title. Capitalists' agents and those drawing low interests who do not want to participate and who want to remain the same may be excluded for the next 2 years. This delay will make it possible for 90 percent of the people to continue to receive their fixed interest, while only 10 percent of the people will suffer a loss. The remaining ones are the large ones. According to economics and the American system, more than

30 persons constitute a big plant. Those with less than 20 or 15 persons may give up [their fixed interest] if they wish; those who do not want to may continue to receive it. All of you are very much concerned about the duration of the fixed interests. The basic principle is to solve problems, not to damage the benefits of enterprises; particularly those of the large ones. Do the large ones or small ones play a more important role in the national economy and the people's livelihood? The small ones represent more people, 90 percent of the total. But their economy has no decisive effect upon the nation's economic life. The greater effect upon the national economy still comes from the large organizations. You say that the Chairman takes special care of the big capitalists but not the small capitalists. Is this right opportunism? You should analyze the situation to see if it is right to take special care of the small organizations. The small organizations have more people. It is wrong not to plan for them and solve their various problems. But the large organization has its claim for its size. A large one can match several tens of thousands of small ones. For the capitalists, our party has established certain lines, such as the United Front Department, for the medium and small organizations. These lines are not correctly drawn. The medium and small ones should of course be taken care of. We now put them in the petty bourgeois groups to solve their problems accordingly. The peasants are the petty bourgeoisie of the villages. There are also petty bourgeoisie in cities. Those who receive fixed interests worth only several packages of cigarettes are petty bourgeoisie. Capitalists agents are also classified in that category. The importance to the state of the large public-private joint enterprises and their nationalization is great. Without industry we cannot live and without agriculture we won't have food. If we do not take care of the large capitalists, 90 percent of them will break away. The few left behind will present a sordid sight. When all others are red, the few white will feel ill at ease.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has discussed the duration of fixed interests. It felt that the duration should not be too short. Redemption should be true redemption without deception. Actually not much money is involved in payment. Some people ask how many more years will go by before the redemption. In the documents of the Eighth Party Congress the subject is broached but we still want to consult you on whether this problem can be solved. The small enterprises and the workers will object. The workers will say we are making it too advantageous for the capitalists. In their opinion they should be cancelled immediately. For the medium and small enterprises this can be done in one or two years. Why should it take so long? There are two oppositions. The first is the workers. The second is that 90 percent of the medium and small enterprises are envious of the comfortable life of the large ones. We have to convince these people that redemption should be carried out thoroughly, not half redemption and half confiscation. The Chinese national bourgeoisie has two sides, one of which is revolutionary. Its actual capital is not big. Private industrial shares total 1.7 billion yuan equivalent to less than U.S. \$7 billion. With this small capital how could China not be put at a disadvantage? Imperialism

has taken advantage of us not without reason. In view of this small national capital we should redeem it fully. We need not save this money. We should convince the workers that we should not do anything detrimental to the interests of the large capitalists for they are beneficial to the state. We should not save this small amount of money but carry through the project of redemption with fervency. If necessary, we can prolong it to the third five-year plan. What do you think of a little prolongation? If it can be completed in seven years, that will be fine. But if it cannot, we can prolong it to the third five-year plan so long as this is feasible. We should help the medium and small enterprises solve their problems because their number is larger. The number of large capitalists is small, but their capital is larger, much larger than that of the medium and small enterprises. For this reason the medium and small line is wrong. It should be a large, medium and small line. The people's reconstruction is a large line. It is right to use the large as a basis. At the conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce delegates of medium and small enterprises form the majority. We should help them to solve problems and at the same time enjoin them not to do anything detrimental to the interests of the large enterprises because the latter plays a great role in the national economy. Any detriment to their interests would not be good for workers, peasants, the state and the medium and small enterprises. The medium and small enterprises wish to dispose of their interests as soon as possible whereas the large enterprises wish to hold on to them as long as possible. You may do whatever you like -- to dispose of your interests as early as you like. The highest value of any enterprise in the first seven years. If the medium and small want to reclaim them, they can. Would this be satisfactory? No law has yet been enacted. We can consult on what we should do. If, after seven years, we still find no solution, we can postpone settlement a little longer. We should first take care of the interests of the workers. There are 1.6 million workers in capitalist industries and 900,000 employees in capitalist businesses, totalling 2.5 million persons. Workers and employees in state enterprises will also be involved. All of them will be opposed to what we plan to do for the capitalists. On this problem they are in contradiction with the party. Are we falling into right opportunism? Are we becoming a capitalist party? We have to explain to them that what we are doing is beneficial to the entire nation, to the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the medium and small enterprises. They may not understand what "beneficial" is at the moment. Among college students 70 percent are the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie. These students don't want any inheritance, but they will be satisfied with how the government is treating the capitalists. Members of democratic parties, democratic personages with no party affiliations, leaders of the upper level of minorities, and religious circles will agree with us. But they won't agree to an early cancellation of fixed interests. Then there are foreigners visiting China who always go to Shanghai to see Mr Jung I-jen [2837 3015 0088] and to see how many automobiles he owns, one or two, and whether there is a piano in his house. After seeing him, a French capitalist said that if the French communists did the same to the capitalists he would feel satisfied. The effect upon Afro-Asian and West European countries would be great too.

Therefore, it will do no good but harm if we abolish fixed interests at an early date. Actually not much money is involved in paying interests -- in one year, only 125 million yuan and some people say, 110 million yuan, totalling 800 million yuan in seven years. This money is not given to Japanese or Americans but to Chinese. "The fertile water is not flowing into other people's fields." "A horse of Ch'u is caught by a man of Ch'u." This money represents the state's purchasing power. It also redeems state bonds. It may also be used to run factories. It is worth spending from all considerations. Among the delegates at this conference those from medium and small enterprises form the majority. You can do the job of explaining. You who are from medium and small enterprises should bear the responsibility of explaining to your people. The delegates from large enterprises cannot very well do this. When they try to name some advantages, they cannot very well say, for instance, that the duration of fixed interests should be seven years. We need Vice Premiers XX, XXX and delegates from medium and small enterprises to go and explain whether the Communist Party is going to abolish the fixed interests for large enterprises. Mr Jung I-jen's capital is worth half of Peking. All eyes are turned on him. Of more than 10,000 capitalists in the country there are probably only several thousand large ones. We should watch them rather than the 120,000-medium and small ones. It is easy for us to handle the large ones. We need only launch a campaign against them with much sound and fury. Handling the medium and small enterprises needs even less effort, nothing to be published in the press -- once anything is published in the press, they surrender -- and no campaign to be launched. Any report on this conference needs to say only that delegates and group leaders of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and China Democratic National Construction Association participated and that I had analyzed domestic and foreign politics and also discussed the economic problem. But the report need not go into the details of my talk. Should the details be divulged, the workers and those of medium and small enterprises would rebuke me. They would say that communists are after all communists; why should they not communize property? People allege that communists have three heads and six arms and are very fierce. But actually we have only one head and two arms. What we do is "in accordance with heavenly principles, human relationships, the world's trends and the people's needs. Men with foresight and vision who act resolutely cannot help but succeed." This is what Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary leader, said. Our two revolutions are a continuation of the work bequeathed by Dr Sun -- consummation of the democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie and completion of the socialist revolution. These two revolutions paved the way for national construction. They were means to an end. They aimed at changing production relationship and the superstructure -- the government, ideology, laws, politics, economics, culture, and the arts. But the basic problem has not yet been solved. The objective is not to establish a new government and a new production relationship, but to develop production. During the past 7 years production has been developed but to a very limited extent. In spite of our boast our production of steel this year is only 4 million tons. Next year it is estimated at only 5 million tons, and 5 years after, only some 10 million tons. With a population of more than 600 million, China can easily surpass Japan and France in production. But it will take at least 40-50 years for China to catch up with

the U.S. in steel production. May I ask you to turn your attention to this matter. Comrade Ch'en Yun met a Swedish friend who told him that Sweden has a population of only several million but every person has an average of two tons of steel. Their total population has therefore several hundred million tons of steel. The U.S. has only 100 million tons of steel. To reach Sweden's output the U.S. has to increase its steel production several times. That's why the U.S. underwent a democratic revolution and is now engaged in a socialist revolution. When the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and the China Democratic National Construction Association hold meetings, what do they study? None other than how to reach these goals -- several hundred million tons of steel and also opening more schools installed with radio receivers. The people all over the country should at least be graduates of junior middle schools. In a few more years street scavengers, cooks and all other persons would be college graduates who would know astronomy and geography. All work aims at this goal. Chiang Kai-shek deserves a sound beating because he had not done a single good thing. In 20 years he had produced only 50,000 tons of steel. In eight years (including next year) we will have produced 5 million tons of steel. Chiang's mind was not on his work. I hope you will lead these 10 million and more people in the direction of production. With several decades of work, we can reform ourselves culturally. Therefore, we should unite all who can be united.

In January of this year, at a conference of the State Council, I said that it would probably take about three more years for us to basically complete the socialist revolution. This statement caused considerable reaction. Some people asked whether it could really be so quick. I used such modifiers as "probably," "basically," and "about." What is "basically"? It means that in public-private joint enterprises interests have not yet been cancelled. I think it is wise to fix a longer period so that we can complete the project ahead of schedule. Nobody had expected that public-private joint management could have been carried out so soon. But nationalization is not being enforced as hastily. If it is hastily carried out, it won't do any good to the state or the nation. We need not spend much money and we keep our promise. Our action will affect foreign capitalism. It would help reform the world's capitalists. Nehru, Sukarno, U Nu, and the French capitalist Pathe Co. are all watching us, watching Jung I-jen.... The present situation and that which I talked about last spring are the same. I talk only about "basic" completion by which I mean public-private joint enterprises. Total completion will take seven years. Excluding the current year there are six more years to go. We have to take care of all parties concerned. We should explain the situation clearly to the bourgeoisie, democratic personages without party affiliations, the enterprises, handicraftsmen, organizations, schools, and all workers. Lack of understanding of the situation will do no good at all.

INTERJECTIONS AT CONFERENCE OF PROVINCIAL AND  
MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES (COLLECTED)

(January 1957)

1. The Problem of Ideological Struggle

Since the latter part of last year, there has been a trend toward right opportunism, and there has been a counter-current of anti-socialism within and without the party.

The bad social customs must be eradicated. Eradication requires persuasive power. A few reproachful remarks and rudeness would make the situation worse.

At the National People's Congress in May and the People's Consultative Conference in June there will be many strange arguments. Problems involved include law codification, the plight of the peasants, and shortage of meat. The crucial point is whether socialism has its superiority. All delegates at these two conferences should participate in the debate. Everyone of them should prepare an analytical statement.

The ideological struggle with the petty bourgeoisie and the rich middle peasants will have to continue for several years. The rich middle peasants are very influential and powerful. We should take note of this fact.

If we attend only to administrative work and overlook ideological work, there is bound to be trouble.

Every province needs one or two Marxists or Lu Hsuns. You ought to write articles. All of you who are below 60 should write.

Every province should train theorists. We are training actors and actresses and painters but not theorists. This is a deficiency of the system. You rely upon the central government but the central government has never prohibited you from doing anything on your own.

## 2. The Problem of Trouble-Making

Should we be afraid of trouble-making? I think we should not. Whatever amount of trouble there may be should not scare us. There is trouble every year and there will be more trouble in the years to come. What's the use of being afraid? Only by exposing contradictions can problems be solved. Society is a unity of opposites. Professors and students always have contradictions and disputes with us. After 20 years when the old have died, the new will still have problems. Forty years after the Soviet Revolution there is still trouble. In factories about 30 percent of the workers were formerly landlords, rich peasants and capitalists. At universities about 80 percent of the students come from the families of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists. We are not afraid of their creating trouble, even coming to Peking to create trouble. We should take positive, not negative, attitude toward them. When Egro returned to Budapest from Yugoslavia, he reprimanded the masses. He lost his prestige and dignity and was driven off the platform. If you are prepared for any major untoward incident, probably none will happen. If anything should happen, take a positive attitude and correct measures to win over or split up the audience. Capable men would create a situation out of the turmoil in Poznan and Hungary.

We wish a peaceful world but we must put ourselves in the worst position and be prepared for major disasters. We came from Yen-an and must be prepared to return there. We had not seen Mei Lan-fang in the past but during the last seven years we have seen him off and on. In the eighth year we should be prepared to return to Yen-an because of the atomic bomb, a possible world war, blunders committed and the Hungarian incident. If in our thinking we are prepared for the worst, we need not have fear. If we are unprepared, we are bound to regret it. The Seventh National Party Congress proposed a 17th article on "a thousand li of wasteland." With a population of 600 million China need not be afraid of any untoward incident. It is going to rain. Mother wants to get married again. Such happenings are inevitable.

Labor strikes, student strikes, petitions.... Some are provided for in the constitution while others are not prohibited. While we should not encourage these activities, we should let them take place, whether the demands are rational or not. If the demands are rational, we should take remedial measures. If they are not rational, then we should explain. If professors want to air their views, let them do so. Exposing contradictions may lead to settlement of problems; they should not be suppressed. But if we tolerate contradictions, we shall be vanquished.

The petty bourgeoisie wants to establish a dictatorship. It attempts to overthrow you so that it can set up its dictatorship. Any attempt to seize Hungary needs a full ten or 20 years. Mass meetings, lecture meetings and debating meetings are to be held in various provinces. Wide discussion is to be held to see who is to emerge victorious. However, preparations must be made beforehand. At small meetings your opponents will speak and act arrogantly, but they may be cowered at big rallies. If they want a



major debate in the democratic way, let them have it. Let them say all they want to. If they don't, it won't do you any good. If they do, you can judge whether they are right or wrong. When society disintegrates, we should try to win people to our side. If the people think they are wrong, then they are isolated.

Don't fear trouble-making. The bigger and longer the trouble-making, the better. A series of trouble-making occurrences will bring results -- bring out right and wrong. However serious trouble-making may be, don't be afraid. The more you are afraid, the more the demons will be after you. At the same time, don't panic. It is no good to panic at any time.

Nationwide trouble is not likely to occur. Wherever there are boils or germs, there will be bursts. In a big province there may be 50,000 troubles a year, in a medium-size province 30,000 and in a small province 10,000. Be prepared for trouble-making and make a reckoning at the end of the year. If the figures given above are not reached, the work must be considered to have been done fairly well.

Secretaries of district and county committees should hold meetings to discuss and make preparations for trouble-making. County secretaries and chiefs and others in higher positions should be mentally prepared. Should there be peace all the time and we grow passive and timid, once trouble starts, we would be put in a passive position. Our thinking would be paralyzed and then we would have to accede to all demands.

Without fighting many problems cannot be solved. Contradictions can be settled only through struggle. The Mohammedans at XX were put under restrictions regarding the slaughter of cattle. They roughed up the cadres and the problem was solved. Some clashes are rational while others are irrational. Even irrational moves are good. Grievances should be aired.

How should we dispose of renegades? Should we dismiss them summarily? Personally I feel we should not dismiss them in a hurry nor should we kill them (except counterrevolutionary criminals). We should utilize their labor, use them for political instruction, and deprive them of their political capital. A simple way of disposal is to refuse to accept them as ideological rivals.

Regarding people like Hsiao Chun [5618 6511] and Ting Ling [0002 3781], execution, imprisonment or control would be ineffective. What we should do is to find their faults and disgrace them in society.

Party members who make trouble in schools should be subject to thorough criticism and then expelled from the party. We should not hurriedly expel them from the party or the school.

The survey of the components of the workers in Shensi was well done. In Hungary no such survey was done and so even when trouble broke out, the authorities were ignorant of the causes behind it. This should be taken as

a lesson and a thorough investigation of components of workers should be made, ascertaining the numbers of dependables, neutrals and problematic ones. According to a recent survey, only about 25 percent are dependables. We should stress the importance of workers. After three five-year plans, the situation may have changed. It will take 20 years to change the components of the college student body. We cannot make any radical change now even if we put many workers and peasants in college.

At the 20th Soviet Congress Stalin was downgraded. Very neatly done. But now Stalinism has been revived. What they did first was sincere but what they did recently was not so. They struck down imperialism with one blow. They struck down socialism with several blows. They denounced Poznan and Hungary but they would not admit that their moves were not sincere.

### 3. The Philosophical Problem

Whoever can analyze understands dialectics. Lenin said, "Dialectics may be summed up as a theory of the unity of opposites. By so doing, the kernel of dialectics is grasped, but it still needs explanation and development." He added, "The unity of opposites (uniformity, oneness, balance) is conditional, temporary, transient, relative and mutually exclusive. The struggle of opposites is absolute just as development and movement are absolute." Balance is temporary and subject to continuous destruction -- lasting for a few days or a few months. Balance soon becomes imbalance. Unity means uniformity, oneness and unanimity. If there is a divergence of views, discussion at a meeting will result in unanimity. But two months later, new problems will arise and another meeting must be held. Practicality and subjectivism are opposites of unity. Subjectivism always exists, even 10,000 years from now.

Materialism and idealism are opposites of unity. Dialectics and metaphysics are opposites of unity. There is perpetual struggle in philosophy. Whoever talks about philosophy has to struggle. Some people talk only about onesided philosophy. When they talk about the blooming of a hundred flowers, they overlook weeding of poisonous weeds. We admit that socialism has its opposites. Thus Stalin had his metaphysics and subjectivism. The Soviet Union does not recognize opposites and does not permit them in law. But many errors are hidden under socialism.

Lenin contended that materialism alone cannot solve problems, and that the way to solve problems is to struggle against idealism. If we want to struggle against idealism, we have to study it. The three components of Marxism were derived through a study of the struggle against capitalism.

Philosophy consists of a struggle between two opposites: Cosmology is a struggle between materialism and idealism; methodology is a struggle between dialectics and metaphysics. We and Chiang Kai-shek are opposites of unity. We and the democratic personages are also opposites of unity. All things have contradictions which may be obliquely reconciled. Stalin made

mistakes in dialectics. "Negation of negations." The October Revolution negated capitalism but it refused to admit that socialism may be negated too. We believe that the world is both stable and unstable. Even socialism may cease to exist one day. If anyone says that the superstructure of society won't be extinct, that kind of talk is not Marxism but smacks of religion.

#### 4. The Problem of the Villages

A bounteous harvest is very important. Last year the Soviet Union had a bounteous harvest and it was easy to do a lot of things. With last year's experience we should try to reap a bounteous harvest this year. If we all work hard to get it it will be of great significance to the world communist movement. This will be an unprecedented event in the socialist movement. In history the socialist cooperative movement resulted in decreased production. Our increase in production in 1956 was not much. We should strive for a major increase in 1957.

One of our objectives is to increase the income of cooperative members 90 percent. We shall see if we can do this in three or four years. Hupeh has had a bounteous harvest, but still about 15 percent of its cooperative members had no increase in income. We should explain to party members, public functionaries, servicemen and civilians that cooperativization has a history of only one to one and one-half years. We have participated in the revolutionary movement for practically our entire lives and still we made mistakes. Participants in the cooperative movement have carried on for only over one year. How could they make no mistakes? In three years' time it is possible that 90 percent of the cooperative members will have higher incomes.

About 15 percent of the peasants have a hard life. It is not right to generalize that the peasants are leading a hard life when only 10 to 15 percent of them are doing so. There should be an accurate analysis. When we say that the peasants are leading a hard life, actually this means that the income of the rich middle-class peasants has decreased whereas a portion of the old cadres have become rich. It reflects the thinking of the landlords, rich peasants and rich middle-class peasants.

Article 40 was discussed at last year's National Party Congress. It should be publicized. We should strive to reach the target production of 400, 500 and 800 catties per mou a year ahead of schedule and complete the 12-year plan in 11 years.

The beginning is always difficult. There are three stages for every performance. We completed the first stage this year. We need to carry out three five-year plans to reach our goal.

Since ancient times, all progressive plans have incurred criticism in the beginning. The theory of evolution, Marx, Sun Yat-sen, and the Communist

Party have all incurred criticism. Even 10,000 years hence progressive things will still incur criticism.

So long as one cooperative shows its superior quality, it can refute all groundless criticism. We can use it for propaganda.

#### 5. Economic Problems

Every province has established its own chemical fertilizer plant.

We should pay attention to foodgrain production. It will be disastrous if we don't. When we have food, we have everything. If there is food to eat even during a labor strike or a student strike, no great disturbance will occur. Oils and pork are the province of cooperatives. The state does not get involved in it. Foodgrains collected are similarly handled (except in areas of economic products). The state handles unified purchasing but not unified marketing in the rural area. Cooperatives and teams handle it themselves.

Two years hence there should be no contending with the people for grain or fear that the state won't purchase grain. It needs only to handle unified purchasing and not unified marketing. This is being done in Hsiao-kan County in Hupeh province.

State farms should be established in new industrial and mining districts to solve the problems of grain, oils, meat, and vegetables.

We need big [industrial] plants, but not too many. We need small plants even more, the more the better. Like everything else they grow from small to big. Small plants should be established in accordance with the principle of availability of raw materials and marketing possibilities whereas the number of big plants should depend upon the resources of the state.

#### 6. The Problem of Schools

Agriculture should be added to the curriculum of junior-middle schools.

The provincial and municipal committees should commission cadres to strengthen the schools. They should invigorate the schools as well as other cultural and educational work.

Members of the provincial, area and county committees should take part in educating the students.

Each province should hold a students congress and a teachers congress every year. Adequate preparations should be made beforehand. One day should be devoted to reports and three days to discussion and problem solving. No arrangement has yet been made for work on the students. Every year there

should be one or two meetings and one or two talks. Try to discover problems. Don't wait for problems to rise and then try to cope with them. Get after them now. Plants, cooperatives stores and schools are the units concerned.

#### 7. The Problem of Literature and Art

There is advantage in having "a hundred schools contend," for then all evil elements will be exposed. All provinces should pay attention to this: Let one person take command over major and far advanced problems. Organize some people to write articles, one article per month, to suppress evil influences.

Vaccination creates bodily resistance to diseases (causing the body to develop antibodies). Why can't we inject vaccines in literature and art?

The Department of Propaganda should hold one or two press conferences in one or two months. It would be all right to hold one press conference in two months. Right now there is not one press conference in one year.

#### 8. The Problem of Cadres

Cadres have been promoted to higher positions, but they don't have much to do in these positions. We have blundered in this regard. We now permit them to go to the countryside but not to be promoted to higher positions. The fewer people in leadership positions the better. They do nothing but write articles and talk on the phone.

The state is the vehicle for class struggle. Only a limited number of people are required to run the state. Do we need as many as 500 million people to run the state? How can we promote university professors? Shouldn't they be university professors until their hair is snow white? How can we promote workers and peasants? Shouldn't they be workers and peasants until their hair is snow white? Promotion to a higher position creates a problem. Once anyone dies, we have to appoint someone else to succeed him.

Ultra democracy and ultra equality won't work. Yen Yuan [7346 8673] automatically became a second-rank sage.

The numbers of cadres from elsewhere and those local-born should be adjusted. Of members of the county committee, half should be from elsewhere and half local-born.

#### 9. The Problem of Leadership

Members of the Party Central Committee, secretaries of provincial committees and ministers should pay a visit to plants and villages every year so as to familiarize themselves with the conditions there and not to become another Rakosi.

Secretaries of provincial committees and ministers have seen so much of their various departments that they are blind to what they see. They should go instead to the plants and cooperatives.

Real knowledge comes from the plants, cooperatives, stores, and schools. The higher you go, the less knowledge you get. If you want to solve problems, you have first to go down and secondly to summon people to report to you. Peking is not a good place to acquire knowledge. By comparison the province is better for this purpose. You must go down. Ministers of industries should go down to the plants and heads of rural departments should go to the rural areas.

cf. SW5:378

Members of the Party Central Committee, ministers and secretaries of provincial committees should each take some time to visit the rural areas and study the problems there. It takes only two months to get a clear picture of a county or a township. If for two months they don't read telegrams they still can read and understand them when they pick them up again. But I have been told that they don't go to the rural areas any more on the excuse that there is too much office work to do.

The secretary of a provincial committee can concurrently be the secretary of a county or municipal committee. The incumbent may be demoted to be second secretary. Secretaries of provincial, area and county committees can thus all go down to the countryside. Secretaries of municipal committees can concurrently be plant managers, school principals and secretaries of party committees. In this manner, they can go deep into reality and acquire knowledge.

There should be two meetings of district party committees secretaries so that they are compelled to study various problems.

The wind that I have broken does not smell good. It has opposites too -- part of it smells good but part of it bad (including Peking). You have to smell to know.

All provinces should take note of this fact: Cities depend upon the working class, villages upon poor peasants, and schools upon leftists -- all have to have something to depend upon.

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE OF PROVINCIAL AND  
MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES

(January 1957)

I have only platitudes. Achievements should be subject to rigid evaluation. There should be no exaggeration. Underestimation is also a mistake, a serious mistake....

Last year's achievements are basic. The Second National Party Congress had already resolved this question. But democratic personages and some of our comrades hold different views; they think there are many errors and shortcomings. I would like therefore to talk about it again. Underestimation of achievements has made cooperatives look ludicrous.

Our consistent policy is to support mess halls, not install new kitchens, but still providing meals. In 1946 Wang Yun-sheng in an editorial in the Chungking Ta Kung Pao said, "Don't install any new kitchens." But I said that "Chairman Chiang" must provide the food. However, he did not provide such meals. Now we are in control. We have a comprehensive plan that looks after the interests of all people and takes in all parties, all democratic personages and even Kuomintang members, for we want to rally all positive elements for socialist construction. This is a strategy which works better and causes less trouble. Unified purchasing and marketing is the way to provide food for 600 million people. We provide food for all households in villages and cities that are short of it. Even counter-revolutionaries are given a share. For a man with a stomach and intestines naturally needs food to eat. Soviet Russia's measure is different; she does not provide food for all. Even under a comprehensive plan not all students can enroll at universities. But proper accommodations should be provided them, giving them training, sending them to the rural areas or frontiers, or providing relief for them. We should impress upon those who are not clear about this that we should not let anybody die of starvation. We should provide accommodations for everybody. This policy causes little trouble.

Think of all possible measures to increase production and to economize. If you do that, you will overcome all difficulties. Such difficulties as we encounter now are nothing compared to crossing the grassland during the Long March. On the grassland there was not a single house. There was only open air. After crossing the Tatu River, where should we go? We racked our brains to make a decision. Now we are not racking our brains at all.

Now about the international situation. Eisenhower's letter to Chiang Kai-shek first dampened his spirits and then pepped him up. It asked Chiang to play it cool, refrain from impulsiveness and pin his hope on our internal crisis.

An incident broke out on the Suez Canal. This is a peculiar thing. Nasser wanted to reclaim the canal and Eden dispatched troops to prevent him from taking it. Sly and crafty politicians don't often stir up a crisis like this. But right now Eden, confused in mind, made a mistake. The result is to turn the Middle East over to the U.S. The greatest contradiction is with the U.S., not with Nasser. The U.S. is trying to maneuver Britain out of the Middle East, for it harbors the sinister design of taking over the Middle East. The world's greatest contradiction is the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. Under the pretext of anti-Soviet and anti-communism, imperialism is scrambling for the Near East and the Middle East. The two camps of imperialism are fighting for colonies. The greatest imperialist power is the U.S. while Britain and France come second. But a national independence movement has broken out in the colonies. The U.S. is ready to use its military force to defend Taiwan. It plans to use both civil and military tactics in the Middle East. The crises they are stirring up are beneficial to us.

Our policies are "protectionism" and "right opportunism". We put under our control 600 million people. We won't budge from the I-pei River, the 38th parallel and the 17° line. We have drawn these demarcation lines and let them squabble. But we have the right to speak too. Both sides are engaged in subversive activities.... We have them among us (landlords, the bourgeoisie, democratic parties.....shall we mention labor reform criminals) and they have ours among them (communists, workers and progressive persons). It will take a long time to liquidate classes. It will take scores of years to convert capitalists to workers. Basic liquidation is a gigantic struggle. Our Soviet comrades are unwilling to come to grips with this problem. The internal contradictions of imperialism in scrambling for colonies are great. We can make use of their contradictions to accomplish our ends. This is strategy.

On Sino-American relations. It is more advantageous to establish relations with the U.S. after a few years. Russia had its revolution in 1917 and after a lapse of 17 years it established relations with the U.S. in 1934. The U.S. was then going through a great depression and Roosevelt became President.



On the Middle East. A Soviet letter caused the U.S. to alert its Third Army. Who is afraid of whom after all? Both parties are afraid. But who is more afraid of whom? My opinion is that imperialism is more afraid of us. In view of this estimation if we slept for three days we would be in danger. We should be prepared for the worse eventuality that imperialism will go mad.

It is not likely that a world war will break out at the present time. The powers concerned should think of the eventualities should they start a world war. I said to Sukarno that we need not be anxious to join the United Nations or to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S. Let the U.S. appear like a villain internationally and be deprived of its political capital domestically and isolated at present. Eventually we shall establish diplomatic relations with her. Should diplomatic relations be established 101 years from now, the U.S. would become more impotent and would regret its own delay. We have cleaned our house and eradicated the four pests. The U.S. can no longer find its friends here.... It will regret it in no time. Imperialism harbors sinister designs but nations defeated by it have no fear. The principal imperialist power is the U.S.

On Sino-Soviet relations. Differences always exist. Never think that there are no differences in the world. Marxism is an ism with differences because it has contradictions which lead to struggle. Sino-Soviet relations have their differences at present, but they are not major differences. As a matter of fact, the two countries are drawing closer together. The Soviets do things differently than we. We have to wait and do some work. Concerning the divergent views in the party, we have work to do with the party members; we need to talk with them and hold meetings. When we came to the south and crossed the Yangtze River, we ran into snakes, mosquitoes, scorching weather and a shortage of food. We crossed the river physically, but not mentally. Organizationally we joined the party but not mentally. Thought reform is a difficult task, but we should not be afraid of difficulties. There is often divergence of views in the party. That's why we hold meetings in order to solve problems.

Circumstances are stronger than man. Circumstances compelled our Soviet comrades to change step by step. Their old manner of governing won't work at home or abroad. The 20th Soviet Party Congress may be utilized. Both imperialism and Tito have utilized the Congress before and we can utilize it too. We shall help them but not immediately. We shall proceed slowly and shall have a face-to-face talk with the Soviets. Our trump cards should not be used all at once. "Profit blinds one's wisdom." It boils down to 50 million tons of steel, 300 million tons of iron and 20 million tons of petroleum. These quantities of materials are actually not too important. Even if we double them or increase them tenfold, they are still not too important -- just that much excavated from the earth. When one gets to a higher official position such as a first secretary, one may get nervous and confused. One should be severely reprimanded in this state. This time Chou sharply criticized and argued before the audience.

Among ten fingers nine show unanimity, one deviation. The central government and provincial and municipal authorities may have divergent views. There will always be contradictions. We should seek unanimity and note differences.

International propaganda should be curtailed a little. Cultural work corps and exhibitions should reduce their propaganda and cut back a little.

We still should learn from the Soviet Union. We can learn a lot of things from them. But we should learn selectively. We should learn progressive and useful things and should study their blunders critically. In three five-year plans we should be able to learn their basic things. We should also learn from other countries than the Soviet Union. Chou's slogans abroad are to seek peace, friendship and knowledge. Knowledge should be sought everywhere. It is too monotonous to seek it only in one place.

"Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is a correct policy. Truth develops from struggle with falsehood. Beauty emerges from comparison and struggle with ugliness. Good things and good people emerge from comparison and struggle with bad things and bad people. Fragrant flowers emerge from comparison and struggle with poisonous weeds. Materialism emerges from comparison and struggle with idealism. Many people hate Chiang Kai-shek. But few people know what kind of bad man he is. Therefore we should publish Collected Works of Chiang Kai-shek, and also Collected Works of Sun Yat-sen, and Collected Works of Kang Yu-wei. It is a dangerous policy to forbid people to side with ugliness, blunders, idealism and metaphysics. This will lead to thought decline and stagnation. A lonely individual is too shy to face the world and cannot put up a two-party show. We communists know little of the opponent and are too simple in perspective. We are therefore unable to talk persuasively. Marx, Engels and Lenin were different from us; they studied energetically current and historical things and urged the people to do the same. Stalin was less studious. He rejected German philosophy (Kant and Fierbach) and because Germany was defeated, he also rejected German military science. Germany's classical philosophy is the progenitor of Marxism. As a matter of fact, Stalin believed in metaphysics and did not recognize the unity of opposites. A dictionary of philosophy expounds metaphysically. War will not turn into peace and peace will not turn into war. These two entities are separate and disconnected. They won't change from one to the other. They only struggle; they have no unity. Lenin said that war is the continuation of politics, a special strategy; peace is the result of war; politics is a peace-time struggle; peace develops in time of war and war develops in time of peace. Stalin taught the wrong thing to many people. They became metaphysical and stagnant in thought and consequently they committed political blunders. Whoever is in dissent is condemned. The penalty for counter-revolution is execution. Whoever disagrees with the Soviet Union is said to be anti-Soviet. But actually Stalin could not enforce severe penalties. He did not execute or imprison all renegades. He put to death more people in 1936 and ~~1937~~ 1937

but fewer in 1938 and still fewer in 1939. This shows that we cannot kill all dissenters. Even we ourselves had differences with Stalin. We wanted to sign a Sino-Soviet treaty of amity but he didn't want to. We asked for the return of the Chinese Eastern Railway but he was reluctant to give it up. However, there is still a way to get a piece of meat from the mouth of a tiger.

We haven't refuted some spurious statements in the press but have published some articles which shouldn't have been published, such as "On Inevitability." The article entitled "Further Discussion on the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship" has a great argument on inevitability. Who likes to commit blunders? Blunders are discovered after they have been committed. At the beginning we always believe that we are doing 100 percent right. But the end result shows that we have blundered. Our historical experience teaches us to set as our goal the commitment of as few blunders as possible. After full preparations and with full persuasive power we will respond to the press. If we have not made full preparations, we need not respond in a hurry. Some works such as major literary pieces may take ten years to write. Some works are inevitable in a certain period. We have exercised strict control over drama and if we now lift it a little bit, all freaks and monsters will break loose. Since you haven't seen any before, you may as well take a look now. Don't denounce the moment it appears that which would affect neither the increased production of food and cotton nor state finance. It is all right to stage some plays with love themes. Let the audience judge them. You don't need to ban them at once.

Put fragrant flowers in the dominant position, not stinking ones, and poisonous weeds in the secondary position. By the same token, put the Communist Party in the dominant position and the democratic parties in the secondary position, and the nucleus in the dominant position and the electrons in the secondary position. Though the nucleus is small, it is heavy; it takes the power of several locomotives to split it. The electrons around the nucleus are very light. They are liberal and indispensable. This is again the unity of opposites.

We plan to publish 400,000 copies of Ts'an-k'ao Hsiao-hsi (Reference News) to expose imperialism and the bourgeoisie. We are doing a service to imperialism. Our purpose is to put non-Marxist ideology and poisonous weeds in front of our comrades and non-communists so that they may undergo the test, for it is not good if they should know Marxism and nothing else. But leadership should be strengthened. Like vaccination let there be a struggle inside the human body, thereby producing resistance. Read "Reference News" to know about idealism. Publication of Collected Works of Chiang Kai-shek is like vaccination.

Trouble-making by the people is worth looking into. This is a new problem. In the past we stood side by side with the people to struggle against the enemy. We and the people were on one side while the enemy was on the other side. Now we are confronted with a problem. The people are

staring at us with hostile eyes. We should be prepared for constant trouble-making by a small group of people. If we can get prepared, we won't be put in a passive position. Secretaries and clerical secretaries, ministers and vice ministers, secretaries and deputy secretaries should frequently discuss, analyze and exchange views on various problems. In the Hungarian incident Rakosi and Gero were too dispirited to make preparations. The trouble created by 30,000 people in X X County was a great contribution. An amnesty order was issued, removing all landlords and overthrowing the county government. This amounted to an inoculation or a vaccination. X X X retreated step by step because no preparations had been made. Some 300 people rioted at X X forestry school. Nothing could be done. The Communist Party is not afraid of Chiang Kai-shek or imperialism but it is apprehensive of student or peasant riots. This is a new problem. Always take into consideration two worst possibilities. If no trouble breaks out in Tibet, there are two possibilities: The Dalai Lama either escapes to the U.S. or he will remain in India. If the Dalai Lama doesn't return, the Chinese mainland won't sink into the sea. The outbreak of trouble is due to our economic and political blunders, the rigidity of our working process, or the presence of counter-revolutionaries. We cannot completely forestall trouble. What we should be careful of is to take the correct line so that there won't be nationwide disturbance. Even if we take the wrong line and cause nationwide disturbance, and the enemy occupies several provinces and marches to Hsi Chang An Street in Peking, we won't be conquered so long as our troops are strong. On the contrary, our country would become stronger in an emergency. We should follow the example of Kadar who could not sleep in Parliament House for a month. We should be mentally prepared. History may repeat itself. This is quite possible. In the Chinese Revolution of 10 October 1911 the emperor was dethroned but another emperor emerged. Will our system be consolidated? There are two possibilities: Either it will be consolidated step by step or there may be disturbances if we commit blunders. If there is dissension, heroes will emerge and restore order. Eventually the system will be consolidated.

How should we cope with trouble? If it is for a right cause, we should admit our own blunders and satisfy the demands of the trouble-makers. But if it is not for a right cause, we should not tolerate it but criticize it. We should at the same time win over the masses and isolate the unscrupulous. Except for killers and murderers we should not arrest people at will. We should not dampen the fervor of the students but guide them along step by step. We should know the technique of guidance. If they want to make trouble, let them go ahead. If they do not make enough trouble, they won't stop but continue. Do not expell unscrupulous persons in a hurry but deprive them of all political capital. X X arrested 60 persons. His way of disposing of them was very simple X X X wanted to declare a holiday when there was trouble. In my opinion, we should not declare any holiday, not until we have found out the right or wrong of the trouble. It should be used as subject matter to teach the masses.

We should not lightly shoot people or arrest them. If we must shoot, aim skyward. Don't be afraid of trouble. There may be good reasons for making trouble. If there are no good reasons, the trouble won't last long. It won't be trouble like the student movement of 9 December 1935. Remember we were trouble-makers before.

All ministers and provincial and municipal [leaders] should study the people's ideological trends. So far they have not done so because they have been too busy with their work. This negligence should be rectified. As far as possible, avoid the use of force. Don't follow the Kuomintang way. X X's way is very much like the Kuomintang's. Force is to be used against real counterrevolutionary violence.

We should intensify our work and remedy our shortcomings. We should strengthen political work on workers, peasants, businessmen, students and soldiers. Right now everybody is occupied with his own work but it is dangerous to neglect political work. Comrade X X often goes to universities and makes reports. We should all go to schools and make reports. Schools and the army are important. I was told that the political thought of army cadres has deteriorated. How shocking! Adjustment should be made in the midst of increased production, economy and rectification drives. The will of the cadres should be strengthened. The students of X X want to come to Peking to present a petition. It may not be wise to stop them for their coming may do some good after all. Life should have some complication; otherwise, it would be too monotonous. A flush in mahjong is difficult to get.

The Youth League should intensify its work in schools while trade unions should intensify their work in factories. Let democratic personages criticize so that we may have a two-party show. Criticism is in two categories: correct criticism helps us rectify our shortcomings; incorrect criticism -- the more wrong the better -- will be exposed once the person concerned goes up to the platform and talks. Liang Shu-ming [2733 3359 2544], P'eng I-hu [1756 0001 3275], and Huang Yen-p'ei [7806 3508 1014] have raised their voices and have later examined themselves. Chang Nai-ch'i [4545 0035 0892] has criticized our unified command. Let them criticize, for once they criticize us they are isolated. After their struggle in the National Reconstruction Association, we still gave them food and allowed them to continue as ministers. The greater the blunders are, the more educational value they have. Don't be afraid of criticism like the Kuomintang was. Criticism should be made according to circumstances. Sometimes we should take the initiative and criticize. Sometimes we should delay our criticism. We should unite and struggle simultaneously. This is protracted struggle. The working class, the workers, and the intellectuals will benefit and get training through struggle. Evil people and evil things have dual natures; they have inherent good functions. Many of our comrades failed to grasp this principle as seen in their attitudes toward the Wang Ming problem. Evil things have good ingredients while good things have bad ingredients. When anything untoward happens, we say it is bad without analyzing it. This is

the metaphysical viewpoint. The great victory last year contained negative elements. But people were too elated to notice them.

In the reconstruction period we lacked experience in class struggle (which is partial) and internal struggle among the people (which is primary). This is a science. It should be carefully studied. Even ten thousand years from now there will still be people making trouble. We should get experience in the three five-year plans.

On the problem of law. We must abide by the laws, liquidate all counterrevolutionaries and give recognition to achievements. We mean here socialist laws. Nobody should violate them. These laws were enacted by workers. They protect the workers' interests, productive power and the economic foundation. We therefore must abide by them. Continue the liquidation of counterrevolutionaries within one year. In spite of liquidation efforts many suspects have escaped. We should liquidate them step by step in the course of events. We should give recognition to past achievements so as to back up the cadres engaged in the liquidation task. Let democratic personages criticize. We should not hold back just because they criticize. Trouble-makers may become useful citizens if they are reformed. Hsu Mao-kung made trouble at the age of 12 but he became Prime Minister later. Blunders in the course of liquidation should be severely criticized. Do it bravely in accordance with the law, not timidly.

Strive for a bumper harvest this year so that the people may set their minds at rest. Cooperatives may be consolidated in five years starting from basic-level cooperatives. Agriculture above all concerns the food problem of 500 million people. The production of non-commercial goods is very great for two-thirds of the economy is self-sufficient. If the 500 million people can be self-sufficient the situation will be stabilized. Secondly it is the raw materials market for light industries. Thirdly, agriculture buys largely from the industrial market such things as chemical fertilizers, farm implements, railway equipment, highway accessories, electricity, coal, petroleum, equipment for large-scale water conservancy projects, and building materials. The market for heavy industry is in the rural area. The U.S. does not have a feudal system. Its market is very large. Fourthly, exports consist principally of agricultural products. They earn foreign exchange to support industry. Thus agriculture and industries are closely related. Fifthly, development of agriculture is the principal source of state accumulation. That's why we should persuade the cadres to go to the rural areas. Industrialization depends upon agriculture. Capital accumulation should be carried out proportionately. Excessive capital accumulation as ordered by Stalin adversely affected industry. What ratio it should be should be studied. In short, it should encourage cooperatives to engage in reproduction and guarantee even greater capital accumulation so that the source won't be exhausted.

Agricultural producer cooperatives should carry out economic accounting, utilizing the law of value to assess cost. The price of commercial

grain should be raised 5 percent at a certain time. The total amount of commercial grain at present is only 10 million cattles. In 12 years it should be increased to 50 million cattles. If the price of commercial grain is too low, who will till the land? I am not saying that we should raise the price right now. I am suggesting that we should review the policy of prices.

The capital accumulation of cooperatives has increased year after year, but it is still not such a big amount as to enable the peasants to have more to eat. If there is a bumper harvest this year, the increase-production departments may increase their public accumulation funds. In a year of plenty we should accumulate more in readiness for a year of want.

Everything happens in wave-like or spiral motion. Taking a walk, holding a meeting, an electric current, a sound wave, a dramatic performance, talking and writing are all wave-like motions. I support the study of dialectics.

TALK AT THE HANGCHOW CONFERENCE OF THE SHANGHAI BUREAU

(April 1957)

(During the discussion of ideological questions, Chairman Mao interjected and set five questions straight.)

1. Since the Supreme State Conference and the Propaganda Conference, the tense atmosphere with the intellectuals has become more moderate and intellectuals outside the party have taken steps to draw near to us, their hesitant mood rather more open. The report is not a panacea; we must still administer medicines specific to the individual. If we do not give them those things which are necessary, they will become passive. Once the things are given them, they will assume responsibility for contending, whether well or badly. In any case there will always come a day when the rectification will descend upon ourselves. Our methods are first to rectify ourselves and rectify the party well, to rectify modestly and to speak reasonably. The present problem is not our problem. Leftist intellectuals want democracy (freedom to speak out) from us and students want democracy from their professors. At that time they have to ask us for help. When we allow speaking out, they contend among themselves; when we curtail, they make demands on us.

Last year over 11,000 democratic parties developed in Shanghai. The problems among them multiplied. Only the proletariat does not fear political change. When it is wrong, it makes corrections. Their internal problems multiplied.

We must allow speaking out, be thick-skinned, and let them attack. Attack for a year. As long as we have dogmatism, it is good to finish it off. If the attack is excessive, let all freaks and monsters come out to stir up trouble. The Communist Party must let them curse for a moment, let them curse for several months; we will reflect on what they say. During the "three anti's" period, Comrade Ch'en I said, "Our dictatorship has ruled for all these years, so we can let people swear for a week." You pour a



torrent of questions upon us, and we too can be greatly amazed. Some intellectuals are still afraid of casting a long line to catch big fish. Some say this is correct. The prestige of the Communist Party is high. If there are but one or two sentences in a newspaper, a rustle of wind in the grass, some people are afraid. Those outside the party are afraid, and those inside the party are afraid. Even when the affair is correct, we must still be rather modest. When pressure is great, we must understand things well. Some say there is some reason in casting a long line to catch big fish. We now let people criticize and then analyze the matter once again. The intellectuals are like birds startled at the twang of a bow-string; they have to look at facts, maybe for 20 years. Those within the party must also take a look at what happens; for instance, in curing the sickness to save the patient, some people are unbelieving until afterwards when they have seen the facts; only then do they believe. We must undergo several tests, the politics of the Communist Party must be tested, leaders must be tested by those they lead. In the past the intellectuals serve the old rulers. Now the production relationships have been transformed and they no longer have a social base. Intellectuals in the past entrusted themselves to feudalism, capitalism, and the individual system of production. The intellectuals serve the class they were born into. The classes of their birth have now been destroyed, so they hang in mid-air, they do not stand on firm ground. They are now crawling upon our bodies. The workers and peasants, through the Communist Party, let them work and eat. We must still cleanse their brains for a dozen years, using the method of unity -- criticism -- unity. They think they do not have to have criticism, that they are unable to speak. At present there are over 10 million people suspended in mid-air with old brains, but this is nothing to be afraid of. Hanging in mid-air they very much need us to reach out and draw them in. If we reach out to them warmly, it can go a bit faster. It will not be that simple for the majority to come over. It is the proletariat which most welcomes change. The peasants most hope that Chiang Kai-shek, the American imperialists, and the landlords are transformed, but they do not hope that the small private ownership system will be transformed. The democratic parties and the intellectuals who see the advent of a cultural revolution as too unexpected, too hurried, can also change. The hair has left their hide, but their soul is still on the old hide. When their hair is attached to a proletarian body, their soul is often restless. If they do not change they cannot be restless, for restlessness is a manifestation of change. The world view of some intellectuals cannot change for a long time.... To test the world view of writers we must test whether they can work as one with the workers and peasants, or as two. Send to the countryside those who cannot tell the truth to the peasants. The world view of bureaucrats within the party also creates problems and is divorced from the masses. Such people advocate Marxism, but have nothing in common with the masses. What kind of Marxism is that? There is a group of people in society whose only fear is that everything is not stirred up. They have anti-Communist thoughts and advocate fighting their way out. It will take decades to reform them. Some will die unreformed, but the majority can reform. There is that portion who are old bigots and will die unreformed.

2. We must allow airing of views. To fear airing of views means we have not put the truth across, or not convincingly. This is antibureaucratism in leadership. Whenever airing of views is not allowed, without the slightest preparation there is a massive airing of views. We advocate airing of views so that even the worst disturbance is only temporary. When they manage the affairs of the people but the people are still dissatisfied, some do not think it through and become very troubled. There are always dissatisfied people; some are satisfied, others dissatisfied. They are more satisfied then in the past, but they are dissatisfied compared to what they will be or compared to others who are now better off. It will be the same 10,000 years from now. If everyone becomes satisfied, we might as well go to sleep. There has as yet been no airing of views, so how do we know that there must be a disturbance? In the past our alertness to class struggle was too high; now we are a bit conservative. One school of thought has contended alone for so many years. Let there be some disturbances for a while and we will see what happens. Not to criticize egregious errors over a long period is not good. Where there is a lot of grass, you may use a tractor. Chiang Kai-shek is not grass, but he was beaten in three years. Ten percent of China's intellectuals comprehend Marxism; 80 percent are patriotic and support socialism. One can see that poisonous weeds are only a minority. Weeds among the fresh flowers, which seem poisonous but are not, are in the majority. This is a reflection of social reality.

This is a new problem. The cadres have not examined it yet. When they check it out, taste it, their worries will vanish. Even if it is not explained clearly, can the people still oppose the Communist Party? Those which seem poisonous but are not are the majority; the poisonous weeds are in the minority.

I do not encourage the people to make trouble or to organize trouble-making groups. Making trouble by attacking government offices must be punished. Nonetheless there will be some disorder.

Spirits are now running high outside the party. In a while, spirits within the party may also rise up, first low then high.

To solve some problems, get some experience. Every policy of the party must be tested by being carried to the masses. We should let the cadres test it in their work. ✓

Fearing and not fearing, being happy and being unhappy, solving problems and not solving them: this is dialectics. For instance, in waging war, at the beginning one is quite afraid, but the more he fights, the more courageous he becomes. Without having had several errors in line, we could not be so good today. If good things abound, one may become proud and bad things may arise. The Soviet Union is like that. Wang Ming's errors were great; he made no self-examination, had no prestige. When you make a mistake, be tense for a week. Examining the situation will make things better and will also have an immunizing effect. I would like to attack Teng

thoroughly on the question of the formation of cooperatives. Attacking is a way of helping a cadre. At the most I will lose a vote and he will not nominate me.

Pa Chin says miscellaneous writings are hard to write. 1) When the rectification of the Communist Party is complete, there will be an atmosphere of freedom; 2) thoroughgoing materialists are fearless. Wang Hsi-feng said, "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor." The more difficult the time, the more one should help him. If we do not help him he will not be able to survive.

What is wrong with making an athletic field out of Lu Hsun's tomb? Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung [7715 0366 6639] and Chung Tien-fei [6988 1855 2787] represent two different one-sided views. I too am a one-sided believer in not mourning.... This could be transformed into a cyclical theory, but dialectics is not a cyclical theory.

When one-sidedness has multiplied, dialectics must be brought out. Since these people just want us to have bad luck, we can think of an even worse situation. At present it seems that we have become somewhat conservative, but in persuading the masses we cannot use simplified methods. This is not a thorough solution to the problem of the creation of disturbances. It will not do to handle affairs excessively. Who says we want monsters and freaks? The masses want to see them. We cannot suppress it, just give better performances. We should let society be a bit complicated, put the center of gravity on science. Some people say we should be more brutal than the Kuomintang in expelling students who cause disturbances. We should be a bit wiser than the Kuomintang, so that a comparison between it and us will be all the better. The Kuomintang is digging its own grave; we should not study it. I still feel bad because the Kwangtung students were prevented from coming to Peking with their petitions. The Kuomintang exercises dictatorship over the people, the Communist Party preaches democracy. This point should be clear. Some take the atom bomb of dictatorship and hang it over the people's heads. This is not good.

3. Let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend. We must change the relationship between the party and the intellectuals. Some think it is not the time for that, that there are contradictions in political-ideological work. Widespread political struggle is already basically at an end. The Eighth Party Congress concluded it. This guideline submits that now is precisely the time.

Between party and non-party there is a ditch, which is very deep. I think that to say there is no ditch, or there is no line of demarcation, is not good, but it is not good to dig a ditch, for if there is a ditch, we will be divorced from the masses.

In one in 1,000 factories in Shanghai less than one in 10,000 caused disturbances. One percent would be better; it could wipe our bureaucratism.

From inside the party to outside the party, those inside the party and those outside the party speak with each other, act in the same play. In this way many people can be drawn onto the political stage.

Whose newspaper is Jen-min Jih-pao? It must be rectified.

Some feel they cannot move to the left or the right and it is difficult to do anything. To know it is difficult to do anything is good, it gets the brain moving; otherwise there will just be talk of dictatorship, of centralism (that is, suppression).

Must there be struggle within the party? Of course. The peasants hoe weeds every year. Errors must be criticized with the power of persuasion. One cannot rely on suppression. It will not do to rely on several documents. We must persuade people with reason, not rely on our qualifications.

Preach force towards enemies, reason towards the people. If there is no reason, it is not historicism. It is not enough to have a high position. We must study and do more research. It is very dangerous for cadres to pull rank and speak with force. ✓

Can we do without the democratic parties? No. The Soviet Union does not have them and does not hear contrary opinions. But the war was still fought victoriously, and they did not kill the intellectuals. The Soviet Union does not consider letting 100 flowers bloom, 100 schools of thought contend. Democratic party members are all big intellectuals. The Peasants and Workers Democratic Party has no peasants or workers. We must give them something to do.

Unite both ends and criticize the middle. Not to criticize is rightist. The articles by Chung Tien-fei have not been criticized for a long time since they appeared.

The criticisms in Wen Hui Pao must be thoroughly analyzed. This criticism is beneficial.

We must speak the truth to members of the democratic parties. If they have flaws, tell them. Belonging to a democratic party has its suffering. One cannot hear or see or grasp the basis of the Communist Party. We can also talk of some of the party's defects. If we strike down the democratic personages, they will rise to oppose us. It is quite necessary to learn from them with an open mind.

A number of meetings have been held, but no news of them has appeared. The Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] is the Kuo-min Jih-pao [Nationalist Daily].

Ch'en Chi-t'ung represents 90 percent of the comrades within the party, so I have no mass base.

Between inside the party and outside it there should be a line, not a wall. The first secretary should regularly meet with personages outside the party, to explain our basis to them. We can also talk with the enemy in order to attract him to us more deeply. Not to talk is not democratic. Allowing talk is also attracting the enemy further; what can be done about that? We must proceed from our 600 million people and become a bit more adventurous. There are 5 million intellectuals. We must win them over. Mo P'u [5459 2613] is a sectarian. We should check out his party affiliation. Why does he not want traditional Chinese paintings? He does not do works of art, but works of hideousness. Even the Kuomintang has traditional paintings. What is his party? Probably a third party! Social reality cannot be denied. Since there is counterrevolution in social reality, we must suppress it. Problems have existed for a long time within the framework of democracy. How can he use the Stanislavsky system for the Huo-shao Hung-lien Shih? Chiang Feng [3068 6265] and Mo P'u use the dialectic method -- why do they not want traditional paintings? Do they want to go it alone? Even husbands and wives come in pairs! Experienced cadres must take into account that the past is only a set of methods, and now we must resolve problems among the people. I have read several copies of the Hsin Min Pao. It is not yellow journalism. Just not too serious. It cannot lead science. It should not be contrary just to be contrary. It must ask for guidance. Even Liu Pei asked a Chu-ko Liang for guidance. What personages outside the party say must be taken into account. Sometimes they are in error, but do not just be contrary or inflexible.

#### 4. On the problem of recognizing several problems.

There were over 200 letters opposing the article by Fan Jui-chuan. I do not think it is obscene. "Daily I ascend into the Kan Ling, how can I do without my husband?" You have to have some pressure to write something; a donkey has to be ridden by someone. Lead, select reports, prepare, persuade, benefit: five conditions. Of all these, only the force of persuasion is relatively concrete. All the others are quite difficult to change, but we must not be dogmatic.

Can one polemicize over party policies? Everyone goes along with articles in Jen-min Jih-pao. But the articles of Ch'en Chi-t'ung and others are not correct. In my opinion it would be better if each province had two newspapers, one run by those outside the party to provide some competition.

There are always some things which are difficult to carry out in areas where intellectuals are bunched together, but it would not do for them not to be bunched together. Of the 6 million people in Shanghai, there are only over 200 X X who are in opposition, obviously a minority. Nor should the newspapers encourage them day after day. Hold several meetings a year, in spring, summer, autumn, winter. The task of culture and education is a matter of teaching the people. We must supervise it regularly, so as to prevent having to treat every headache and footache.

Some people in film studios say to strive for fragrant flowers, not produce poisonous weeds. This spirit is incorrect. We are not afraid of one-third coming up poisonous weeds. To avoid poisonous weeds is an empty phrase.

One-sidedness. It will never be possible to demand that all outside the party avoid one-sidedness and become experts in dialectics. The preceding time I spoke from my own position. There will always be work which is done well and that which is not done well.

The question of intellectuals entering the party. We should strive to have one-third enter the party. The democratic party members may cross over into the party, but not the leaders. Within 6 years one-fourth, within three 5-year plans one-third will enter the party. This year strive for 15 percent -- we must proceed at a measured pace. If we do not win over a group of intellectuals into the party this year, it will not be good for socialism. Let 100 flowers bloom, 100 schools of thought contend is a policy for winning over the intellectuals. If we shut the door to them organizationally, we will not be consistent. Our party has no great authors, great poets, great professors -- we must recruit them. In the past it was not to be done, now we must exert ourselves to do it. Gorky attended school for only 2 years and Sun Yat-sen did not receive a very high level of education. People can be trained.

There is a reason for instability in education. Beginning without experience, once we make several changes, things will become stable. Among teaching materials for junior middle schools there should be history, geography, the study of cultural relics, and the like. In the past, middle and primary schools studied foreign cultures, which they should do. There are too many courses in junior middle school. We could chop off one-third. How can 100 schools of thought contend in a classroom? We should focus on one or a few.

The checkup on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries was done in 1955 and 1956. In the past there was no checkup.

It is incorrect to speak of a contradiction between a progressive social system and backward forces of production.

The question of birth control. Malthus' conclusions are wrong, but must there be war when there are too many people? In China's birth control we must consider provincial make up. There are many people in Kiangsu, few in the Northeast. We must not change the marriage laws, but should do more persuading against early marriage.

I once said that there will still be revolution in 1000 years. But this is not certain.

After 10,000 years production relationships will definitely be transformed. In the future it will not be a matter of nationalization but of globalization.

If contradictions among the people are not handled well, we can be overthrown. There have already been some individual township governments and party branch headquarters.

5. The question of leadership.

We must improve the relationship between the Communist Party and the intellectuals. It is the fault of the Communist Party that it has not been close to the intellectuals. I do not blame the Ministry of Propaganda, the first secretary must take the responsibility. The first secretary must not only grasp the leadership of ideology but also read documents, history, philosophy, literature... periods of history. When much activity is going on but the first secretary does not do any reading, how can he resolve anything? Some say that peripheral things should be done a little less so as to grasp ideological work. One must read printed matter, literature, natural science, social science. Get into the habit, then you will gradually become interested in it. You must also discuss within the party. You may think there is no time for discussion, but even if you do not discuss, there may still be no time. In the phrase "100 schools of thought contend," some people misread "chang-ming" [contend] as "cheng-wu" [complain]. They do not understand that they must continue to go to class. Chou Yu is over 20 years old, Ch'eng P'u over 50. Now they are archenemies. Who is in command? We must have culture in doing cultural and educational work. When Chu-ko Liang was young he did not serve in any important capacity. Later he did. At that time one could break the rules and appoint him, why not now? When we were evaluating ranks, there was much disagreement. There were very many hindrances to promotion which breaks the rules. It is hard to have soldiers without education, they too should study in their spare time. Now we are fighting another battle. Generals, colonels, captains, lieutenants, and enlisted men must make renewed preparations. Cadres at all levels must master social science, literature, and natural science. Otherwise, when a commander rides into battle and needs a few tricks up his sleeve, his guns will fall silent. University party committees must be reorganized. Their assumption of cadre tasks is over. Now they can be transferred, leaving someone at the school to take care of business. "A hundred schools of thought contend" must not become the principal of the school.

We must do propaganda work, circumstances are forcing you to talk, go to the universities to talk, first have a chat with the professors and students. Today no talk, then tomorrow no talk, this year no talk, then next year no talk, never any talk; how can we go on this way?

Ask the Minister of Culture and Education, the Minister of Propaganda, and the party secretaries to go and have talks. They are always considerably better at it than the political instructors.

The question of fixed interest. The nature of enterprises has been transformed. The two major characteristics no longer exist. When the skin has gone, what can the hair adhere to? The hair is on a proletarian body,

but the soul is still there. To shorten and reduce the fixed interest so that after a long time there will be nothing left but an excuse is not worth it. Now it is 100 million a year. In 10 years it will still be 10 million. If they do not demand that we cancel it, we will still pay it out. Don't knock the hat off the petty bourgeoisie, for if the small ones lose their interest, the big ones will be dissatisfied. In the end it will all be cancelled automatically.

Our 600 million people have their faults. Any person may be criticized and not listened to when he is incorrect. When he is correct you must accept what he says. Documents opposing the suppression of counterrevolutionaries or collectivization may be repudiated somewhat. This is not called leading the enemy out; it is called entrapping oneself. When Sun Ta-yu says someone is a counterrevolutionary, we should publish it in the papers. Publishing the articles of Hu Feng and Tito in the newspapers to divorce them from the masses is also a helpful method. We must have a method in doing political work, not fear publishing; we must repudiate them.

Each province must exchange experiences. They must not avoid each other.



TALK AT THE THIRD PLENUM OF THE 8TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(7 October 1957)

China has had two revolutions. During the period of democratic revolution it was anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism, and anti-bureaucratic capitalism; only within the Party was there a struggle against the capitalist ideology of the national bourgeoisie. At that time there were two roads, the road of liberation and the road of colonialism. The socialist revolution is to eradicate classes, to eliminate exploitation; it is the proletarian revolution. In declaring that there is a primary contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, I hold that in theory there is no problem.

In 1953 at the Finance and Economics Meeting the general line was set forth; initially we did not dare to propagate it throughout the entire Party but instead we first discussed it at the county level. At the end of 1953 it was discussed at the Political Consultative Conference. The Propaganda Department drafted an outline for dissemination of the general line. During these past three and one-half years, we have dealt a severe blow to the bourgeoisie; we have also dealt a blow to the individual economy. Consequently this was reflected in the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress, which said that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat had been fundamentally resolved. This statement was not incorrect, but fundamental resolution is not equivalent to complete resolution. Once the problem of political authority was resolved, the problem of ownership was fundamentally resolved, but in the economic and political spheres there was not a complete resolution.

Among the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals, the rightists in the democratic parties, and a portion of the well-to-do middle peasants, there were those who opposed the people while standing among them. At that time this was not seen so clearly, but it was not totally unperceived either (at that time we were still carrying out transformation). At that time they were very submissive and obedient, so we said that there was a fundamental resolution. Today I emphasize this contradiction because they wanted to rebel. At the Tsingtao Conference this year we saw clearly, and

pointed out that in the urban and rural areas there was still a struggle between the two roads. As this sort of class struggle has not been eradicated and the rightist elements at this time are wildly advancing, it must be said that there is a primary contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But strategically the Tsingtao documents have said it well; it is all right if those at the meeting know what is primary and what is secondary. We have not talked about this for a long time. If we now add on to it, shaking heaven and earth, it would be bad. Now we must continue with the Tsingtao method of expression for three months.

There is also bourgeois ideology among the workers. Within the party the three big "isms" have also been unfurled over the bourgeoisie. The two roads -- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, socialism and capitalism -- are the primary contradictions of the transitional era; for the time being we will not discuss them in the report. Have we discussed whether or not it is possible to mitigate the contradictions among the great mass of the people? On the other hand there are internal bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism; we can write about this problem theoretically.

The relationships among the working people -- the contradictions in the relationship between the Party and the masses, in the relationship between cadres and the masses, between the individual and the collective, between the young and the old, and among the workers -- are very numerous. If we declare suddenly that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is primary, could this have an effect on the frank airing of views? Not necessarily, but it could cause squabbling among the workers.

There are two segments of the people; one segment has exploited people and one segment has not exploited people. In one segment few have been influenced by bourgeois ideology while in the other many have been influenced. After several hundred years it will be impossible to unfurl again the banner of the bourgeoisie; that is the struggle between the advanced and the backward. When we say that large-scale class struggle has fundamentally ended and that contradictions have been fundamentally resolved, we are speaking of the political system and the problem of ownership. But in building the superstructure, the question of ideology and political power in large measures has not been resolved. Individualism, bureaucratism, idealism are also a matter of building the superstructure and must be resolved.

After the capitalists began to beat their gongs and drums last year, we immediately put forth the idea of opposing the bourgeoisie. They were unable to speak out. This was unpopular, and the result was disadvantageous to us. Afterwards we had a frank airing of views, and it was easier to manage; we acquired experience and it was easier to manage. We brought forth "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and so they let themselves go. In the past the bourgeoisie had been subservient, and now they raised a great clamor. We had only brought forth a frank airing of views and the rightists aired their views and made a great racket. We said that there should be a frank airing of views in literature, art, and academic issues, but they wanted to progress to politics. This

year the Communist Party and the rightists have cooperated to find a method which is good: a loud and frank airing of views, posting of big-character posters, and carrying on great debates meant the discovery of a comparatively more appropriate form. In Yenan we were not so daring, we had no experience, we did not forbid, but we also did not express. We had not carried out the socialist revolution and had no experience, and this episode of frank and loud airing of views has increased our experience. In the future we shall still wish to have a frank airing of views. Let a hundred flowers blossom does not embrace counterrevolution, however. We are able to have a frank airing of views once a year. To suppress the people as though they are enemies is very dangerous. In discussing contradictions among the people one must guard against adopting the method of suppression and coercion.

The first road is to assert that during the transitional period the primary contradiction is the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The second road during a prescribed period should not be discussed in the newspapers, but the struggle between the two roads should continue to be propagandized. Do not add these two characters and avoid stirring up a lot of trouble.

The contradiction among the working people is today being resolved in the course of the frank airing of views and great debates. As soon as it is mentioned that the class contradiction is primary, there will be an adverse effect on rectification and transformation.

Three classes are included among the people: the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, and the petit bourgeoisie. A contradiction exists among these three segments of the people. This contradiction is a contradiction among the people, and it is also a class contradiction. There is a distinction between class contradictions and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Generally speaking, a contradiction among the people is non-antagonistic, while a contradiction with the bourgeoisie has an antagonistic side. The central question is the contradictions among the three segments of the people. Among these a portion are covertly antagonistic. The contradiction with Chang Po-chun, for example, was an antagonistic contradiction. In confronting this kind of antagonistic contradiction one should adopt the policy of peeling away the outer skin of a bamboo shoot. Each year peel away a little. This year peel away some of the outer skin, but don't peel it all away. After two years of not propagandizing socialism begin again, and afterwards peel away a little more. The work "On Correctly Handling Contradictions Among the People" was not mistaken, but it was not as complete as the Tsingtao document. Now the primary problem is not the remnants of feudalism or the remnants of imperialism (the contradiction still exists). Who hasn't said that Hunan seized 7,000 landlords and rich peasants, but suddenly there is a problem when you try to seize one Chang Po-chun. The socialist revolution is a problem for the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals, totalling 30 million including dependents, are a big problem. At most the

working class totals 40 million people. The targets of the socialist revolution are the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, and the upper petit bourgeoisie (in the countryside the well-to-do middle peasants). The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals have leftists, while the great majority are centrists and the right wing accounts for only one or two percent. For more than 90 percent it is a question of education and a question of criticism. While we say that contradictions among the people embrace class struggle, the bourgeoisie still enjoys civil rights. It cannot be said that the socialist revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but the remnants of imperialist and feudal power are the allied army of the rightists of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the landlord paper Ai-wen Hui-pao is anti-socialist.

At present there are 60,000 rightist elements (10,000 acting and 50,000 writing). In the future at most there will be 150,000 to 200,000. Of this number those that can be separated should be separated. For example, towards some engineering and technical personnel, natural scientists, and scholars, it is even better if they can be separated. We should work on them. Some people we should criticize seriously but treat with leniency, as for example Jung I-jen and others.

Now it is clear-cut: in proceeding through the transitional era from capitalism to socialism, the main (or fundamental) contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. Thus in social relations and interpersonal relations there has been a fundamental resolution, but there has not been a complete resolution. The landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and bad elements endorse capitalism, and those who exploit people endorse capitalism. This is also a contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The struggle between the two roads will be resolved after a long period of struggle. "Main" and "fundamental" have the same meaning.

The resolutions of the 8th Party Congress declare that the main contradiction is the contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces. Speaking reasonably, one cannot speak in that manner. Now there are contradictions, and in the future there will also be contradictions. When cooperatives have all been transformed into state farms which pay out wages there will still be contradictions. Socialism is comprised of two sectors: public ownership and collective ownership. In the future contradictions will also arise between the two. The socialist system and the productive forces are fundamentally in conformity, but they also have areas where there is not total conformity. There are still shortcomings and it is incorrect to say that there is perfect conformity. When Stalin mentioned perfect conformity (official report, page 14), there arose a problem. The ideology of religion is not in accord with socialism, but we still want to repair temples. Repairing temples is done to achieve the goal of tearing down temples. Why do we say this is by and large in accord? Because it can develop the productive forces. India undertook a five-year plan and increased its steel output by 300,000 tons. We raised our output by 4 million tons. Our system does not impede the development of the

productive forces. After several tens of years the contradiction between the collective and the state-owned sectors will be resolved, but there will still be new contradictions. When we have arrived at communism, we will not need the law of value and we will not need an army, the international environment permitting of course. Marx, Engels, and Lenin never said this sentence which is in the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress, but there is no harm in it. The meaning is that we must hurriedly develop production, strengthen the material foundation of socialist society; it is only that this was not said clearly. The essence of the stylistic faults is that we have not seriously talked about contradictions. It has drawn comparisons with foreign countries and with the future. It is not necessary to change this sentence now; there is no need to discuss this question now. Lenin said that there is a contradiction between Soviet power and backward technology. We will not talk about this now. Afterwards it will be all right to explain it more clearly. Strictly speaking, it is of course incorrect to say that the socialist system and the productive forces are not in accord. We are a socialist system developing its productive forces. A good many economists say that there is a contradiction between our system and the productive forces and that the productive forces of a socialist system are backward. This sort of talk is bad.

## TALKS AT THE NAN-NING CONFERENCE

(11, 12 January 1958)

### I. Talk on 11 January 1958

As for the report to the People's Congress I have not read it in two years (in order to maintain solidarity this has not been mentioned in the newspapers and I am not responsible). Chang Po-chun said that the State Council provided only the finished product and did not allow others to participate in the planning. I am quite sympathetic; however, he is trying to set up a bourgeois political planning council while we constitute the proletariat's political planning council. Some people have only finished products from the very start. They called meetings in haste and practically forced people to approve them. They provided only the finished products instead of the materials. It is necessary to discuss problems from a practical standpoint, exchange ideas of importance, and explain why things are being done this way rather than that way. The finance and economics departments do not keep the Political Bureau informed. Generally, the reports, too, do not lend themselves to discussions as they do not mention textual research, phraseology, and essence. The former is a question of rhetoric and the latter are questions of concepts and reasoning.

For the comrades in the party committees the main danger is to be "red but not expert," mindless politicians divorced from reality. Not only are they not expert, but they also gradually lose their redness. We are working with "intangibles," and you are working with "tangibles." The "tangibles" and "intangibles" must be integrated. Those dealing in "intangibles" must do some research on "tangibles;" and those dealing in "tangibles" must use some politics. Hung-an [4767 1344] County's report on their experimental plots is a very important document. I have read it twice and ask all of you to read it. The "four abundances," the "three desirables," and the "three undesirables" mentioned in the Hung-an report are nationwide problems. That is, people want to lead without fully understanding "tangible" matters. Criticizing others as expert but not red will lack forcefulness if this problem is not resolved. Party committee leaders cover three areas: industry, agriculture, and ideology. The provincial

committees should also operate some experimental fields, shouldn't they? Otherwise, those mindless politicians will change color.

People working with "tangibles" who become high, middle, or low level officials early think of themselves as red. They became entangled and can not extricate themselves, and they will not even discuss essence, as, for example, opposing "bold advances." In 1956 it was "bold advances." It was "boldly advance" in 1957, and in that same year, it was oppose "bold advances." But in 1958 it was again "bold advances." Let us see which is better, to "boldly advance" or oppose "bold advances?" In 1956, Hopei province undertook construction of water-conservancy projects covering 17 million mou, in 1957 20 million mou, and in 1958 27 million mou. Seven or eight years after liberation, 1.2 billion yuan was spent on the control of the Huai River to build only 1.2 billion cubic meters of earthwork. This year, Anhwei province worked 1.6 billion cubic meters at a cost of only a few tens of millions of yuan.

Please do not mention this term opposition to "bold advances," all right? This is a political problem. Any opposition would lead to disappointment, and 600 million disappointed people would be an overwhelming problem. Put out both hands for people to see how many fingers have sores. "The storehouses are empty," "the market is tense," using too many people, spending too much money -- should we oppose them? All these must be opposed. At that time it would have been best not to bring up the subject of opposition to "bold advances," and merely say that one finger had a sore. Thus, it would not have raised the storm which blew away three things: 1) the achievement of greater, faster, better, and more economical results; 2) the forty article program; and 3) the promotion committees. These are all political rather than functional problems. If one finger has a problem it can be cured with a little treatment. Did not "storehouses are empty" and "the market is tense" finally change half a year later?

The problem of the ten fingers must be clarified since it is a problem that concerns 600 million people. After all, are achievements important or are mistakes important? Are we to preserve enthusiasm, encourage hard work and the spirit of surging ahead, or are we to dampen spirits and be discouraging? The rightists grasped this point and launched full-scale opposition to "bold advances." Ch'en Ming-shu [7115 6900 2873] criticized me for "craving after greatness and success, listening to and believing only one side, having inconstant feelings, and disliking anti-quitities." Chang Hsi-jo [1728 1153 5387] (not yet classified as a rightist) criticized me as "having a fondness for greatness and success, seeking quick success and instant benefits, belittling the past and superstitious about the future." In the past, per mou production in the north was some 100 catties and 200 to 300 catties in the south. With an accumulated experience of 20 years Generalissimo Chiang left us only 40,000 tons of steel. If we do not belittle the past and have faith in the future what hope do we have? As for listening to and believing one side it is impossible not to do so. The question is which side you should listen to, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat? There are some comrades who are not one-sided enough and need

to lean more. We cannot listen only to Liang Shu-ming [2733 3359 3298] or Ch'en Ming-shu. As for inconstant feelings it is not necessarily good to be constant. One cannot always be fond of the bourgeois rightists. As for the dislike of antiquities, it is a question of either emulating the advanced or being backward, and things of antiquity are always a little backward. We eradicated the four pests, wiping out flies, mosquitoes, and sparrows. There has been no precedent, and it will not be done again. Generally, newcomers are better, and it is not "the present is inferior to the past." One cannot help being fond of antiques, but one also cannot be too fond of them. When the memorial arches were dismantled in Peking and tunnels were driven through the city walls, Chang Hsi-jo wept. This is politics.

The New Year editorial advocated going all out and aiming high (Ch'en Po-ta interrupted to say that there should be more stockpiling.)

On the question of reducing personnel, the commercial section and the cooperatives are not responding to political guidance. I have talked about this for several years but they will not reform. Anything handed down to the local level [for implementation] is halved. Since my arrival in Peking the pedicabs have not been reduced by even one unit. There were too many of our "imperial edicts," leaving no room for thought. I would be a little happier if you said you would give it some thought. Our status quo faction is too large. The study of value judgment must be done again. For example, "Chiang Kai-shek is counterrevolutionary." Value judgments must be made anew on some concepts.

Chang Po-chun intends to set up a bourgeois planning council. Our planning council is the Political Bureau which operates through an exchange of information. They don't carry notebooks and talk about guidelines. How about establishing an agreement? If you don't agree I have a way to resist you, and that is to not read your reports. I have not read them for two years, and the local finance departments have also chosen this approach.

These few years of opposing departmentalism has produced a saying: seize the great powers and divide up minor powers; the party committees make decisions and each locality carries them out; carrying out decisions is a form of power and so does not deviate from the principle. Investigation of work is the responsibility of the party committees.

A number of people in political and legal organizations have noted that party and government are not separate. Do we want half for each? That will not do. There should be no division at first, although, later, they can be divided. Otherwise, it will just be seizing minor powers, and how will such things as the forty article program be divided? Twenty for the Central Committee and twenty for agriculture? This cannot be done. The Central Committee worked up the forty articles and then divided them up for implementation. This is the way to divide. We cannot have the Central Committee operating under one constitution and some other organizations operating under another. When minor powers are divided up small the major powers then cannot be monopolized. Was not everybody in favor of group



leadership? Was not the unified command system abolished? (The army of the Soviet Union implemented the system of unified command; Chu-ko-fu [2612 0668 1133] committed an error).

## II. Talk on 13 January 1958

For the past eight years I have struggled for such a work method. I have said it a thousand times, ten thousand times. This is an exaggeration, but when it is said once too often it becomes empty talk. Invariably, a man's thinking is influenced gradually. It should be a "steady drizzle" instead of a "heavy downpour," because the latter will cause washouts. The Political Bureau does not have a sufficiently cohesive granular structure to absorb a heavy downpour; it will simply run off (they must have a book each on pedology and agriculture, otherwise they will not be able to remain as secretaries of provincial party committees. Inevitably, there will be a day when they will be dismissed from office. This is not a threat). Like the United Nations of Dulles the Political Bureau has become a voting machine. You give it a perfect document and it has to be passed. Like the opera, you have to go on stage and perform since the show has been announced. The document itself does not go into textual research and essence, and it also has foreign words. I do have a method, and that is passive resistance. I will not read it. For two years I have not read your documents and I do not expect to read them this year either.

Did Comrade Chou En-lai mention what I said at the Hangchow conference? In December of 1955 I wrote a foreword to the book "The Hightide of Socialism In The Rural Areas." It made a tremendous impact on a nationwide scale. Regardless of whether it was because of a personality cult or idolatry, it was published by area newspapers throughout the country and by major and minor periodicals, producing a great impact. I have thus become the chief culprit of "bold advances." I have said that a condition of inadequacy in situational analysis exists in various departments. The army has been increased by 800,000 men, worker-apprentices by one million, but why should there be an increase in the ranks of those opposing right conservatism? I don't understand and I also don't know.

The "bold advances" of the Peitaiho conference held in the summer of 1955 was for the purpose of increasing steel production to 15 million tons (second five-year plan). The opposition to "boldly advance" occurring at the Peitaiho conference held in the summer of 1956 influenced the National People's Congress's report adversely. It is always so that people do not think alike. Imbalance is the law of universal progress. Mencius said: "All things are not alike, and all things complement each other." People do not think alike and yet it is possible to reach accord. Progress is made in a zig-zag spiral pattern. Of course every one is for the party and for the country, and not for himself.

My method against departmentalism is passive resistance, and also criticism in small meetings. The finance and economics departments do not

go into textual research, phraseology, and essence. They must operate in a gentle fashion, giving out some information beforehand. With them it has always been a heavy downpour causing washouts. They have been always ungracious, inadequately prepared, and incomplete. This is blockade. This is a Stalinist method. Ten minutes before the conference opens the document is produced for resolution without any consideration being given to the state of mind of people. You are experts, and also red. The majority in the Political Bureau are red but not expert. My attack is directed chiefly at cadres at the ministerial level and above in the central government and it is not levelled at every one. It is an attack on those who caused heavy downpours and who set up blockades. If small group conferences do not resolve this problem, then a plenary session of the Central Committee will be convened (an article settled this matter but it has not been seriously resolved. In the letter to the Kwangsi provincial party committee the question of newspapers was discussed.) While I was in the Soviet Union I wrote a letter saying that it will not be beneficial to your work if you do not have the support of the Central Committee. By doing otherwise you will become isolated, like the "gentleman on the beams [a burglar.]"

The Political Bureau is not the Planning Council. The heavy downpour has run off our bodies but [they] kept on saying it didn't do a good job. This is, in reality, a blockade. There is also departmentalism in it, but not very serious. Now, each has his own feelings and, placing myself in your position, I imagine you must be thinking that the Central Committee is a model of perfection. You feel that even though it is not all perfect it is still near perfect. Besides, it is like Marguerite, the heroine of the Novel "La Dame Aux Camelias," who felt it necessary to put on makeup when she saw her lover, although she was dying. In Fei-yen Wai-chuan (Biography of Fei Yen) Chao Fei-yen became ill and refused to see Emperor Han Wu. After all, she was simply unwilling to meet people because of her poor appearance. What is wrong with seeing people in a dishevelled, ungroomed condition? You write them down one at a time as they come to mind, setting forth opinions which are not yet well defined in your mind and ideas which are not yet crystal clear, and discuss them with others. Don't treat everything that has been issued as an "imperial edict," and that once it has been discussed it becomes inflexible. It was like that with the forty articles. In the beginning, 11 articles were drafted in Hangchow, then it was increased to 17 in Tientsin, and only upon arrival in Peking were they increased to 40. "A widow bringing up her son is beholden to the efforts of all the people." This is a question of work method.

I perceive that we will have to create a unity of opposites. It just will not do with out having a tit-for-tat confrontation. It will either be your persuading me or my persuading you. Or be a middle-of-the-roader. Some people are just that; they will not take a stand on major issues. Marxism is supposed (to teach us) not to camouflage one's own view, is it not? If that is so then I don't understand. The banners should be displayed clearly. Probably it is desirable to be like Ch'u Chuang Wang [a prince in the State of Ch'u] who "for three years emitted no sound, but when he did, people quaked; for three years he did not fly, but when he did, he soared into the

heavens [from Shih Chi, the "Historical Records," meaning achieving great success in one attempt]."

Another one is that obdurate Hu X X arrived. Speak of the devil and he is bound to appear. The revolutionary party of Jen-min Jih-pao does not make revolution. The democratic parties and factions took the speech I made at the Supreme State Conference held on 29 February and expanded on it, extracting what they needed. The Jen-min Jih-pao did not a single move. It did write an editorial beginning with Engels. Ever since the beginning of February I have been telling them: since you are not carrying it out why don't you resign? At the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee held in November, the January Conference of Provincial Party Committee Secretaries, and the Propaganda Conference held in March, as well as at the I-nien-t'ang Conference, contradiction among the people was mentioned. They were told not to worry, that it was resolvable. But it did not convince Comrade X X X. I said that it would be fine if I had one out of ten cadres supporting me. He would not say he was opposed to it but simply would not implement it. I would be well off if a thousand out of the ten thousand deputy secretaries of district party committees and above supported me. Who could have opened up the schools in Peking? In making his report at the Chung-chih [0022 4160] Conference held on 22 May, Comrade X X X had a well-known saying: "An opportune moment that cannot be bought with one thousand ounces of gold" as well as "an inch of gold cannot buy an inch of time." This brought about an opening up. During the blooming and contending, several party branches in Tsinghua University rebelled, and the rightists were happy. Otherwise, there would be no way to uncover these rebellious elements. There is a certain kind of indolence in people which cannot be easily discarded. The arctic ice could not have thawed for Comrade X X X if it had not been for that conference. X X X is a good man; he is just incompetent. I described him as a professor running a newspaper, a student running a newspaper. I also said that he was like a corpse running a newspaper.

More on textual research, phraseology, and essence. Workers in the field of finance and economics have made great achievements. Of the ten fingers only one is bad. I have said this ten thousand times, but to no effect. I hope work methods will be reformed. I am the one with the least knowledge and I am not a member of a committee. I have talked with democratic people and told them that I was only an actor playing the part of an old domicile, while they were the stars. Anyway, I do have some seniority, and I should be informed. I am rather disappointed. Letting you come from far away places to the south was a suggestion made by the Premier.

I am the culprit. In December of 1955 I wrote an article opposing rightist tendencies. On impulse I held a discussion with 34 ministers. Ten principal relationships were discussed, my head swelled, and I "boldly advanced." After that I was afraid to come near a minister. At the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee I said that three things were abolished last year (greater, faster, better, and more economical results, the forty articles, and the promotion committees), and there was no opposition. I had a stroke of luck, I was restored [to favor]. I then had the

courage to talk with the ministers again. There has been a set-back in these three years. The rightists attacked, throwing back some of our comrades to a distance only 50 meters away from the rightists. The rightists launched full-scale opposition against "bold advances," asserting that "the present is inferior to the past," and "bold advances are more injurious than conservatism." Let us study it, study which is more injurious. The opposition to "bold advances" discouraged 600 million people. The anti-bold advance editorial of June 1956 opposed right conservatism and also hasty bold advances. It seemed to be impartial, but, actually, the emphasis was on opposition to bold advances. It was not one finger having a sore. On this editorial I noted "will not read." Why should I read something that attacks me? It was so frightening, it has such power to sway. This writing seemed to be even-handed, but in reality, it was in opposition to "bold advances." It has not formed the pattern well. The ten fingers form a pattern, and only one finger has a sore. This is a nine to one ratio. It is a bourgeois method if this relationship of the ratio is not clarified, a method like that of Ch'en Chi-tung [7115 0366 6639], Huang Yen-pei [7806 3508 1014] and Ch'en Ming-shu.

I must have the opportunity to speak. From January to November of 1956 it was opposition against "bold advances." The Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee devised seven articles. It was a compromise formula, and the solution was not thorough. The conference of provincial and municipal party committee secretaries admitted that part of the money was not properly spent. However, the discussion was not carried through thoroughly enough, thereby causing the trend of opposing "bold advances" to spread all over. Liao X X reflected to me that there seemed to be no regrets although the forty articles had been blown away. How many people regretted it? How many people breathed a sigh [of relief]? Three things were blown away, and there were three kinds of people: the first kind said: "China can be saved only by blowing away the forty articles;" the second kind is the middle-of-the-roader. It did not affect him either way. When a mosquito bit, he took a slap at it and let it go at that; and the third kind sighed. It is necessary to clearly define the demarcation line between the Kuomintang and the communist party. The Kuomintang is for bold retrogression, and the communist party is for bold advance.

X X X was full of anxiety for party and country, and opposed "bold advances." He became divorced from the majority of the ministers and secretaries of provincial party committees, and from the 600 million people. Please read the article by Sung Yu [1345 3768], "Ode to Teng Tu-tse's Fondness of Women." For two thousand years Teng Tu-tse was unable to recover from this article. Sung Yu's method was to "attack a single point and ignore the rest." Teng Tu-tse reported to King Hsiang of Ch'u that Sung Yu was beautiful, articulate, and fond of sex. Sung Yu repudiated point by point. Sung Yu counterattacked Teng Tu-tse as being fond of sex by relating that Teng Tu-tse married a pock-marked, hunched-back woman and had seven children by her. Was this not fondness of sex? The attack was just on fondness of sex. In judging cadres we should take into account morality, talent, and qualifications. We cannot ignore morality and talent and consider

qualifications only. Mentioning only one finger and ignoring the other nine is the very same kind of method. I see that we must have gentle rain, not heavy downpours, for several years. We must have a gentle attitude and refrain from sudden attacks and catching people off-guard.

In May the rightists attacked, heightening the level of consciousness of those comrades with rightist tendencies in their minds. This is an "achievement" of the rightists, a way to spur people on.

Government procurement for the 1954-1955 grain year was 92 billion catties, and it purchased another 10 billion catties. Talking about bold advances, there was some boldness here. It created a storm of "every one talking about centralized purchasing, every family discussing food rations." Chang Nai-ch'i was the Minister for Food and he approved this plan. Was it an attempt to turn the farmers against us? There could be a conspiracy. Quite a lot of food was sold last year, and this reflected the fact that the farmers were discouraged. Are we not advocating the mass line? What mass line would there be once 600 million people become discouraged? In reviewing problems we must proceed from the standpoint of 600 million people and place in proper perspective the main trends, side issues, basic nature, and phenomena of matters coming to our attention.

The major powers grasped by the Central Committee consist only of revolution and agriculture. The rest are in the hands of the State Council.

People are superstitious and indolent. For instance, there was an intervening 30 years in my swimming.

In the extermination of the four pests "every one talks about public health, every household discusses hygiene." There are 12 months in a year and inspections are to be carried out once every month. In this way hospitals will run schools, doctors will go to do farming, the number of sick people will drop sharply, every one will be mentally alert, and rates of attendance will increase greatly. These must be done in a concerted way, and the best will be to complete it in two years.

I have made an agreement with the five provinces in East China to hold four meetings this year -- small scale meetings -- in order to bring about a coordination of two elements. Once the two elements of the central and the local are coordinated things will be different. Small scale meetings will also be held in the various provinces.

Liao X X told me to observe the first five years of a ten-year [program], the first three of a five-year [program], and the first year of a three-year [program]. In one year I will hold four meetings for you and inspect 12 times. Double accounting systems, striving to over-fulfill quotas -- this is an invention of the Soviet Union.

Please read once again Hung-an County's report. One man setting a precedent pushed it forward. A deputy secretary of the county committee bought a hoe, and 80 percent of the people bought hoes. There is also the example of that commune in Ying County, Shantung province. [But] one example is enough.

## SPEECH AT THE HANKOW CONFERENCE

(6 April 1958)

What is the situation of the class struggle in the transition period?

There probably won't be more than a few more rounds in the struggle between the two roads. We must have a strategy, cooling off for a while and then letting loose. Without such cooling off and letting loose, it won't flare up. As I mentioned at the Ch'eng-tu Conference, there are four classes in China: two exploiting and two working classes. The first exploiting class consists of imperialism, feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism, Kuomintang remnants, and 300,000 rightists. The landlords have split up, some having reformed and others not yet. The unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists are firmly against communism. They are the current Chiang Kai-shek and Kuomintang, and they constitute the hostile class, such as Chang Po-chun [4545 0130 6874]. The rightists in the party are the same, including those leaning toward the right currently classified as intermediates who have not yet made a move toward the right. Those who have been discovered but not yet classified, or not yet discovered, also belong to this class. The grand total of this class probably constitute five percent of the population, or 30 million, which is a reasonable estimate. It is a hostile class and needs reform. Struggle and getting hold of them are required. If 70 percent of them are split up, it will be a big victory. They must be activated, turning passive strength into active. If 10 percent of them are reformed, it will be a success. After a few years, when they demonstrate a sincere change of heart and become genuinely reformed, their exploiting class hat may be removed. The right may turn into the left or middle-roaders; the left may also turn into the right, such as Kautsky. The second exploiting class consists of the national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals, plus a part of the upper level petit bourgeoisie, such as Liu Shao-t'ang [0491 4801 0781], Ch'en Po-hua [7115 0130 5478], and the rural well-to-do middle peasants. They belong to the bourgeoisie in essence. Most of the national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals are middle-roaders. They are exploiters, but different from the first exploiting class. They are opposed, and yet not opposed, to communism. They are a vacillating class. They are opposed to communism, but not firmly committed, and they are

different from Chiang Kai-shek. They bend with the wind. There was a capitalist in Hankow. From Hankow to Peking, he made a living by relying on the slogan "Support the Communist Party; Support Government Representatives," and would not say one word more. Actually his thinking did not change much. Had we not firmly resisted when the rightists attacked last year, and had Nazism appeared in China and the rightists gained power, these people would surge upward and they wouldn't have hesitated to knock down the Communist Party. They are two-minded about the Communist Party, wavering between for and against, while the rightists have no intention of supporting the Communist Party. After the struggle for all of this past year, these people are changing their political thinking, but they are still half-hearted. Last year most of them were without direction. However, after the big blooming and big contending, the victory of the rural and urban rectification campaign, and the great leap forward in production, they had to change by force of the situation. Whether it can be considered as 30 and 70 percent, I hope everyone will give it consideration. A situation is man-made. Men form crowds, and the majority overwhelms the minority. The great Yangtze River Bridge, industrialization, and so on, can be classified as part of the situation. The second exploiting class is relatively civilized, and we can handle it with civilized methods, adopting the formula of criticism, which is different from the method of the anti-rightist struggle. Towards the rightists we resort to a method rather coercive in essence, for no other purpose than to make them notorious. Our policies are also different toward the two exploiting classes. We rally the second while isolating and knocking down the first. In other words, we rally the middle-roaders and isolate the rightists.

Though the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists number as many as 30 million, they are scattered in the country, surrounded and isolated. They would never have imagined the holding of a rightist congress; it would be equivalent to an imperial favor and amnesty. All big cities (cities with a population of 300,000 or more) should hold such a congress, with speeches by major responsible comrades, and the speeches should be intensive and penetrating. There should first be lecturing and then rallying. The lecture should be cold and bleak and the rallying warm and enthusiastic, pointing out the future and giving them hope. Similar to Old Woman Liu entering the Ta-kuan Garden to borrow money, Sister Feng was unscrupulous. Some people say that she would be an able statesman in peace time and a cunning politician in times of unrest.

There are two working classes, the workers and the peasants. In the past, their mind was not at one, and they were not clear about the ideology and their mutual relations. They worked and farmed under the leadership of our party, and we did not properly handle the problem of their mutual relations. Generally speaking, the work style of our cadres is fundamentally different from that of the Kuomintang, but some of them are more or less the same. Similar to the overlord toward the common citizen, or the slave master toward the slave, they convince by force instead of persuasion. One women cadre in the Hunan Hospital usurped a lavatory and forbade anyone else from using it. The bad work style of certain cadres is almost the same as the

Kuomintang, and a few individuals even surpass it. Hence, the workers and peasants regard them as the Kuomintang. For this reason, the world philosophy of the workers and peasants did not change, and they struggled for the "five big items." They were afraid to express themselves for fear of being rectified, forced to "wear small shoes," and given a hard time. Who would have the nerve to display "big character posters?" Since the big blooming, big contending, big rectifying, and big reforming, there has been a great change in such relations. The workers criticized themselves for their struggle for the "five big items," and their work attitude improved. The bath workers declared against their own wage increase. Immediately upon becoming a cadre, a store worker in Wu-han turned arrogant toward the store clerks. It was the work style of the Kuomintang. Once they changed their overlord style, the cadres of Hung-an County became one with the masses and a transformation occurred in their relations. The ownership system, mutual relations, and distribution relations are the three issues in production relations. When we tackle the middle, it is to tackle the mutual relations. Our rectification is to solve the mutual relations issue. Certain individuals among the Communist Party members learned the style of the slave master in society and school. Liu Chieh-mei [0491 0094 2734] learned it in society. Let us rectify the mutual relations, the relations between the party and political work groups and the workers in the plant, between the cadres and members in the cooperative, between the party and political personnel of all levels and the lower echelons, between the cadres and the masses, and between the principal and teachers and the students. In other words, the internal contradictions in the people should be solved by persuasion, not by coercion. By so doing, the cover is lifted, and the people feel comfortable, mentally liberated, and will have the courage to write big character posters. It is Leninism, not opportunism. Lenin died too young. His writings, especially his books written in the revolutionary period, should be carefully studied. His reasoning is vivid and lively and he bares his heart to the people in his sincerity, without any hedging. The same holds true even in his struggle against the enemy. Comrade Stalin had a slight overlord flavor. Educated in a missionary school, he was not so good in dialectics, nor materialism. He was divorced from reality and did not handle successfully the mutual relations. He was relatively rigid. In the past, the relations between the Soviet Union and us were those between father and son, cat and mouse, and the thinking was inflexible. Now, it is somewhat better. Our democratic tradition has a long history. Promoting democracy at our base, with neither money, grain, weapons, nor outside aid, we had no choice but to rely on the people. The party had to become one with the people, the troops with the masses, and the officers with the soldiers. To handle such relations successfully, we had to resort to the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention. We treated the people with equality, abolished physical punishment among the troops, repealed the death penalty for deserters, constantly taught and struggled, and educated the new soldiers after each battle. Therefore, though there was some overlord attitude, we also learned some democratic work style. It was tempered in the long and arduous struggle. Yet even now, there are still some who do not subscribe to the method of persuasion toward the people. Some people in Tsinan, for instance, said that the tendency in the spring of 1957 was toward the right, and that they approved



of the summer situation but not the spring situation. In fact, the summer situation was not so commendable either. As mentioned in the article on the summer situation, if democracy can be practiced in the troops, why can't it be practiced in the people? One can see that this problem has not been solved. After rectification last year, the bumper harvest this year especially, and the (fundamental or preliminary) transformation of our backwardness with three more years of hard struggle, the people will understand and become convinced. But we must still perform work, write articles, and use reasoning to convince. In view of the situation of the class struggle in the transition, I feel that there will be five percent of germs (hostile class). The middle road faction may also deteriorate. They have criticisms in their mind. Temporarily they are keeping quiet, but they will express themselves in the future. We must remember that the struggle is protracted, repetitious, and complex. Nevertheless, the fundamental battle of the class struggle has been fought, and a victory has been basically won. Hundreds of million have risen. The rightists are isolated. The 300,000 rightists have become notorious and are without capital. The national bourgeoisie has also become notorious, and the same with the three-anti and five-anti elements. Two titles are conferred on the intellectuals: bourgeois intellectuals and intellectuals without bearing. Leadership figures have appeared in their leftist and rightist factions. The heroes are among the leftists, and they are of us. Those making mistakes in the future will also be among the leftists, because the leftists have capital. Any carelessness will lead to mistakes. X X X X, for instance, was a member of the political bureau for 40 years, but he divorced himself from the masses and did not set foot in one plant or one rural village. His good point had been visiting everywhere in the field, and he was known as a traveler. I feel that being a traveler has its benefits. When we were engaged in guerrilla warfare in the past, we were travelers, travelling for decades. Now we are still travelling from the south to the north and we still want to remain travelers. Under the present provisions, those in the central government and the provincial levels must spend four months a year travelling, and a longer period for those in the regions and counties. We must think of the ways and means to chase them out of the front door and turn them into travelers.

Just how is the class struggle in the transition period? We must expect repetitions. There will be repetitions in the class struggle. If a momentous event should happen in the world, if a major problem appears in China, or if there is a world war or severe famine, the rightists may revolt, and the middle-roaders may rise up to resist us. Nevertheless, the fundamental battle has been fought and the situation is good, but we must be prepared for the bad.

In sum, the cadres are learning Marxism. To learn Marxism, we must break down superstition. We must not feel that only foreigners can succeed in learning. There is nothing unusual about foreigners. The foreigners think of us as foreigners also, and those on the moon regard us as gods. I believe we can succeed in learning. Four things are needed: a guiding ideology, state wealth, successors, and grain. We must have mental preparation. Bad things will occur. There may be incidents in the provinces,

involving 20,000, 30,000, or 40,000 people. We must break down superstition, believing in, yet disbelieving in, the scientists. Since ancient times, the children have always excelled the parents, the students the teachers, the young the old, and the spectators the performers. Whenever a problem is discussed, we must also discuss ideology. Some comrades always talk about mathematics. It is not good to leave ideology out. We must not follow the example of the Soviet academicians who give no attention to the internal contradictions among the people.

The Monkey King disregarded the laws and the heavens. Why don't we all emulate him? His anti-dogmatism was demonstrated in his courage to do whatever he wanted. Chu Pa-chieh represented liberalism, but he had a touch of revisionism in him also, because he was always threatening to quit. Of course it was not a good party; it was the Second International. Monk T'ang was equivalent to Bernstein.

The people's and party congresses at the provincial level and above should publish big character posters. There are many in our party who are doubtful of the internal contradictions among the people. Such internal contradictions include those between the exploiters and exploited, those among the workers, peasants, and the Communist Party, and those between the leaders and the led. All contradictions are internal contradictions among the people, except those with the rightists and counterrevolutionaries. Failure to visit the plants or the farms and bad work styles are internal contradictions among the people. Like the Yangtze River roaring down 10,000 li, the big character posters will wash away the dregs in the mind of many people.

How can we catch the snake if we don't let it come out? We must let the scoundrels appear and put on performances and talk nonsense in the newspapers. Let them express and feel pleased with themselves, so that the people can see them clearly and understand them. Our method is to force and capture, and to struggle against and capture. Capturing in the city and struggling in the village make it easy to do things. We issued directives at the beginning of the rectification movement, but such directives were distributed to a small minority, the majority remaining ignorant of them. We wanted to see whether the lower echelon cadres and party members used their brains and we wanted to know their attitude.

We were forced by the situation into technical revolution. The appearance of the X X issue and imperialism were also due to the force of the situation. Things are forced to appear by the presence of opposites. (When Hung-niang was beaten, she enumerated many good principles.) Many things in the world make their appearance due to the force of the situation. When we study a problem, we must control the material with a viewpoint and activate the affair at hand with politics. When discussing work appearances, we must not inundate it like a pouring rain, but must go into the details like a fine rain. How can there be a level when only numbers are discussed, without politics? Politics and numbers are the relations between the officers and soldiers, and politics is the commander. Let us hold a

newspaper meeting this year. We are not afraid to activate the masses. Activating the masses is the true Marxist-Leninist work style. Lenin went to the villages and the plants in order to associate with the people, and he was vigorously opposed to bureaucraticism.

In rectification, we must clarify the line between the enemy and ourselves. The People's Government practices democracy toward the people and dictatorship over the enemy. Rectification requires attacking from both the inside and the outside, but the line between the enemy and ourselves must be clarified, dictatorship enforced over the enemy, and persuasion practiced toward the people. Rectification and anti-rightism have the essence of another power seizure in many areas and units. A class includes many strata within it, and the problems are complex. There is the distinction between the middle and the poor among the peasants, and between the new and the old among the workers. The relationship between the upper and lower levels is also an internal contradiction among the people. The contradictions between the rightists and the people are the conflicts between the enemy and ourselves. After rectification and anti-rightism, the political root is settled, and the cadres and the masses have gained experience and clarified the two types of contradictions.

A rightist faction in a county in Chekiang attempted to become active. As it did not have the support of the masses, it failed.

SPEECHES AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS

(8-23 May 1958)

The First Speech (8 May 1958)

Let us discuss the breaking down of superstition. Didn't a comrade mention it just a while ago? Some of our comrades have many fears. Some are afraid of being college professors, but they have gradually lost or reduced their fear after the rectification. Some have already accepted letters of employment as professors. I read in the newspapers that Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih [2688 1987 2457] accepted the professorship at Fu-tan University. It was a manifestation of fearlessness. Others are preparing to serve as college professors. The above concerns the fear of being bourgeois professors. Is there also the fear of being proletarian professors? I think there is. For instance, there is the fear of Marx. He lived in a very tall building, and one had to climb many flights of stairs to reach him, something unattainable in a lifetime. As I mentioned at the Ch'eng-tu Conference, do not be afraid, because Marx was also a human being, with two eyes, two hands, and one brain, not much different from us, except that he had a lot of Marxism in his mind. He wrote many books for us to read. We do not have to read all of them. Is Comrade X X X here? (Answer: Here.) Have you finished reading them? If you have finished reading them, then you have ascended the stairs. I have not finished reading them; therefore, I am still downstairs. As we have not finished reading his books, we all belong downstairs, but do not be afraid. It is not necessary to read all of Marx's books. Reading some of the fundamental things will be sufficient, but what we have done has surpassed Marx. What Lenin said and did surpassed Marx in many aspects. Marx did not undertake the October Revolution, but Lenin did; therefore, Lenin surpassed Marx in the practical aspect. At that time, he had the conditions of the time. Marx never undertook China's great revolution; therefore, our practice also surpassed Marx. Principles are created in practice. Marx did not succeed in his revolution, but we did. When such revolutionary practice is reflected in ideology, it becomes theory.

Our theoretical level is not high. It is not high now, but we must not be afraid. As long as we exert ourselves, we will go forward. Stairs

can be made, and so can elevators. We must not belittle ourselves or hold ourselves in contempt. As I have often said to some comrades, China was oppressed by imperialism for over 100 years and the people were intimidated by the propaganda of obedience to foreigners and foreign countries spread by imperialism; they were afraid of everything. Feudalism propagandized obedience to Confucius, making us feel inferior. We were inferior in the face of Confucius. Since the Opium War, we have been inferior in the face of foreigners, and we were afraid of them. Before that we were afraid of Confucius. Old Tung [5516], did you not once obey Confucius? What was the reason? At that time, the saying was "rejecting the Sage is violating the law." Opposing the Sage was violating the constitution. In regard to the foreigners, I am inferior to them; in regard to Confucius, I am inferior to him. What kind of reasoning is this? I once asked some comrades around me whether we lived in heaven or on earth. They all shook their head and said that we lived on earth. I said no, we live in heaven. When we look at the stars from the earth, they are in heaven. But if there are people in the stars, when they look at us, wouldn't they think that we are in heaven? Therefore I say that we live in heaven while also on earth at the same time. The Chinese like the gods. I asked them whether we were gods. They answered no. I said wrong. The gods live in heaven. We live on earth, but also in heaven; so, why shouldn't we be considered gods also? If there were people in the stars, wouldn't they also consider us as gods? My third question was whether the Chinese were also foreigners? They said no, only the foreigners were foreigners. I said wrong, the Chinese were also foreigners, because when we consider the people of foreign countries as foreigners, wouldn't they also consider us as foreigners? It explains the superstitious ideas on this point.

There is a kind of microbes which are called germs. Though small in size, from a certain standpoint, they are more powerful than men. They have no superstition and are full of energy. They strive for the upper reaches and for greater, faster, better, and more economical results. They are not afraid of heaven or earth. They do not respect anyone. If they want to eat people, they will crawl into them regardless of who you are. Even if you should weigh 80 kilograms, they can destroy you. No one counts as far as they are concerned. Isn't their fearless spirit much stronger than certain people?

Since ancient times, whenever the scholars or inventors created a new school of thought, they have always started young, possessed not much learning, and were scorned and oppressed. Not until later did they grow into adults and become learned. Are all the people like this? Is it a universal law? We cannot be completely sure, and it requires investigation and study. However, one can say that the majority are like that. Why did they become inventors, scholars, or heroes? They succeeded because their bearing was correct. Regardless of the amount of learning, if the bearing is wrong, it is of no use. "Man dreads fame and a hog dreads fat." The famous people are often the most backward, most fearful, and most lacking in creativity. Why? Because they have already attained fame. They have seniority and position, and are no longer oppressed. Being busy, they do

do not study any more. Of course, we cannot discredit all famous people. There are exceptions. Instances of young people knocking down the old people, or the uneducated knocking down the highly educated, are numerous.

There was a man named Kan Lo in the Kingdom of Ch'in during China's Warring States period. He was probably the grandson of Kan Mao. He became prime minister at the age of 12. He was truly a "red scarf." When his grandfather Kan Mao did not know what to do, he did. He solved a major problem in the Kingdom of Chao.

Chia I in the Han Dynasty was sought by Emperor Wen when the former was only 17 years old and was promoted three times in one day. Later on he was exiled to Ch'ang-sha. There he wrote two poems entitled "Mourning Ch'u Yuan" and "The Enormous Bird." Returning to the court, he wrote two books entitled The Strategy to Maintain Peace and The Faults of the Ch'in Dynasty. I think he was also an expert on the history of Ch'in and Han. Is Comrade Fan Wen-lan here? Am I correct? Please look into it. Chia I wrote dozens of books and what we have today are the two poems and two treatises discussed above. At the time of his death he was only 33 years of age.

Liu Pang of the Han Dynasty was older. Hsiang Yu launched an uprising at age 24 and became a feudal prince five years later. Subsequently, he conferred on himself the title of the King of Ch'u. He died at age 32. He was very young when he said his famous farewell to his queen. Now he wears a beard in the opera. I think it is wrong. He should be portrayed only as a young man.

Han Hsin was also scorned. During his youth, he suffered the insult of being forced to crawl between someone's legs.

Confucius had no position in his youth. He worked as a bugler and drummer and served as the master of ceremony at funerals. Later on he taught. Although he became a government official and once served as the chief of the judicial department in the Kingdom of Lu, it was only for a short time. The Kingdom of Lu had a population of only a few hundred thousand, not any bigger than one of our counties. Confucius' position as chief of the judicial department was only equivalent to a section chief in our county government. He also served as a minor official in charge of money, equivalent to an accountant in our agricultural cooperative, but he acquired much skill.

Yen Yuan was a disciple of Confucius. He could be considered as a second grade sage. He died at age 32.

Shakyamuni created Buddhism in his youth, while still in his teens or possibly 20. He belonged to an oppressed race in India at that time.

Hung Niang in the Western Chambers was a famous figure, known to everyone. She was a young slave girl, but she was just and brave. She had the courage to break through the conventions and render aid to Ts'ui Ying-ying and Scholar Chang. What she did at that time was illegal and in violation of the marriage law. The old mistress gave her a sound beating,

but she would not capitulate. Instead, she reprimanded the old mistress. Was the old mistress or Hung Niang better educated? Which one was creative? Which one was an inventor?

Hsun Kuan-niang (of Lin-yin County, Honan) of the North and South Dynasties was a 13-year-old girl, with an educational level of first year middle school at the most. When she and her father were trapped in Hsiangyang, she had the courage to lead several dozen men to break through the enemy line and get help from Ch'ang-sha. How capable she was!

Poet Li Ho in the T'ang Dynasty died at age 27.

Li Shih-min, the first emperor of the T'ang Dynasty, was only 18 when he launched an uprising and only 26 when he became emperor. Both Li Ho and Li Shih-min were of aristocratic origin.

Lo Shih-hsin of Tung-li-ch'eng at the end of T'ang Dynasty started an uprising at age 24. He fought battles at age 14 and was very brave. Tu Fu-wei (of Chang-ch'iu, Shantung) became a general at age 16.

Wang Po, the author of the poem entitled "T'eng-wang-ko" and one of the four eminent at the beginning of T'ang Dynasty, was also a young man. At the time of his death, he was only 29.

Yueh Fei, the famous general in the Sung Dynasty, was only 38 when he died.

Comrade Fan Wen-lan, am I right? You are a historian. Please correct me if I am wrong.

Marx did not create Marxism during his adulthood or old age, but in his youth. He was only 29 when he wrote the Communist Manifesto.

Lenin was only 32 years old when he founded Bolshevism in 1903.

Both Chou Yu and K'ung Ming were young men. K'ung Ming served as the military chief of staff at age 27. Sun Wu's original commanding general Ch'eng P'u was an old man, but when Sun Wu attacked Ts'ao Ts'ao, he used Chou Yu as the commanding general, ranking him above Ch'eng P'u. The latter resented it, but Chou Yu won the battle. Chou Yu died at age 36. Huang Kai, who came from Li-ling, Hunan, established merits in the same battle. I felt honored for his deeds as we came from the same place.

Wang Pi of the Ch'in Dynasty wrote annotations to Chuang-tzu and I-ching. He was a philosopher at age 18. His grandfather was Wang Su. He died at age 24.

The inventor of the sleeping pill was not an expert. It is reported that he was in charge of drugs in a small pharmacy. I read about it in a pamphlet. He almost lost his life when he experimented on the sleeping pill.

After he succeeded in his experiments, the French Government did not approve of him and accused him of violating the law. The Germans invited him over, held a celebration in his honor, and published his books.

The inventor of penicillin was a dyer. When his daughter fell sick, he had no money to send her to hospital. So, he scooped up a handful of dirt from the vat and mixed it with something. The daughter recovered after taking the mixture. Later on, after experimenting, penicillin was discovered.

Darwin, the great inventor, was also a young man. He was religious in his early days and was also scorned by others. He studied biology and traveled everywhere, North and South America and Asia, but he did not get to Shanghai.

Recently Hu Shih returned to Taiwan and ran the Academy of Science. Two American inventors, Li Cheng-tao and Yang Chen-ning, were included among the members. These two men are also young.

Hao Chien-hsiu [6787 1696 4423], a national people's congress delegate, created an advanced spinning method when she was only 18.

Nieh Erh, the great musician who wrote the national anthem, is also a young man.

No-cha, the son of Heavenly King Li Chin, was also a young man. But he was very talented!

King Lan-ling of the North and South Dynasties was also a young man. He was skilled in battle and very brave. There is a song which eulogizes him entitled "The Song of King Lan-ling Entering the Battle." I hear that this son is in Japan.

Many outstanding cadres in the townships and communes are young people. In general, there are many capable young men.

My purpose in citing so many examples is to show that the young people must surpass the old and the less educated can excel the more educated. Do not be intimidated by famous people and scholars. We must be courageous in thinking, speaking, and doing. We must not be afraid to think, speak, or do. We must liberate ourselves from the condition of having our hands and feet tied.

The initiative and creativity of the laboring people have always been abundant. In the past, they were held in restraint under the old system. Now they have been liberated and have begun to produce results.

Our method is to lift the lid, break down superstition, and let the initiative and creativity of the laboring people explode.



In the past, many people felt that to develop industry was something too high to attain and very mysterious. They said: "It is not easy to achieve industrialization!" In general, there was a big superstition in regard to industry.

Neither do I understand industry. I know nothing about it, yet I do not believe that it is unattainable. I discussed the subject with several persons in charge of industry. It seems to be incomprehensible at the beginning, but becomes comprehensible after a few years of study. There's nothing much to it! I think that in 10 years or so our country will become an industrial nation. We must not consider industrialization as something so serious. We must first hold it in contempt and then give it serious attention.

"Make the high mountain bow its head; make the river yield the way." It is an excellent sentence. When we ask the high mountain to bow its head, it has to do so! When we ask the river to yield the way, it must yield!

Is such a hypothesis groundless? No, we are not insane; we are pragmatists; we are Marxists seeking truth from facts.

We do not want big nation chauvinism. It means ugly and evil behavior, and low class interest.

Chia Kuei is a character in the play entitled Fa-men Temple. He served under Liu Chin. The latter was a court eunuch in the Ming Dynasty, but actually the "prime minister" possessed great powers. One time Liu Chin asked Chia Kuei to take a seat. Chia Kuei said: "I am used to standing; I do not dare to sit." It was a slavish behavior. The Chinese people served as slaves to imperialism for a long time. It is inevitable that a tail from this slavish behavior is carried over to the present. This tail must be chopped off; the work style of Chia Kuei must be knocked down.

There are two kinds of modesty: One is ordinary modesty and the other is modesty compatible with reality.

The dogmatists copy from foreign countries. This is excessive modesty. Why do they not use their brains in whatever they do? In China's classical poetry, there is a kind which is imitation classical poetry. It is excessive modesty. Without any creative style of their own, they have to imitate others.

The revisionists are also guilty of excessive modesty. Tito, for instance, does nothing but copy from Eduard Bernstein and borrow from his bourgeois mentors.

When a proletariat copies from the proletariat of another country, it is dogmatism, copying the bad as well as the good. This is not good. One must copy, but what one should copy is the spirit, the essence, not the superficial. The nine common outlines of Moscow (said to be five outlines in

Re-discussion, but there are nine in the Moscow Declaration), for instance, are things in common among the nations, and not one can be left out. The universal truth must be combined with China's concrete reality. If not combined, it will be copying, and excessive modesty. Anything which is not a universal truth cannot be copied as is. Even things domestic must not be copied without modification. At the time of the land reform, the Central [Government] did not stress the experience of any one particular area. It was for fear of copying. This issue must be given attention in the current work.

The revisionists are influenced by the bourgeoisie; they copy the bourgeoisie. Tito's copying Eduard Bernstein is one example.

We must study Lenin and be courageous in hoisting the red flag, the redder the better. We must be courageous in advocating something new and establishing something different. There are two kinds of advocating something new and establishing something different: Hoisting the red flag is proper; hoisting the white flag is improper. Lenin advocated something new and established something different for the Second International and it was proper for him to hoist another red flag. The red flag has to be hoisted in any case. If you fail to do so, the bourgeoisie will hoist the white flag. Rather than permitting the bourgeoisie to hoist the flag, it is better for our proletariat to do so. We must be courageous in hoisting the flag, leave no room [for the bourgeoisie]. We must uproot and discard the flags hoisted by the bourgeoisie. We must be courageous in hoisting and uprooting.

Lenin once said: "Progressive Asia and backward Europe." It was the truth. Even now it is still thus. We are progressive; Western Europe is backward.

We regard with contempt the bourgeoisie, the gods, and God, but we must not belittle small nations or our own comrades.

When we become a modernized, industrialized, and highly cultured great power 15 years hence, we may possibly become too cocky and raise our tail sky high. We must not be afraid. Let us make it clear now. When a dog raises his tail, he doesn't necessarily indicate that he is ready to fight. He can be cooled off with a splash of cold water. Sometimes we also need to have cold water splashed on us.

Improper self confidence, mediocre self confidence, and false self confidence are all not permissible. Modesty without a scientific foundation is not true modesty. True modesty must be compatible with reality. For example, when we tell the foreigners that China is still an agricultural nation and its industrial construction is just beginning..., it is reality, but the foreigners will find us modest. Modesty must be compatible with reality. Some kind of modesty is less than reality, or excessive modesty. Generally speaking, it has to be compatible with reality.

This view is similar to Lu Hsun's satire. Lu Hsun said: Depicting true things with a well tempered or slightly exaggerated pen is satire.

I was happy to read a recent article by Comrade Fan Wen-lan. It was straight talk. Many facts cited in the article prove that respecting the modern and belittling the ancient is a Chinese tradition. He quoted Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Ssu-ma Kuang... but it is regrettable that he did not quote Ch'in-shih-huang. He was an expert in respecting the modern and belittling the ancient. Of course I do not like to quote him either. (Comrade Lin Piao interrupts: "Ch'in-shih-huang burned the books and buried the scholars alive.") What did he amount to? He only buried alive 460 scholars, while we buried 46,000. In our suppression of the counterrevolutionaries, did we not kill some counterrevolutionary intellectuals? I once debated with the democratic people: You accuse us of acting like Ch'in-shih-huang, but you are wrong; we surpass him 100 times. You berate us for imitating Ch'in-shih-huang in enforcing dictatorship. We admit them all. What is regrettable is that you did not say enough. We have had to say it for you. (Laughter.)

Things will always march toward the opposite side.

The dialectics of Greece, the metaphysics of the Middle Ages, the Restoration.... It is the negation of negation.

It is also true in China. The hundred scholars expressing themselves in the time of the Warring States was dialectics. The classics of the feudal era was metaphysics. Now dialectics is being promoted.

Am I right? Comrade Fan Wen-lan, you are familiar with such things.

I feel that after 15 years we will become cocky, and big nation chauvinism may appear. We are not afraid of the appearance of big nation chauvinism. Should we stop struggling for the construction of a socialist power just because we are afraid of big nation chauvinism? Even if it should appear, it will march toward the opposite direction, and something correct will replace it. What is there to fear? In a socialist nation, it is impossible for all the people to become big nation chauvinists. Lenin's dialectics, Stalin's partial metaphysics, and today's dialectics are also the negation of negation.

Stalin was not completely a metaphysicist. He understood dialectics, but not very thoroughly.

The creativity of the people exists objectively. It is important to set up an opposite. Opposites exist objectively. With regard to the rightists, for example, we let them express themselves. We do so purposely; our goal is to set up the opposite. After rectifying the rightists, some comrades overlooked rectification and reform. Thus, we stressed the big character posters and the double antis, thus setting up the opposite. After publishing 100 million big character posters, they were forced to reform.

When we say setting up the opposite, it does not mean setting up something not in objective existence. The so-called opposite can only be set up when it is in objective existence. What is not in objective existence cannot be set up.

I have finished my speech. The subject matter is breaking down superstition. Do not be afraid of being professors or of Marx.

## The Second Speech (17 May 1958)

### 1. The International Situation

There are many troubles in the capitalist world. We have less in our world. We are firmly united. Yugoslavia is not in our camp; it doesn't count. We did not exclude it. It does not want to join us. The situation of the 12 nations in our camp is very good. It has always been good. There hasn't been any bad day. But at times there are dark clouds in the sky. Some people feel that we are not capable while others are. We say that we are capable. I listed 10 pieces of evidence at the Moscow Conference to prove that we have always been capable. When Chiang Kai-shek was in Nanking and we in Yen-an, which one was capable? At that time Yen-an had only 7,000 people, including the suburbs. Nanking is very big. Big cities like Nanking and Shanghai were all in Chiang Kai-shek's hands. He had millions of troops while we had only several hundred thousand guerrillas. It has always been the case for the small to defeat the big and for the weak to conquer the strong. The small and the weak have vigor, while the big and the strong do not. The general situation is very good. We need not talk about Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek, and U.S. imperialism. We have always regarded U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger. Pity there is only one U.S. imperialism; even if there were 10 of them, it would not bother us. It will perish sooner or later.

The Japanese in Peking apologized to me for attacking us. I said: You did a good deed. Precisely because of your invasion and occupation of more than half of China we were able to unite, lead the people of the entire nation to chase you away, and come to Peking. When we were in Yen-an, we wondered when we would be able to see the operas of Mei Lan-fang and Ch'eng Yan-ch'iu. Some thought they would never have a chance in their lifetime. However, we did get to see the operas. The revolutionary situation has been developing rapidly. In seven years, the entire party united and overthrew Chiang Kai-shek. Now we want to unite and undertake construction. The "Seventh Party Congress" had a program. This congress was also a congress of unity, a congress of victory. It also had a common program. The entire party unanimously formulated a general line for the building of socialism, which also serves as the general line of the people of the entire country. The situation at home is one of unity in the party and among the people.

The international scene is troubled with much disorder. There are internal squabbles in the imperialist camp. The world is not at peace.

There are troubles in France, Algeria, Latin America, Indonesia, and Lebanon. All the troubles are in the capitalist world. But they all concern us. Anything that is adverse to imperialism is advantageous to us. Imperialism is squabbling within itself; it is suppressing Indonesia, Lebanon, and Latin America and fighting over Algeria. (I shall not repeat the details. I refer you to the materials.) Generally speaking, sometimes the situation seems to be bad, dark clouds in the sky. At such times we must be far-sighted. We must not be confused by the temporary darkness and feel that things are wrong with us and with the world and that we will have bad luck. There is no such thing! In the past, our worst period was the Long March, blocked in front and pursued from behind, and our troops, our land, and our party were reduced, with only one of our ten fingers left. Overcoming these difficulties tempered us. Later on, new opportunities appeared and we again developed ourselves. Our one finger grew into ten. We developed all the way to the founding of the People's Republic of China and gained a national victory. The very first page of the first chapter of the Soviet Communist Party history discussed the dialectics of growing from small to big. The Soviet communists developed from a cell organized by a few individuals into a great party leading the nation. They had not even a single rifle. Yet, first the czar and then the Kerensky Government, both fully armed, numbered among their enemies. Which one was stronger, the fully armed or the one without a rifle? I say that the latter was stronger. Who conquered whom at the end? The condition of our party was similar to it. In 1921 our party was founded, consisting of only a few dozen members. Chou Fu-hai [0719 0154 3189] of the First Party Congress was a "good comrade" (sound of laughter) and Ch'en Kung-po [7115 0361 0590] another "good comrade" (sound of laughter). Ch'en Tu-hsiu did not come to the meeting, but because of his prestige, he was elected the secretary general. But he was unfit. He subscribed to Bernstein-ism. He was a radical and willing to promote a democratic revolution, but he did not understand the socialist revolution or the theory of the continuous revolution; therefore, he made mistakes. Let us recall our party history and see how much difficulties we have encountered! There was the Long March, and there was also the period from the Third to the Fourth Plenum [of the Sixth Central Committee?]. The Fourth Plenum was held in Shanghai, and there were very few people left. It was life or death. The party was splitting.

At the time of the Long March of 25,000 li, the party was also splitting. After splitting, it united again. Chang Kuo-t'ao took off, and unity was restored. Subsequently in Yen-an, Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese surrounded us, cutting us into more than 10 bases. Under such a difficult situation, was Yen-an or Nanking stronger? Were we or was Chiang Kai-shek stronger? Now it has been proven that we were stronger, for how else would we be holding a meeting in Huai-jen Hall? Why did he flee to Taiwan? Who was the victor?

## 2. The Domestic Situation

China is an important component of international society. When we discuss the international situation, we must discuss China. China is the

proof that the laboring people, the oppressed, have vigor. Currently, socialism has many allies. The national independence movement of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is our ally. They are the rear areas of imperialism, and we have allies there. Lenin said: "Progressive Asia and backward Europe." England, France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, and Portugal in Europe are all backward; the U.S. is also backward. Are they progressive or are we? Stalin understood this point. In June 1949, when Comrade X X X led our party delegation to the Soviet Union and Stalin toasted China at a banquet for surpassing the Soviet Union in the future, Comrade X X X said: "I cannot drink this toast. You are the teacher and we the pupil. When we catch up with you, you will have progressed even further." Stalin replied: "Incorrect. If the pupil cannot surpass the teacher, he is not a good pupil. You must drink this toast." After a deadlock of 20 minutes, Comrade X X X finally drank the toast. When the teacher teaches the pupil, the latter will be undeserving if he does not catch up with the former. The incident indicated that not just Lenin, but even Stalin saw the East as progressive. When the teacher is eminent, the pupil is outstanding. We must not be arrogant and cocky, or must we feel inferior, considering ourselves worthless without cause. We must break down superstition and place ourselves in the proper level. We should be courageous in thinking, speaking, and doing, with Marxism-Leninism as the foundation. Tito has courage in thinking, speaking, and doing, but his foundation is imperialism and capitalism, not Marxism-Leninism. Our foundation is Marxism-Leninism; therefore, we are correct, and we will not get into trouble when we think, speak, and do with courage.

Let us discuss the domestic problem. The peasant alliance remains to be the domestic problem. China's revolution has always been the issue of this alliance. Without it, the working class could not have gained liberation; it would not be able to build a powerful nation. Prior to the liberation, China's working class numbered only four million (excluding handicraft). Now there are 12 million, or three times as many. When we include the family members, the number is only around 40 million, while the peasant population reaches over 500 million. Therefore, China's problem has always been the problem of the peasant alliance. Some comrades are not very clear about this, not even after having worked in the rural village for decades. Why did we make anti-adventurist mistakes in 1956? The major cause rested with the problem of the peasant alliance. The thinking and feelings of the peasants were not thoroughly understood; therefore, there was no basis and, the moment there was a storm, vacillation could easily occur. In 1956 we published a book on the rural socialist high tide, including material from 190 cooperatives in the provinces and regions. Each province contributed several articles, except Tibet. In fact, we did not need that many. Just the material of the Wang Kuo-fan Cooperative, Tsun-hua County, Hopeh Province, would have been enough. Then, there was the case of a poor cooperative in central Hopeh. All the middle peasants fled, leaving only three poor peasant households, but these three families held on. They pointed out the direction of the 500 million peasants. Each and every province had many cooperatives with production increases. The increases ranged one to several folds. Do you still refuse to believe it? The 40 articles of agriculture

will definitely be realized. Can you still refuse to believe it? I feel that they can be realized. In 1955, 1956, and the first half of 1957, the number of disbelievers was considerably big, and there were many tide-watchers in all levels including the Central. At present, X X X are talking about settling accounts after the fall. They look only for the negative elements, not the positive. When a few cadres are overheard to say that the rural village is not so good, three or four individuals would whisper into one another's ears that the cooperative is not so good, the future looks bleak, the peasants do not have enough to eat, there is no output increase nor reserve grain, etc. When the family writes for money, they will always exaggerate, making life sound harder than it is and complaining about the lack of grain, oil, and fabric, for otherwise you will not remit. You must analyze all these. Is it true that there is no grain, oil, or fabric? Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih told me about the statistics of Kiangsu Province. In 1955, 30 percent of the cadres of the county, district, and township levels made loud protests, complained about the "hardships" on behalf of the peasants, and objected to the excessive "control" in the "unified" purchasing and selling. What kind of people were those cadres? They were all well-to-do middle peasants, or formerly poor and lower-middle peasants who had become well-to-do middle peasants. The so-called hardships of the peasants were the hardships of the well-to-do middle peasants. The well-to-do middle peasants wanted to hoard their grain instead of surrendering it, and they wanted to promote capitalism. Therefore, they squawked about the hardships of the peasants. The lower levels squawked, but did someone in the regional, provincial, or central level complain also? Was there anyone who was not more or less influenced by his family in the home village? The question is the standpoint you take in looking at a problem. Do you take the standpoint of the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants, or do you take that of the well-to-do middle peasants?

Now it is a little better. The rural areas have made a great leap forward. After the rectification, the anti-rightist movement, cadre participation in labor, and worker participation in a part of the management, the urban and rural political atmosphere has changed. One can say that the agricultural "pessimism" and "hopelessness," and the lack of confidence in realizing the "40 articles" have been swept clean. However, some of the "tide watchers" and "fall account settlers" have not been swept clean. Therefore, attention must be given to this work. The X X X report suggested guarding against fancy words without substance, surface without depth, and generalization without detail. The suggestion was made by Kiangsu. What they mean is to see one's own defects. Among the 10 fingers, nine of them are bright and the remaining one in darkness. "Fancy" means flowery, blooming without bearing fruit. In regard to "generalization without detail," Chang Fei gave attention to the details even though he dealt in generalization. We want to be Chang Fei and give attention to the details. We must not bloom without bearing fruit or give attention to the general while ignoring the details, for otherwise we may not attain our quota in the fall. Comrades of all occupations, professions, and units must pay attention, regardless of their type of work, whether industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, or writing novels.

The domestic situation is very good, and the future looks bright. In the past, thinking was not unified. There was no confidence in achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Industry, agriculture, and communication are concerned with these results. The basic issue is agriculture, the issue of the 40 articles. Now confidence has increased because of the great leap forward in agricultural production. The agricultural leap forward creates a pressure on industry and causes it to catch up, leaping forward together and motivating the entire work. A proposal was made at the Nan-ning Conference. The provinces should make plans on just how long it would take, five, seven, or so many years, for the value of industrial production to catch up with or surpass that of agricultural production. In only three months after the proposal, industries at the local provincial, county, and township levels flourished. Now this is understood by many comrades. In the second half of 1956 some of the Central comrades did not understand it very clearly. After 1956 and the first half of 1957, the problem has been solved. Comrade Chou En-lai's report at the People's Congress in June of last year was very good, declaring war on the bourgeoisie with the posture of the proletarian warrior. That article should be read over again. At that time, the problem was truly solved, but profound understanding did not come until later.

Now the Central has decided that its responsible comrades must go into the field for four months out of the year to do detailed work, visit plants and cooperatives, settle among the masses, and familiarize themselves with the conditions of the people. Settling roots is to settle one's roots among the people. I thank the first secretary of Ch'ang-ko County, Honan Province, for his report. It is very good. (I have re-read it.) He reports on turning the soil over deeply in the entire 1.12 million mou of land once a year to a depth of 1.5 ch'ih, in order to attain the output of 900 catties per mou. This brings up a new problem. Can all the counties do it? Since Ch'ang-ko County can do it, do you mean to say that the other counties cannot? If it can't be done once every year or every two years, what about every three years? Or every four or five years? Can it be done once every five years? I feel once every five years should be possible. The second five-year plan of Ch'ang-ko County calls for turning over once all the soil in the county. If you do not have good tools, then use those similar to Ch'ang-ko County and follow their method. If you have no method for the second five-year plan, then follow their method. Maybe there are still other methods. Their method is as follows: First pile the surface ripe soil on one side. Then apply fertilizer on the raw soil. Turn over the raw soil with shovels and mix it with the fertilizer. After breaking up the clods, leave the fertilizer mixed soil where it is. Then start with the next row and move the ripe soil of the second row on to the raw soil of the first row. Continue to do the same row by row. Thus, the top soil remains on top. This is a big invention. One deep soil turn-over results in an output increase of 100 percent, or at least 90 percent. Soil is the first consideration for production increases. Water, fertilizer, soil improvement, seeds, and close planting should be considered as another item. Close planting must be rational. In Kwangtung, each mou is divided into 30,000 "to", in each "to" is planted three rice seedlings, each seedling



produces three sprouts, bearing 27 ears of grain, and each ear averages 60 [kernels of] grain, totalling 16.2 million [kernels of] grain. 20,000 [kernels of] grain equal one catty, and one mou produces 810 catties. Isn't this the way to compute the 800-catty per mou output? The same computation can be used for wheat, corn, spiked-millet, kaoliang, and soybeans in the North. Close planting is the full utilization of air and sunshine. Currently are we not in the process of eliminating waste? Then we must also eliminate the waste of air and sunshine. Sunshine works hard everyday, and yet you do not utilize it! When absorbed by plants, the carbon dioxide in the air turns into carbohydrates which become matters needed by plants by means of photosynthesis. Carbohydrates are carbon dioxide plus sunshine. Grain is the storehouse of heat. The structure of each grain is similar to a miniature reservoir. I am going too far afield. Mainly I want to discuss settling one's roots and contacting the people, such as visiting a few cooperatives and plants, a few units in the troops, a few schools in education, and a few stores in commerce. There is no need to contact too many. Anyway, a few units in each occupation and profession should be studied in detail before one can have a profound impression. One must respect materialist dialectics. Materialism is the most important. Why? The world philosophy, epistemology, and methodology are one and the same. Where does man's thinking come from? Does it come with one's birth, or after observation and practice? Man's thinking is not endowed by nature, but consists of concepts formed through the reflection of external matters. Deductions and judgments only become possible after the preliminary formation of concepts, such as dog, man, child, tree, horse, rock, etc. If a three-year old child is asked whether his mother is a human being or a dog, he will be able to reply that she is a human being, not a dog. This is the judgment of the child. Mother is an individual, while human being is general, yet there is an identity between the two. It is the unity of opposites between the individual and the general. It is dialectics. Thus, a three-year old child understands the unity of contradictions and dialectics. Our thinking can only be formed through the stimulation of our senses by the objective world. It is formed from objective practice. Where do concepts come from? They come from the objective world. The current concept of greater, faster, better, and more economical results has been formed only through the accumulation of many experiences, including those of China, of the Soviet Union, of our base, and of several years of construction. The phrase "go all out and strive for the upper reaches" is also indispensable. We cannot do without it. Without energy, or sufficient energy, it is hard for an individual, a group of people, or a party, to do anything successfully. Naturally we want to strive for the upstream, all the way up to Szechuan, not the lower stream, which is Kiangsu. This is illustrating the issue with natural geography. We must keep pace with the advanced.

Our comrades must associate with the masses, truly understand their feelings, and impress our mind with their thinking and emotions. If our mind is not deeply impressed with the feelings of the masses, it becomes easy to waver. If our mind is thus deeply impressed, even if we should run into problems in our work, we will be able to handle them. In the past we often encountered difficulties in battles. Sometimes we couldn't find a

solution even by midnight. But, after sleeping over it, we would have the solution the next day. Difficulties appear constantly. Sun Yat-sen said that he accumulated 40 years of experience. We have accumulated decades of experience. We well know that, whenever we encounter a difficult problem, we can solve it by consulting with the masses, sleeping <sup>ON</sup> over it, and holding a meeting. Currently, do we not have problems, or difficulties? Do not be frightened by temporary darkness. We constantly have two elements: Light and dark. Now the northern part of Hopeh has no rainfall. Do you think the comrades of Hopeh are not worried? They produced four billion catties last year, and are planning for eight billion this year. Even if there should be drought, the output will be increased to five or six billion catties. The domestic situation is pretty good. Do not be afraid of any darkness. There are two sides: Light and dark. The comrades who made mistakes understood the matter in June of last year. There are still many "tide watchers" and "fall account settlers," but it doesn't matter. Let us explain the reasons more frequently and convince them by persuasion. Let us set forth the domestic situation and carry out an education.

### 3. Elimination of the Four Pests

Let us discuss the elimination of the four pests. Is it good to eliminate the four pests? I find it very interesting. According to Reference News, the Indians are also interested and they also wish to eliminate pests. They have the pest of monkeys which eat up a lot of grain. No one dares to touch them because they are considered sacred.

We do not propose the slogans "cadres decide everything" or "technology decides everything," or the slogan "communism is the Soviet Union plus electrification." But does it mean we do not want electrification? We want electrification just the same, and even more urgently. The first two slogans were Stalin's way and rather one-sided. If "technology decides everything," then what about politics? If "cadres decide everything," then what about the masses? Dialectics is missing here. Stalin sometimes understood dialectics and sometimes not. I mentioned this at the Moscow Conference.

Our slogan is: A little more, a little faster, a little better, and a little more economical. I think our slogan is a little more intelligent. We should be more intelligent, because the pupil should be better than the teacher. Green comes from blue, but it excels blue. The late comer should be on top. I feel our communism may arrive in advance of schedule.

There must be tenseness and relaxation when we do something. To be constantly tense is no good. One must be both tense and relaxed. Excessive exhaustion is no good. Honan is extensively promoting red and expert schools. It is very good. But everyone is too tired. Some people dozed off in class. The teachers are also too tired, but they dared not doze off. Excessive exhaustion is not good. There must be a few days of rest. We must be both tense and relaxed, with both democracy and centralization. This principle applies everywhere.

We must struggle against the "tide watchers" and "fall account settlers." But the goal of such struggle is to rally them, not to exclude them from revolution. What hurt Ah Q most was not being permitted to engage in the revolution. One must refrain from criticizing without helping the wrongdoers to correct their mistakes. Whether it is in struggling against or helping others, one must have good intentions. It is not good to be without good intentions. It would merely be knocking you down so that I could get you on top. Should we have more people or less people? More people are better. We must activate all positive elements.

Dialectics should develop in China. We are not concerned about other places; we are concerned about China. What we do are more compatible with dialectics and with Lenin, but not very compatible with Stalin. Stalin said that the socialist society's production relations completely conformed to the development of the production force; he negated contradictions. Before his death, he wrote an article to negate himself. He stated that complete conformity did not indicate the absence of contradictions and that improper handling could develop into antagonistic contradictions. One couldn't say that he lacked dialectics. He had some. While there were superstition and one-sidedness, his method did succeed in building socialism, defeating the enemy, producing 50 million tons of steel, possibly 55 million tons this year, and in putting three satellites in orbit. His was one kind of method. Can we find another method? The purpose is to promote socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Take the class struggle as an example. We have adopted Lenin's method, not Stalin's. When discussing the socialist economy, Stalin said the post-revolutionary reform was a peaceful reform proceeding from the top to the bottom levels. He did not undertake the class struggle from the bottom to the top, but introduced peaceful land reform in Eastern Europe and North Korea, without struggling against the landowners or the rightists, only proceeding from the top to the bottom and struggling against the capitalists. We proceed from the top to the bottom, but we also add the class struggle from the bottom to the top, settling the roots and linking together. We struggled against the bourgeoisie in the "five-anti movement." Now we are promoting construction and the mass movement. We require some things from the top to the bottom, such as government directives and orders, regulations and systems, but the masses must undertake a large number of things. We are opposed to favoritism and peaceful land reform. We call the method of Eastern Europe and North Korea favoritism. Peaceful land reform, without class struggle and without struggling against the landowners and capitalists, if of the wrong line and will produce harmful results.

Why is the speed of our construction faster than the Soviet Union? Because our conditions are different. We have 600 million people. We follow the road traveled by the Soviet Union; we have its technical aid. Therefore, we should develop faster than the Soviet Union. We expand the tradition of the October Revolution and the mass line of Lenin and rely on the masses, on the poor peasants in the rural areas, except that Lenin did not say this.

Yesterday a comrade said that one couldn't go wrong if one followed a certain individual. By "a certain individual," he meant me. This statement needs modification. One should follow and yet not follow. An individual is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. Follow him when he is right and do not follow him when he is wrong. One must not follow without discrimination. We follow Marx and Lenin, and we follow Stalin in some places. We follow whoever has the truth in his hands. Even if he should be a manure carrier or street sweeper, as long as he has the truth, he should be followed. Our cooperativization is for the poor and lower-middle peasants. We advocate the concept of greater, faster, better, and more economical results because it came from the masses. We look for the advanced and the good among the plants, rural villages, stores, schools, troops... Wherever truth is, we follow. Do not follow any particular individual. It is dangerous to follow an individual without discrimination. One must have independent thinking.

Our comrades are often not clear about the principle of the 10 fingers. The moment there is trouble, they forget that there are 10 fingers. The internal contradictions among the laboring people and the mistakes made by them are always the issue of the nine fingers and the one finger.

Our comrades who have committed mistakes are also like them. I am not talking about X X X. The statements of X X X, X X X, X X, and X X X are very good. Why was X X X not discussed in Anhwei's statement? Chekiang said too little about X X X. You must share what you have for everyone's edification. Why didn't you? The trouble with those individuals is not a question of nine fingers and one finger. X X X has 10 blackened fingers; X X X has nine blackened fingers, leaving only one clean. What I am talking about now are those who waver in times of mighty storms. With them it is the question of nine fingers and one finger. Now it is clear. They are different from those with nine or 10 blackened fingers. We must rally and protect them. We must firmly protect the positive elements of all levels. They might have made mistakes, but they are positive. They are afraid of expressing themselves freely and being unable to make a graceful exit. Given firm protection, they will. Their mistakes are only 10 percent. We must firmly protect such cadres in the rectification. The issue of protecting the cadres was discussed in the documents of the Tsingtao Conference. It was discussed even before that. The internal contradictions among the laboring people are generally the relations between the nine fingers and one finger, with individual exceptions. Among the bourgeois middle-of-the-roads, the problem is five fingers and five fingers (five fingers of capitalism and five of socialism) with the middle-middle, six and four with the middle-left, and six to seven blackened fingers with the middle-right. The brains of the bourgeois intellectuals cannot be cleansed all at once, but require several repetitions. The bourgeoisie may still make trouble, not big ones, but possible small ones.... Storms may appear in the bourgeoisie. In the face of typhoons of the 12th grade, some of our comrades will waver. With the experience of last year and the tempering undergone by the party, we will be able to ignore the storms and remain steady in our boat. Our boat was not overturned in the mighty storms of last year. Some say that the editorial entitled "Why Is This?" was premature. It was not premature.

If postponed, some leftists might have rotted away. Actually, over 100,000 rightists were found among elementary school teachers after December of last year, constituting one-third of the 300,000 rightists in the nation. They dared to launch reckless attacks. Do you mean to say that Chang [4545] and Lo [5012] would not attack any more after being classified as rightists? They will just the same. As soon as the temperature is suitable, reaching 37 or 38 degrees, those rascals will emerge.

Do not forget the issue of the nine fingers and one finger. The anti-adventurist case of 1956 was a result of forgetting this issue and failing to look at problems concretely. This lesson must be learned.

#### 4. Preparation for the Final Disaster

I now wish to discuss the gloomy side of things. We must prepare for major disasters. With thousands of li of bare earth, great droughts and great floods are possible. We must also prepare for major wars. What should we do if the war maniacs drop atom bombs? Let them drop the atom bomb! The possibility is there as long as the warmongers exist. We must also prepare for troubles in the party -- splits. There will be no splits if we handle it right, but it is limited to certain situations, and one cannot say that splits are impossible. Was there not a split in the Soviet Union?....

Between war and peace, the possibility of peace is greater. Currently the possibility of peace is greater than in the past. The strength of the socialist camp is greater than the past, and the possibility of peace is greater than at the time of World War II. The Soviet Union is powerful, and the national independence movement is our strong ally. The Western nations are not stable. The working class, a part of the bourgeoisie, and the American people do not want war; therefore, the possibility of peace is greater than that of war. Nevertheless, there is also the possibility of war. There are the maniacs, and imperialism wants to extricate itself from economic crises. The duration of atomic warfare today will be short, three instead of four years. We must be prepared. What should be done if war really comes? I want to discuss this problem. If there is war, we will fight. Let imperialism be swept clean, and we will start construction again. Thereafter there will not be any more world war. Since a world war is possible, we must prepare for it. We must not spend our time napping. Do not be alarmed either if there should be war. It would merely mean getting people killed, and we've seen people killed in war. Eliminating half of the population occurred several times in China's history. The 50 million population in the time of Emperor Wu in the Han Dynasty was reduced to 10 million by the time of the Three Kingdoms, the two Chin Dynasties, and the North and South Dynasties. The war lasted for decades, and intermittently for several hundred years, from the Three Kingdoms to the North and South Dynasties. The T'ang Dynasty began with a population of 20 million and did not reach 50 million until Emperor Hsuan. And Lu-shan staged a revolt, and the country was divided into many states. It was not reunited until the Sung Dynasty, some 100 or 200 years later, with a population of just

over 10 million. I once discussed this with X X X. I maintained that modern weapons were not as powerful as the big sword of China's Kuan Yun-ch'ang, but he did not agree with me. Not very many people were killed in the two World Wars, 10 million in the first and 20 million in the second, but we had 40 million killed in one war. So, how destructive were the big swords! We have no experience in atomic war. So, how many will be killed cannot be known. The best outcome may be that only half of the population is left, and the second best may be only one-third. When 900 million are left out of 2.9 billion, several five-year plans can be developed for the total elimination of capitalism and for permanent peace. It is not a bad thing.

If the party should split, there would be chaos for a time. If there are people who do not consider the overall situation, like X X X and Kao Kang, the party will split and imbalance will appear, though balance will return finally. When imbalances move in opposite directions, the result is balance. It is even more important for the members of the Central Committee to consider the overall situation. Whoever failing to do so will fall.... Did those disregarding the over-all situation and clamoring for splits have a good ending? Chang Kuo-t'ao clamored for splits, but what did he get out of it? Clamoring for and promoting splits are wrong. Only one kind of split is permissible: During the Second International, Germany's Social Democratic Party voted for the imperialist war, and Lenin broke with them. We must make legitimate struggles and fight for the majority. We must not promote splits and ignore the over-all situation.

We wish to activate the strength of the 600 million people. We want to work on even the rightists, assimilate them, and get seven out of 10 to reform. After their reform is completed in eight or 10 years, they will take our side. After their rightist cap is taken off, if they promote rightism again, they will made to war it again.

### The Third Speech (20 May 1958)

1. I will discuss again the breaking down of superstition. The First Ministry of Machine Building issued a pamphlet containing the biographies of 41 inventors. Seven of them were engineers, with social position, and the remainder came from poor families, or were workers or peasants. Watt was a worker. The pamphlet began with the 18th century, and covered over 100 years. Regardless of the period, it is beneficial to the breaking down of superstition. It will help us break down superstition and discard our inferiority complex. The agricultural, forestry, water conservation, political-legal, cultural-education, and public health units should follow suit and collect such material.

2. I will discuss again the issue of taking the attitude of the common laborer. This issue is very important. It is important because some people feel that they are first in the world, look down on others, do not treat others as equals, rely on their qualifications to make a living,

especially the high level officials, and do not take the attitude of the common laborer. If this problem can be tackled by the majority, things will be easy to do. In the past many bureaucrats did not take the attitude of the common laborer. "I have authority over you." Relying on these words to conduct business, they blocked the development of creativity. Such things must be eliminated. The bureaucratic air must be swept aside in the majority of the people. Whoever has the truth will be obeyed, be he a manure carrier, coal miner, street sweeper, or a poor peasant. No matter how high the official position, if truth is not in his hands, there is no reason to obey him. When the majority get rid of their bureaucratic air, the minority will become isolated and will not dare to make trouble. One should say that bureaucratic air is a sort of low class interest, not high class, not of the communist spirit. On the contrary, appearing with the attitude of the common laborer is high class interest. By so doing, the big nation chauvinism which we condemn will be prevented. If the majority of the party members, especially the leadership cadres are modest (scientific modesty), chauvinism can be prevented, and even if it should appear, we do not need to worry.

3. The non-professional leading the professional is a general rule. One cannot almost say that only the non-professional can lead the professional. Last year the rightists brought up this question and created a lot of trouble. They claimed that the non-professional could not lead the professional.

Can one say that only the non-professional can lead the professional? On this issue, we are in a passive position. In the past, the newspapers were not systematic in criticizing the rightists over this issue, and their discussions not penetrating. Why do we say that the non-professional leading the professional is a general rule? Because everyone is a professional and a non-professional. There are 10,000 fields in the world and 10,000 sciences and technologies, but a person is only expert in one. Take the famous Peking Opera star Mei Lan-fang for instance. He can only play the female role. The female role is further subdivided into five different types, and he can only do one of them. Then there are still many other roles, such as old man, young man.... A person can only master one profession out of the 10,000. Thus we say that everyone is a professional and everyone can become a professional. But everyone is also a non-professional, because he cannot master the remaining 9,999 professions. If a person can master two or three, or four or five professions, he will be amazing. If a person can master the 18 military arts, similar to Hsueh Jen-kuei, there are still 9,982 things which he doesn't know. There are more non-professionals than professionals. So, isn't it true that everyone is a non-professional? In leadership work, besides the leader's own field, he must have some knowledge of other fields and become familiar with a few of them. Common sense is necessary. Those in party work, for example, must be familiar with industry and agriculture. But it is impossible to be expert in them. I can ride in an airplane, but I cannot fly one. The middle school has a few science courses; the college has more. Many things are a result of spare-time pursuits. Take Sun Yat-sen, for example. At the beginning he was not respected. He was a minor physician and undertook the revolution at 20 years of age. It was not legitimate. As a physician, he was a professional, and politics was his sideline. Subsequently, concentrating on the revolution, politics became his main field. He no longer

practiced medicine, which became his sideline. He even gave up medicine and became a non-professional. But he could be in control of the physicians. Politicians handle the mutual relations among men; they promote the mass line. We must study this issue carefully, because many engineers and scientists do not respect us, and many among us do not respect ourselves, arbitrarily insisting on the difficulty of nonprofessionals leading professionals. We must have the ways and means to refute them. I say that the non-professionals leading the professionals is a general rule. Mei Lan-fang, for example, cannot serve as the president; he can only sing operas.

4. One must hoist the red flag and determine the wind direction. The red flag is our five-star red flag. What flag should one hoist? The red flag or the white flag? Flags have to be hoisted everywhere in the world, from the North Pole to the South Pole, wherever there are inhabitants. If it isn't the red flag, it is the white flag, or maybe even gray flag. If it isn't the proletarian flag, it is the bourgeois flag. What flag did the organizations, schools, and plants hoist in May and June of last year? Both sides fought. Currently what kind of flag is still hoisted by a few backward plants, or workshops in the plants, cooperatives, schools, military units, and organizations or parts of them? If it isn't the white flag, it is the gray flag. We should visit the backward places and activate the masses to hoist the red flag.

Mediocre modesty is failure to hoist the red flag. Failure to hoist the red flag is a low class orientation and false modesty. Such modesty should be criticized. There is a sort of social public opinion which encourages a sort of work style: Do not come forward fearlessly; do not think, speak, and do courageously. This is an influence of Ju-lin Wai-shih. To hoist the flag, one must sharpen one's sense of smell, learn the wind direction, and determine what wind is blowing. If it is not the east wind prevailing over the west wind, then it is the west wind prevailing over the east wind. These were the words of Lin Tai-yu of Soochow. There will always be parties and factions in the world, and the people in society will always be divided into left, middle, and right, some in an advanced position, others in the middle or backward positions. The current task is for the advanced elements to fight for those in the middle and make them shift to the left and hoist the red flag. The white flag hoisted by the rightists is the flag of the bourgeoisie. The flag of the middle is gray or white. According to Liu Chih-chi of the T'ang Dynasty, to write history, one must have talent, learning, and understanding. Understanding does not indicate knowledge; it indicates a knowledge of the wind direction. We must give special attention and be expert in determining the wind direction, and possess the power to make distinctions. This is extremely important. Even though some people may be very talented and learned, they may be slow in distinguishing wind direction. Stalin stressed foresight. Foresight is to distinguish wind direction and foresee a gale when there is only a breeze. It is not good to stand on the observation deck and see nothing. The lack of foresight is not seeing what is already there. Such condition affords the rightists an opportunity. If you don't see them, they will come.



Do not be afraid of hoisting the red flag. Wherever it should be hoisted, hurry up and hoist it. It should be hoisted in each and every hilltop and rural settlement. It should be hoisted in each and every party committee, organization, military unit, plant, and cooperative. Wherever there is no red flag, it should be hoisted. Currently there are many places without the red flag. They are not evenly advanced. Some of them become backward again right after hoisting the red flag, and the flag is no longer red. Constant change is also a natural condition. If the flag turns color, it should be replaced.

There are red and white happy events. Last time I discussed the handling of possible disasters, mainly war and party splits. There are big, medium, and small disasters. What I discussed were the big ones: war and splits.

The Chinese people consider weddings as red happy events and funerals white happy events. I find them very rational. The Chinese know dialectics. Weddings will produce children. A child is split out of the body of the mother. It is a sudden change, a happy event. One individual is split into two or three, or even 10, like the aircraft carrier.

The common people find the occurrences, changes, and deaths of new matters happy events. When a person dies, a memorial meeting is held. While the bereaved weep in mourning, they feel it is also a happy event. Actually, it is. Just imagine if Confucius were still living and here at this meeting in Huai-jen Hall. He would be over 2,000 years old, and it wouldn't be so good! If one subscribes to dialectics and yet disapproves of death, it will be metaphysics. Disasters are social phenomena, natural phenomena. Sudden changes are the most fundamental law of the universe. Birth is a sudden change; so is death. In the several decades from birth to death, it is a gradual change. If Chiang Kai-shek should die, we would clap our hands in joy. If Dulles should die, none of us would shed a tear. This is because the death of matters of the old society is a good thing, hoped for by everyone. While the birth of new things is good, their death is naturally not good. The failure of Russia's 1905 revolution and the loss of our base in the South were equivalent to the seedlings destroyed by hailstorm and down-pour. It is naturally not good. And the problem of replacing the destroyed seedlings arises. We communists hope for changes. The so-called leap forward means a change from the past... Sudden change is better than quantitative change. But without quantitative change, there can be no sudden changes. Quantitative change is indispensable, and negating it will lead to adventurism. The destruction of balance constitutes leaping forward, and such destruction is better than balance. Imbalance and headache are good things. The First Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Metallurgy, and the Ministry of Geology, for example, are experiencing a hard time and receiving pressure from all sides. Therefore, they must develop extensively, which is a good thing. Balance, quantitative change, and unity are temporary and relative. Imbalance, sudden changes, and disunity are absolute and permanent. Many disunities have been overcome and changed to unity. Unification is proposed because of disunity. There is unity in one person, but

disunity occurs when there are two persons. Our party has 12 million members, with all kinds of backgrounds. Meetings must be held often in order to unite them. Therefore, we talk about unity every year, because there is disunity every year. Each person has his own way of thinking and the levels of the party members differ. Therefore, meetings must be held. The standing delegates made a correct draft. In the past we did not have the system of holding a delegates' congress every year; we held other kinds of meetings. Now we hold a congress every year. As our ideas are different, we can, at a meeting, adopt the more rational ideas, make resolutions, publish a report, and reach unanimity in the whole nation. The participation of some local and county secretaries makes our meeting even more successful. They have many good ideas.

Not only must we talk about unity every year, but must do so everyday, because there are splits everyday. Fission of the cells, metabolism -- if the old cells do not die, it will be detrimental to the development of the child. Metabolism means discarding the old and bringing in the new. In the Yangtze River, the wave behind pushes the wave ahead. All matters change. Currently there are 102 chemical elements. At the beginning there weren't so many, but they increased through changes. Several hundred million years later, possibly there will be over 200 elements instead of 102. Matters always change, and convert toward their opposite. Among our 12 million party members, everyday there are those leaving the party, everyday there are struggles, and everyday there are those undergoing criticism. In Hupeh there were a brother and a sister competing in big character posters. The brother was an old hand and had the bureaucratic style. The truth, however, was in the hands of the sister. In the end, the brother lost and the sister won. In Chekiang, a father and his son argued about close planting. The son was for it, but not the father. In the end the father lost and the son won. It is a general law. The father and brother always run a considerable risk, but it does not matter much. They only have to admit their defeat to the son and sister. One must take the attitude of the common laborer, in order to avoid risks.

We must prevent possible big disasters, such as world war, or party splits. Our party underwent four splits, involving Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Lo Chang-lung, Chang Kuo-t'ao, and Kao Kang. They set up their own Central Committees and collapsed. Wang Ming appeared in a legal way with his "leftist" line three times. We adopted toward him the attitude of curing the illness to save the patient and rallied him by means of criticism. New splits may occur. As long as there is a party, splits are possible. They are possible even 100 years from now. Our method is unity-criticism-unity, punishing as a deterrent, and curing the illness to save the patient.

Maybe this way of talking is making everyone uncomfortable, but I can only be comfortable after speaking my mind. Do not be superstitious. By talking about it, everyone will be mentally prepared. Isn't Yugoslavia promoting a split? There is also America's Foster. In the past we had Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Lo Chang-lung, Chang Kuo-t'ao, and Kao Kang promoting splits.

Recently we had Li Feng [2621 1496], Sha Wen-han [3097 2429 3352], Li Shih-nung [2621 0013 6593], Sun Tso-pin [1327 0155 6333], Ch'en Tsai-li [7115 0375 0536]... also promoting splits. Peking's political-legal system collapsed; the cultural-art system collapsed even more. What is bad about such collapses? There are always splits in the world. It is merely metabolism! Every year there are splits, and every month there are splits, like the death of cells. There is unity every year and every month, like the growth of cells. The First, Second, and Third Internationals all underwent the process of birth, development, and death. The Information Bureau is no longer in existence. Now we can use the form of the Moscow Conference to replace it. By agreement of 12 nations, the Soviet Union serves as the convener and calls a meeting whenever necessary.

There are two kinds of opposites.

One includes things already in existence in society. The rightists, for example, are in existence to start with, but whether to bring them out or not is a policy issue. We are determined to bring them out, set them up as opposites, launch the laboring people to debate and compete with them, and knock them down. There are many rightists among the elementary school teachers, numbering 10,000 among the 300,000 rightists. The 300,000 rightist opposites exist, and bringing them out to educate our 600 million people is beneficial to us.

The other includes what is not in existence in nature. It has some material conditions. To build a dam, for example, we can use artificial means to set up an opposite. The water level is raised to make it flow and produce a fall, resulting in power generation and shipping. Building a plant also involves setting up opposites. The An-shan Steel Mill was built by the Japanese. The Ch'ang-ch'un Motor Vehicle Plant is new, an opposite established artificially. What is absent in nature can be manufactured by man, but there must be a material foundation. The satellite in orbit is man-made. It can be placed in orbit when the law is found.

We are optimists. We are not afraid of splits, as they are natural phenomena.... The splits of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Lo Chang-lung, Chang Kuo-t'ao, and Kao Kang were helpful to us. The two Wang Ming lines and the three "leftist" lines during the civil war period taught our party a lesson. All these opposites had their benefits. Naturally, it is not necessary to create Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Kao Kang, etc., artificially. They will emerge when the climate is favorable. There is nothing to fear. We will overcome them.

Optimism is our main outlook. We also have worries. Can we not worry when the rightists emerge? I am somewhat worried. If we worry, then we must think of a way. We must give attention to leadership skill. With good leadership, a split will turn from something bad into something good. If it is foreseen, it may not come at all, like weeding. We will have no fear if 20,000 or 30,000 of our party members among the 12 million possess a higher consciousness. Higher consciousness means foresight. What is there to fear? Fear will do no good. We do not want to fight a world war, but if we have to, we are not afraid either.

Punishment as a deterrent, curing the ill to save the patient, we must permit the wrongdoers to correct themselves, such as P'an X X [3382]. Currently we are very united. Nothing is happening. Both the central and the local governments are very good. The anti-adventurist matters have been clarified, and we have reached a new unity on a new foundation. Let us elaborate a little: We are optimists. We want to make everyone conscious and ready.

Among workers, peasants, soldiers, students, merchants, and ideology, it is good for Heilungkiang to place ideology first, letting the abstract lead the concrete, politics lead the professions, and the red lead the expert. Thus, the order becomes ideology, workers, peasants, soldiers, students, and merchants. Stalin's two slogans lack dialectics. If technology decides everything, what about politics? If cadres decide everything, what about the masses? Lenin said it well: The Soviet plus electrification equals communism. The Soviet is politics, and electrification technology. The combination of politics and technology creates communism. Politics and technology are the unity of opposites. Their wedding will produce a son.

#### The Fourth Speech (23 May 1958)

Our congress has been successful. We have worked conscientiously and have formulated our general line. Conscientiousness is most important in whatever one does. As long as one is conscientious, one will find a way regardless of the difficulties. China's population is the largest in the world, and its land vast. The people have been liberated, the bourgeois democratic revolution has succeeded, the socialist revolution has achieved basic victory, and construction has developed greatly. These accomplishments have enabled us to see into our future. In the past it was not very clear. We did not know when we would extricate ourselves from the passive and backward situation. In the past we commanded no prestige or respect in the world. Dulles does not think much of us. It is not compatible with our position, but he does have his reasons. Though we have a large population, we have not yet demonstrated our strength. One day when we catch up with Great Britain and the U.S., Dulles will respect us and acknowledge our existence as a nation. Our policy is that we will not invite him as a guest, but if he should knock on our door, we would entertain him. Things were not very clear in the past several years, even as recent as the year before the last. There were still those opposing the general line, and many doubted the policy of greater, faster, better, and more economical results. This was inevitable, because it existed objectively. Many people doubted or opposed the building of socialism with better... and more economical results. Some people could see the point, while others could not. Those who could not see the point must undergo some tortuosity. After a period of time, more people saw the point. The road is always tortuous; there will be twists and turns in the future. The congress adopted the general line to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. But it has to be proved in objective practice.

Some of it has been proved in the past. The past three years were like a saddle, high at both ends and low in the middle. The year before the last was high, last year low, and this year high again. With such changes, the congress this time is successful. It reflected the people's sentiments, demands, and stamina in building socialism with greater, faster, better, and more economical results. Such results were not very evident at the time of the third plenum [of the 8th central committee] in November 1965 but began to manifest themselves from the time of the third plenum in September 1957.

In the winter of 1956, two events were unexpected -- the international antagonism toward Stalin and the Poland and Hungary incidents. An anti-Soviet and anti-communist high tide appeared in the world, affecting the whole world and our party. Domestically, we did not expect the resistance against adventurism or the international incidents. As was mentioned at the Ch'eng-tu Conference, all the comrades present here should pay attention to twists and turns that may still occur in the future. I hope all the provincial committees will study the situation and be ready. As I mentioned the last time, there is the possibility of war and there is the possibility of splits, but it doesn't matter if we can foresee them. Everyone must study this matter. All provinces must further study the possibilities of war, splits... because we will not be afraid if they are expected. Not that there is a war now, but there is the possibility. There are maniacs in the world. As discussed at the Moscow Conference, we must be prepared against the maniacs. Should there be war, they will be finished. Wisdom belongs to us. There may be trouble, but unjust forces will always be condemned and the just forces will always win, but we must foresee what's coming. The party must also ponder. More than half of the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional committees had problems, not no committee was overthrown, and all the problems were overcome. They were numerous. Various regional, county, and branch committees have more or less had some problems. It is a normal phenomenon of the class struggle. Some of the mistakes were made by good people, such as misunderstanding the greater, better, faster and more economical policy; others were a result of bad people infiltrating the party. X X X was a good man making mistakes.... Ting Ling [0002 3781] was a bad individual concealed in the party. She has long ago revolted against the party.

I wish to discuss the problem of whom to follow. Whom should one follow first of all? First of all, one should learn from the people and follow them. The people have so much energy, better and faster qualities, many inventions and creations; they have first class cooperatives producing 1,000-2,000 catty per mou, and above-norm industrial production. In general, there are all types of talented people in industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, military affairs, and in the ideological and theoretical fields. There are so many experiences reported at this congress! I wouldn't have been able to do that! You talk better than I do. You correctly reflected the people's demands, thinking, and feelings. A more perfect system is formulated on the basis of correct reflections, such as the resolutions and reports of this congress. It was not like this before.

It has taken eight years, especially the first five-year plan and the 1956 great developments, for this change to come about. The year 1957 was like the low section of the saddle. The inspirations of the third plenum in 1957 gave the party and the people a clearer direction. After the effort of the entire party, we had the great leap forward of the recent half year, from last winter to this spring. The Hang-chou, Nan-ning, and Ch'eng-tu Conferences laid the groundwork for this congress and drafted summaries and resolutions. The 60 articles were undertaken, but they have not been completed. They are to be revised. But the general idea has been formed. They will be revised a few months later. Therefore, we follow the people first, and later on the people follow us. Theory first comes from practice, and later on it is used to guide practice. The unity of theory and practice is Marxism. There was no Marxism to start with. It came to the people's mind from their practice in class struggle. It was first reflected in the mind of the foreunners, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. The reflection of the objective law in the subjective world resulted in a theoretical summary, which was developed into theories by them to serve as our models. If political errors are to be avoided, then we must use theory to guide practice, but theory must originate from practice. Apart from objective practice, it will be impossible to form theory. No reality can be formed behind closed doors. The general line formulated at the congress is not the result of any spur of the moment ideas of certain individuals. Regardless of one's position, authority, and fame, if one does not go into the field and associate with the people, or contact the cadres who are close to the people, and the positive elements in the people, if one does not contact or associate with the people for six months, one will know nothing and become impoverished. Therefore, the provision that everyone must spend four months out of the year in the field is necessary. One must go into the field and associate with the people, with the cadres who are close to the people, and with the positive elements in the people, clarify their thinking, action, and hardships, and summarize them.

The slogan "go all out, aim high" is very good. It reflects the people's energy. "Go all out" is better than just "go out." There is an element of quantity in truth. The people's energy has long been stimulated. The question is whether it is adequate. It should be at least 60-70 percent stimulated, but 80-90 percent or 100-percent is best. Therefore, "go all out" is a better term. Energy can be of different levels. "Go all out" is a new phrase. "Aim high" is not new. We have had it before....

"Go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results" are not easily understood by foreigners. They don't seem to make sense, as there are no subjects. I had thought of adding the phrase "activating all positive elements" as the subject, but now I feel it's all right not to have it. The 600 million people are the subject. The word "energy" is the energy of the absolute majority of the 600 million, except Chang Po-chun, Lo Lung-chi, Chang Nai-ch'i, X X, etc. The energy of those individuals may not be great.

THEORY &  
PRACTICE

VERY  
IMPORTANT  
PASSAGE

Hoist the red flag and find the wind direction. If you do not hoist the flag, others will. On a big mountain or small hill, on the field, hoist it wherever there is no flag, and uproot the white flag wherever it is found. The gray ones must also be uprooted. The gray ones are no good; they must be uprooted. The yellow flag is also bad. Yellow trade unions are equivalent to white flags. On any big mountain, any small hill, the red flag must be hoisted after debates.

The wind direction discussed last time does not mean policy direction. Wind direction means whether it is east wind or west wind. The "anti-adventurist" wind, for example, began to blow in June 1956. At that time we already had the 10 sets of relationships, greater and better results, and promotion meetings. No clear resolution was made at the enlarged conference of the Political Bureau in mid-April participated by provincial and municipal committee secretaries. It was a gentlemen's agreement, approved by everyone, but unlike the clear resolutions and reports of this congress. The second planum held in November 1956 did not issue a clear-cut resolution, but only a report stressing practice economy by various measures. The blast of the wind was not checked, but it was a bad thing turning into a blessing, allowing us to make comparisons. This was mentioned in Nan-ning and Ch'eng-tu. Our comrades have made many good statements at this congress.... Tito specializes in being disappointed. His energy belongs to that side. The Moscow Declaration is the strength of our side. The Yugoslavia Program checks the ambition of the proletariat and encourages the arrogance of the enemy.

We must pay attention to the wind direction hereafter. When a gale blows, houses and people are knowled down. Therefore, it is éasy to recognize. But a light breeze is hard to discern. It is worthwhile to read Sung Yu's poetry on the wind. He said there were two kinds of wind: The wind of the aristocrat and the wind of the poor ("the wind of the great kings" and "the wind of the common men"). There are small, medium, and big winds. Sung Yu said: "The wind is born on the ground, rises from the tip of the water weed, permeates the streams, and roars...." Then it is hard to tell the difference.

SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF DELEGATIONS  
TO THE SECOND SESSION OF THE 8TH PARTY CONGRESS

(18 May 1958)

Let us write the brief biographies of all types of scientific and technological inventors in the past 300 years, giving their age, origin, and background, and see whether they were all without much education. Each occupation and profession should undertake the biographies of those in its own field.

Scientist Hua Lo-keng was a middle school student.

Tsiol'kovsky who succeeded in making the man-made satellite in the Soviet Union was an unknown middle school teacher. He was mainly a mathematics teacher, and the satellite was his sideline. Gradually he became an expert.

Naturally the U.S. also has inventors, but it is not Dulles. Just who they are is unknown.

Education and age are not prerequisites for a person to be an inventor. As long as he had the correct direction and the courage to dream, he can become an inventor at age 20 or 30. Too much education will not help.

The whole world couldn't find a way to control the white ant, but a young student in Kwangtung who only attended junior middle school found a way.

K'a Ho (Ho Shih of the Ho-shih Jade) of the Kingdom of Ch'u in ancient China found an uncut jade in Ch'u Mountain. He offered it to King Li, and got his left shin cut off. He then offered it to King Wu, and got his right shin cut off. When King Wen ascended the throne, he carried the uncut jade to the bottom of Ching Mountain and had it cut by a lapidary before the jade was appreciated. It was the same piece of jade referred to in the saying "returning the jade intact to Chao."



Watt was a worker.

Franklin was a shepherd.

The three-way alliance, the leadership, technicians, and old peasants (old workers) are required in cultivating experimental farms.

In general, what I want to prove by my information is one point: Isn't it true that the lowly are the most intelligent and the elite the most ignorant when it comes to robbing the cocky high level intellectuals of their capital? There should be less servility and more self respect. The workers, peasants, old cadres, and low level intellectuals should be encouraged in their self confidence and creativity.

I once asked some people: Are we in heaven? Are we considered gods? Are we foreigners? They answered in the negative. They were superstitious.

In my speeches, I discussed 1) breaking down superstition, 2) international and domestic situations, and 3) disasters.

Generally speaking, the international situation is bright, but war is also possible.

The domestic situation is the issue of the relationship with the 500 million peasants. The peasants are our allies. If they are not rallied, there will be no politics; if no attention is given to their problems, mistakes will occur. With them as our allies, we will win. Lenin also stressed the workers' and peasants' democratic dictatorship -- arousing the consciousness of the rural semi-proletariat to take part in uninterrupted revolution. Some people felt that, since it took 80 years to develop capitalism, socialism could only be introduced when the workers became more numerous and the peasants conscious of themselves. But practice proved that it did not require several decades to advance from democratic revolution to socialism. The Soviet Union's February Revolution proved Lenin was correct.

China is even more different. We have several decades of experience in the democratic revolutionary base. After the liberation, the peasants' morale was high. The rural semi-proletariat numbered 350 million. A considerable number of people in China's Communist Party do not understand the importance of the peasant issue, and that is where mistakes will occur. Those who do not believe in greater, faster, better, and more economical results primarily have no confidence in the 40 articles in agriculture. They do not believe that agriculture can be developed relatively fast.

Why do we talk about the 10 sets of relationships? They constitute the basic viewpoint. It is for the purpose of comparison with the Soviet Union. Besides the Soviet method, is it possible to find another method which is even faster and better than the Soviet Union and the European nations? The road of China's industrialization includes the simultaneous promotion of the large, medium, and small [enterprises], and of industry

and agriculture. We do not say that we are competing with the Soviet Union, but actually we are vying with the teacher. We have two parents: the Kuomintang society and the October Revolution. We follow Lenin in the mass line and the class struggle. We want to eliminate the bourgeoisie thoroughly (including its ideology), but without confiscating the property and destroying the people of the bourgeoisie. Stalin did not promote the mass line. He played favoritism and was too excessive in the class struggle.

"PLANNED FAVORITISM" NO DOUBT MEANS THAT HE DID FAVORS FOR THE MASSES RATHER THAN LEADING THEM IN STRUGGLE TO DO THINGS FOR THEMSELVES. YES, SEE THIS VOLUME, p. 106

The domestic situation is mainly the issue of the peasantry.

Irrigation, fertilizer, soil improvement, seeds, close planting, and deep plowing -- the method of Ch'ang-ko County is a model.

I feel that heavy industry, metallurgy, machinery, coal, chemistry, and foreign trade should be discussed. I would rather delay the closing of the meeting for one day.

Of the 26 provinces, municipalities, and regions, 13 of them have problems. There is confusion in the political and legal systems and in the literary and art circles throughout the country. Two types of people cause the problems: rightists and right opportunists. Those making the mistake of the line will be permitted to participate in the revolution. As for P'an Han-nien [3382 3352 1628], Ku Ta-ts'un [0657 1129 1317], and Feng Pai-chu [7458 4101 7467], it is better not to discipline them at this meeting. It is correct to propose disciplining, but not disciplining is also right.

Several documents should be printed, including the statements of Wang Ming and K'u Hsi-ning [1655 6007 1380] and the letters of a branch secretary in Tientsin and the party committee secretary of Nanking University (to the Chairman).

The branch secretary of Tientsin was very good. He did not give in. As not very many people were informed in the past, whether to let loose or not, it was impossible to keep pace at that time. A branch in Tsinghua University deteriorated. It is a rare opportunity for a party purge.

The annotations to Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside should be printed. It is correct to say that the ownership system has been basically solved, but the mutual relationship between the political and ideological fronts have not yet been solved. It was a little too optimistic to predict that the socialist revolution had gained a basic victory. I did not expect such a big revolution. As for China's bourgeoisie, I predict there will still be struggles, long term struggles to eliminate the deep-rooted influence of the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals. A socialist revolution involving a battle on the political and ideological fronts is inevitable; another one is necessary after a basic solution to the ownership system has been found. This time, I did not expect the revolution will be fundamentally over in a few months, nor did I expect that the rectification would be implemented ahead of schedule. The rectification was forced on us by

circumstances, and the struggle against the bourgeoisie was inevitable. But the resistance against "adventurism" also accelerated the rightists' attack. I consciously used the rightists to carry out the rectification. Turn it loose first before thinking of a method; struggle a few rounds and see. The Tsingtao Conference printed some material. A student of Hua-tung Normal College was very firm, asking "What will happen if the Communist Party collapses?"

The above is about the peasant issue. Urban population is 15 percent of the total and rural population 85 percent. Some of the comrades have spent several decades in the rural areas but they remain untouched by the peasants' feelings and cannot understand them. When one cannot understand the masses, one will not see the good things. Have the likes of P'an Han-nien never worked in the rural areas? If so, they have not been influenced. The workers number 12 million, or 40 million if the family members are included; therefore, their number is far smaller than the peasants. The well-to-do peasants who do not follow us number several ten millions. After the great leap forward, possibly 50 percent of them will be against socialism, and 20 percent will maintain their [present] position.

What are your opinions on the election?

It is not good to be without horns on the head, but too many is not good either. A cow should have two horns, four would be too many. If we elect a group of alternate committee members, there will be a balance; to have a few more alternates is no problem.

Among the workers, peasants, and soldiers, there are several hundred million peasants. The "Trotsky faction" has always scoffed at us for peasant-ism, and imperialism calls ours a peasant revolution. China's working class cannot sit firm without the peasants. Since Lenin also stressed the peasant problem, did he also advocate peasant-ism? I asked our European comrades: What about you? In Europe, besides the farm workers, conflict between the landowner peasants (many with their own farm machinery) and socialism is great. In my conversations with the comrades of South America and India, the issue of rallying the peasants was also discussed. I asked them to study a rural village, clarify the class relations, and analyze the matter in minute detail. Being backward has its advantages.

The great leap forward should not be pushed too urgently. The students of red and expert schools dozed off in class. This won't do at all. The two "encirclement and suppression" campaigns in Kiangsu involved five battles in two sleepless weeks, but it was only a short-term surprise attack. We must not push too hard.

How are the cooperative areas? It is the negation of a negation.

After one day's rest at the conclusion of the congress, there will be two days of meetings, attended by one delegate from each province and a certain number from the Central Committee.

A meeting will be held again on 5 August. You have two whole months to handle your work in industry, commerce, culture-education, and military matters. Fall farm production must be prepared and arranged now.

The whole people including five-year old children must be mobilized to eliminate the four pests.

All the provinces where there are problems in the party must issue a statement. The statement will be discussed if there is time, or printed if there is no time. The statement at this meeting will be collected and printed for our own comment and comparison. There are many good and rich experiences.

The commerce work of Hsin-hui County, Kwangtung, is well handled. An on-the-spot meeting should be held there.

Ch'ang-ko County should be emulated in deep plowing. If it cannot be done once a year, it certainly can be done once every three, four, or five years. The production increase is 100 percent.

We are not afraid of a population of 800 million or one billion. American reporters say that, after 100 years, the Chinese population will constitute 50 percent of the world population. By that time, our cultural level will be high. When all the people are college educated, they will naturally practice birth control. China's topography is good, with oceans in the east and mountains in the west.

China has its own language. The pronunciation of the words "communism" and "imperialism" is basically the same in Russia and English, but ours is completely different. Ever since Ch'in-Shih-huang, the Chinese people have never respected the foreigners, calling them barbarians. By the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty, when the foreigners attacked and entered China, the Chinese were frightened, became slaves, and felt inferior. Arrogant before, now we are too humble. Let us have the negation of a negation.

With 11 million tons of steel next year and 17 million tons the year after, the world will be shaken. If we can reach 40 million tons in five years, we may possibly catch up with Great Britain in seven years. Add another eight years and we will catch up with the U.S.

The Central Committee holds four meetings a year, with one party congress. The provinces hold six meetings, with two big check-ups on the results and four small-scale meetings.

When I see the peasants concealing production, I am very happy. If you have more, I also have more. What the peasants have is equivalent to ours.

The task of reforestation should be undertaken by local areas.

Bamboo must be extensively developed. Bamboo is not native to the North. We don't know when it will grow there.

ON HUAN HSIANG'S COMMENT ON THE DISINTEGRATION  
OF THE WESTERN WORLD

(25 November 1958)

Huan Hsiang's [1360 6763] theory is correct. The Western World is disintegrating. Currently it is in the process of breaking up, though not yet completely. But it is heading in that direction. Final disintegration is inevitable. The transitional period may last quite a while; it will not happen overnight. The so-called Western unity is an empty term. There is unity; Dulles is striving for it, but it has to be under U.S. control. Under the atomic bomb, the big and small partners must rally around the U.S., pay tribute, and prostrate themselves as inferiors. This is the so-called unity of the Americans. Such a situation will inevitably head toward the opposite of unity, to disintegration. Comrades, under today's situation, to whom does the world belong?!

A LETTER TO CHOU SHIH-CHAO [0719 0013 6856]

(25 November 1958)

Dear Tun-yuan [1908 0337]:

I received your letter of 17 October and was happy to read it.

When undertaking a new duty, one must not choose the light and shun the heavy, but must choose the heavy and scorn the light. The ancients said: The virtuous and the able: it is impossible to combine the two into one. I feel that the two can be combined into one in you. Years and months, days and hours, you feel that your ability is not up to par. Actually, the reasons are first, you do not know yourself, and secondly, you do not understand objective matters. Those returned overseas students and big professors, with their confused personal relationships and complicated psychology, hold you in contempt, not in so many words, but by innuendoes. All these are common occurrences in society which almost everyone has to experience. Beyond this there is one's own lack of political-economic experience and the fear when confronted with decisions. These are good; they are all facts and understandable. I feel that [your] intelligence and honesty are adequate to resolve all difficulties. It seems that I have discussed this point with you before. Intelligence means asking many questions and thinking a lot; honesty entails seeking the truth through facts. Practicing them constantly and regularly will make one more successful. Your courage seems to have greatly increased. After not having seen a person for three days, one must look at him with new eyes. My rambling is merely to add some oil and put in a dash of vinegar.

"Covering 80,000 li a day when sitting on the ground." Chiang Chu-ju [5592 4554 1172] was wrong in his statement. There is a numerical basis. The diameter of the earth is approximately 12,500 kilometers. Multiplied by 3.1416, it becomes 40,000 kilometers, or 80,000 li. This is the mileage of the earth's revolution (one day's time). One must pay to ride a train, ship, or bus. It is called travelling. But no fare is required (no purchase of a ticket required) when sitting on the earth and covering 80,000 li.

Is this travelling?! One is constrained by customs and habits, and one's superstition is not eliminated. It is nothing but daily life, yet many people find it odd. Patrolling the skies, our solar system (including the earth) threads back and forth in the Silver River [Milky Way] every day and every hour. What is the Silver River? It is without limit; "1,000" merely indicates infinity. Mankind merely "patrols" in a river, but what he sees is infinite. The Herd-boy, the men of Chin, schistosomiasis, dropsy, commonly known as bloat, the dynasties of Chou, Ch'in, and Han -- all are recorded in books many times. The Herd-boy is naturally concerned about his fellow villagers. One must ask the God of Plagues how things are. The Usa Major, commonly known as the Herd-boy Star (do I remember it wrong?) belongs to the Silver River system. Please convey my explanations to Chu-ju. Any dissent can be argued. As I may not be in Peking in November we probably will not see each other.



SPEECH AT THE FIRST CHENGCHOW CONFERENCE

(November 1958)

Before the realization of the system of ownership by all the people in the rural area, the peasants remained peasants, and there was a certain dual nature when they walked the socialist path. We can only guide them step by step to divorce themselves from relatively small collective ownership and move toward the system of ownership by all the people via the relatively large collective ownership system, but we cannot ask them to complete the process in one stroke -- just as before when we could only guide them step by step to give up the private ownership system in favor of the collective ownership system.

SPEECH ON THE BOOK 'ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM'

(November 1958)<sup>1</sup>

(This is a summary of the Chairman's speech given in Chengchow in mid-November 1958 on the book entitled Economic Problems of Socialism. It was compiled from the notes of a comrade. The notes are incomplete and may contain mistakes and inaccuracies. It is published for study and reference.)

The provincial and local committees must study it. In the past, their studies did not leave a deep impression on them. They must study it in connection with China's reality. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 are worthy of attention. Many points in those three chapters are accurate, but in some places, it is possible that Stalin himself was not clear. Only a few sentences in Chapter 1, for example, are devoted to objective law and the conduction of a planned economy, without much elaboration. Maybe in his mind the Soviet planned economy was already reflecting objective law. On the issues of heavy industry, light industry, and agriculture, the Soviet Union did not stress light industry and agriculture, and suffered as a result. Furthermore, the people's current and long-range interests were not well coordinated. Mainly it was walking on one leg. Compared with our plan, which one is more suitable to planned, proportionate development? There is still another point. Stalin only stressed technology and technical cadres. He only stressed cadres, but ignored politics and the masses. This also was walking on one leg. In industry he stressed heavy industry, but not light industry. This also was walking on one leg. Within the mutual relationships of heavy industry, he did not bring out the major aspect of the contradictions. He stressed heavy industry, calling steel the foundation and machinery the heart. We propose grain as the foundation in the agricultural aspect and steel as the foundation in the industrial aspect. When we propose steel as the foundation, there will be raw material, and the machine industry will follow suit. In the first chapter, Stalin posed the problem and brought out objective law, but he did not satisfactorily resolve the problem.

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<sup>1</sup>In the volume published in 1967 the date is given as November 1959.

The second chapter deals with commodities; the third with the value law. I rather agree with many of the points therein. He divided production into two big categories and said that the means of production was not a commodity. This is worthy of study. In China's agriculture, many of the means of production should remain as commodities. I read the three letters in the appendix. The third one is almost completely wrong. It shows that he did not trust the peasants and did not want to let go of the farm machinery. While maintaining that the means of production belonged to the state on the one hand, on the other hand he felt that the peasants could not afford them. Actually he was only deceiving himself. The state exercised tight control over the peasants. There are two transitions, but Stalin did not find the satisfactory ways and means for them. It was something which troubled him.

COMMODITY  
PRODUCTION  
UNDER SOCIALISM.

The commodity form is left over from capitalism, and we must retain it for the time being. Commodity exchange and value law do not have a regulating effect on our production. What produces the regulating effect is planning -- a planned great leap forward and political leadership. Stalin only discussed production relationships, but did not mention the superstructure, nor the relationship between the superstructure and the economic foundation. In China the cadres take part in labor; the workers take part in management; the cadres are sent down for tempering; the old regulations and systems are destroyed. All these belong to the superstructure, to the ideological. Stalin only discussed economics, but not politics. Though he urged selfless labor, they would not work even one extra hour and could not forget the self. The effect of man and the effect of the laborer were not discussed. Without the communist movement, it is difficult to advance to communism. The saying "all for one; one for all" is not right, for, as a result, one never gets away from the self. Some attribute the saying to Marx, but we do not need to spread it even if Marx did. "All for one" indicates that everyone is working for one individual; "one for all," but how many can one individual work for?

Bourgeois legal power is expressed in bourgeois legal education. We must destroy a part of the bourgeois legal power ideology. The overlord style, the three bad styles of work, the five undesirable airs, and the contempt for the common laborer must be firmly destroyed. However, as for commodity circulation, commodity form, and value law, they cannot be destroyed at once even though they also belong to the realm of the bourgeoisie. Currently we are advocating destroying all bourgeois legal power ideology. We must take heed, because it is not right.

There is a minority in the socialist society, such as landowners, rich peasants, and rightists, who wish to return to capitalism and who advocate capitalism, but the absolute majority wish to advance to communism. Advancing to communism must be accomplished step by step; one cannot ascend to heaven in one stride. Take the people's commune as an example: While it must develop self-sufficiency in production, it must also promote commodity exchange. We utilize commodity exchange and value law as the tools to promote production

and help in the transition. Ours is a nation in which commodity production is not developed. Last year the grain output was 3,700 billion catties<sup>2</sup>, and the commodity grain output was approximately 80 to 90 billion catties. Economic crops other than grain, such as cotton and hemp, are also not developed. Therefore, there must be a developmental stage. Presently there are still many counties where, if free meals are given, wages cannot be paid. Hopeh province has three such counties. One county can pay wages, but not much -- 3 or 5 yuan. Therefore, we must develop production. We must develop products other than grain which can be sold for cash. Full attention was not given this point by the Sian Agricultural Conference. In sum, ours is a nation where commodity [production] is not developed, yet we have entered socialism on a large scale. We must destroy a part of the bourgeois legal power, but must retain commodity production and commodity exchange. Currently there is a feeling that the sooner communism is realized the better. Some people suggest transition to communism in three to five years. A four-year transitional period was proposed in Fan County Shantung. It is better to slow down.

Currently some economists do not like economics. Yaroshenko(?) is one of them. In our present stage, and even for a period in the future, we must expand commune resource exchange and commodity production, for otherwise we will not be able to pay wages or improve the living standard. Some of our comrades always make mistakes when confronted with commodities and commodity production. The bourgeois legal power must be destroyed, destroyed everyday, such as the emphasis on qualification, the emphasis on grade levels, the failure to see the benefit of the supply system.... In 1953 we changed the supply system to the wage system. Basically it was the right thing to do. It was necessary for us to compromise. But there were defects; we even compromised on grade levels. Thus, the grade level became a subject of contention during a certain period. After conducting rectification, the importance of the grade level diminished. The grade level system is the father-son relationship, the cat-mouse relationship. It must be destroyed all the time. Sending the cadres to the rural areas to work on experimental farms is a means of accomplishing it. Without such change there will be no great leap forward.

The bourgeois elements may join the urban people's commune and become members, but the bourgeois hat should not be taken off.

Socialism and communism: What is the building of socialism? We suggest two things:

1. The Central manifestation of socialism is the realization of a complete socialist system of ownership by all the people.
2. Change commune collective ownership to ownership by all the people.

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<sup>2</sup>This figure given as 370 billion catties in the 1967 volume.

Some comrades object to the dividing line between the two systems of ownership. The commune appears to be under the system of ownership by all the people, but actually there are two types: One type is the Anshan Iron and Steel-type system of ownership by all the people and the other the commune large collective ownership. If we ignore them, what will be the use of socialist construction? Stalin drew the line and discussed three conditions. These three basic conditions are not bad (p 60 of the book). 1) Increase social products; 2) elevate collective ownership to ownership by all the people, commodity exchange to products exchange, and exchange value to use value. With regard to these two conditions, in China, first, we are expanding and increasing products and simultaneously promoting industry and agriculture while giving priority to heavy industry; second, the small collective ownership system is being replaced by ownership by all the people, until it becomes complete ownership by all the people. Those unwilling to draw the line seem to feel that we have already attained ownership by all the people. This is not correct. The third condition proposed by Stalin deals with culture and popular development of physical culture and education. For this reason, Stalin suggested four requirements (p 62): 1) a six-hour work system; 2) general technical education; 3) improvement of living conditions; and 4) wage increase -- wage increase and price reduction. These requirements are good, but the ideological and political conditions are missing.

The above conditions and requirements are fundamentally for the purpose of increasing production. With a large supply of products, it will facilitate the elevation of collective ownership to ownership by all the people. To increase production, greater, faster, better and more economical must be stressed. To attain greater, faster, better and more economical results political leadership must be exercised and the four items promoted simultaneously. In addition to the rectification movement and the breakdown of the bourgeois legal power ideology, China has the people's commune, which makes it even easier to attain greater, faster, better and more economical results.

What is the significance of complete ownership by all the people? Two items: 1) The means of production of society belong to all the people; 2) the products of society belong to all the people.

In regard to the nature of the people's commune, it is the basic level unit in China's social structure, integrating workers, peasants, soldiers, merchants, and students; it is the basic level administrative organization at the present time. The militia provides against the external, especially imperialism. The commune is the best organization form for the two transitions, from the socialism of today to complete ownership by all the people, and from the latter to communism. When the transitions are completed in the future, the commune will serve as the basic level structure of the communist society.

[The volume published in 1967 concludes with the following parenthetical remark: "This article is a record of an important speech on Soviet Economic Problems of Socialism, given in Chengchow in mid-November 1959. This article was compiled from the minutes."]

TALKS WITH DIRECTORS OF VARIOUS COOPERATIVE AREAS

(November, December 1958)

(1) Speech of 30 November 1958

No matter what the undertaking, the central and the local governments must coordinate the strips and the pieces. This is a rule of democratic centralism and the mass line method; otherwise it will not be successful. Is cold water being thrown on Li Fu-ch'un this time? Plans must be positive and reliable, on a stable foundation. Encouragement is required. The people's enthusiasm must not be checked, and the lessons of 1956 must be learned. In the local area, there is also the relationship between pieces and strips. The first secretary is the piece and the division of labor secretaries the strips. They must also coordinate. The first secretary must coordinate with the industrial secretary. The enthusiasm at the Pei-tai-ho Conference was for 30 million tons, of which 10 million was subjectivism. One does not know the difficulties of a thing without experiencing it. (Premier's interruption: Definitely not mysterious; by no means simple. X X: The various areas may give further consideration to the iron and steel quotas. A little reduction will not affect the state plan. Steel, power, and communication should follow the second plan; other quotas the first plan.)

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee will be held on the 6th and 7th. Should the outline of the matter be discussed? We should follow the plan for a while and see what happens. We will decide by 1 July next year. Originally there was no plan for increased grain output, but after a few meetings, it was brought up. The "Eight-Point Charter" for agriculture deals only with things on the ground, not in the sky (sunshine and air cannot be controlled). The sky and the earth are the unity of opposites. Voluminous words are not required when it comes to good things. Lao-tzu wrote only a little over 5,000 words in his lifetime. Industry is different from agriculture. In industry, many factors affect one another through their mutual relationships. To develop steel, we must develop coal, electricity, etc. There can be no missing link. In agriculture, there are fewer factors affecting one another. There is the three-way alliance of the party, the masses, and the technicians. Experimental fields and high

yields constitute a big liberation of mankind and mankind's comprehension of nature. The three-three system has broken down many insurance coefficients. It is better to write it in. We must make the time more flexible and do some more revisions. In the majority of the areas in the nation, each person has about one mou.

The people's commune should be discussed for two more days and the revisions completed. Many issues have been brought up to this time. Whether people's communes should be established in the city has been answered. They will be established. In regard to the question of the militia and the family, Dulles accuses us of slave labor and the destruction of the family. Capitalism has long destroyed the family. For the sake of money, father disowns son. Now our society takes care of the old. "Take care of our old and thereby other people's old; take care of our young and thereby other people's young." The wage disparity is rather great, around four fold or more. The peasants have the tendency toward egalitarianism, but there should not be too big a gap, nor should there be no difference. The wage disparity in the Soviet Union is too great. We cannot follow suit. In the future, what will a small wage amount to? What does 15 yuan amount to? It should be 30 to 45 yuan. When everyone's wage is raised to several tens of yuan, there won't be any difference. This is in regard to the rural areas. The disparities in the city may be a little more, which is necessary. In the city, the wages of Huang Yen-p'ei [7806 3508 1014], Mei Lan-fang [2734 5695 5364], and the professors should not be cut. In the future, when social products become more abundant and the low wages are raised and get closer to the high wages, we will be entering communism. In regard to "to each according to his labor" and "to each according to his need," how do we equalize? It goes from low to high.

Let us spend a half day to discuss the question of work style. Currently, the main problems are coercion and false reporting. Tsao-yang County did not eliminate illiteracy, yet it reported wiping out illiteracy. In coercion, there are two types of people: One type consists of alien class elements and the other idiots. Just how many are there practicing coercion and issuing orders? One percent, five percent, ten percent? In December this year or January next year, all areas must hold a party congress to discuss the question of work style.

Two major questions arose in the latter half of this year; one is the people's communes, the other is taking steel as the key link. Everyone is a little tense; regulations are now being formulated to ease everybody's mind. The document on people's communes was prepared at the Chengchow Conference. Plans for the meeting were carefully made. The East China [Bureau] is deteriorating. In the past such conditions were unthought of. It has coal, but it is not being shipped out.

In regard to the 1959 farm output, the grain output this year is 750 billion catties; next year there will be an increase of 300 billion catties, reaching 1,050 billion catties and averaging over 1,500 catties per capita.

With three years of hard struggle, we will reach 2,000 catties per capita. There should also be some tuber crops. This year let us practice the policy of reporting less than the amount and make some allowances. Cotton output this year is reported as 67 million piculs. Next year there will be 100 million piculs. Just how much is the grain output? Has it been doubled more or less? Probably it is better to record a 90 percent increase. On the question of food to eat, should no allowances be made, or should some allowances be made? Next spring will there be areas where the people cannot get three meals a day? Kwangtung issued an order to have three meals a day. The people of Shantung say that they are now eating thin pancakes. What will they do next spring? At present we cannot determine just how much grain we have. Should we eat less now and more later? All areas should discuss it.

In the international situation, Khrushchev held a press conference and did some manipulation on the Berlin issue. If you do not let go, then I will. Khrushchev also knows how to create a tense situation. Let us also create some tension, so that the West will ask us not to do so. Let the West fear tension, because it will be to our advantage. After the publication of the official report of the Sino-Soviet conference, Taiwan held an emergency meeting. But the Taiwan issue was not discussed at all at the conference. The holding of the four-power summit meeting was cancelled reportedly because of China's influence, but actually it was not mentioned at the conference either. Is it safe to travel a long distance? Stalin's nerves were not sound and never went anywhere before. All kinds of information has proven that imperialism has adopted a defensive posture, not an offensive one. In his statement of the 18th, Dulles said: "If you communists promote the people's commune, then do not go beyond that sphere. If you mind your own affairs and do not interfere in things beyond yourselves, we will feel at ease. You do not bother me; I do not bother you." Dulles says that we promote slave labor and totalitarianism, and that we have excessive reserve. He says that reserve is that which is left after deducting wages from total income. He calls such reserve capital. Colonialism -- nationalism -- communism is Lenin's formula. Read Dulles' statement of the 18th carefully. He admits our large reserve and organizational strength. Philosophically he cannot beat us. His words are low-toned. He does not mention the brink of war or strength and position. He is relatively systematic. He is America's helmsman. The English are sly and cunning. The Americans are relatively short-tempered. The English constantly make strategic and tactical moves. Dulles discusses the five big issues in the world: nationalism, bipolarism, atomic energy, outer space, and communism. He is a thinking man. To read his statements, one must study it word by word and resort to the English dictionary. At the World Order Study Conference, 37 million religious disciples issued a letter urging the recognition of China. Dulles says that churches can only decide on ethical principles, but cannot get involved in the details.

Are the eight viewpoints discussed at the Pei-tai-ho Conference intelligent? Yes. The North Atlantic Treaty is an attack on nationalism and



domestic communism (the emphasis is to attack the intermediate zone, Asia, Africa, and Latin America) and defense against the socialist camp, unless another Hungarian Incident occurs. However, in our propaganda it is another matter; we must still claim that it is an attack. We must not be hoodwinked by our own propaganda. Lippmann wrote an article saying that it was not an attack, but he could not convince the Soviet people. Who is more afraid of whom? Lippmann advocates building up India to resist us. It seems that they are afraid of us, afraid that we will fight for leadership in Asia and Africa, afraid of our economic high tide. Tension, in the final analysis, is advantageous to us. De Gaulle made his appearance. He would have to appear anyway. His appearance is detrimental to the French proletariat. Is it better for the U.S. army to withdraw from the Middle East sooner or is it better later? Only a little over a month and they are all gone, indicating that they have withdrawn. It was good for Taiwan to fire artillery shots, for otherwise the militia could not have been organized so quickly. The boycott, joining the U.N., peace, war, and the atomic bomb issue: to whom are they more beneficial? Is it better to be afraid or better not to be afraid? Make up one's mind; to not be afraid is better. Discuss the matter together and one will not fear ghosts. Dulles likes war. Being criticized is a false appearance, not the true essence. Dulles is the true helmsman. The provincial committees must appoint special persons to read Reference Materials.

Khrushchev is too cautious, too unbalanced. He is lame in one leg. He does not walk with both legs. For their livelihood, the people get 200 rubles, slightly higher than us. Soviet heavy industry is too big and too centralized, disregarding the local areas. It stresses administration and lacks the mass line.

The meeting this time is rather long and rather relaxed. Mainly two documents have been concentrated on. Many people inside and outside the party still fail to understand the paper tiger issue. Some people say that, since it is a paper tiger, why don't we attack Taiwan; why should we advocate catching up with and surpassing Great Britain? I wrote a short article to explain this issue. It is both real and false. The temporary appearance is real, but in the long run it is made of paper. We have always maintained that we must give it serious attention tactically but regard it with contempt strategically. This holds true in the struggle against nature as well as in the class struggle. Eliminating the four pests, wiping out illiteracy, reforestation and [wiping out] schistosomiasis; they cannot be realized in one year, but require several years.

## (2) Speech of 12 December 1958

1. Regarding the Official Report. The West may possibly fall apart. It looks as if it will, but one cannot be sure. The European continental bloc is to deal with Great Britain and the U.S., but its internal conflicts are many. There are conflicts between Germany and France, and also between Great Britain and the U.S. They unite together and struggle against each

other simultaneously. Stalin predicted war within capitalism. We have long ago said so. In our article written in 1946, we discovered the buffer zones between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The struggle for the buffer zones is the major aspect. Why fight the Soviet Union instead of the buffer zones? Under the name of anti-communism, they promote the policy of aggression. If the buffer zones are attacked, it will create resistance by the buffer zones, and with the vastness of the buffer zones, they cannot come over. This includes the U.S., France, Germany, and Italy. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are their rear areas. There are troubles in Europe, Asia, and Africa. So, how can the U.S. come out and fight the Soviet Union?

The object of exploitation is man. Only by exploiting man can the earth be exploited. Only with man can there be soil; only with soil can there be wealth. If man is killed, what's the use of occupying soil? I don't see the reason for the atom bomb. Conventional weapons are still the thing. We think that as long as the atom bomb is not dropped, Germany, France, and Italy will acquiesce, and many nations will not fear the U.S. Can there be a treaty whereby there is mutual agreement not to use the atom bomb? With the existence of monopolistic capital, it is impossible not to have war. This is because of the lack of raw materials and markets.

The assessment of the international situation in the Official Report: Imperialism will definitely disintegrate, and there will be war within itself. Nixon says: To promote economic competition, India must be built up. How can India be built up? A pessimistic atmosphere covers the West; ours is a joyous one. The term "disintegrating" must be weighed. It is the truth, but once it is said, will it alert them? But then there is no other way. The U.S. wants to force liberal elements into Taiwan. There is tension in Iraq. A large number of counterrevolutionaries were arrested in the past few days, but the outcome has not been decided. Mainly, the U.S., Great Britain, Turkey, and Iran are forming a conspiracy. (Why did Khadjamu disband the labor union? I wonder why Iraq's intelligence is so efficient?)

2. The three documents have been drafted. In regard to the resignation issue, there has to be an "idol." A class must have a class leader. The Central Committee must have a first secretary. Without the atom as the nucleus, there would not be rain. Rather than chaos after death, it is better to have chaos now, while the person is there. It will be impossible to be without a nucleus. There must be consolidation. After a while, an "idol" emerges, and it becomes relatively difficult to eliminate [him]. This is a psychological condition of long standing. In the future, my duties may increase or decrease, be elevated or lowered. Actually, I am only serving as half a chairman, without charge of daily affairs.

In regard to the 1959 plan, let's work on it for a couple of months first. We will meet again in the middle of February.

How are the people's communes? The provincial and municipal committee secretaries meeting will be held 1 February, either in Peking, or Ch'eng-tu, or Shanghai.

Hong Kong newspapers berated Chiang Kai-shek for "hastily bidding farewell to the ancestral shrine and fleeing to Taiwan."

The People's Congress will be held on 15 March.

At the 1 February meeting, besides examining the two resolutions, it is necessary to reorganize the state structure. The People's Congress report must be prepared, and the education issue discussed. We need more internal directives for the people's communes.

Has the people's commune violated the constitution? The issue of integrating politics and the commune, for example, was not passed by the People's Congress, nor is it in the constitution. Many parts of the constitution are obsolete, but it cannot be revised now. After surpassing the U.S., we will formulate a written constitution. Now we are imitating the U.S.; what we have is an unwritten constitution. The U.S. has an unwritten constitution; it is put together article by article.

To enter communism, 15 years, 20 years, or an even longer period is required. To accomplish the socialist system of ownership by all the people may take at least three or four years, during the second five-year plan, or as long as five or six years, during the third five-year plan.

3. The people's commune document must be further revised here and there and reconsidered. Three days, including the 15th, 16th, and 17th, will be spent on the revision. On the 18th the Official Report will be published and the issue of the Chairman's resignation announced. The resolution on the people's commune will be published on the 19th.

If there are more questions on the issue of the Chairman's resignation, a telephonic conference may be held again for clarification.

4. I made a mistake at the Pei-tai-ho Conference. Concentrating on the 10.7 million tons of steel, the people's commune, and the bombardment of Quemoy, I did not think of other things. The Pei-tai-ho Conference resolution must now be revised. I was enthusiastic at that time, and failed to combine revolutionary fervor and the practical spirit. The two were combined at the Wu-ch'ang Conference. The resolution must be revised. Walk on both legs, with Russia's revolutionary fervor and America's practical spirit.

Ch'en Chiung-ming [7115 3518 2494] is colluding with a county tax bureau chief in Tung-chiang. Select one of them as the bureau chief, and then change in two months.

It still boils down to two sentences: "The important and the unimportant, the urgent and the non-essential; they must be put in perspective. Self-reliance [depends on] small indigenous groups." Horizontally on top is "political supremacy."

A meeting must be held in the afternoon. Announcements must be issued. Dictatorship is required. The provincial committee secretaries must know what to do. [China] is after all backward. Since we were already backward, what difference does it make to remain so for a few more years? The provincial committee secretaries must consider all angles and give consideration to the whole situation. The idea of the whole country as one chessboard must be combined with local enthusiasm. When there are still conflicts, the national interest must come first. Giving consideration to the whole is the supreme ethic, and having it one will not suffer a loss. Anyone not giving consideration to the whole will suffer a loss. Yang I-ch'en did not give consideration to the whole situation but attempted to take advantage of the occasion and knock down Chou and Ch'en. All those wishing to do such things are merely picking up a rock only to drop it on their own foot. There are those who give no consideration to the whole situation. All those failing to give consideration to the whole situation in history did not come to a good end, such as Yang I-ch'en, Kao Kang and Lo Chang-lung.

Be prepared to suffer a wrong and give consideration to the whole situation. How much Marxism-Leninism did Yang I-ch'en possess? Not one iota.

Some provinces are extremely poor. It does not matter if they remain poor for another few decades, but actually they will not remain poor for that long.

Sacrifice ourselves and help others. Hung-niang stood outside at night and was beaten. What was it for?

SPEECH AT THE SIXTH PLENUM OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(19 December 1958)

These are merely opinions, not conclusions. The resolutions will be the conclusions of the meeting.

1. The appearance of the people's commune. The appearance of the people's commune was not foreseen at the Ch'eng-tu Conference in April and the Party Congress in May. Actually it had already appeared in Honan in April, but remained undiscovered through May, June, and July. It was not discovered until August. A resolution was formed at the Pei-tai-ho Conference. It was a momentous event. A form to build socialism was found, facilitating the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the people and from socialist ownership by the people to the communist ownership by the people, making [life] easier for the workers, peasants, merchants, students, and soldiers, and rendering possible many undertakings on a large scale and by many people. We once said that we must be prepared for unlucky happenings. Nothing can be more unlucky than war or a split in the party. But there are also unexpected good things. We did not expect the formation of the people's commune in April, and the resolution was not made until August. The framework was erected throughout the country in four months. Now the organization must be consolidated.

2. The issue of safeguarding labor fervor. Cadre make mistakes mostly by practicing coercion, telling lies, and making false reports, reporting either more or less than the actual figures. It is not very serious to report less for more, but it is very serious to report more for less. Reporting 100 catties as 50 does not matter, but reporting 50 catties as 100 is serious. The main trouble is the lack of concern over the people's livelihood and giving attention only to production. How should it be remedied? Those making mistakes constitute a minority among the cadres. In regard to those making mistakes, 90 percent or more of them should be handled by means of patient persuasion, once, twice... without punishment, only self-criticism. Let us all discuss this matter. My individual opinion cannot be considered as a conclusion. Cadres at the county, district, and

township levels seriously violating law and disobeying discipline and isolating themselves from the people constitute approximately 1-5 percent of their total, and that's about all. Conditions vary in different areas. Some distinctions must be made. Those who have isolated themselves from the people should be punished. The people do not like them. If we do not refrain from punishing the more than 90 percent of the cadres who have committed mistakes, we will be unable to protect the cadres and we will be checking the enthusiasm of the laborers as well as the cadres. In regard to those who have seriously violated the law and disobeyed discipline, if we do not discuss their cases, make some distinctions, and mete out punishment accordingly, we will also damage the people's enthusiasm. Some especially serious cases will be handled as criminal cases. In general, individual cases must be analyzed to determine which ones are class dissenters and which are not. However, in extreme cases, such as beating people, swearing at people, detaining people, or tying people up, they must be punished. Hupeh Province already dismissed the first secretary of a county committee. When the drought was very severe, he did not fight it but reported that he had. Anyway, punishment should be given to the minimum number of offenders while education should be given to the maximum. By so doing, the enthusiasm of the cadres and laborers will be safeguarded. As for those among the people who have committed mistakes, the policy should be the same.

3. The issue of "basically transforming the entire country after three years of hard struggle". Is this slogan appropriate? Can it be done in three years? This slogan was first introduced by a Honan comrade. We adopted it at the Nan-ning Conference. It was aimed at the rural areas at that time. Subsequently, we don't know when, it was expanded into "transforming the entire country after three years of hard struggle." Tseng Hsi-sheng [2582 1585 5110] wanted to convince me. He showed me maps of three river networks and maintained that the rural areas could be basically transformed. Maybe it is possible to accomplish this in the rural areas, but as for the entire country, I feel that further consideration is required. It is possible that within three years, we may be able to produce 30 to 40 million tons of steel annually. When a large nation of 650 million population produces 30-40 million tons of steel, how could it be called a basic transformation? I feel this standard has been set too low. Otherwise, we would not have to strive for further improvement. What would we call it when our production reaches 50, 60, 100, or 200 million tons annually? I feel that great improvements are yet to come! Therefore, we cannot speak of basically transforming the country in three years. By 1962 steel production may reach 50 or 60 million tons a year. By that time it may be said that we have basically transformed the entire country. We will then have reached the standards in Britain and America of today. By that time should we still refrain from speaking about basically transforming the entire country? Transforming a nation of over 600 million at such a speed seems incredible. What should we call it? It should be discussed, because the newspapers are already vigorously propagandizing it. Maybe we can strive for basic transformation in five years and thorough transformation in 10-15 years. What is the best? I hope our comrades will think about it. Maybe

we can call it basic transformation when Great Britain is surpassed and complete transformation when the U.S. is surpassed. When we force ourselves to surpass others, we will become exhausted. It is better to take it a little easier. If we do not require these many years and surpassed them in three or four years, then what should we do? If it can be realized in advance, it's all right! The sooner we achieve our goal in advance of plans, the sooner we will get the results. I don't believe that will be a loss! Tseng Hsi-sheng has an idea which is nothing but "opportunism." Last winter and this spring, Anhwei began to undertake 800 million cubic meters of earth and stone work in water conservation. Subsequently it was doubled to 1.6 billion. Eight hundred million was opportunism; 1.6 billion was Marxism-Leninism. In a short time, it was increased to 3.2 billion, and 1.6 billion looked like "opportunism." Later on it was increased to 6.4 billion. When we set the time for the transformation a little longer, we are not being anything but "opportunists." Such opportunism is very interesting and I am willing to practice it. Marx appreciated such opportunism. He would not have criticized me.

4. Certain disputes inside and outside the party. There are all kinds of opinions concerning the people's communes inside and outside the party. Hundreds of thousands or millions, of cadres are discussing it. Many questions have not been cleared up. Each man has his own opinion, and 10 men have 10 opinions. There is no general or intensive analysis. There are also some opinions in the international society which holds several viewpoints. One is that there is too much haste; that their great determination and high revolutionary fervor are extremely valuable, but they have not made any historical, situation, or international analysis; that enthusiasm is their good point but haste their defect; that it is premature to announce the transition to ownership by the people and the entry into communism in two or three years. The resolution this time is aimed mainly at this viewpoint. In other words, don't be in too great a haste, for it won't do any good. With this resolution, after this resolution, after a period of weeks, months, they will come to this realization through practice and debate. There will always be "leftists," but there is no need to worry about them. As long as the majority of the cadres are united in their thinking, it can be handled easily. Possibly a few cadres who are good comrades and loyal to the party and the country may believe we are being too hasty. They are not tide watchers, or account settlers. They are not on the opposite side. They are concerned, concerned that we may fail. They are good people. This resolution may possibly convince them, because we are not in that much of a haste. The resolution is aimed mainly at the hasty people, it is also a reply to the tide watchers and account settlers. They do not have good intentions. They do not realize the urgent demand of the current situation or that the opportunity is ripe.

There are two transitions. How can they be achieved? This question came up in the past two months. It is good that this question has come up. We have the answer for it. It was not solved at the Ch'eng-tu Conference. But some preparations were made at the Chengchow Conference and were completed a month later. Communism is divided into two stages. More than

a 100 years have passed since Marx, 40 years since Lenin's October Revolution, 30 since our party started building a base, and nine since the national victory. Therefore, this question is not premature, and the conditions for an answer have ripened. Currently, there are many opinions inside and outside the country concerning this question. Dulles is also expressing his opinion. He says that we practice slave labor and destroy the family; that the great speed of our construction is a result of our excessive exploitation and the accumulation of a large reserve; that they are slow because there is less exploitation [of the U.S. people]. The intermediate strata, the proletariat, and the communists are also voicing their opinions. The proletariat of all nations and the comrades of foreign countries are defending us. Their basis is the Pei-tai-ho Conference and newspaper information. If we do not give an answer, there will be much confusion and an anarchic situation may develop. Everyone will be for himself. The provinces and regions will not be able to control the counties and the counties will not be able to control the communes. It will be like a reinless horse. Therefore, we must oppose haste on the one hand and answer this question on the other.

5. The study of political economy. In the next few months, please study Stalin's Economic Problems of Socialism, Textbook on Political Economy (third edition), and Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on the Communist Society. All provinces should spend few months on organization. Studying economic theories in conjunction with reality has a great theoretical and practical significance for the cause of our undertakings at the present time. I made this suggestion at the Chengchow Conference and wrote a letter suggesting it for everyone's consideration.

6. The study of dialectics. At the time of the Chengchow Conference, a comrade, I don't remember who it was, introduced the saying "big collective; small freedom." This is a good saying. If it had been "big freedom; small collective," it would have pleased Dulles, Huang Yen-p'ei [7806 5508 1014], and Jung I-jen [2837 3015 0088].

We must take hold of both production and livelihood problems. "Walking on both legs" is a theory of the unity of opposites and within the realm of dialectics. Marx's theory on the unity of opposites made great progress in China in 1958 which, under the premise of preferential development of heavy industry, included the simultaneous promotion of industry and agriculture, of heavy and light industries, of central and local industries, of large, medium, and small enterprises, of small plants using indigenous methods and large plants using foreign methods, of native and foreign methods, and simultaneous development in other fields. Then there are also the management systems -- centralized leadership by the Central Government and management by levels in the local areas. From the Central Government, province, region, counties, all the way down to the production team, some authority is conferred. It serves no good purpose for them to be completely without authority. These concepts are already firmly established in our party. This is good. Both indigenous methods and modern methods are



simultaneously promoted. There are plants using both Chinese and modern methods. Were not Chinese methods used at T'ang-shan and Huang-shih-kang? Are there also small plants using foreign methods? There are. There are also plants using both foreign and native methods. In general, it is very complex. Some of these [combinations] are considered wrong and may not be practiced in some nations of the socialist camp. We permit them; we consider them proper here. Is it better to permit them or not to permit them? We have to wait a few years and see. However, for a nation like ours which is extremely poor, it is all right to use some indigenous methods to build small plants. It will be too monotonous to concentrate only on big projects. Agriculture is also full of complexities. We have high, medium, and low yields at the same time. The "three-three system" of cultivation was created by the people and adopted at the Pei-tai-ho Conference. In this system, the land available for cultivation is divided into three parts; one for growing food, one for afforestation, and one is to be left fallow. This may be the direction of the agricultural revolution. The "eight-character code" was also introduced. They are water for irrigation, fertilizer, soil improvement, seeds, close planting, crop protection, farm tool reform, and field management. Man needs water to drink; so do plants.

In regard to the socialist system, two kinds of ownership exist simultaneously in the socialist stage. They are opposites, and also united. They are the unity of opposites. Collective ownership contains the nucleus of the socialist ownership by the people. Its basic essence is collective ownership, but it also contains the element of the communist ownership by all the people. Yu Chin [1429 6855] said recently that it is all right for the collective ownership in China to contain the elements of communism. A capitalist society does not allow the socialist form of production. But in nations under the leadership of the communist party, it is proper to allow the elements of communism to grow. Stalin did not solve this problem. He polarized the collective ownership, the socialist ownership by all the people, and the communist ownership by all the people. This is wrong.

Can these be called the development of dialectics?

"Big collective, small freedom" was proposed at the Chengchow Conference. Now, it is "grasping revolution and grasping livelihood problems." These are the expansion of dialectics. The Wu-ch'ang conference resolved that we must "seek the truth from facts." We must be hot and cold at the same time when we do our planning. We must not only proceed with determination, but also earnestly engage in scientific analysis. Of course, this resolution alone will not solve all our problems. I think it is better to delay its announcement. We should issue only an official report, then publish the resolution next March at the People's Congress. This is in accord with our great ambition and determination. It will avoid certain impractical ideas that emerged from the 1958 great leap forward. It will be given a firmer basis and a better scientific analysis. As for steel production, I had once favored producing 30 million tons next year. I have also had some second thoughts after Wu-ch'ang. In the past I thought of 100 or 120 million tons in 1962. At that time I was only concerned with the question of demand.

I was worried over the problem of who would be using this steel, but did not think of the problem of whether it is possible. Later on I considered this problem. One is capacity and the other is need. Producing 10.7 million tons this year has been exhausting; therefore, capacity becomes a question. To produce 30 million tons next year, 60 million tons the year after, and 120 million tons in 1962 is not possible or realistic. Now, we should shorten the time and plan for 18 to 20 million tons. Can this be exceeded? Let us wait until next year and see. 22 to 23 million tons may be possible. It may be exceeded when there is extra capacity. Now our goal should be small. We should not set it too high and leave a margin of safety. We should let the people surpass our plans in practice. This also is a problem of dialectics. Practice includes the effort of our leading cadres and the practice of the people. When the goal is set low but raised higher in practice, it is not opportunism. The growth from 11 million to 20 million tons is about a 100-percent increase. There has never been such "opportunism" in the world since ancient times. Here, it must also be linked with internationalism, with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and with the entire world working class and international unity. On this subject we must not struggle to be first. Currently, some countries are always struggling to be first; they want to enter communism first. In fact, An-shan Iron and Steel, Fu-shun, Liaoning, Shanghai, and Tientsin should be the first to enter communism. It would not look right for China to enter communism ahead of the Soviet Union. Whether this is possible is also a question. The Soviet Union has 1.5 million scientists, several million higher intellectuals, and 500,000 engineers, more numerous than the U.S. It has 55 million tons of steel, but we have only this little bit. Its reserve strength is great and cadres numerous, while we have just begun. Therefore, capacity is a question. The seven-year plan proposed by Khrushchev is a preparation to enter communism. The proposed two systems of ownership will gradually become one. This is good. But one is "impractical" and the other "impossible." Even if it is possible for us to be the first, we should not do so. The October Revolution was Lenin's cause. Are we not emulating Lenin? So, what's the need of hurrying? It would be only for the purpose of seeking credit from Marx. If we rush, we may possibly commit errors in international matters. We must give attention to dialectics and mutual benefits. Dialectics has made great developments and this is one of them.

7. The 15-year program brought out at the Chengchow Conference. This time we have laid aside the 15-year program brought out at the Chengchow Conference. There is no basis to determine whether it is needed and whether it is possible. We not only lack sufficient basis, but also preliminary basis. The experiences of the Soviet Union and the U.S. do not provide a basis for us to do that much. Is it possible? Even if it is possible, customers cannot be found. Therefore, the program will not be set firmly for the time being. We can bring it out every winter and discuss it. Such long-range plan will not be made next year, the year after next, or three years hence. Probably a long-range plan can be formulated by 1962, but not earlier.

The party and the people have been promoting industry for several years, and they may have some idea about the questions of capability and need. Some comrades are probably disappointed that it was laid aside and not discussed at this conference.

8. Military work in 1958. Military work developed considerably in 1958, including the all-out rectification, the officers joining the soldiers in the units, the participation in production, and militia building. Ever since the rectification conference in Peking in June, all levels have also been holding rectification conferences. By now they have probably been completed. Training cannot be disregarded. If everyone is assigned to conduct rectification, production, steel refining, commune building, or water conservation, it won't work either. Troops are, after all, troops, and training is a constant task.

9. Change in the education system. Implementing the system of combining education and labor production is a momentous matter. Naturally, some problems have cropped up. Some students, for example, do not want to study, but find labor production more interesting. If many of them do not want to study, then it becomes a problem. When it becomes a problem, a meeting will be held. After the meeting they will study again.

10. The question of two possibilities. There are always two opposing sides in a thing. Will the dining halls, nurseries, and communes be consolidated? It seems that they will be, but we must also be prepared for some collapses. Consolidation and collapse are two possibilities which exist simultaneously. If we are not prepared, there may be a big collapse. Consolidation and collapse are two opposites. Our resolution is for the purpose of consolidation. Without a few collapses, there will not be consolidation. For example, if a few infants die in the nurseries or a few oldsters die in the happiness halls, what would be the superiority of such institutions? If cold rice is served in the dining halls, or if there is only rice and nothing else, a group of them will also collapse. To feel that not one should collapse is not practical. Collapse due to bad handling is rational. Generally speaking, collapses are partial and temporary, not permanent. The general tendency is development and consolidation. Our party also has two possibilities: consolidation and split. In Shanghai, one Central Committee split into two Central Committees; in the Long March, we split with Chang Kuo-t'ao; the Kao Jao Incident was a partial split. Partial splits are normal. Since last year, splits occurred within the leadership group in half of the provinces in the nation. Take the human body for instance. Everyday hair and skin are coming off. It is the death of a part of the cells. From infancy on, a part of the cells will die. It benefits growth. Without such destruction, man cannot exist. It would have been impossible if men did not die since the time of Confucius. Death has benefits; fertilizer is created. You say you don't want to become fertilizer, but actually you will. You must be mentally prepared. Partial splits occur everyday. There will always be splits and destruction. The absence of splits is detrimental to development. Destruction in entirety is also a

historical inevitability. As a whole, the party and the state, serving as the tools of the class struggle, will also perish. But before the completion of its historical mission, we must consolidate it. We do not hope for splits, but we must be prepared. Without preparation, there will be splits. With preparation, we will avoid big splits. Large and medium splits are temporary. The Hungary Incident was a large split; the Kao Jao and Molotov Incidents are medium ones. Changes are occurring in each and every party branch. Some are dismissed while others join; some work successfully while others make mistakes. It is impossible for changes never to occur. Lenin constantly said: "A nation always has two possibilities: success or destruction." Our People's Republic of China also has two possibilities: continue to succeed, or become destroyed. Lenin did not conceal the possibility of destruction. China also has two possibilities, and we must recognize them. We are not in possession of the atom bomb. Should there be a war, running away is the best of the 36 stratagems. If Peking, Shanghai, and Wu-han are occupied, we will resort to guerrilla warfare. We will regress one or two decades and return to the Yanan era. Meanwhile, we must actively make preparations, vigorously promoting iron and steel, machinery, and railways, striving for several ten million tons of steel output in three or four years, establishing an industrial foundation, and becoming more consolidated than today. Currently our prestige in the world is high, resulting from such big events as the bombardment of Quemoy, the people's commune, and the 10.7 million tons of steel output. I feel that, though our prestige is high, our strength is not superior. We are still "poor and blank," we have no weapons in our hands, and we have not accomplished anything. Now we have some weapons, but our nation is actually weak. Politically ours is a strong nation, but militarily and economically we are a weak nation. Therefore, the mission confronting us is to change from weakness to strength. Can the transformation be accomplished after three years of hard struggle? I am afraid not. Three years of hard struggle can only produce partial changes, not fundamental transformation. If we take four more years, making it a total of seven, it will be better, and the name will correspond with the substance. Now our prestige is very high but our strength very small. This point must be clearly recognized. Currently, the foreigners do a lot of bragging, and many newspapers have nothing but exaggerations. We must not let such bragging turn our head. Actually, there is only 9 million tons of good grade steel; milling it into steel material will result in only 70 percent, or a little over 6 million tons. We must not deceive ourselves. The volume of grain is great. After discounting in all areas, the amount is 860 billion catties. We say 730 billion catties, or a little more than double. We do not count the 110 billion catties. When it is there and we do not count it, it is not a loss, because it is there. We are only afraid that it is not there. Whether it's there has not been verified. All you present here have not verified it. Let us consider it as 860 billion catties, but one-fourth belongs to the potato family. The estimate must include the unhappy side. We might as well make it clear. We should hold a meeting in the provinces, regions, and counties and spread the unpropitious things. What's wrong with that? We don't like to hear others talking about them, but I shall talk about unpropitious things everywhere, such as the collapse of public dining halls and communes, party splits, isolation from the

masses, U.S. occupation, destruction of the nation, guerrilla warfare. We follow a Marxist law. No matter what, all such unpropitious things are only temporary and partial. The point has been proved by the many failures in our history. The Hungary Incident, the Long March, the 300,000 troops reduced to 20,000, the 300,000 party members dwindling to several tens of thousands -- these were all temporary and partial. The destruction of the bourgeoisie and imperialism will be permanent. The setbacks, failures, and destruction of socialism are temporary, and it does not take long for us to recover. Even total failure is also temporary, and there will be recovery. After the big failure of 1927, we picked up the gun again. "Heaven has unexpected winds and clouds; man has misfortunes and good luck at any moment." We must be prepared. "It is rare for a man to live three score and ten." Death is inevitable. One cannot live 10,000 years. One must be prepared at all times. All my words are depressing. Every man dies. The individuals will always die, but mankind will always continue to live. Both possibilities must be discussed; there is no harm in it. If one must die, one dies. As for socialism, I would like to devote myself to it for few more years. After surpassing the U.S., we can go and report to Marx. Our several old comrades are not afraid to die. I am not willing to die, but strive to live on. But if I must die, then let it be so. There is still some "Ah Q" flavor, but then if there is no "Ah Q" flavor at all, it won't be easy to live.

11. The issue of my resignation as the Chairman of the Republic. A formal resolution must be made this time, and I hope my comrades will agree. I ask that within three days, the provinces hold a telephonic conference to notify the regions, counties, and people's communes. The official report will be published three days later, so that the lower levels will not find it a total surprise. Things are really odd in this world! One can go up but not come down. I expect that a part of the people will agree and another part disagree. People do not understand, saying that while everyone is so full of energy in doing things, I am withdrawing from the frontlines. It must be clearly explained. This is not true. I am not withdrawing. I want to surpass the U.S. before I go to see Marx!

12. International situation. There has been great developments this year. The enemy is in disarray, more and more so. We are getting better, better and better everyday. Everyday the newspapers confirm this point. The truly discouraged is imperialism. They are rotting, becoming disorderly, full of conflicts, splitting apart, experiencing a bad time. Their good days are over. Their goods days were before they turned into imperialism, when they had only capitalism. Our situation will improve day by day. Of course, we must also expect long term, tortuous, and complex struggles, and the possibility of war. There are those who want to take risks. The most reactionary is the monopolistic bourgeoisie, while the majority of the people do not want war.

REPLY TO ARTICLE 'TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY PHYSICS  
TEACHING AND RESEARCH GROUP INCLINES TOWARD THE  
'LEFT' RATHER THAN RIGHT IN HANDLING TEACHERS'

(22 December 1958)

I suggest printing and distributing the article to the party committees, general branches, and branch committees of all universities, special schools, and scientific research organs for their perusal. There should be a discussion to correct the main orientation and strive to make as many professors, lecturers, assistants, and research personnel as possible serve proletarian education and culture and science. What do you think? It should also be distributed to the party committees and general branches of literary and art organizations, newspapers, periodicals, and publishing organs for their study and discussion. Please consider and decide.

Appendix: Tsinghua University Physics Teaching and Research Group Inclines toward the 'Left' Rather Than Right in Handling Teachers

Recently the party general branch of the Tsinghua University Public Teaching and Research Group inspected the work of the Physics Teaching and Research Group Branch and organized the party members to discuss its policy toward intellectuals. The following problems were uncovered in the discussion:

(1) It is felt that the intellectuals are the objects of revolution in the socialist revolution period, and even more so when entering communism, because the absolute majority of them are bourgeois intellectuals and belong to the exploiting class. Even league member assistant professors are considered the objects of revolution.

(2) It is felt that, to start from the interest of the working class, the class line should be followed, but not the mass line, as it is not suitable in the school. To clarify the dividing lines, they incline toward the "left." They feel that "bringing out the role of old teachers" will confuse the class line and relax the struggle.

(3) It is felt that all high level intellectuals are fundamentally opposed to the party's education policy; that they set up a formation to attack us; that we must counter-attack. All the objects of the united front are retrogressives. To have them here is for the purpose of setting up opposites.

(4) It is felt that party prestige and mass consciousness have been raised and that the time has arrived for replacement by party members. As the work load is heavy now, performing united front work will impede the great leap forward. The leaders of all organizations should be replaced by party members.

As a result of such wrong ideas, they adopted some wrong methods in their work. The director of the teaching and research office, Liu Shao-t'ang [0491 4801 0781] (medium left), had always made a relatively good showing, yet the branch felt that he could only serve as a negative example. He was asked to compile the teaching outline together with several backward assistants. Meanwhile, the party and league members compiled another outline behind his back and prepared to compete with him. Liu manifested extreme enthusiasm, finishing the task by working through the night. No fault could be found with it. Yet the party members laid his outline aside and handed the outline compiled by the party and league members to the masses for discussion.

During the socialist and communist education movement, the party and league members declared at the small group meetings: "If we do not promote communism now, it is a withdrawal in face of the bourgeoisie. The principal rejects salary reduction; it is a compromise with the high level intellectuals. If they are [politically] conscious, they should voluntarily cut their salary. If these people still do not reform, they should be sent to the old age home!"

All the work of the teaching and research group was handled by the party branch, without consulting the group chairman. The party general branch wanted to stimulate the enthusiasm of all the teachers, but the branch could not see the point. It felt that if the prestige of these people was not knocked down, it would not be able to stimulate the enthusiasm of the party and league members. When the party general branch proposed motivating the masses to summarize the experiences in implementing the education policy, the branch was also reluctant, saying: "Why is it necessary to summarize experiences in company with the objects of revolution?"

The Tsinghua University party commission recently corrected such erroneous methods.

SPEECH AT CONFERENCE OF PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL  
COMMITTEE SECRETARIES

(2 February 1959)

In regard to matters in a high tide, some people may have doubts. This is not odd. Doubts will occur year after year. There are two kinds of people: One kind consists of those who have good intentions and who are concerned; another kind consists of hostile elements, such as Lo Lung-chi [5012 7127 1015] and the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements. A distinction must be made. When others doubt or make detrimental remarks, we must not consider it as something bad, but instead, pay attention and analyze. There will always be defects. It is not strange for some people to have doubts. In fact, it is beneficial.

There has been an air of cutting back for two months. Now it is 1 February. We must go all out. The general line cannot be changed. It is still to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. We must exert our utmost efforts. ... go all out, strive for the upper reaches, not the middle reaches, nor the lower reaches. There was some cutting back in November and December. The people needed a rest. It is nothing unusual to relax a little, but we must exert efforts again.

After one year's effort, a great leap forward situation has unfolded. Is this something temporary? Will there be a leap forward every year for the next several years? With a nation like ours, large population, vast area, and resources, and the Soviet Union's experience, it is possible. The U.S. can also be considered as a great leap forward, first in the world for over 100 years. It is capitalist. Now it is no longer progressing. Be it a great, medium, or small leap forward, we probably will leap forward. If not a great leap forward, we will make a small leap forward. Most likely it will be a great leap forward every year. Is a great leap forward situation unfolding? I hope you will all think it over whether we will have great, medium, or small leaps forward in the future. I am inclined toward leaping forward.



The so-called work method is dialectics. There must be planned and proportionate development, and subjective activity. When discussing the defects of last year, some people dwell on the defects. With dozens of defects in their mind, they fail to see any achievement at all. It is the question of nine fingers and one finger. Is it metaphysics or dialectics? Metaphysics has several characteristics. First, looking at problems in an isolated and one-sided manner: instead of regarding the world as a single entity and with the parts mutually linked, it regards it as disconnected, like sand. Second, looking at problems superficially: instead of looking at problems from their essence, it regards them in their external form only, ignoring the contents. Third, looking at problems statically: it does not regard problems from their development, failing to see the contents through the forms, or the essence through the superficial. The "Internal Reference" [sic] of the New China News Agency must be read, but it isn't good to read it too much either. The report on the Peking University problem in 1957, for example, indicated that the rightists were making a reckless attack and creating a terrible situation. Ch'en Po-ta went there to see for himself, and found that it wasn't that bad at all. Or, take the speech of Lin Hsi-ling: the first day it was marvelous, the second day the number of people refuting him increased, and by the third day, he was rebutted. What is written in the "Internal Reference" is history. It must be read, but it must not be over-read. If one believes everything in books, it is better not to read books at all. When King Wu chastised Chou, blood flew so profusely that it floated pestles. Mencius refused to believe it. Now when we say books we mean newspapers and periodicals, and "Internal Reference" is one of them. We cannot believe everything in them. When we listen, we must listen to both sides. Regardless of the number of defects we have, when it comes right down to it, it is a question of nine fingers and one finger. Several hundred millions of laboring people and several millions or tens of millions of cadres cannot be doing only bad things. This I believe. It would be unimaginable for all the leading cadres present here to be engaged in bad things everyday after dinner. As it was mentioned in Wu-ch'ang, those doing bad things in the counties, communes, and production brigades constitute at most one to five percent. In regard to the high- and medium-level cadres, whether they are present here or not, they all want to do good; there cannot be too many wanting to do bad things. As for those with good intentions but doing something bad, a distinction must be made. The tragedy of Stalin was that he wanted to do good deeds but ended up doing bad deeds. Subjective matters can only produce an effect in objective practice.

We must praise this method, taking one big stride forward and propagandizing it: We must have key points, yet also walk on both legs. The raw material industry, for example, is a key point at present. It should be increased somewhat, while the processing industry should be reduced slightly. It is correct to increase investments X X billions, X X million U.S. dollars, for X tons of rolled steel in order to promote light and chemical industries. This method must be propagandized, discussed, and developed. As economic work is very complicated, with the factors mutually serving as cause and effect, improper handling will produce a chain reaction.

We must delve into it, investigate and study, and uncover, expose, and solve the problems. Without delving, we will only hit the skin, not the blood vessel. We might as well be fearless, delve in, and expose. Short of fully exposing the contradictions, it will be impossible to solve them. Problems are contradictions. Many a time when a thing is said to be without problem, actually there are problems. We must discover, understand, and solve the problems. The "Three Attacks on Chu-chia Chuang" in Water Margin began with a visit to the village by Shih Hsiu. Once this problem was solved, another one was solved. After winning the battle and breaking up the three villages, Chu-chia Chuang was isolated. The third problem was ignorance of the internal conditions of Chu-chia Chuang. Men were sent in to surrender to the enemy in order to attack from the outside with cooperation from the inside. This is a good trick. Why not resort to it? In the past we always surveyed the conditions for a battle, and victories were won when the conditions became ripe. Now, in promoting construction and fighting nature, we must also investigate and study. We had no experience in construction. The first secretaries of the provinces and myself did not begin to tackle it until the latter half of last year. In the past we mainly tackled agriculture, but not industry. Is agriculture actually placed on a solid foundation? X X catties of grain, X X piculs of cotton, hemp, oil, large cattle, small domestic fowl -- are their quota on a solid foundation? Or are they exaggerations? Can they be fulfilled? One must not resort to false reporting in order to get through. The proper method is to surpass the norm. X X catties of grain is to be produced, but only X X catties to be reported, because otherwise it will be difficult next year. The year before last we started early; last year was just right; this year we began a little late. Was there deep plowing? According to the newspapers, fertilization was handled fairly well. How is the fertilizer situation in Honan? How are we doing in regard to water conservation, fertilizer, and soil improvement? In water conservation we strive for 30 billion cubic meters of earth work. I am concerned over fertilizers this year. Dropsy in humans is due to lack of meat and vegetables. When the crops get no fertilizer, they also suffer from dropsy. Therefore, we must vigorously promote native chemical fertilizer, bacterial fertilizer, compost, green fertilizer, smoked fertilizer, human waste, and animal waste. Centering on these main items, we must work concretely. The wheat crop requires additional fertilizing, watering, and cultivating. Cultivation will temporarily sever the capillaries and reduce water evaporation. In regard to the X X X billion catties of grain undertaken for this year, the order of soil improvement, fertilizer, irrigation, seeds, close planting, crop protection, field management, and farm tool reform should be followed. Soil is at the center. When there is soil, there is grain. When water is available, soil improvement should be placed first. Next is fertilizer, and irrigation comes third. But no revision should be made for the time being. I hear that the labor required for fertilization is about half of the farm labor. Tool reform is very important. Every people's commune should set up a farm tool plant. It should be organized according to local conditions, and not fizzle out after a flourishing start. A special farm tool research institute and a school should be set up to collect, study, design, and trial manufacture

farm tools. (Chekiang has weather and soil research organs, but nothing for farm tool research.) Is manual labor required to dig so many cubic meters of earth and apply so much fertilizer? We must have machinery. "Collecting and cutting" should read "cutting and collecting." How can manual labor take care of cutting, transporting, threshing, and collecting, without any machinery?!

There are two other problems I wish to discuss. Some criticize us for not having leapt forward. The tone of 30 percent of the well-to-do middle peasants is similar to the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. The democratic people may hold opinions in their mind, but they don't express them aloud. I talked about this problem at the Wu-ch'ang Conference. Five percent among us violate the law and disobey discipline. As for those loyal to the party and the state, they cannot be included in the one to five percent. The labor enthusiasm of the cadres and laboring people must be protected. Distinction must also be made even among those within the five percent. According to circumstances, education should be conducted to correct their mistakes. It is not good to exaggerate the problems. This experience must be reviewed every year. Like the Buddhist monks chanting scripture, it is repeated everyday. This is the question of the relationship between the individual and the general, between the large and small parts, and between the partial and the whole. Our party has decades of experience. If a small mistake by a basically good individual is exaggerated it can make him look all bad. Lenin said: These words were originally correct, but their essence was changed when uttered slightly in excess. Currently, there are some people with good intentions, but their method is wrong and they cannot distinguish the relationship between the part and the whole. Thus, dozens of defects are listed against them, and there is not one thing right with them. We must take heed of this point. In the process of commune reorganization, the people must be permitted to point out the defects. Self-criticism comes first, and correction is required. Thereafter, clarify the fact that the defects are the relationship between one and nine fingers. When analyzing and handling problems, the question of one or two or three fingers must be clarified. Of course, I am talking about the majority. A small number of individuals are very bad, a big mess, but the majority must correct their mistakes. Enthusiasm must be protected, for otherwise people will be afraid to take responsibilities. As for those individuals who have truly committed errors of line, it is not one finger, but nine fingers, rotting, and they are the exceptions. Conclusions must be just right, for otherwise mistakes will be made. Those feeling a strong hostility toward the people should be punished, but of course not necessarily each and everyone should be executed. Some people in the rural areas beta up people by the hundreds, and it will not be good not to punish them, because it will affect the people. However, regarding the over 95 percent of cadres, they must be protected. Our party has decades of experience in this problem. Take Lo Chang-lung for instance. Currently this man is a professor in Wu-han. I know him well. He was vigorously opposed to the central committee finding nothing right with it, feeling that only he was correct, and establishing his own central committee.

As a result, he picked up a rock only to drop it on his own foot. Then there was the Li San line. He also insisted that everyone else was wrong except him and negated everything. It was the same with the Wang Ming line. They all considered themselves 100 percent Bolshevik and others inveterate right opportunists and narrow empiricists. There was also the Chang Kuo-t'ao line. He also set up his own central committee, wrote plays and songs to overthrow Mao, Chou, Chang, and Po, and considered himself a follower of Leninism and the international line. As a result, he destroyed himself, fled to Hong Kong, and sent his son to the Sun Yat-sen University, showing that he was not a Leninist. The second Wang Ming line was the same. He presented six big outlines, with a tremendous flourish, basically negated everything of the central committee, and misled many people. It was not the problem of one individual; he presented many unstable elements in the petit bourgeoisie. Wang Ming appealed to the foreign countries and brought three criminal charges against Mao: resisting the international line; forcing 80 percent of the people to examine themselves in the rectification movement; promoting sectarianism. During the Wu-ch'ang Conference, Wang Ming sent a letter. He sounded somewhat better than before and announced his resignation. Kao Jao's anti-party clique went to the extreme. They were too excessive. They opposed X and Chou, with X as the key point. They declared that there were two centers, two blocs. They had their own outline, misled some people, negated everything, attacked one part while forgetting the rest, exaggerated one point into the whole, and destroyed themselves as a result. There are many secondary matters which I have not mentioned, and they are not included here. Historically there were the Ch'en Tu-hsiu line, the Lo Chang-lung line, the Wang Ming line twice, the Chang Kuo-t'ao line, the Kao Jao anti-party clique.... These big incidents were different from the 1955 and 1956 resistance against rash advances in degree and nature.... Whether in China or foreign countries, one cannot negate everything. All those negating everything will end up negating themselves, destroying themselves. But as for Chiang Kai-shek, we can negate everything. However, which one is better to serve as the president in Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Shih, or Ch'en Ch'eng? Chiang Kai-shek is still better. But in places of international activity, when he is there, we won't go. As for serving as president, he still is better. Finally, the U.S. may possibly not want Taiwan and consider it a cancer on its body. We will then take advantage of the situation. As long as this gourd is hung on our waist, there will be a way. There will be changes in 10 years, 20 years. Give it some rice to eat, give it some troops, and let it handle special duties, and Sun Yat-sen-ism. In regard to anything in history which should not be negated, appropriate assessments must be made. One should not negate everything. The result of negating all is self destruction. I have discussed this part of history when we were criticizing defects. It is to instruct our comrades with history.

At the Nan-ning Conference, the relationship between one and nine fingers was brought out. When a problem is illustrated, it becomes easier to understand. It is to explain to the cadres the question of whether to give consideration to the general situation or not to do so. It is the problem of the relationship between the big situation and the small, between the part and the whole.

In regard to the problem of planned and proportionate development of the national economy, I am not very clear, and study is required. Just how does the subjective conform to objective rules? Lenin mentioned the union of Russia's revolutionary fervor and America's practical spirit. In the union of theory and practice, theory is the spirit, and spirit reflects substance, something which approaches the practical. The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of China's revolution are combined. The universal and the concrete are the union of opposites. Objective law is reflected differently in the various nations as a result of different historical conditions. We must study, understand, master, and become familiar with objective rules. Stalin discussed this issue a lot, but he did not follow through. He did not abide by the ratio. Russia's industry was big and its agriculture small. He stressed the big and scorned the small. We are now doing it differently. From 1956 we began to create the dual development and leap forward of industry (including communication and transportation) and agriculture, and we began to find the way for planned and proportionate development. After cooperativization in 1955, the people's enthusiasm rose, and we began to find economic development hopeful and opposed conservatism. Failing to exert oneself to do something which can be done by exertion is called conservatism. But one must not attempt something which cannot be done. If one persists, it is called subjectivism. When the subjective reflects the objective, it becomes subjective activity, not subjectivism. There are two kinds of subjective activity: one kind is divorced from practice and it is subjectivism; the other conforms with objective law, and it is subjectivism compatible with practice. Anything violating objective law will suffer a setback. There is some lack of coordination, for example, in supplementary foods and daily use articles. If not taken hold of, it will be dangerous.

The Japanese say that we stress hands rather than population. We have so many people who can work. The 1953 great leap forward might be basically suitable. As for concrete figures, whether a little more or a little less, that is something else. But it proves that a great leap forward is possible. There can be a great leap forward every year, whether it means 10 million tons of steel more or 10 million tons less. The Soviet Union had a steel output increase of 4 million tons, which was unprecedented in history. The year before the increase was only 3 million tons. In the 20 years from 1921 to 1940, the increase was only 14 million tons; the increase in the 13 years after the war was 37 million tons; thereafter there was an increase of 5 million tons per year. We are different from them. We undertake the large, medium, and small, doing several things at the same time. We have the mass line, "two participations, one reform, and three combinations," and the alliance of the party with the masses. Meanwhile, our geographical and climatic conditions are good, and we have a population of 680 million. Therefore, it was possible for us to launch a great leap forward in 1958. Maybe we can compare it to hog raising. The bone structure is formed in the first four months. 1958 was the k'e-lang hog: It had [a good] bone structure, but not much flesh. It was still not fat, and had to be fed. Currently, our great leap forward is to build the bone structure.

We began with the "10 big relations" proposed in 1955, continued with the 1958 New Year editorial entitled "Go All Out; Strive for the Upper Reaches," two excellent phrases which developed into the general line at the Ch'eng-tu Conference. It is correct when we look at it now. Is extra effort necessary? Should it be exerted? Should we strive for the upper reaches? Or the middle reaches, or the lower reaches? Do we want greater and faster? Do we want better and more economical (quality)? The first two sentences concern man's mental attitude, or subjective activity; the latter sentence concerns material.

Naturally we have defects and mistakes. Tackling one side and overlooking another, causing waste in labor, the tense situation of supplementary foods, the still unsolved light industrial raw material problem (diversified operations), the lack of adjustment in transportation, undertaking too many projects in capital construction -- all these are our defects and errors. Like a child playing with fire, without experience knowing pain only after getting burned. In economic construction, like a child without experience, we declared war on the earth, unfamiliar with the strategy or tactics. We must frankly admit such defects and errors. Some people tried to comfort me by asking whether the Ch'eng-tu Conference did not propose the combination of labor and leisure and the advance of production in waves? But no concrete timetable was proposed, which was not good. Then, tackling production without tackling living would definitely result in tens of thousands of dropsy cases. Only when one person received one ounce of vegetable in Peking was attention aroused. The objective reality, planning, and ratios are only recognized in the midst of practice and struggle. We developed a k'e-lang hog in 1958, but we are still without a fat hog. We have found the way (great leap forward) in the process of practice. Possibly the four big targets of the Wu-ch'ang Conference are close to reality, but they are only on paper, not a reality. Grain is not yet in our hands, and there is only one month of iron and steel and coal (production not very good). With more effort it may become a reality. After the conference this time, by exerting more effort, the problems in all aspects may become better resolved. With experience, it will be better than 1958. All items of work and the people's livelihood will improve somewhat. Hindsight turns into foresight. There is waste in manpower, lack of attention to the inadequacy of supplementary foods in big cities, insufficient attention to some segments of light industry, and insufficient attention to diversified operations and transportation. One kind is lack of attention and the other insufficient attention, resulting in inadequate supply and partial maladjustment. The failure to come to a conclusion on these problems now becomes one problem, and I hope the standing committee of the provincial committees will study it....

Generally speaking, whether our plans, targets and editorials are suitable or not, we are always seeking experience through practice. Even if not completed, it is only because of insufficient experience and too much bragging. I approve of writing poetry in the newspapers. There should be optimism even if not completed, because lessons can be learned.... If we have no experience, let us try one more year next year. After struggling

hard for three years, our experience will increase. If anything is not suitable, we will correct it. Let the world curse us. Our general line cannot be changed. It won't do to build socialism by "reducing our efforts, striving for the lower reaches, and less-slow-inferior-waste." We must always go all out, strive for the upper reaches, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. What is greater and what is faster? These must be determined in practice. Now we propose to build a great socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture in 15 years. If impossible, then take a little more time! Just what is planned and proportionate development? We have just begun to come in contact with this problem. I hope our comrades will study it.

TALK AT SYMPOSIUM OF HSIN, LO, HSU AND HSIN LOCAL COMMITTEES

(21 February 1959)

Just what is the nature of the people's commune? Is it commune ownership or brigade ownership? There are poor and rich brigades, poor and rich villages. When you were in the agricultural producer cooperatives, what method of distribution did you use? Were there discrepancies then? Were the contributions all the same then? It is mainly differences in resources, conditions, administration and history which result in differences of output and the divergence of rich and poor brigades, rich and poor villages. The agricultural producer cooperatives used to use the method of labor and production contracts, with incentives for the best producers. Was there equalization, then, in the agricultural producer cooperatives? The Soviet Union's 55 million tons of steel and our over ten million tons of steel cannot be equalized because that would be appropriating others' labor without reimbursement. This is permissible towards landlords and capitalists, and in the past we did appropriate property without compensation from the landlords and capitalists, because they had not labored for it -- it was the people's, the peasants'. So the proposals at the time to return the land to its proper owners, to return Anshan steel to its proper owners, were not expropriation. We act differently towards the national bourgeoisie, because they are friends, and with them we adopt a policy of purchase. The property of the national bourgeoisie was clearly produced by the working class and is not the capitalists'; but because they are friends we still adopt a purchase policy, making use of them in uniting the intellectuals and letting them redeem the property that they got by exploitation of the workers. Now it would be unreasonable to use equalization on the poor and rich brigades and the poor and rich villages; it would be banditry, piracy. It would amount to writing out receipts and IOU's for everything down to tables, chairs and benches, with a promise to pay for them in ten years.

In the past the advanced cooperatives lived better or worse according to how much they had. Work points embody the difference in the results of the labor of different people, and labor and production contracts embody the differences between brigades and between villages, but we did not



remember this experience. This problem arose because we did not remember our experience with food allocation in 1956, in the first year of the advanced cooperative movement. Old women blocked the way and wouldn't let the food be taken, and this problem is reappearing now in the first year of the communes. At this point it is well worth considering just what methods to use. This year we will proclaim some policies, to be carried out by both rich and poor, aimed at helping the poor and raising China to the level of the Soviet Union. In the future after the dictatorship of the proletariat is established in the nations of the West, we won't be able to chop off some of what the Western nations have to supplement the Asian and African nations; the Asian and African nations will have to raise themselves. Investments in the Asian and African nations of course ought not be confiscated, but we won't be able to go to Europe and set up machinery. This is to say that at the Soviet Union's present level of development it cannot give things to us gratis, because the Soviet Union has workers, and with workers you have to pay wages, with machinery you have to take care of depreciation; so how would it be possible to chop off some of what the Soviet Union has and give it to us? It will be necessary to have an equal-value exchange. (During the discussions on the report it was stated that some people were afraid of the commercial departments buying up their pigs. so they turned the pigs loose on the land and let them run off, and some people hid them in the cotton.) I approve of this method. (In the discussion on the report it was stated that in some places not all the peanuts could be collected, but when they used a percentage allotment system, in some places the peanuts were all collected in a single night.) The method of percentage allotment should be adopted. I approve of doing everything possible, eating them up or letting them run off. This practice is not particularism; this is the fruit of their labor. If we are antiparticularistic and collect by force we make matters worse. Now this really is expropriation without compensation, and if you call it particularism you are applying the term incorrectly. This is a question of ownership. At present a part of the ownership is by the commune, but the main ownership is by the brigades. If the commune expands its accumulation a little every year, then after seven or eight years commune ownership will take shape.

On 8 January a party committee meeting was held in Hopeh, and they wanted to get unity of thought, absolute unity, and they adopted a resolution; but by the last third of the month they felt that there were things wrong with it, and the provincial committee members hastily changed their minds. In the last third of the month they had a telephone conference, but after the conference there were some area committees and some county committees that did not understand, and some communes did not understand. At present in ownership the production brigades are really eight or nine fingers, and communes are one or two fingers, or three at most. Accumulation cannot exceed 18 percent, and taxes cannot exceed 7 percent, so together they cannot exceed 25 percent, or one-fourth; production expenses are 20 percent, and the distribution to the masses 55 percent. There is some concealment at lower levels, so that in reality they don't distribute more than 30 percent. Everybody wants to accumulate more and carry on some

industry, and this is well-intentioned. Stalin followed this kind of policy. In the 30 years from the founding of the state until 1953, Stalin never solved this problem. He carried out a collectivization and a mechanization. In the Czarist era there was no collectivization and no mechanization. They collectivized, but didn't mechanize. Then they mechanized, but in the year he died the output was the same as in the Czarist era, and if X X X X had not changed the policy, the situation would have become increasingly grave. If we do not change our policy now, we will make Stalin's mistake.

Now when we talk about production brigades, the brigades are the communes! At present the commune is really a federalistic government. The commune's power cannot be very great; the commune should have control over public grain and over accumulation, but distribution of products should rest with the brigades. (In the discussion for the report it was stated that the commune did too much; for one thing it had too many investments, and for another it did too much requisitioning of the labor force.) This policy should be changed. We used to just talk about the relationship between individual, collective and state, but now this is just half of the chessboard, and the several hundred million peasants are a greater half of the chessboard; it won't do to simply carry on state accumulation and commune accumulation. We used to say, "If the people don't have enough then how can the ruler have enough?" At present the "people" are the communes and the "ruler" is the state. Stalin's actions of 30 years were a matter of walking on one leg. If we are contributing 70 percent to the state, the masses only get 30 percent, just as with the landlords. Of course we are essentially different from the landlords: if we accumulate a little more it is for construction, and the construction in turn is for the benefit of the people. This point needs to be analyzed and to be made clear, that the desire for rapid industrialization is well-intentioned, but though I say it is well-intentioned it is not a good idea. The way that we differ from the landlords is that we are not aiming at getting rich. At the moment we have not made this clear; at the Sixth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee we didn't make it clear. We merely talked about distribution according to work and about production responsibility, but we did not tell how to distribute according to work and we didn't clarify the collective ownership system. Now the distribution program needs to be changed. Commune ownership has to be arrived at by a process, because what we have now is basically brigade ownership. There are only these two. The peasants don't have to worry about their land, because the provincial and local party committees and the Central Committee can't take it away; what they're disputing about is products and the labor force. When we say that land is under collective ownership, within that we ought to draft a document stating that in fact it is under brigade ownership. If land, tools and means of production plus human labor and the commune only come to 25 percent, don't you think that's too little? Our present opposition to particularism has brought about a tense situation that is growing tenser. Really, 15 percent kept back ought to be made legal. The state's and commune's accumulation of 25 percent and production costs of 20 percent, and the mass distribution of 55 percent, form a fixed proportion, but as production develops year by year the absolute numbers will increase.

The practice of taking away their cabbage and pigs and not giving them a cent must be changed.

In addition, let's discuss how to run industry. At present, industry is taking up too much capital and labor and conflicts are arising. All conflicts involving human strength and material and financial means ought to be adjusted. You couldn't handle all that many schools at once either. Everything has to be done gradually: for instance would it be possible to get rid of the four pests all at once? Forestation has to be done gradually, illiteracy has to be eliminated gradually, schools have to be set up group by group and at different times. If the finance and trade organization recovers all the loans, then it ought to give them all back now; more recently there is the compromise suggestion that they give back half. This is carrying a stone only to drop it on one's own foot; if you've recovered all the original loans they don't have any money to pay wages and so they still need loans to pay wages. We will have to start by making announcements to calm people down. There will have to be regulations covering transfers. We will also have to look into the matter of distribution. We should be aware that the collective ownership of the people's communes will take shape gradually. We have passed through four periods: in the mutual aid teams there was only a little collective ownership; in the early stage cooperatives collective ownership had increased -- it could be called semi-collective ownership; as for the advanced cooperatives, you could say there was 70 percent collective ownership. At this time equalization won't do; if the accumulation is great the people will oppose it and it won't be "one chessboard" at all. The true "one chessboard" consists of first, the peasants, second, the communes, and third, the state. In this way the peasants will be won over to us, and will in turn develop a concern for the state. When this happens, will we be likely to have trouble collecting things? I am speaking from the point of view of the peasants and supporting "particularism." Because at the moment we have brigade ownership, it will be several years before we can put commune ownership into practice. We must pay attention to the fact that everything must be arrived at through a process. We must recognize that we have partial commune ownership, but basically we have brigade ownership, and the communes are a foster-father put in in mid-course. When there are differences between food-production brigades, then there should be differences in wages as well. Hopeh is fixed on top and flexible below, so we can adopt this method and call it "fixed [work] grades, flexible evaluation [of work points], remuneration according to labor."

COMMENT ON T'AO LU-CH'IEH'S REPORT ON THE FIVE-LEVEL  
CADRE CONFERENCE

(30 March 1959)

The saying that "old debts are seldom collected" was written into the talks at Chengchow, but it is incorrect and ought to be altered to: "only with old debts can we put into practice the objective law of value"; this law is a great school, and only by making use of it can we teach our several tens of millions of cadres and several hundred million people, and build our socialism and communism. Otherwise, everything is impossible. For the masses there would be no possibility of venting their indignation; for the cadres, it would mean being destroyed by us. There are innumerable disadvantages and no advantages. If one commune can pay back its original advanced cooperative cash receipts of four million yuan to the original owners, why cannot others pay them back? Don't act as if "money for charity is hard to part with." It must be recognized that this is money from robbery. Uncompensated appropriation of other people's labor is not permissible.

## INTRAPARTY CORRESPONDENCE

(March-October 1959)

Comrades First Secretaries of provincial, municipal, and special district party committees:

The Central Committee has scheduled an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau to be held in Shanghai on 25 March. All of you must attend the meeting. The conference of cadres from six levels to be held by the provincial, municipal, and special district party committees in the spirit of the Chengchow Conference (Ed note: that is, the second conference held in Chengchow in March of 1959), and which has the discussion of people's communes as its major theme, will require approximately 10 days. Therefore the meeting should be convened immediately. For example, the Hupeh provincial party committee has scheduled a meeting to be held 11 March. Any delays would not be to our interest. If the period of time for the meeting were too short, there definitely would not be enough time to bring up, analyze, and discuss various problems, and their resolution would not be fitting and thorough. In other words it will be shallow and superficial. The conferences held by the various provinces, municipalities, and special districts should pass resolutions on the question of administrative system for people's communes and on problems of concrete policies. The first secretary should make a summing-up speech in order to explain in depth, and thoroughly, the principal contradictions and various policy problems presently facing the people's communes. These two documents should be issued immediately to lower levels so that they will have a clear and precise base [for action]. And it will require time to formulate ideas and draw up the drafts for these two documents. If the conference were to convene on 11 March, it could possibly last until 20 or 22 March before it could be concluded. Then the first secretaries would be able to get away and come to Shanghai for the meeting on 25 March. There would be more leeway and time would not be too pressing this way. The conference of cadres from six levels in Honan Province will be concluded by 10 March. The final drafts on the resolutions and the summation speech can be completed by 9 March. The Central Committee will have these documents brought to you by

airplane before 14 March for your reference. The next step for Honan Province is to hold the conference of cadres from four levels in the counties for the purpose of conveying to them the guidelines set forth by the conference of cadres from six levels in the province, and for discussing concrete ways to implement these guidelines by the various counties, communes, and production teams. Those attending the county conference of cadres from four levels are to be composed of: (1) several persons from the county level; (2) several persons from the commune level; (3) one or two persons from each brigade at the production brigade level; and (4) one person from each team at the production team level. In addition, a certain number of observers and auditors should also attend the conference. In all there will be at least 1,000 or 2,000 persons at most in attendance. The meeting is to be in session 7-10 days. The various counties in Honan Province have scheduled the convening of this meeting beginning on 13 or 14 March and ending before 23 or 24 March. There will be a week left in the month of March reserved for the communes, production brigades, and production teams to hold their meetings. In brief, it will be possible to basically clear up and resolve in March the mass of confused thinking and conflicting contradictions on the commune problems. Beginning with April, the entire party and all the people can, with one mind, unfold this year's big leap-forward. I hope the various provinces, municipalities, and special district will carry it out accordingly. Like that of Hupeh Province, if the conference of cadres from six levels in various provinces, municipalities, and special districts can be held on 11 March and brought to a conclusion before 20 or 22 March, then the conference of cadres from four levels in the counties can be concluded by the end of March, and the discussions by communes and production teams before 10 April. That means they will be only 10 days or so late in comparison with Honan Province. Some comrades may feel that this is too pressing, leaving them no time for preparations and that the conference should be delayed. I don't think this should be done. Since we already have clear guidelines, we should speedily gather together the cadres from six levels and issue these to them at once. In three or four days the major contradictions will be thrashed out and, thus, it will be possible to win the support of the majority. By taking the initiative we will take the wind out of the observers and the auditors. Of course, some people will not be able to reach an understanding and will berate us for going backwards. Because of this these people will lose some sleep over it and will not be able to eat well for a few days. But, after that, they will be able to come around to an understanding. In short, delay will be detrimental, speed is essential. Some preparatory work can be done, firstly, by quietly bringing understanding to the people at district and county levels. Complete understanding is not mandatory, and three days will be enough to achieve this. From 4-10 March there will be six or seven days available for preparations. Is that not enough? It is more than enough. Delay, on the other hand, is not advantageous.

The foregoing is my suggestion. It is entirely up to you to determine whether or not it is acceptable to you in the light of conditions in your areas.

Mao Tse-tung  
0400 hours, 9 March 1959  
At Chengchow

Comrades First Secretaries of provincial, municipal, and special district party committees:

I have been in Wu-ch'ang for five days now. I have read the materials on the conference of cadres from six levels in Hupeh Province. At the same time, I have received materials from some provinces, municipalities, and special districts. From these materials, I have found that there is a question that needs to be discussed with you. The documents of Honan Province have already been delivered to you, and these documents called for the setting up of production brigades as basic accounting and distribution units of the people's communes. While I was in Chengchow, I received the articles adopted by the Hupeh provincial committee on 8 March concerning the administrative system of people's communes and the problem of food grains. These articles called for the: "resolute establishment of the original higher stage cooperative, that is, the present production team, as the basic accounting unit. Former higher stage cooperatives that had been divided into several production teams should merge immediately to form the basic accounting unit, and they must not be separated again. A few of the former very small higher stage cooperatives with generally similar economic conditions that have already merged to form a production team may be set up as a basic accounting unit as long as the cadres and the members of the commune are willing. The commune party committee can then investigate and decide, and report it to the county party committee for approval." After my arrival in Wuchang, I had Comrade Chou Hsiao-chou [0719 1420 5297] come here and, together with Comrade Wang Jen-chung [3769 0117 6850], we discussed this for a while. I asked Hsiao-chou, do you agree with the Honan method or the Hupeh method? He said that they agreed with the Honan method, that is, with the production brigade (administrative area) as the basic accounting unit. Because, in their area, a production brigade has administrative control of only six production teams and, generally, these six production teams were formed from three original higher stage cooperatives with one cooperative splitting into two production teams. Afterward, I again received the 31 March report from Kwangtung Province. They advocated the three fixes and five grades. The first of the three fixes is the fixing of the basic accounting unit, "without exception, the original higher stage cooperatives (formerly, Kwangtung Province had 3,000 higher stage cooperatives averaging 320 households in each cooperative) are to be the basis. Some cooperatives which were equivalent to the present production team (or brigade) and some which had been divided into two or three production teams after the forming of the communes can merge immediately to form a new production team for the purpose of using it as a basic accounting unit. If the former higher stage cooperatives are too small, and a hamlet has several of these cooperatives, they may also merge, with the approval of the masses, to form a basic accounting unit of the commune. Although some of these cooperatives are not in the same hamlet, they do not vary greatly in their economic conditions." From these we find that Honan and Hunan Provinces are both advocating the production brigade (administrative area) as the basic accounting unit, and Hupeh and Kwangtung Provinces are upholding the production team, i.e., the original higher stage cooperatives, as the basic accounting unit. Which one of these two is better? Could both be implemented?

According to Comrade Wang Jen-chung, the Hupeh conference discussed precisely this question during the past few days. The struggle of viewpoints between the two factions has been fierce. Generally speaking, the majority of the county party committees, commune party committees and production brigades (administrative areas) wanted the production brigade as the basic accounting unit, whereas, an absolute majority of the production teams (i.e., the original higher stage cooperatives) and party branch secretaries maintained the position of wanting the production teams as the basic accounting units. I feel that this question has very important bearings. It bears on the direct interests of basic unit cadres consisting of more than 30 million production teams and production group leaders, and of several hundred million peasants. We must have the earnest approval from the basic units' cadres before adopting the method of Honan and Hupeh Provinces. If these cadres feel they could barely cope with it, we would rather select the production teams (i.e., the former higher stage cooperatives) to be the basic accounting units so that the cadres will not become separated from the masses. It is very dangerous for them to become divorced from the masses at this time, for it could very well prevent the attainment of production targets for this year. Honan Province has already made its decision, but the comrades of the provincial party committee are still asked to solicit the views of basic level cadres at the county's conference of cadres from four levels which is being held currently. If they agree with the decision of the provincial party committee, then implement it accordingly. Otherwise, it will be helpful to make some changes. The "tui [7130] as the foundation" stated in the "Minutes of the Chengchow Conference" is meant to be the production team, i.e., the original higher stage cooperative, and not the production brigade (administrative area). In short, work must be done in accordance with the wishes of the masses. No matter what the method is, it will be workable only if it meets with the requirements of the masses. Otherwise, it will not work in the long run. Please reflect and decide on what you will do.

Mao Tse-tung  
15 March 1959  
At Wu-ch'ang

Comrades First Secretaries of provincial, municipal, and special district party committees:

This is a matter concerning the conferences to be held by the counties and communes.

The conference of cadres from six levels in various provinces, municipalities, and special districts will soon be concluded. Should the 4-level or 5-level cadres conferences of the counties be held? My suggestion is that they should, and they should be held on a massive scale. The only thing is that they should not be reported in the newspapers. The counties in Honan Province are now holding the conferences of cadres from four levels. The conferences are very lively and most beneficial. Responsible comrades



at the provincial level in Honan Province are directly leading several counties and guiding these counties with their own experience. Hupeh, Kwangtung, and Kiangsu Provinces have all made arrangements for the counties throughout their provinces to hold these conferences. The party committee of Chiangyin County in Kiangsu Province has made arrangements for a conference of 10,000 people. There are two counties in Honan Province holding meetings with 10,000 people, and a majority of the other counties are having meetings of 4,000 - 5,000 people. I suggest that the counties hold conferences of cadres from five levels, namely at the county, the commune party committee, the production brigade (or administrative area), the production team (i.e., former higher stage cooperative), and production squad (production group, also called work group) level. Each level must send representatives to attend these conferences. In this way, all production squad leaders of the communes, party branch secretaries of administrative areas, production brigade leaders, and a number of cadres from the commune level will attend the conferences. There must be people with confused thinking, observers, and auditors attending the meeting. The best is to keep their ratio at 10 to one. You can also find a few activists from among the commune members to attend the meeting. Make arrangements so that all these people will be able to hear the speech made by the first secretary of the county party committee, because the speech at this level is higher than those by the first secretaries of the commune party committees. Later, launch discussions, placing no blame on anyone who dares to speak out and allowing the vigorous airing of views. In a few days, unify their thinking. At the conference, the three types of confrontations must be made to cross swords: one type of confrontation is the crossing of swords between basic level cadres and their higher levels (the commune and the county); another type of confrontation is to pit those with confused thinking against those who have gained understanding; and yet another type of confrontation is to have positive characters who account for 90 percent of the people to go against the observers and auditors (many of those who have been regarded by the people as observers and auditors are, in fact, not such persons, but have been mistakenly identified by the people as such), who account for 10 percent. Three or four days will be enough for the debates. Follow that allow three or four days for discussions to resolve concrete problems. Seven or eight days will be more than sufficient enough for these purposes. The conference of cadres from five levels in the counties will be even more lively and spirited than the conference of cadres from six levels in the province. The secretaries of the commune and county party committees must be informed on how to carry out their work. During the conference, make a special effort to get these comrades together and chat with them so that they will gain some experience from the sharp lessons of becoming temporarily divorced from the masses, because they had put into practice certain improper measures, generated the "communist wind," and practiced indiscriminate expropriation of property and funds over the past few months. Henceforth, they should be good at thinking through problems and carrying out work. In this way they will be integrated with the masses. Besides the discussions on the management of the three-level ownership systems of communes, administrative areas (i.e., production brigades), and production teams (formerly

the higher stage cooperatives) and the three-level accounting system, the question of part ownership system of production squads (production groups or work groups) should also be discussed. This question was brought out by Wang Jen-chung, Tao Lo-chia [7118 7627 4579] and several other comrades. I consider this to be reasonable and worthy of discussion. By the latter part of March, the county conferences will be concluded, and in April we can dispense with the representatives' meeting of the communes and busy ourselves with production. In the meanwhile, we can hold small meetings and resolve some concrete problems. Let the production teams hold party members' meetings in their leisure time and follow that up with mass meetings, thus bringing about discussions joined in by all the people. It will be possible to hold mass discussions, because by then several hundred people will have attended conferences in the counties and the problems will have been thoroughly discussed. Some counties in Hupeh Province have already carried out such discussions. In May, three days are to be set aside by all the communes in the country (three days will be more than enough) for convening the first representatives' meeting of commune members. The representatives should include men and women, the old and the young, and the positive and negative elements (excluding landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and bad elements, but including well-to-do middle peasants). They are to discuss some problems and elect commune administrative committees. It is suggested that such representatives' meetings should be held four times a year, with each meeting lasting one or two days, and, at most, three days. The first secretary of the commune should master his ability to preside over this kind of meeting. Our comrades of the commune party committees must constantly concern themselves with the interests of the masses. They must always bear in mind that their own policies and measures must be in accord with the current level of consciousness of the masses and with their immediate and pressing needs. Anything that goes counter to these two conditions will not do and will invariably fail. Both the county and district party committees should give attention to strengthening the leadership of the communes. They must send comrades who are politically strong to help communes weak in this respect. District party committees should give attention to dispatching personnel to assist county party committees comparatively weaker in leadership. The county and communes both must give attention to strengthening the backbone leadership of production teams (generally meaning the former higher stage cooperatives) which are to be the basic accounting units. The above is presented only as a suggestion. Please think it over and decide on how it could be handled in a more satisfactory manner, and implement it with speed. When the county convenes a meeting, the communes and all levels below them should leave people behind to direct production. Perhaps a rotational attendance of the meeting could be set up in order not to neglect farm work.

Mao Tse-tung  
0700 hours, 17 March 1959  
At Wu-ch'ang

Comrades at the provincial, district, county, commune, production brigade, and production team levels:

I wish to confer with you on several questions, all of which are on agriculture.

The first question concerns the fixing of production targets. Rice transplanting is being carried out in the south, and the north is also engaged in spring cultivation. Fixing production targets must be based on realities. Just do not pay any attention to those stipulations made in the instructions from higher levels. Ignore them and simply concentrate on practical possibilities. For instance, if production per mou was actually only 300 catties last year, it will be very good indeed if production could be increased by 100 or 200 catties. Elevating it up to 800, 1,000, or 1,200 catties and even more is mere bragging and cannot be achieved at all. So what is the use in exaggerating? Again, for example, the achievement will be very great indeed if an increase of 200 or 300 catties can be achieved this year from land producing 500 catties per mou last year. To increase further, generally speaking, is impossible.

The second question concerns close planting. It should not be too thinly spread out, nor planted too closely. Many of the young cadres and some higher level organizations, lacking in experience, doggedly called for close planting only. Some even claimed that the closer the planting, the better it will be. This is incorrect. The older people doubt this, and so do the middle-aged. It will be excellent to hold a meeting of these three types of people and arrive at a suitable degree of closeness to be maintained in planting. Since production targets are to be fixed, the question of close planting should be discussed and determined by production teams and production groups. Rigid orders from above regarding the closeness to be maintained are not only useless, but also very harmful. Therefore, we should completely refrain from issuing such rigid orders to those in the lower levels. The provincial party committee may suggest the width to be applied to close planting. This should not be issued as an order, but as a reference for lower levels. Besides, the higher level should give great care to the study of what degree of closeness would be best. After accumulating some experience, a more scientific stipulation on the degree of closeness to be applied should be drawn up on the basis of differences in climate, differences in localities, differences in the condition of soil, fertilizer, water, seeds, differences in the crops, and differences in the levels of efficiency in field management. And it will be fine if, in a few years, a standard which is both practical and applicable is developed.

The third question concerns economizing on food grains. This problem must be grasped most firmly and food rationed in accordance with the number of people. We should eat more during the busy season and less during the slack season. During the busy season, we should eat solid food, during the slack season, we should eat semi-solid rations mixed with sweet potatoes, green vegetables, melons, beans, and taro. This matter must be grasped tightly. Harvesting, storage, and consumption (reap, store, and eat) must

be grasped very, very tightly every year. Furthermore, they must be grasped at the right time, for opportunity knocks only once and time lost can never be recovered. There must be reserve grains. Set aside a little each year and increase reserve grains year by year. After eight or 10 years of struggle, the problem of food production will be solved. In 10 years, there should be no boasting or exaggerating; to do so will be highly dangerous. Keep in mind that ours is a big country with a population of 650 million, and eating is a matter of great importance.

The fourth question concerns broader acreage in planting. The plan calling for less planting with higher yields and richer harvests is a long-range one and it is workable. However, this plan cannot be implemented in its entirety or even the greater part of it in 10 years. It should be put into effect step by step in accordance with the conditions in the next 10 years. The greater part of this plan cannot be carried out in the next three years. In the coming three years strive for extensive planting. The guideline for the next few years is the simultaneous implementation of extensive planting with low yields and less planting with richer harvests of high quota, high yield farmland.

The fifth question concerns mechanization. The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization. Ten years will be needed to achieve this. There will be minor solutions in four years, intermediate ones in seven, and major solutions in ten. This year, next year, the year after, and the year after, we will be relying mainly on improved farm tools and semi-mechanized farming implements. Every province, every district, and every county must establish farm tools research stations and concentrate a group of scientific-technological personnel and experienced carpenters and blacksmiths of the rural areas to gather together all kinds of more advanced farm tools from every province, district, and county. They should compare them, experiment with them, and improve them. New types of farm implements must be trial-produced. When they are successfully trial-produced, test them out in the fields. If they are found to be truly effective, then they can be mass produced and widely used. When we speak of mechanization, we must also include mechanized manufacturing of chemical fertilizers. It is a matter of great importance to increase chemical fertilizer production year by year.

The sixth question concerns candor. State exactly what production targets can be achieved. When you have exerted all efforts but failed to achieve something, do not force yourself to make false claims of success. State exactly how much you have harvested and refrain from making false statements which are contrary to facts. There must be honesty in the measures taken to increase production and to implement the Eight Character Constitution on Agriculture. An honest man has the courage to speak the truth and, in the end, it will be beneficial to the people's cause and to himself. People who are fond of making false statements are firstly hurting the people and secondly, themselves. It should be said that many of these false statements were the result of pressure from above. "Exaggeration and pressure from and pledges to" higher levels create difficulties

for the lower levels. Therefore, we must be vigorous, but we must not make false claims.

Comrades, please study the aforementioned six problems, and feel free to set forth differing opinions so as to achieve our objective of searching out the truth. We are still woefully inexperienced in running agricultural and industrial enterprises. Year by year we accumulate experience, and in another 10 years we will, step by step, come to understand objective necessity. We will then become free to a certain degree. What is freedom? Freedom is the recognition of necessity.

In comparison with the high-sounding talks currently making the rounds what I am saying here is very much low-keyed. The objective is to stir up activism and achieve the target of increased production. If it (production) is not actually as low as I make it out to be, and it has achieved a relatively higher target, I will then become a conservative. Thank heavens, if that is so. It will be a great honor indeed.

Mao Tse-tung  
29 April 1959

(To the members of various party central committee departments, to the secretaries of various party committees, party branches, and to the secretaries of various municipal, provincial, and autonomous region party committees)

The materials from several counties in Shanghai are worth reading.

In the suburban areas, the factories and mining enterprises, communications and transportation enterprises, financial and trade enterprises, and education and other enterprises must definitely solicit the opinions of basic level cadres (party branch secretaries, workshop foremen, and work-section chiefs) and activists from among the masses in matters concerning the formulation and implementation of major policies. An overwhelming majority of these people must be made to attend meetings and air their views. Only thus can opposite views be established, contradictions exposed, the truth uncovered, and the movement unfolded. Please firmly bear in mind that we must not believe too much the statements made by such people as general branch secretaries, secretaries of factories and mines party committees, responsible persons of organizations under the municipal government and secretaries of party groups, and the comrades among bureau and department chiefs at the Central Government level. Many of these people have become almost completely divorced from the masses, and are acting arbitrarily. They feign compliance with, or entirely ignore instructions from higher levels if these instructions do not suit them. On many issues they only believe in themselves and do not trust the masses. They do not care about the mass line. In light of this, we must henceforth annually convene two conferences of cadres from five, six, or seven levels. Each conference is to be held for 10 days. The higher echelons and the basic levels will attack

the middle level on both flanks. Only by so doing can erroneous views held by the middle-level cadres be rectified and flexibility restored to their stubborn thinking, and only thus will it be possible for them to make improvements. Otherwise it will be utterly hopeless for them. If we listen to them long enough, we will be assimilated into their ranks. We will commit errors and become benighted with regard to existing state of affairs, and communication between top and bottom or vice versa will break down. This is an extremely dangerous situation. It will be very much to our interest to hold such conferences twice a year. It will enable us to understand the situation and remedy errors. Although we are talking about the problems of urban areas here, it is the same for rural areas, too. I have already discussed this generally in my previous correspondence.

Mao Tse-tung  
29 March 1959

Comrade X X X:

This item is very good. Please have it published after it has been studied within the New China News Agency. It looks like the hog raising enterprise will develop on a massive scale. Except for the minority nationalities that ban pork, the entire country should carry it out in accordance with the methods used by the Wang Chien Shou People's Commune of Wu Chiao County, Hopei Province. In Wu Chiao County, the accumulation of capital was easy, the policy was correct, the drive was strong, and development was rapid. Very high enthusiasm is the key to it all. Procrastinating, feeling that neither this nor that could be done, and that there are layers upon layers of difficulties -- these are the world outlook of a coward, a lazybone. It has none of the driving ambition and strong determination of Marxism-Leninism. These people are a long way from the style of a true communist. I have advised them to think it over carefully and rectify their incorrect world outlook. I suggested that the communist party committees of the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, districts, counties, and communes, as well as the party organizations of administrative areas, production teams, and production squads seriously consider and study the hog-raising enterprises, and the raising of cattle, sheep, donkeys, mules, horses, chickens, ducks, rabbits, and other enterprises, and plan and adopt concrete measures for running such enterprises. I also suggested the establishment of a committee or group on animal husbandry and domestic fowl raising enterprise. This is to consist of three of 5-9 persons. A comrade who is knowledgeable and has the enthusiasm for this kind of work and good at carrying out work is to be the responsible leader of this committee or group. That is to say a strong person should be assigned to provide the leadership. The production of animal fodder should be carried out on a large scale. There are various fine and coarse animal fodder, but it seems that corn is king of them all. This is the way it is being done in the U.S.; and the Soviet Union is also vigorously carrying this out now. In China, the Wu Chiao County of Hopei Province has also begun this and it makes a person very happy to see it. In

hog raising, there certainly must be many areas which are as good as Wu Chiao County. The entire country should unfold this operation on a massive scale. And this matter must be reviewed as equally important as that of raising food grains and elevating corn to staple food. Some suggest elevating hog raising to the leading position among the raising of six types of domestic animals, and not in the order of "horse, cattle, sheep, chicken, dog and pig." I raise both hands in approval. For hogs to be in the leading position is perfectly reasonable. The great pedologist and agriculturist, Mr Wei Lien [Verin ?] of the Soviet Union stressed that agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry are interdependent. Each is indispensable to the other and the three must be placed on the same level of importance. This is entirely correct. We hold that agriculture and forestry are the progenitors in the development of animal husbandry, and animal husbandry is the progeny of agriculture and forestry enterprises. After that, animal husbandry becomes the progenitor of agriculture and forestry enterprises (mainly agriculture) and agriculture and forestry become the progenies. This is the principle underlying the balanced and equal positions the three occupy and their interdependence. In the U.S. the planting enterprise is carried out in conjunction with animal husbandry. Our country must also take this route because it is an experience proven to be truly effective. The source of fertilizers in our country is, first of all, from the raising of hogs and big stock animals. If we could achieve the objective ratio of one hog to a person and one hog to a mou of land, the major source of fertilizer will then be resolved. This is chemical fertilizer 10 times better than inorganic chemical fertilizer. A hog is a small scale, organic chemical fertilizer factory. Furthermore, a hog has meat. It has bristles, skin, and bones, and it has viscera (which can be used as raw materials for manufacturing medicine). So why don't we take advantage of it? Fertilizer is food for plants, plants are food for animals, and animals, in turn, are food for humankind. Therefore, from this it can be seen that it is definitely within reason to raise hogs and other stock animals on a big scale. It seems that it will be possible to accomplish this glorious and great mission with one or two five-year plans. Providing agriculture with machinery is the decisive factor in the development, on a huge scale, of the three-in-one combination of agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry. The ministry of agricultural machine building [referring to the Eighth Ministry of Machine Building] has been established this year. From all appearances, the mechanization of agriculture is not too far off.

Mao Tse-tung  
11 October 1959

TALK AT SEVENTH PLENUM OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(April 1959)

1. Ample planning for satisfactory decisions. In this phrase the emphasis is on "planning." We have to plan a great deal; lack of planning will not do. We should discuss with all sides, and oppose insufficient planning and arbitrary decisions. In the past, we often did a great deal of planning with people of the same opinion but little with people of differing opinions; we planned much with the cadres but little with the production personnel. Inadequate discussion and arbitrary decision means that affairs will not be managed well. Planning is fundamental, and only with ample planning can we have satisfactory decisions. There are many methods for ample planning, for instance fact-finding meetings or forums. The goal of planning is deciding, and it is undesirable to make arbitrary decisions on the basis of inadequate planning as some comrades do.

2. Make allowances. This is not only a matter of work methods, but a political one as well. When we are arranging work plans we need to make some allowances to give subordinates some initiative. If you don't give subordinates some leeway, you don't leave any leeway for yourself. Making allowances has advantages for both superiors and subordinates. For example, if in a rural area production contract the target figure is set at 2,000 catties, there is no leeway for subordinates or superiors. In the past when we were waging war we held troops in reserve, but now in managing production we have forgotten that. Economic work cannot be attacked in a haphazard way, and production work cannot come to a stop. Allowances must be made in planning work. It is essential to insure the central point; if you lack a central point you lack a policy. We operate in accordance with a policy.

3. Wave-like advance. All movements consist of waves; in natural science there are sound waves and electromagnetic waves. That all movements advance in wave-like fashion is a law of the development of motion; it is objective and does not change in response to human will. In our work we always go from point to area, from small to large, and always in wave-like fashion, not as a continuously rising line.

WAVES



4. Be skilled in observing circumstances. We must constantly be attentive to political circumstances and economic circumstances. By "political circumstances" is meant observing the ideology of all classes, as well as changes in their viewpoints. The secretaries should observe these things, and so should individual committee members. Individual committee members should do good collective work as well as good individual work.

5. Decisiveness at the critical moment. Grasp changes in a situation in order to alter plans. The critical moment cannot be allowed to slip by. The time will not return, and so we must be decisive at the critical moment, not hesitate and avoid decision. In capital construction, when the scale has over-expanded a little, it will contract a little. We must also act decisively at the crucial moment in dealing with certain bad tendencies in the party.

6. Maintain communication with people. Superiors and subordinates, colleagues and co-workers should maintain communication with each other. The Central Committee and local [committees] should have discussions and maintain communication, as should party committee members with each other and with the secretary. In the past communication decreased and we had to work at maintaining it. Now we are using the device of writing letters; the method is to write one a month. We shouldn't be content to let the secretary take care of things, and especially we shouldn't keep information back from the provincial committee.

7. An individual sometimes wins over the majority. This is because truth is sometimes in one person's hands only. Truth is sometimes in the hands of a minority, as when Marxism was in Marx's hands alone. Lenin said that you have to have the spirit of going against the current. Party committees at every level ought to consider views from many quarters; they ought to listen to the opinion of the majority and also those of the minority and others. There ought to be created within the party an atmosphere of speaking out and of correcting shortcomings. Criticizing is sometimes rather painful, but so long as criticism results in correction it is all right. When people don't dare speak out it is for one of six reasons: fear of admonition, fear of demotion, fear of loss of prestige, fear of dismissal from the party, fear of execution, fear of divorce. It was only after his execution that Yueh Fei [1471 7378] became famous. Speaking out should involve no penalty, and according to party regulations people are entitled to their own opinions. In the past under the court system I don't know how many people were put to death; but there were still many who braved death to oppose the court.

8. Concentration. Concentration in the secretariat and the standing committee requires that the minority should follow the majority, but within the party there should be created an atmosphere of liberating the spirit and carrying on criticism; criticism is comradesly assistance.

9. All incomprehensible documents should be sent back, not let out. Documents should be colloquially written, using the vernacular; they should be purposeful, with a clear viewpoint and with an obvious objective. When Lu Hsun wrote the "True Story of Ah Q" he made considerable use of colloquial language.

## SIXTEEN ARTICLES CONCERNING WORK METHODS

(May 1959)

Everybody supports the party's general line. The principal political objective last year was to define the general line, but we did not achieve as much as we had anticipated. This concerns our work method. Our central problem today is the work method.

Sixteen articles concerning the work method have been laid down.

### 1. Be Resourceful and Decisive

Some of our comrades are not very resourceful and unable to make decisions. Resourcefulness involves willingness to listen to assorted opinions from subordinates, secretaries, plant managers, workers and peasants, and in particular divergent opinions. Collect and analyze all opinions and then make a judgment.

### 2. Make Allowances

A common saying has it that one should make allowances for future operation. Maneuverability in work is important. In our operations against Kuomintang forces we assembled troops several times their number in order to crush them, and we would not fight any battle without preparations. Socialist construction and planning also need allowances for operation. Both long-term and short-term planning should have such allowances. Our work should exceed our plan. We should make allowances for the masses to exceed a plan. If the target is set too high, it will be difficult to reach, to say nothing about exceeding it. Heads of production teams like to say, "We don't mind a target of 10,000, but we fear a 10,000 to 1 chance of failure." In the past this saying often adversely affected the workers' zeal for work. If we purposely let the masses exceed a production target, they will be encouraged and will work harder. At the same time we should maintain a focus on production for no focus means no policy. It is the same with literature and art work. The performance of a play should allow for reflection and discussion by the audience. If after seeing the first half of the

play, you know what is going to happen in the second half, the performance will be a failure. A speaker should likewise leave something unsaid.

### 3. Proceed in Wave-like Motion

In 1957 we opposed adventurism. As a result, progress took a saddle-like form. In that year we had to lower production targets. Work should proceed in a wave-like motion. This year we have also lowered the production target slightly. The increase has been 40 percent. This year we are determined to produce 16.5 million tons of steel and we are confident that we shall be able to fulfill the quota of coal. Among the agricultural targets we have to exert greater efforts in the production of grain and cotton. Next year the production figures may be lowered further. In 1961 we will have another great leap forward. Socialist construction should proceed in a wave-like motion. "As heaven waxes, so man's life is prolonged; as spring comes upon the world, so blessing visits the home." We cannot have a high tide everyday. I am not against progress in a wave-like motion but I am against adventurism.

### 4. Strive for the Greatest Effect

Plan for the greatest effect. Change plans with the change of circumstances. If circumstances have changed, a man's thought had better change accordingly. If not, he will be put in a passive position. Let the brain not be fossilized. Formulate plans according to the amount of materials and the number of people, not according to subjectivity. ✓

### 5. Be Adept at Observing the Situation

Don't let your brain be fossilized. Be able to assess the political situation, to detect the trend of people's thought, and to find out the economic conditions. At the Pei-tai-ho Conference the goal was set high. On my visit to Hopeh and Shantung I discovered that it was not practical. The Sixth CCP Plenum reduced the steel production target to 20 million tons. The Shanghai Conference reduced it further. Thus step by step we put production into full effect.

### 6. Decide at the Moment

Only by observing the situation can you decide at the crucial moment. Some comrades cannot understand the situation fully. Others can make decisions while they are working, but not properly. Wavering and indecision are bad. A decision must be made with resolution. Don't miss an opportunity, for time, once gone, never returns. The commune problem is very obvious. At what level they should be managed was not made clear last year. After a lapse of time, on 27 January the problem was thoroughly discussed. I later read the report of Chao Tzu-yang [6392 4793 7122]; then in Tientsin I visited Liu Tze-hao [0491 1311 7122]; in Shangtung Tan Chi-lung [3389 0796 7893] and the Lu Hung Pin commune. I discovered the following problem; a slip of paper, a scale, a cap for the dissenter, a bunch of keys, a

proclamation and a staircase. Only then did I discover the system of ownership by the team. The last conference settled this problem. Some comrades are very much afraid of their superiors as well as their subordinates. Henceforth let the superiors and subordinates launch a coordinated attack against the middle level.

7. Let There be Some Airing

Work meetings should not be held without an airing. Before any discussion there should be a period of preparation. Some meetings have no subject at all. I have pointed this out no less than a hundred times. No airing is bad. Don't insulate a problem. Don't let people fail to know exactly what the problem is. Before solving a problem there should be full understanding and discussion.

8. Break the Blockade

There should be a point of view in a report. Suggest several alternate measures to solve a problem. Explain your basic situation, different views, the crux of the problem and the actual working conditions. Let there be no blockade.

9. One Man May Win Over the Majority Because He Holds the Truth in His Hand

Lenin said that one should have the courage to oppose the trend, have one's independent views and dare to speak out. Some of our comrades fear ill consequences. We should therefore promote the communist character of daring to think and talk X X X who was not afraid of being sliced to pieces dragged the emperor down from his horse.

10. Look at Problems from the Historical Point of View

Any change of plan should be subjected to a historical process. Last year we had a Great Leap Forward. Whenever the rate of increase of production is up to 10 percent, it is a leap forward. If it is 20 percent, it is a great leap forward. If it is 30 percent, it is a sustained great leap forward.

11. Write in the Mandarin Style, Not Half Literary and Half Colloquial, or Half Classical and Half Modern. Insist Upon the Mandarin Style and Take a Clear-cut Stand

The reports of the New China News Agency on the rebellion in Tibet have a clear sequence of events. When we write, we should keep in mind the interest of the party and the nation. Some articles have no persuasive power, which shows that the writers have no clear understanding of their own fields of work and neither know nor understand mass psychology. Han Yu, the famous writer of the T'ang dynasty, is known for his prose. He was a native of Hsiu-wu, Honan. He advocated the adoption of his teacher's ideas but not his wording. He was against following routine and tradition.

He insisted that one should have one's own characteristics and style and disregard praise for and criticism of it. P'an Tsung-tz'u's writings of parallel constructions are difficult to read. It seems that he purposely made them difficult to understand.

12. Be Responsible

With power in your hand you can give orders. Bear responsibilities bravely and follow leadership.

13. Liberate Your Thinking

Don't be afraid of demons, nor be shy and timid. Be brave and strong. Some of our comrades are weak in character. Their thinking has not been liberated. They fear rectification. Cadres should have the courage to uphold truth and not follow personages of the feudal period. What are you afraid of? None other than these six things: dismissal from office, demotion, expulsion from the party, divorce by your wife, imprisonment and decapitation.

14. Concerning Criticism

We are all good comrades. Criticism among comrades is for the purpose of doing work well and seeking efficient work methods. It is unimaginable for one to have no regrets. Criticism and self-criticism are the party's weapons to educate the people. We owe no grievances against each other in our former lives, nor shall we in our after lives. Pains are an incentive to progress.

15. Collective Leadership

The party central committee's meeting is the nucleus. Its decisions should be carried out everywhere.

16. Relationship between Different Departments

Relationships with the industrial departments should be strengthened. Relationship with the three state commissions (State Planning Commission, State Economic Commission and State Capital Construction Commission) and the two ministries (Ministry of Metallurgical Industry and First Ministry of Machine Building) should be close.

(Note: This is not an official document; it is intended for reference only).

## SEVERAL IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS

(29 June, 2 July 1959)

In view of last year's lack of understanding by many leadership comrades and county and commune cadres regarding socialist economic problems and laws of economic development, and also in view of the lingering pragmatism in current work, these people should study [these instructions] diligently. Members of central, provincial, municipal and local committees, including secretaries of county committees, should study books on political science and economics. Three books should be compiled by county and commune cadres. One is to deal with "good people and good events." It is to be a collection of incidents of people who upheld truth, did not bend with the wind, did good work, did not make false reports, did not exaggerate and strove for the full effect in doing things during the Great Leap Forward last year. A second is to tell about "bad people and bad events." It is to be a collection of incidents of people who told lies, violated laws and discipline or committed serious blunders in their work. A third is to be a systematic compilation of the Central Committee's directives and documents from last year to date.

\* \* \*

How is the internal situation? In general, there have been great accomplishments; there are many problems; but prospects are bright. Basic problems are: 1) Comprehensiveness and balance; 2) the mass line; 3) unified leadership; and 4) emphasis on quality and quantity.

Among these problems comprehensiveness and balance and the mass line are most important. We prefer to produce less but of better quality and greater variety. We need all kinds and all varieties. In agriculture, we need grain, cotton, oils, hemp, silk, tobacco, tea, sugar, vegetables, fruits, insecticides, and miscellaneous items; in industry, we also need all types of light and heavy industry products. Last year we concentrated our attention on production from small-sized blast furnaces, neglecting other forms of production. This won't do.

One of the major lessons from the Great Leap Forward is the lack of balance. When we walk, both legs should move, but we did not do so. In national economy comprehensiveness and balance are a basic problem. Only with comprehensiveness and balance can we have the mass line.

There are three balances:

1. In agriculture, a balance of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, agricultural sideline production, and fishing.
2. In industry, a balance of all departments and all links.
3. A balance between agriculture and industry.

Only when we have accomplished these three balances can we fix the ratios in national economy.

\* \* \*

The order we set in our economic planning in the past has been heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. Henceforth we may have to reverse the order. Should it be agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry? In other words, we have to do well in agriculture and to change the order of heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, commerce, and communications to agriculture, light industry, heavy industry, communications, and commerce. In this order we have to first develop means of production. This in no way contradicts Marxism. Comrade Ch'en Yun said, "We should arrange the markets before we go into capital construction." Many comrades disagreed. But now we realize that Comrade Ch'en Yun was right. We have to solve the problems of clothing, food, housing, utilities and travel first for they concern the stable life of 650 million people. After we have solved these five problems, the people will live comfortably, though there may still be criticisms and blames. This will be advantageous to reconstruction and the state will be able to accumulate its resources.

\* \* \*

The masses are demanding the restoration of the three fixed policies: fixed production, fixed purchasing and fixed marketing. They probably will have to be restored. If we have to fix production, purchasing and marketing, what should be the amounts? Can we tax 40 percent of increased production and leave 60 percent with the owners? There should be a reduction of tax in case of disaster and exemption of tax on private plots. These problems should be discussed at the forthcoming conference.

We have to restore the primary market in rural areas and make the production teams a half accounting unit.

\* \* \*



Positiveness is of two types. One is the positiveness that strives for full effect and the other is positiveness that moves about blindly. Of the Red Army's three great disciplines two may be universally applicable: "All actions must follow command," which means unified leadership and opposition to anarchism; "Take not a single needle or piece of thread from the masses," which means do not practice equalitarianism and do not transfer material.

Regarding the form of government, there is now some semi-anarchism. We have granted too much of the "four powers" and too soon, causing the present confusion. We should now emphasize unified leadership and centralization of power. Powers granted should be properly retracted. There should be proper control over the lower level. Semi-anarchism should be opposed.

Neither too much inactivity nor too much activity is good. At the moment too much activity should be avoided.

## WHY DO RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS NOW LAUNCH AN OFFENSIVE?

(16 August 1959)

Comrades who committed errors of right opportunism did not air their opinions at the Changchow conference last November, nor at the Pei-tai-ho conference on high production targets, nor at the Wu-chang conference last November, nor at the Peking conference last January, nor at the Chengchow conference last February, nor at the Shanghai conference toward the end of last March and the beginning of last April, but they did air them at the Lu-shan conference.

Why didn't they bring up their opinions on those occasions, but did so now? Because what they advocate could not be brought up on those occasions. If they had correct ideas, better than ours, they should have brought them up at the Pei-tai-ho conference. They waited until the Central Committee had solved the problems, or most of the problems, and then brought up their opinions, believing that if they did not bring them up now, they could not very well do so later. They felt that if they did not bring them up now, the situation would have changed for the better a few months from now. Once the opportune time is gone, they will be put in a very unfavorable position. That's why they were anxious to make the move now.

COMMENT ON CHANG WEN-T' IEN'S [1728 5113 1131] LETTER

(18 August 1959)

Print more than 160 copies and distribute them to our comrades. Send copies by air or regular mail to those who have left. I warmly welcome this letter from Comrade Lo Fu [2867 3940].

Mao Tse-tung  
18 August 1959

Attachment

Lo Fu's Farewell Message to Mao Tse-tung  
on the Morning of 18 August

Comrade Tse-tung:

I have just undergone a major operation which should be beneficial to my health. I sincerely thank you and other comrades of the Central Committee for your help. I must sever relations with my reactionary self of yesterday. Today I read your comments on Mei Cheng's [2653 6042] essay, "Ch'i Fa", on machineguns and other subjects, and was greatly moved.

I did not call on you because I did not receive any notification from you. I descend the hills today. I hope to see you in Peking and to receive more instructions from you.

Chang Wen-t'ien  
Forenoon, 18 August

COMMENT ON P'ENG TE-HUAI'S LETTER OF 9 SEPTEMBER

(9 September 1959)

This document is to be printed and distributed to party organizations at all levels from the Central Committee down to branch headquarters and also to all comrades attending the Peking conference on military and foreign affairs.

I warmly welcome Comrade P'eng Te-huai's letter, believing that his stand and viewpoint are correct and his attitude is sincere. If he thoroughly changes and makes no more major vacillations (minor vacillations are inevitable), he will "instantly become a Buddha," or rather a Marxist. I recommend that all comrades of our party welcome the attitude shown by P'eng Te-huai in this letter. Let us severely criticize the mistakes he has made and at the same time welcome every improvement he has made. We should take this two-sided attitude to help an old comrade who has been with us for 31 years. We should take the same attitude toward all other comrades who have made mistakes but have indicated their intention to amend. We are confident that this policy will be able to influence people and that under certain circumstances people will change, except for certain individuals. I believe that Comrade P'eng Te-huai's suggestion concerning the assignment of work to him in the coming period is basically right. It is a good idea to study for a few years. However, a man advanced in age is not fit for physical labor. It is all right for him to go to factories and rural areas to observe and investigate and to do research work for a period of time every year. The Central Committee will discuss this matter with Comrade P'eng Te-huai and make a proper decision.

Mao Tse-tung  
9 September 1959

Attachment

## P'eng Te-huai's Letter

Chairman:

The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and the expanded meeting of the Military Commission have thoroughly disclosed and criticized my mistakes and have eliminated the peril of dissension within the party. It gives me the last opportunity to correct my mistakes. I sincerely thank you and other comrades for your patience in educating and helping me. The party's systematic and historical criticism of my mistakes was absolutely necessary. Only by such criticism could I be made to truly realize the extreme danger of my mistakes and thus make it possible to eliminate the bad influence of my mistakes within and without the party. I now fully realize that my bourgeois world outlook and methodology were deep-rooted, and my individualism was most serious. I now also realize what a big price the party and the people have paid in cultivating me, and that if I had not been exposed and criticized in time, what danger there would be! In the past because of my bourgeois stand, I considered all your well-intentioned and sincere criticisms as blows at me. For this reason in each struggle against the erroneous line I did not receive any education nor any enlightenment. My serious errors were not corrected. I have been unworthy of your teaching and patience with me for the past 30 years. I am filled with indescribable shame and remorse. I have been ungrateful to the party, the people and you. Henceforth I must make a serious effort to thoroughly reflect upon my mistakes and study the theories of Marxism-Leninism in order to reform my own thought and make sure that I won't again do anything detrimental to the party and the people in my old age. I therefore petition the Central Committee to consider permitting me to study after the adjournment of the expanded meeting of the Military Commission or to go to a people's commune in Peking where I may learn and labor so that in the collective life of the working class I may get physical training and thought reform. Whether my proposal is proper or not I petition you to consider and favor me with a reply.

Respectfully yours,  
P'eng Te-huai

COMMENTS ON REPLY TO COMRADES A. V. SANINA AND V. G. VINSHIRE

(Circa 1959)

Fundamentally, this is incorrect. The basic standpoint is mistrust of the peasants, distrust of the peasants. Agricultural machines were tightly held, and, as a result, the state has the peasants under rigid control. Likewise, the peasants rigidly controlled the state.

From an overall point of view we do not perceive the role played by man. In the two transitions, Stalin was unable to find the means and method. He spoke only on the relationship of production and did not talk about the superstructure. In China, the rectification movement, the sending down of cadres to lower levels to do manual labor, the two participations and one reform [workers' participation in management and cadres participation in production, and the reform of irrational rules and regulations], the elimination of old rules and regulations, for example, are all political problems. They are problems belonging to the superstructure, and to the realm of metaphysics. Stalin did not talk about the superstructure. He talked about economics but said nothing about politics.

It appears that the problem of the transition from the system of collective ownership to the system of ownership by all the people has not been resolved. Let us air it a little and study it.

"All for one, one for all." This phrase is incorrect. It was not translated properly. Systems are the principal manifestations of the concept of bourgeois rights. A portion of our educational system has been destroyed. The three bad styles of work and the five undesirable airs have also been eliminated. With the production of commodities and the law of value yet to be implemented, it is not possible to expect the elimination of all concepts of bourgeois rights.

With the exception of rights and rich peasants, everyone wants to join the communes. However, success cannot be attained in a single step. The commune must, on one hand, develop production for its own consumption, and,

on the other hand, develop the production of marketable commodities. Our nation is deficient in commodities. It is a country insufficient in marketable grains. Communes should further develop the production of commodities to improve livelihood. This is the problem our economists avoid discussing. If the production of commodities is not carried out wages cannot be paid. The concept of bourgeois rights must definitely be eliminated. Wages, [preferential] treatment, and grades are all wrong. The 1956 wage reform was correct, and the concessions made at that time were necessary. There were flaws when it was implemented. The number of grades grew too large. Similar to the relationship of the cat and the mouse, all these must be eliminated.

Attention should be given to the system of communes. A responsible organizational corps is still necessary for it plays an effective role in the deployment of labor forces. The communes' mess must be managed well and the element of nutrition should be given study. It is all right to struggle strenuously for several consecutive days and nights, but be mindful of rest. The adoption of the system of ten hours of work and two hours of study in the rural areas is not exactly the same as in the urban areas. Hot brick beds are still needed in northern Shensi province, and the big cities should slow down the pace of setting up communes. Peking will not willingly fall behind.

CRITIQUE OF STALIN'S "ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM  
IN THE SOVIET UNION"

[1959?]

This book by Stalin has not a word on the superstructure from the beginning to the end. It never touches upon man. We read of things but not man. Whether the supply system contributes to economic development should be discussed. Should there be commodity production or not? The viewpoint of Stalin's last letter is completely wrong. His basic error is his distrust of the people.

Some of the points he makes in Chapters I, II and III are correct but other points show his confusion. Thus on planned economy he has not completed his argument. The rate of economic development of the Soviet Union was not very great, though greater than that of capitalism. Stalin does not make clear the relationship between industry and agriculture, or between light and heavy industries.

I think the Soviets have disadvantages. They have not seen clearly the relationship between long-term and immediate interests; they have not achieved any remarkable development. They walk on one leg while we walk on two legs. They believe technology and cadres decide everything. They emphasize specialization but not redness, cadres but not the masses. All these show that they walk on one leg only. They haven't found the major contradictions in heavy industry. Thus steel is the foundation, machinery the heart and coal the food.... We consider steel as the key link, the major contradiction in industry; in agriculture, we consider grain as the key link while other products develop proportionately.

Chapter I discusses the administration of laws, but how this is to be done is not mentioned. We agree to commodity production, the law of value and other points, but there are also questionable points. Commodity production is not necessarily limited to means of consumption. The basic viewpoint in the third letter is distrust of peasants. Basically Stalin failed to chart the way from collective ownership to ownership by all the



people. We retain the formula of commodity production and exchange. In regard to the law of value we want planning and politics in command, but the Soviets pay attention to production relationship only and ignore superstructure, politics and the role of the people. Without a communist movement it is impossible to attain communism.<sup>1</sup>

(1) ... They confuse two categories: One is scientific law which reflects the objective process in Nature or society independent of human will. Another is government laws and decrees which are created by human will and have only legal effect. But these two categories should not be confused.

1. This law is basically correct but it has two shortcomings:

a. The subjective activity of the party and the masses is not clearly explained.

b. It is incomplete for it fails to point out that the laws and decrees are correct because they reflect not only the will of the working class but also the requirements of economic laws.

(2) ... Naturally, in astronomy, geology and other similar processes men have no way to exercise any influence, even though they may understand the law of development. (page 2)

2. This argument is incorrect. Man's ability to know and change Nature is unlimited. Stalin failed to look into future development: What cannot be done now may be done in the future.

(3) As to the law of economic development and the laws of political science and economics -- in the period of capitalism or the period of socialism -- the same thing should be said. Here as in natural science the law of economic development reflects the objective law governing the process of economic development that is independent of man's will. (page 3)

3. How should planned economy be handled? Not enough attention is given to light industry and agriculture.

(4) Just because of this Engels said on this point: "The laws of man's social actions are similar to the laws of Nature that are alien to man and yet control man and that are opposed to man. These laws will be employed by man expertly and will therefore be subject to his control. (page 3)

4. Freedom is a natural, objective law which has been recognized. It is opposed to man and independent. But once you recognize it, you can control it.

(5) The special role of the soviet political power is determined by the following two conditions: First, soviet political power did not replace a form of exploitation with another form of exploitation as happened

in revolutions in the past, but eliminated all forms of exploitation; second, because of the nonexistence of the rudiment of any socialist economy, the soviet political power had to create a new form of socialist economy.  
(page 4)

5. We need to study the certainty of the laws of socialist economics. At the Ch'eng-tu conference I said: See whether our set of measures (greater, faster, better and more economical, a three-pronged drive and the mass line) will catch on and succeed. It will take several or even more than ten years to find out. In the past there was skepticism about the laws of revolution but now they have been proved correct by the overthrow of the enemy. People still have doubts about the success of socialist economy. We still need to study whether the Chinese way meshes with Chinese economic laws. In my opinion, if it does generally, it should be all right.

(6) This task is undoubtedly difficult, complicated and unprecedented. (page 4)

6. In the creation of our form of socialist economy we have a Soviet precedent. We should therefore do better than the Soviets. If we should fail, it would show that we Chinese Marxists are inferior. The task is as difficult and complicated as the Soviets'.

(7) It has been said that our national economy has the certainty of planned (proportionate) development and enables the soviet political power to abolish the existing economic laws and enact new economic laws. This is absolutely untrue. We should not confuse our annual plans and five-year plans with the objective economic laws of national economy based on plans and ratios. (page 5)

7. This paragraph is the key point.

(8) ... That is to say, the laws of planned development of national economy enable our planning organizations to plan society's production correctly. But we should not confuse possibility with reality. These are two different things. If we want to turn possibility into reality, we should study, grasp and expertly apply this economic law and formulate plans that will meet the requirements of economic law. It is incorrect to claim that our annual plans and five-year plans can meet all the requirements of economic law. It is incorrect to claim that our annual plans and five-year plans can meet all the requirements of economic law.

8. The key point in this chapter is that we should not confuse an objective law based on planned ratios with plans. We have laid down plans in the past but there has often been conflict. We work blindly, sometimes producing too much and sometimes too little; we don't know what to do. After going through tortuous and saddle-like training, we began to use our brains and try to devise a new way. We laid down 40-article Agriculture Program which is being put into effect. We are formulating 40 new articles. After

three year's hard struggle, more will be developed. After thorough discussion, more will be done. Whether or not we can succeed will be proved through objective practice. For eight years we did not know that steel should be the key link in industry. This was the major contradiction in industry. This was also monism. Of the large, medium and small [enterprises], large is the mainstay. Between the central and local government the central government is the mainstay. A contradiction has two sides, one of which is the principal one. Eight years' achievements are of course important but it was a groping process. We cannot claim that we have correctly planned production or have abided by all objective laws. The whole party lays down the plan, not just the Planning Commission, or the Economic Commission, but party units of all grades and all party members. Theoretically, what Stalin says here is correct but he did not make a meticulous study and provide a fuller explanation. The Soviet Union made no distinction between large, medium and small [enterprises], nor between local and central governments, and failed to promote industry and agriculture simultaneously. It did not walk on both legs. Its regulations and systems held the people in bondage. On our part, we did not make a full study, or had full control, and therefore our plans do not fully reflect the objective laws.

(9) Let us analyze Engels' formula. This formula of Engels' cannot be termed as clear and definitive because it fails to point out whether society possesses all or a part of the means of production, i.e., whether all or a part of the means of production shifts to ownership by all the people. Engels' formula may be interpreted either way. (page 7)

9. This paragraph helps make an analysis. The problem is to divide it into two parts. The assertion that the means of production are not commodities deserves study.

((10) On page 7 of the original book, regarding "2. The Problem of Commodity Production under the Socialist System," Chairman Mao comments as follows:)

\* 10. The conditions of the existence of commodities are not fully explained. The existence of the two systems of ownership<sup>†</sup> is the principal premise for commodity production, but commodity production in the final analysis is related to the force of production. For this reason, even if socialist ownership by all the people is set up, commodity exchange merchandise is still necessary in certain areas.

(11) Thus we can see that in such countries as Engels referred to, in industry as well as in agriculture, capitalism and centralization of production are fully developed so that they are able to take all means of production and transfer them to ownership by all the people. Engels therefore felt that in such countries simultaneously with public ownership of all means of production, commodity production should be eliminated. This is undoubtedly correct. (page 8)

<sup>†</sup> THAT IS, OWNERSHIP BY THE STATE & OWNERSHIP BY COOPERATIVES.

11. Stalin's analysis of Engels' formula is correct. Some of us are inclined to eliminate commodity production completely, frowning on commodity production, considering it as an aspect of capitalism. But for the solidarity of hundreds of millions of peasants it is still necessary to vigorously develop commodity production and to increase currency. This concerns the thinking of hundreds of thousands of cadres and the solidarity of 500 million peasants. We now possess only a part of the means of production. Some people seem to think that we should immediately proclaim ownership by all the people in order to deprive the medium and small producers of their production and not to announce whether ownership is ultimately invested in the commune or the county. Abolition of commodities and commodity production and the announcement of ownership by all the people would only deprive the peasants of their production. Toward the end of 1955 procurement and purchases brought less than 90 billion catties of grain. It was a disturbing problem. Everybody talked about food and every household discussed unified purchasing. It was still purchase, not allocation. Finally, we decided to handle 83 billion catties and this eased the tension. I don't know why people suddenly seem to have forgotten the problem.

(12) Here I put aside the problem of foreign trade which has great significance in Britain's national economy. I feel that only after a study of this problem and after the proletariat in Britain has won political power and all means of production are nationalized can the fate of commodity production be decided. (page 8)

12. The fate hinges upon the problem whether commodity production should be abolished or not.

(13) But there is a problem: If in a certain country, as has happened in this country, circumstances are favorable for the proletariat to win political power and overthrow capitalism... the peasants could for a long period of time be thrown into the camp of the enemy of the proletariat. (pages 8 and 9)

13. In short, the law of commodity production was not grasped. Chinese economists are Marxists but in economic practice Marxism falls short; its thoughts are confusing. If we should commit any blunder, we would lead the peasants to the enemy.

(14) Lenin's answer may be summarized as follows:

a. Do not let go favorable conditions for seizing political power. The proletariat should seize political power. Don't wait until capitalism has rendered millions or tens of millions of medium and small individual producers and inhabitants bankrupt.

(15) b. Deprive industry of the means of production and transfer them to ownership by all the people.

(16) c. Gradually unite all medium and small individual producers in producers' cooperatives. In other words, unite them in large-scale agricultural enterprises and collective farms.

(17) d. Develop industry by all means and lay the foundation of modern technology for large-scale production in collective farms. At the same time refrain from depriving collective farms of materials; on the contrary, supply them speedily with first-class tractors and other machinery.

(18) e. For economic cooperation between cities and villages and between industry and agriculture, maintain for a definite period of time commodity production (through buying and selling exchange), which is the only formula acceptable to the peasants for economic liaison with cities, and exert full efforts to develop soviet trade, i.e., state trade and cooperative-collective farm trade and expel all capitalists from commodity circulation.

The history of our socialist construction proves that the way of development charted by Lenin is correct.

(19) Beyond doubt this way of development is a sure way to victory over capitalist countries which have sizeable medium and small producer classes. (pages 9 and 10)

14. This analysis is correct. In China there has been progress.

The following five items are all correct.

15. Our policy towards the national bourgeoisie is redemption.

16. We develop people's communes on a larger scale.

17. We are doing it.

18. Those who are opposed to commodity production are wrong. For commodity production we have to refer to Stalin who in turn referred to Lenin. Lenin said: Develop commerce with full vigor. On our part, we should say: Develop industry, agriculture and commerce with full vigor. The problem is a peasant problem. Some people think that peasants are more brilliant than workers. These five items we either have carried out or are carrying out. Some are still developing. For example communes run industry, and industry and agriculture are developed simultaneously.

19. Lenin said the same thing.

(20) Never look upon commodity production as independent and detached from the surrounding economic conditions. Commodity production is even older than capitalist production. It existed under the slave system and even served that system.... However, though it set down a number of conditions for capitalist production, it did not lead to capitalism.

(21) You may have noticed that commodity production in our country has not expanded as unreservedly and all-embracingly as under capitalism. (22) As a result of such determinative economic conditions as the establishment of public ownership of means of production, and the elimination of hired labor and exploitation, (23) it has been subject to strict restrictions. May I ask why commodity production in a country such as ours cannot within a period of time lead to capitalism while it is serving our socialist society? (page 11)

20. This statement is rather forced. Commodity production did not contribute to the capitalist system.

21. The Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee brought up the policies of utilization, restriction and reform.

22. We have this condition completely.

23. Entirely correct. We don't have these conditions and situations any more. People who are afraid of commodities are afraid of capitalism. They don't know that after the elimination of the capitalists we can develop commodity production on a large scale. Our country is still backward in commodity production, even behind Brazil and India. Commodity production is not isolated. It depends upon what it is associated with -- capitalism or socialism. With capitalism it is capitalist commodity production; with socialism it is socialist commodity production. In China commodity production began in ancient time. In history commerce began in the Shang dynasty. King Chou of the Yin dynasty who was well-versed in both literature and military science, Chin-shih-huang and T'sao T'sao were wrongly branded as evil men. This is incorrect. If we believe all that the books say, it is better to have no books. In capitalist society there is no socialist system but actually the working class and the socialist ideology exist in capitalist society. What determines commodity (production) are the prevailing economic conditions. Can commodity production be looked upon as a useful instrument to promote socialist production? I think it abjectly serves socialism. This problem may be discussed by cadres.

(24) Some people say that after the establishment of public ownership of means of production and the eradication of hired labor and exploitation in our country, commodity production will have lost its significance. For this reason, commodity production should be abolished. (page 11)

24. If we change "our country" to read "China," it would be very interesting.

(25) ... In our country today two basic forms of socialist production exist: One is the whole people of the state; the other cannot be called the collective farms of the whole people. (page 11)

25. Here "today" refers to 1952, 35 years after the [Soviet] Revolution. We are but 9 years [old].

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TRANSLATION  
IS WAY  
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IT APPEARS  
THAT NEITHER  
STALIN OR MAO  
APPRECIATED  
THE DANGERS  
OF COMMODITY  
PRODUCTION  
WHEN THOSE  
RESPECTIVE  
SENTENCES  
WERE WRITTEN

Here we talk of two basic forms. Not only land and machinery but also labor, seeds and other means of production are owned by the people's commune. Therefore all products are the commune's possessions. Do not think that this is something the Chinese peasants cannot achieve. The secretary of the Hsiu-wu County, Honan committee worried whether the state would pay wages in time of famine after institution of ownership by all the people and the supply system. When there is a bumper harvest the state takes the public grain and yet it cannot afford to pay wages. Thus with either a famine or a bumper harvest there are difficulties. We have to consider this problem for the peasants. Marxists ought to consider this problem. Our commodity production should be fully developed; we have to be patient for 15 or more years. After decades of war, we still have to be patient. In the liberation of Taiwan and in socialist construction we also need patience; we cannot expect victory at an early date.

(26) ... This is a special problem that requires separate discussion. (page 12)

26. Stalin dodged this problem. He did not find any measure nor any suitable form. (This refers to the question of transition from collective farms to [ownership] by all the people.)

(27) It may be seen here that our commodity production is not ordinary but special commodity production in which no capitalist participates. This type of commodity production is basically related to the commodities of the associated socialist producers (the state, collective farms and cooperatives). Its scope of activities is confined to individual consumer goods and apparently cannot develop to become capitalist production. Moreover, it is destined to jointly develop with "currency economics" and strengthen socialist production. (page 12)

27. Its activities are not confined to individual consumer goods. Some means of production are commodities. If agricultural products are commodities and industrial goods are not, how are we going to exchange? If in this paragraph we change "our country" to "China" it would really be interesting to read.

In China not only consumer goods but also agricultural means of production are to be supplied. Stalin did not sell means of production to peasants but Khrushchev changed the policy.

(28) On page 13 of the original book Chairman Mao's comment is as follows:

28. The demarcation between socialism and communism and the demarcation between collective ownership and ownership by all the people are two problems which should not be confused. The commodity production problem left over from collective ownership is aimed at consolidating the alliance between industry and agriculture and developing production. Some people say that the peasants

strongly believe in communism. They toured the countryside and were impressed with the peasants' high spirits. They are inclined to think that the peasants are stronger than the workers. We should seek substantive proof in the peasants' true spirit of communism and, more importantly, in the ownership of the commune, including its collective ownership of the means of production and means of consumption. Like the secretary of the Hsiu-wu County committee, it should develop commodity production and not push forward blindly.

(29) Moreover, I think we should discard certain other concepts taken from Marx's Das Kapital which analyzes capitalism and is forced upon our country's socialist relationships.... Obviously the concepts (domains) which Marx uses are completely compatible with capitalist relationships. But since the working class is not deprived of political power and means of production and, on the contrary, is holding political power and possessing means of production (30), it is surprising that these concepts should still be used. (31) At present in our system, to say that labor is a commodity and that workers are "hired" is absolute nonsense. It is like saying that the working class which possess means of production is hiring itself and selling its own labor to itself.... (page 13)

29. Especially the means of production of industrial departments.

30. Large-scale development of commodity production is not for profits but for the peasants, for the alliance of industry and agriculture, and for the development of production.

31. Especially after the rectification campaign. After the rectification and anti-rightist campaigns, labor is no longer a commodity. It does not serve the jen-min-pi [currency] but, rather the people. This makes labor no longer a commodity.

(32) People sometimes ask: In our country under the socialist system does the law of value exist? And does it function? (page 14)

32. The law of value has no regulating function. Planning and politics in command have that function.

(33) ... Under our system the law of value will not function as a production regulator. (page 16)

33. In our society the law of value has no regulating function, i.e., no determining function. Planning has the determining function. For instance, hogs, steel and iron are not regulated by the law of value but by planning.

Note:

1. The first, second, third and fourth sections of this article are comments on the whole book. What follow are comments on each chapter, each page. Preceding the comments are Stalin's original text based on the



People's Publishing House translation of the third edition, published in January 1938. Page numbers are given to facilitate examination and checking to enable better understanding of Chairman Mao's comments.

-- The printer

## EXAMPLES OF DIALECTICS (ABSTRACTED COMPILATION)

[1959?]

### 1. To Understand Analysis is to Understand Dialectics

To understand analysis is to understand dialectics. Lenin said dialectics could be summed up as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. Such being the case, the core of dialectics can be grasped immediately. But it is necessary to explain and develop this doctrine. The unity of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitional, relative, and mutually exclusive. On the other hand, the unity of opposites is absolute, just as development and movement are absolute. Therefore, balance is temporary and can be disrupted, and it is our responsibility to acquire balance more steadily with each passing day. As far as a person of ability is concerned, it does not depend upon whether or not he could have prevented the Hungarian and Polish incidents from arising, but upon whether or not after the incidents had arisen he had the ways and means to resolve the problems.

### 2. Dialectics is to Present Two Methods for Comparison in Everything

The integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the specific practice of China is materialism. Both are the unity of opposites, which is dialectics. Why insist on arguing? It is simply to avoid discussing dialectics. The Soviet Union has its own way of doing things. The Soviet experiences are one side and China's practice is also one side. This is the unity of opposites. The Soviet Union should pick the good ones from among its experiences and follow them, pick the bad ones and discard them. To isolate the Soviet experiences and not integrate them with the Chinese practice is not to pick the good experiences and follow them. If one publishes a newspaper and argues in the same way as Pravda, which is not analytical, he will be like a 3-year-old child which needs support everywhere, inasmuch as it has lost its independent thinking. In everything, it is necessary to present two methods for comparison. This is dialectics. Otherwise, it will be metaphysics.

### 3. Dialectics is to Study the Main Trend and the Side Issues, the Essence and the Outward Appearance

Dialectics is to study the main trend and the side issues, the essence and the outward appearance. In contradictions there are principal contradictions and secondary contradictions. In the past, such errors as anti-venturesome advance arose because we did not grasp the principal contradictions and the essence, and tried to solve the secondary contradictions as principal contradictions, and because we took the side issues as the main trend and did not grasp the essence. The State Council and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held meetings and solved many isolated questions, but they did not grasp the essential questions. At this meeting we brought up many questions from the past for consultation and resolution.

### 4. To Examine a Question It is Necessary to Consider the Essence and the Main Trend

Marxism tells us that to examine a question, it is necessary to consider the essence, the main trend, and the line. This is to see whether or not he builds socialism at home, opposes imperialism internationally, and works for internationalism within the socialist camp. These three items constitute a line. As members of the Chinese Communist Party, we also are a party which opposes imperialism and is for socialism and internationalism. So are the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. These aspects manifest the essence of the Marxist-Leninist line. We can make a comparison to see if they are steadfast or not. Take Tito. Is he steadfast? It seems to me that all three items are lacking in the things that he does. He does not want any part of anti-imperialism. He is always talking about how good American imperialism is and how bad the Soviet Union is.

### 5. The Unity of Opposites and Mutual Transformation

All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should call meetings once every two months to review and sum up their work. They should call small meetings of several persons or a dozen or so persons. In the coordination and cooperation aspect they also can hold a meeting every two or three months. Many changes can occur in a movement and it is all the more necessary to exchange information. The meetings are for the purpose of harmonizing the rhythm of production. Work and production should have rhythm. One wave comes in as another crests. This is the unity of the opposites of high speed and low speed. Wave-like advances under the General Line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results is the unity of the opposites of high speed and low speed, as well as the unity of opposites of labor and rest. If there are high speed and labor only, it will be onesided. If it is labor alone and no rest, then how can it be! In doing anything there has to be a period of high speed and a period of low speed. In fighting a war in the past, there had to be periods of consolidation, replenishment and rest between two campaigns. It would be impossible to fight one campaign after another. In fighting a war there also has to be

a tempo. The Central Soviet Area was 100 percent Bolshevized. "It objected to consolidation and advocated resoluteness, fearlessness, firmness and daringness, pressing forward in victory, and making a direct attack on Nanch'ang." How is it possible? Hard battle and rest and consolidation are the unity of opposites. This is the law. They also are mutually transformable. There isn't anything that is not mutually transformable. High speed turns into low speed, and low speed turns into high speed. Labor turns into rest, and rest turns into labor. Rest and consolidation, and hard battle are also like this. Labor and rest, and high speed and low speed also have identity. Rest and consolidation, and hard battle also have identity. Getting out of bed and going to bed are also the unity of opposites. An old saying goes: He who has slept for a long time thinks of getting up." Sleeping transforms into getting up, and getting up transforms into sleeping. Opening a meeting transforms into closing a meeting. Once a meeting is opened, it immediately embraces the factor of closing the meeting. This is just what Wang Hsi-feng [3769 3556 7685] meant when she said: "Though awnings were put up for a thousand li, there never was a permanent feast."<sup>1</sup> This is the truth. It cannot be decided by man. It should be decided by whether it is the truth or not. After a meeting is closed, problems pile up and transform into opening a meeting. After unity has been implemented for a while, there will be a difference in opinion and it will transform into a struggle. When differences arise, disunity begins anew. It is not possible to have unity every day or every year. When unity is talked about, then there must be disunity. Disunity is unconditional. Sometimes there still is no unity even when unity is talked about. Therefore, it is necessary to do something in order to attain unity. To talk all the time about unity, and never about struggle, is not Marxism. Unity must go through struggle before unity can be attained. This is the same within the ranks of the Party, class or people. Unity transforms into struggle and again into unity. One cannot talk about unity alone without talking about struggles and contradictions. The Soviet Union does not talk about contradictions between the leadership and the led. Without contradictions and struggles, there will be no world, no development, no life, no anything. To talk all the time about unity can be likened to a pool of stagnant water. It is dreary. We must break down the old basis of unity, go through struggle, and attain unity on a new basis. Which is better, a pool of stagnant water or the endless flow of the streaming waters of the Yangtze River? The Party is this way, and so are the people and the class. Unity-struggle-unity. Then there will be work to do. Production transforms into consumption and consumption transforms into production. Production is for the sake of consumption.

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<sup>1</sup>Lin Tai-yu was deeply moved when the feast ended and the guests dispersed. This was metaphysics. It was from ignorance of the objective laws that when there is a gathering there must be separation. Wang Hsi-fang did not try to seek the favor of Lin, but she said: "Though awnings were put up for a thousand li, there never was a permanent feasts." Nevertheless, that was dialectics.

Producers are not merely for the sake of other workers, but they themselves are also consumers. Marx said that production implies consumption. Production and consumption, and construction and destruction are the unity of opposites, and mutually transformable. The production of the whole country is for the sake of consumption, and the renovation of equipment and installations over a few decades. Seeding turns into harvesting, and harvesting turns into seeding. Seeding is to use up seeds. After seeds are sown, they will grow into seedlings. If no seeds are sown, there will be no seedlings. After harvesting, new seeds are sown. Life and death are also mutually transformable. Life transform into death, and lifeless things transform into living things. I maintain that henceforth celebrations be held for people who passed away at over 50 years of age. This is because people inevitably will die. It is a natural law. Grains are annual plants. Every year they live once and die once. Moreover, the more they die, the more they grow. If pigs are not slaughtered, they will become fewer and fewer. Who is going to feed them? The Soviet Union's "Concise Dictionary of Philosophy" takes upon itself to differ with me. It says that the transformation of life and death is metaphysical and that the transformation of war and peace is erroneous. Who is right after all? Please ask, if living things are not transformed from lifeless things, whence do they come? The earth is composed of inorganic matters and organic matters. All living organisms are converted from nitrogen, hydrogen, and 10 other elements. Living things invariably are transformed from lifeless things. Sons transform into fathers, and fathers transform into sons. Females transform into males, and males transform into females. Direct transformation is not possible. But after marriage when sons and daughters are begotten, is that not transformation? The mutual transformation of the oppressed and the oppressors refers to the relationship between landlords and capitalists on the one side and workers and peasants on the other. Of course, by oppressors we mean the ruling class, and not the people. We are talking about class dictatorship and not about individual oppressors. War transforms into peace, and peace transforms into war. Peace is the opposite of war. When there is no war, it is peace. When hostilities break out at the 38th Parallel, it is war. Once war stops, it is peace again. Military affairs are a special kind of politics. War is an extension of politics. Politics is also a kind of war. At any rate, quantity transforms into quality, and quality transforms into quantity. Dogmatism is intense in Europe. Since the Soviet Union has some shortcomings, transformation is absolutely necessary. Likewise, if we do not make good, we also will transform. If at that time our industry becomes the first in the world, we will possibly be cocky and become rigid in our thinking. Infinite transforms into finite, and finite transforms into infinite. Ancient dialectics transforms into medieval metaphysics, and medieval metaphysics transforms into modern dialectics. The universe is transformable. So is society. Capitalism transforms into socialism and then communism. Communism also will transform itself. It also has a beginning and an end. To be sure, it will be divided into stages. Perhaps it will be given another name. It will not be fixed. If there is quantitative change only, and no qualitative change, it will act contrarily to

dialectics. There is nothing in this world that does not go through emergence, development and extinction. Ape changed into man and man emerged. The ultimate outcome of mankind as a whole is extinction. Man will possibly change into another kind of thing. By then the earth will no longer exist. The sun will have cooled. Even now the heat of the sun has cooled considerably, as compared with ancient times. In the flacial period, changes occurred every 12 million years. When the glaciers came, living things died in great numbers. Under the South Pole there are deposits of coal. Thus it can be seen that it was very hot there in ancient times. In Yen-ch'ang [1693 7022] County, fossils were dug out bearing traces of bamboo of the Sung Dynasty. In ancient times, bamboo was grown in Yen-ch'ang. Now it won't grow there.

Things invariably have a beginning and an end. There are only two infinities: time and space. Infinities are composed of finites. All kinds of things develop and change gradually.

To talk about all this is to make us think and enliven our thought. It is very dangerous to immobilize one's brains. Leading cadres and cadres at central, provincial, regional and county levels are all very important. All systems included, there are several hundred thousand cadres. They have to think more. They should not always read classical works, but rather set their brains into motion so as to enliven their thinking.

#### 6. Correct Line is Formed in the Course of Struggle with Incorrect Line

Mistakes will still be made. It is impossible not to make mistakes. To make mistakes is an indispensable prerequisite to the formation of a correct line. A correct line is spoken of in regard to an incorrect line. The two of them are the unity of opposites. A correct line is formed in the course of struggle with an incorrect line. To say that all mistakes are avoidable and that only accuracy is free of mistakes is a viewpoint which violates Marxism-Leninism. The question is making fewer mistakes or making smaller mistakes. Accuracy and inaccuracy are the unity of opposites. The two-point theory is correct, while the single-point theory is incorrect. Historically, there is no such fact as only accuracy being free of mistakes. It is merely to deny the unity of opposites. This viewpoint is metaphysical. If there were only men and no women, or denied [the existence of] women, what would we do? It is possible to strive for making the least mistakes. Making fewer mistakes can be, and should be, done. Both Marx and Lenin were able to do it.

#### 7. Things Will Invariably Head Toward Their Opposites

Things will invariably head toward their opposites. The dialectics of Greece, the metaphysics of the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. It was a negation of negation. China was also like this. The contention of one hundred schools of thought in the period of Warring States was dialectics and the classical learning of the feudal times was metaphysics. Now we have returned to talking about dialectics, is it not? Comrade Fan Wen-lan,

you are well acquainted with this. The way I look at it is that after 15 years, our tail will definitely be wagging in the air. Of course, because things will head toward their opposites, I cannot but exert my utmost efforts. Even if big-nation chauvinism emerges in the future, it will also head toward its opposite. If there is one correct thing that will substitute for big-nation chauvinism, what is there to fear? It is not possible for all socialist countries to become chauvinistic. Lenin's dialectics, Stalin's metaphysics, and present-day dialectics. All this is also a negation of negation.

#### 8. There is Tension and There are Relaxation and Consolidation

There is tension and there are relaxation and consolidation. It won't do to have continual tension. There ought to be tension and relaxation. Overworking is no good. Overstraining won't do. Red and expert schools are being organized extensively in Hopeh and Honan Provinces. This is very good. But everything is too intense. People doze off in class. Teachers are also tired, but they don't dare to doze off. We must be both fast and slow. If there were tension without relaxation, even [Emperors] Wen and Wu [of Chou Dynasty] would not have been able to continue for long. If there were relaxation without tension, Wen and Wu also would not have been able to continue for long! Both Emperor Wen and Emperor Wu were saints! But still, they would not have been able to do it. There is tension and there is relaxation. There is unity and there is struggle. It won't do to have unity only, and no struggle. We must struggle against the doubting Thomases and those who advocate settling accounts after the fall, but our purpose in so doing is for unity. What Ah Q feels most deeply about is that he has been refused permission to make revolution. It is not good to criticize him persistently and not help him to reform. Firstly, struggle; secondly, assist. We must be good-hearted. It is bad not to have a good heart or to beget an evil desire, which is nothing more than down with you and let me take over. Is it better to have one man too many or one man too few? To have a few more people is better. We must bring all positive factors into play.

#### 9. Transformation of Opposites

China has an advantage. It is poor and blank. This also has a dual character. Being poor means revolution is necessary. It is not good to have only limited knowledge. But it is comparable to a sheet of white paper. One side has been written on. There is not much more writing to be done. The other side has not been written on. It is blank. There is much writing to be done. For after a few decades we will be able to catch up with foreign countries.

#### 10. The Question of Death and Life Struggle

The question of death and life struggle. There has been 10,000 years of death and life struggle. Should death be held in check or not? It won't do to have no deaths. It won't do either to have nothing but deaths. Like the steel quota, the dead guarantee the key point, while the living stay

beyond the key point and do not obstruct it. The system of free public care includes both the dead and the living and takes care of everybody. The two aspects of death and life are centralization and decentralization, which unite and have both. Precisely, the system of free public care is the unity of the contradictions between death and life. That is the principle of assuming arbitrary power and decentralizing some of it.

#### 11. Truths and Fallacies are Contradictory; Accuracies Result from Struggles with Inaccuracies

Truth and fallacies are contradictory. Accuracies result from struggles with inaccuracies. Beauty and ugliness are contradictory. If there are no good people, there will be no bad people. If there are no bad people, there will be no good people. If there are no very good people, there will be no very bad people. Flagrant flowers and poisonous weeds. We are not afraid of poisonous weeds. When they have overgrown, everybody will come and dig them out. Truths are developed from struggles with fallacies. In the course of these struggles good people increase in number and bad people decrease. What are poisonous weeds? I once put the question to Bulganin. Over 100 years ago, tomatoes were poisonous weeds in Europe. I have also said that many historical personalities like Jesus Christ, Galileo, Copernicus, Martin Luther, and Sun Yat-sen, and communist parties have been considered by people as poisonous weeds. This class may take something as poisonous weeds, while that class may be convinced that they are fragrant flowers. John Foster Dulles, for example, was a fragrant flower of the American bourgeoisie, but people of the whole world regarded him as a poisonous weed. What is Chiang Kai-shek? He was fragrant for a time. During the Great Revolution he was fragrant. During the War of Resistance people shouted, Long live Chiang Kai-shek. Generalissimo Chiang is an old friend of mine. All this is the unity of opposites, the struggle of opposites. Only when there is comparison can a distinction be made and development materialize. When there is no comparison, how is it possible to develop and create? Marxism-Leninism has been developed in the course of struggle with the bourgeoisie.

#### 12. Established Opposites

There are two kinds of established opposites. One kind has originally existed in society. For example, the rightists. Whether we let them loose or not is a question of policy. When we decided to organize a frank airing of views, we let them out to serve as opposites and mobilized the laboring people to debate with them, oppose them, and knock them down. There were many rightists among primary school teachers. Of the 300,000 rightists, primary school teachers constituted almost one-half. Opposites did exist in the persons of the 300,000 rightists. We have let them loose so as to educate the people and enable the people to analyze them. The other kind of established opposite does not exist in nature, but it possesses material conditions. For example, after building a dam, we can employ artificial methods to establish opposites so that the level of the water can be raised or lowered to generate power or to sail a boat. Putting a factory into operation is also an artificially-established opposite. The An-shan Steel Mill was constructed by the Japanese. The Ch'ang-ch'un Motor Vehicle Plant was new. It is an



opposite established by the people. What nature does not have can be built artificially, but there must be a material basis. Satellites are launched into space artificially. They can be sent into space once the laws governing them are found. We are objectivists and are not afraid of secession, because secession is a natural phenomenon. It seems to me that the secession of Vyacheslav M. Molotov was to the advantage of the Soviet Union, the secessionist endeavors of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Lo Chang-lung [5012 4545 7893], Chang Kuo-t'ao, and Kao Kang were to our advantage, and the Wang Ming line once and again, and the "left" deviationist line thrice during the civil war period have educated our Party. These many opposites all have their advantages. Of course, it is not necessary to create Molotov, Kao Kang or Ch'en Tu-shiu artificially. As long as there is that certain climate he will emerge. There is nothing to fear, though. We must overcome them. So-called optimism is our principal aspect. We also have our worries. When the rightists emerged, could anybody not have worried? I was a bit worried. It was necessary for me to talk about the art of leadership so as to turn a bad thing into a good thing. If earlier one had the foresight he could have prevented it from occurring or after it had occurred, turned it into a good thing. We will not be afraid if among the 12 million Party members there are 20,000 or 30,000 who possess awareness and foresight. What is there to be afraid of, anyway! It won't do to be afraid! We will strive for not having to fight a world war. But if we have to fight, we will not be afraid. The general policy is: "To take warning from the past in order to be more careful for the future; to treat the illness in order to save the patient." We must allow people who have made mistakes in line to correct those mistakes. Today we are very much united. Everything is calm. All is well in the center and locally. We have now resolved the anti-venturesome advance problem and attained new unity on a new basis.

### 13. To Establish Opposites is Very Important

The initiative of the masses exists objectively. It is very important to establish opposites. If we allow the rightists to turn loose or speak up, it is according to plan. We do this in order to establish opposites. After the Rectification Campaign, some comrades overlooked rectification and remolding, and laid stress on big-character wall newspapers and the 2-anti movement [against waste and conservatism] for the purpose of establishing opposites. So-called opposites can only be established if they are things which exist objectively. Things which do not exist objectively cannot be established as opposites.

### 14. Listen to the Opinions of Opposites

To respect materialist dialectics is to encourage debate. We must listen to the opinions of opposites, raise questions, and expose the opposites.

### 15. Study Questions of Dialectics

I don't know which comrade brought up at the Chengchow Conference the question of "Big Collective and Small Freedom." Anyway, it is very good.

If it were "Big Freedom and Small Collective," John Foster Dulles, Huang Yen-p'ei [7806 3508 1014], and Jung I-jen [2837 3015 0088] would have welcomed it. We have to grasp production and livelihood as well. This is the unity of opposites. To talk on two legs is also the unity of opposites. All this belongs to the domain of dialectics. Karl Marx's theory concerning materialist dialectics made great progress in our country in 1958. For example, under the prerequisite of giving priority to the development of heavy industry, we have carried out the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of heavy industry and light industry, of national industries and local industries, of big, medium and small-sized enterprises, of small indigenous groups and large modern groups, and of indigenous and modern methods. Then there is the system of administration -- central unified leadership and local level-to-level administration. Authority must be distributed among all places from the central government down through provinces, regions, counties, communes to production teams. It is not beneficial to give them no authority at all. These several conceptions have been affirmed in our Party and this is very good. Small indigenous groups and large modern groups are also being promoted simultaneously. There still are medium modern groups. Are T'ang-shan and Lien-yun-kang, for example, not medium-sized? Are there small modern groups? Yes, there are. Besides, there are modern-indigenous integrated groups. In a word, this is very complicated. Some countries in the socialist camp will consider these things as illegitimate and not permissible. We permit them. In a country such as ours, which is poor in the extreme, it is very well to organize some small indigenous groups! It will be too monotonous to concentrate on organizing large modern groups. In agriculture, it is also very complicated. There are high yields and low yields. High and low yields exist simultaneously. The policy of "three thirds system" now being implemented extensively in cultivation was a creation of the masses. It was grasped by the Pei-tai-ho Conference, which set forth one-third of the land for growing foodstuff, one-third of the land for lying idle, and one-third of the land for growing trees. It is possible that this will be the trend of agricultural development. The Pei-tai-ho Conference also came out with an "Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture" -- irrigation, fertilizer, soil improvement, seeds, close planting, crop protection, reform of farm tools, and field management. Irrigation means water. Man can't do without water. Likewise plants can't do without water.

With regard to social systems, where are in the socialist stage two kinds of ownership which exist side by side and are the unity of opposites. Collective ownership contains the factors of communist ownership by all the people. Yu-chin recently said that China is correct in presenting the viewpoint that collective ownership contains the communist factors and that the Soviet Union's collective ownership and ownership by all the people also contain the communist factors. Capitalist society does not permit organizing the mode of production of the socialist collective, but the communist factors should be allowed to grow in socialist enterprises under the leadership of communist parties. Stalin was wrong in rendering absolute the three kinds of ownership, namely: collective ownership, socialist ownership by all the

people, and communist ownership by all the people, and describing them as distinctly separate. Will the above constitute the development of dialectics or not?

The Chengchow Conference put forth the slogans, "Big Collective and Small Freedom." and "Grasp Production and Grasp Livelihood." This is an extension of dialectics. The Wu-ch'ang conference brought up the question of combining enthusiasm with scientific analysis. In mapping out a plan, which can be blowing hot and cold, one needs to have not only great determination and zeal, but also considerable scientific analysis. Of course, it will not be possible for this resolution to resolve all our problems. It seems that it is better to delay proclamation of this resolution for a while. We will issue only a communique for now. Next year, in March, we will make public the resolution at the National People's Congress. In this way it will be consistent with our determination and zeal on the whole. It will avoid certain impractical notions conceived as a result of the Great Leap Forward in 1958. It will be more authoritative and more analytical scientifically. For a time I was in favor of producing 30 million tons of steel next year. Upon arrival in Wu-ch'ang, I thought it was not such a wonderful idea after all. Until then I was worried only about the question of whether there was a need and had not considered the question of whether it was possible. Later, I took the question of possibility into account. This year the output of 10.7 million tons has already been a great strain on us. The production of 30 million tons next year, 60 million tons in the year after that, and 120 million tons in 1962 is a deceptive possibility, and not a realistic possibility. Now we should cut down the fixed production quota a bit and not set it so high. We should make some allowance and let the practice of the masses exceed our plan. This is also a question in dialectics. The practice of the masses also includes the efforts of us leading cadres. If we set the quota a little lower and practice raises it, it is not opportunism. After liberation, steel production doubled again and again. In this world, from of old this had never happened. How can it be called opportunism? Here there is an international link. The socialist camp led by the Soviet Union is linked up with the international solidarity of the working class of the whole world. On this question we must not try to be the first in line. Nowadays, some counties are struggling somewhat for precedence. In fact, if we must be the first to enter into communism, it should be the An-shan Steel Mill, Fu-shan, Liaoning Province, Shanghai or Tientsin. It seems shameful for China to be the first to enter into communism. Besides, whether there is a possibility or not is also a question. The scientists of the Soviet Union number 1.5 million, highly qualified intellectuals several million, and engineers half a million, all more than the United States. The Soviet Union already has 55 million tons of steel, while we still have only this little tiny bit. Their accumulation is ever growing, while we have just begun to build up. That is why possibility is also a question. Khrushchev has served notice that the Soviet Union prepares to enter into communism 15 years from now and that the two kinds of ownership will be merged into one gradually. This is a very good thing. Even if it is possible for us to be the first to enter into communism, we should not do so. The October Revolution was Lenin's

undertaking. Are we not all learning from Lenin? What is the sense of hurrying? It is nothing but an attempt to go to Karl Marx and ask for a reward. If that is the case, we will probably commit a mistake on an international question. This also is a problem. We should talk about mutual benefit. Dialectics has been developed substantially and it immediately involves this problem.

#### 16. It is Necessary to Adopt Dialectical Methods to Treat Our Comrades

In treating our comrades, regardless of who they are, so long as they are not hostile or subversive elements, we should adopt an attitude of unity and dialectical methods instead of metaphysical methods. What is meant by dialectical methods? It means that we must analyze everything and that we must acknowledge that man invariably will make mistakes and not negate his everything because he has made mistakes. Lenin once said that there is not even one person in the whole world who has not made a mistake. I have committed many mistakes. These mistakes have been useful to me and have educated me. Any one person needs the support of others. "A good fellow still needs three helpers, a bamboo fence still needs three posts." This is a Chinese proverb. Another Chinese proverb has this to say: "Although the water lily is well and good, it still needs green leaves to lend support." You, K XXX [Khrushchev], although your water lily is well and good, it still needs green leaves to lend support. I, X X X, my water lily isn't well and good, it needs green leaves to give support all the more. We in China have yet another proverb, which goes something like this: "Three cobblers with their wits combined can equal Chu-ko Liang, the master mind." We are dealing with collective leadership. A lone Chu-ko Liang just isn't complete and will always have shortcomings. To me it seems an ill-advised attitude to call oneself omniscient and almighty like God. Therefore, what attitude should we adopt toward comrades who have committed mistakes? We should be analytical and adopt dialectical methods and not metaphysical methods. Our Party had previously bogged down in metaphysics -- dogmatism -- by completely destroying those people whom it did not like. As time passed, we criticized dogmatism and learned dialectics bit by bit. The basic viewpoint of dialectics is the unity of opposites. After acknowledging this viewpoint, what are we to do with a comrade who has made mistakes? Firstly, we will conduct a struggle to criticize thoroughly and eradicate completely his erroneous ideology. Secondly, we will help him. One, to struggle; two, to help. Starting from this, we will help him to correct his mistakes so that he will have a way out.

It will be different to treat another type of people. People like Tito and China's own Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Toward them there is no way to adopt a helpful attitude, because they are beyond remedy. People like Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek and the Czars are also incorrigible, and there is nothing to do but knock them down. This is because, as far as we are concerned, they are not of a dual nature, but of a sole nature. In the final analysis, it is also like this with regard to the imperialist and capitalist systems. In the end, they will certainly be displaced by the socialist system. The

same with ideology. We will substitute materialism for idealism, and atheism for theism. This is strategically speaking. Tactically, it will be different. It will be necessary to make compromises. In Korea, on the 38th Parallel, did we not make compromises with the Americans? In Vietnam, did [we] not make compromises with the French? In every tactical stage, we must be skilled in conducting struggles and at the same time in making compromises. Now let us go back to the relationship between comrades. I suggest that where there is estrangement between comrades, they should start negotiations. Some people appear to believe that once they enter into communism they will all become saints, with no disagreement and no shortcomings. When one cannot make analysis, that is to say when he is like an iron plate adjusted to uniformity, there is no need for negotiations. It looks as if once we enter into communism, it won't do unless we are 100 percent Marxists. In reality, there are various shades of Marxists. There are 100 percent Marxists, 90 percent Marxists, 70 percent Marxists, 60 percent Marxists, 50 percent Marxists. Some people are only 10 percent or 20 percent Marxists. Can we or can we not hold negotiations within a small circle, say, between two or among several persons? Can we or can we not negotiate, starting from unity and in the spirit of helpfulness? These of course are not negotiations with the imperialists, but negotiations within the ranks of communist people. This time, are we and 12 other countries conducting negotiations or not? Internationally, are 60 plus parties conducting negotiations or not? They are in fact conducting negotiations. This is to say that under the principle of not prejudicing Marxism-Leninism, we should accept some of the acceptable opinions of others and discard some of the discardable opinions of our own. In this way we will have two hands. With one hand we will struggle against a comrade who has made mistakes and with the other hand we will talk about unity with him. Struggle is for the purpose of standing resolutely for the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. This is one hand. The other hand is to talk about unity. Unity is for the purpose of giving him a way out and making compromises with him. This is called flexibility. The integration of the matter of principle and flexibility is a tenet of Marxism-Leninism. This is the unity of opposites.

No matter what world, particularly a class society, of course, it is always full of contradictions. Some people say that it is possible to "find" contradictions in a socialist society. To me it seems this interpretation is incorrect. One cannot say, "find" contradictions, when the world is full of them. Nowhere do contradictions not exist. No person cannot be analyzed. If a person is regarded as unanalyzable, then it is metaphysics. You look at the inside of an atomic bomb. It too is full of contradictions and unities of contradictions. There is the unity of the two opposites of atomic nucleus and electrons. Inside the nucleus there are the opposites of neutrons and protons. Inside a proton there are protons and anti-protons[sic], and inside a neutron there are neutrons and anti-neutrons [sic]. In a nutshell, the unities of opposites are endless. Concerning the viewpoint of the unity of opposites and dialectics, we have to carry on extensive propaganda. Our dialectics should leave the circle of philosophers and go into the midst of the broad masses. I suggest that we discuss this problem in political bureau meetings and central committee

plenary sessions of the communist party of every country, and at different levels of local party committees. As a matter of fact, our branch secretary understands dialectics. When he prepares to make his report to the branch congress, he often writes down two points on his small notebook. The first is merits, the second defects, which is one dividing into two. This is a universal phenomenon. This precisely is dialectics.

#### 17. The Relationship Between Right and Wrong

Within the party, or outside the Party, we must distinguish between right and wrong. An important question is how to treat people who have made mistakes. The correct attitude is to allow everybody to make revolution. When he has made a mistake, it is necessary to adopt the general policy of "taking warning from the past in order to be more careful for the future, and treating the illness in order to save the patient," and help him to correct his mistake. "The True Story of Ah Q" is a fine piece of writing. I would advise those people who have read it to reread it and those who have not read it to read it carefully. In this story, Lu Hsun wrote about a backward and unconscious peasant who feared most the criticism of others and would quarrel with anyone who criticized him. On his scalp there were ringworm scars in some places. Ah Q himself did not want to talk about these scars and was afraid that others would talk about them. The more he acted like this, the more people would talk. In the end, Ah Q would be put on the defensive. However, Lu Hsun specially wrote a chapter under the heading, "Barred from the Revolution," in which Magistrate Chao was said to have prevented Ah Q from making revolution. Actually, what Ah Q called a revolution was merely to loot a few things for himself. But Magistrate Chao would not even let him make revolution in this way. As to comrades such as Huang I-feng and Chang Hsiu-yun [1728 4423 0061] who have committed mistakes, some people say that we will have to see whether they reform or not. I say that it won't do just to see. We still have to help them to amend. This is to say, firstly, to see, and secondly, to help. The ideology of people who have not been "helped" sufficiently cannot be correct. If people make mistakes and you take pleasure in their calamity, then it is sectarianism. This is where Kao Kang had his fall, head over heels. He fabricated things such as a four-man clique and two market stalls. Assuming that these were true, what he should have done was firstly, to see, and secondly, to help. But he was not ready to do that. In the end, he fell down so hard he could not get up again. As far as the revolution is concerned, it is always better to have a few more people. Aside from a handful who persevere in mistakes or have a share in them whenever mistakes are made, the majority of people who have committed errors can be rectified. They are exactly like people who obtained immunity after being afflicted with, say, typhoid fever. As long as they are good at drawing lessons from mistakes in the future. On the contrary, people who have never made mistakes are especially prone to them, because they are too cocky. We must take note that if one excessively rectifies people who have committed mistakes, it often ends up having himself rectified. If we sincerely treat people who have made mistakes, we can gain popular support and solidarity with the

people. Whether a hostile attitude or a helpful attitude is adopted in the treatment of comrades who have made mistakes will be a criterion by which to distinguish the good-hearted from the black-hearted people. The general policy of treating the illness in order to save the patient is the general policy of uniting the whole Party. We must hold fast to this general policy.

#### 18. The Question of Ten Fingers

It is permissible to arouse emotions, but not to give vent to them. Sometimes, due to inexperience, we cause the masses to suffer setbacks. For a time, mistakes occurred on a number of questions. Examples: There were people who said too many cooperatives had been organized and wanted to chop off 100,000 of them. The two-wheeled double-share plow was given a bad name in the South. Now take the lewd poetry of a lecherous man for instance. Sung Yu attacked one point and came up short of the rest. The method is not good. But it was with this method that the rightists attacked us. A person has 10 fingers. If a boil appears on one of them, he will have to ask a doctor to treat it. He cannot chop it off. The other nine fingers are still good. Frequently, when people see that one finger is injured, they will say all ten fingers are defective. The rightists have attacked us in this way. However, good people sometimes also look at it the same way, and there are such people in the Communist Party. Be they members of the Communist Party or democratic parties or business circles, or be they highly qualified intellectuals, the majority of people can make progress. Even the rightists, the majority of them can become good again. If you don't believe in the majority, then you have lost confidence. And it is not good to lose confidence in the cause of the people. Today, 70 percent to 80 percent of the university students come from families of the exploiting class. But rightists constitute only 2 percent to 3 percent of these students. Aside from individual cases, these students will not be expelled from school. By employing such a policy, we can reform them.

#### 19. The Question of Nine Fingers and One Finger

Our comrades often are confused by their 10 fingers. Whenever something goes wrong, they will forget the 10 fingers. When shortcomings appear within the ranks of the laboring people, it is a question of nine fingers and one finger. When our comrades make mistakes, it is also like this. Here I am not talking about Ku Ta-ts'un [0657 1129 1317], Li Shih-nung [2621 1102 6593], P'an X X [3382 X X], Ch'en Tsai-li [7115 0375 0536], and Li Feng [2621 1496]. Comrade Wu P'u-chih [0702 0944 5347] made a very fine speech. Why did the Anhwei provincial delegation not talk about Li Shih-nung in its speech? The Chekiang provincial delegation did talk about Sha Wen-han [3097 2429 3352], but not enough. They should offer their valuable opinions and let everybody share their experience and knowledge. Why did they not talk about these people? These people are not a question of one finger and nine fingers. Sha Wen-han is a man with 10 black fingers. So is Ch'en Tsai-li.

Li Shih-nung has nine black fingers; only one of his fingers is clean. Those comrades who have made mistakes, and to whom I have referred as people with nine and one fingers, wavered in stormy times, but are now seeing clearly. I do not mean these people. We should unite with activists at various levels, protect them, and persist in protecting them. Although they have made mistakes, they are activists. They were afraid of flaming themselves during the full and frank airing of views. If we insist on shielding them, then everything will be all right. Their mistakes are only one-tenth. In the Rectification Campaign we should persist in protecting these cadres. The question of protecting the cadres is mentioned in the documents of the Tsingtao conference. As in the past, contradictions within the ranks of the laboring people are by and large a relationship between new fingers and one finger, individual cases excepted. Of the bourgeois middle-of-the-roaders, those in dead center are bourgeois things with five and five fingers, those left of center are bourgeois things with six to seven good fingers, and those right of center are bourgeois things with six to seven black fingers. They have opposed the ideology of the people for so long that they cannot wash themselves clean all at once and need cleansing over and over again. Bourgeois ideology will still seek restoration. There will be no big restoration, but small restoration is quite likely. Lo X X [5012 X X] said that counterrevolutionary restoration would still come and mentioned the mass line. He spoke well. Indeed, the bourgeoisie are also capable of stirring up a storm. Some of our comrades will still waver in the face of a grade 12 typhoon. The moment unrest sets in, restoration will follow. But the whole Party has gone through another year of tempering with the experience of last year and should be able to sit tight in its fishing boat in spite of the wind and the waves. During the Polish and Hungarian incidents we did not have any problem. And although last year's storm was so big, our boat did not capsize. Some people say that our editorial entitled "Why Is This?" was written a bit too soon. It wasn't too soon. If we had waited longer, some of the leftists would have rotted. As a matter of fact, after December last year, we still exposed among the primary school teachers over 100,000 rightists, who constituted one-half of the 300,000 rightists all over the country. They were then making frenzied attacks on us. Didn't somebody say that after Chang and Lo delimited the rightists clearly, they would not attack us any more? They attacked just the same. As long as the temperature reaches a certain degree, these things will be let out in the same old manner. Don't forget nine fingers and one finger. We precisely forgot this question during the anti-venturesome advance movement of 1956. We must not look at a problem in its essence. We should draw a lesson from it.

## 20. The Question of 10 Fingers

The question of 10 fingers. Man has 10 fingers. We must enjoin the cadres to be good at learning how to distinguish nine fingers from one finger, or the majority of fingers from the minority of fingers. There is a difference between nine fingers and one finger. This thing looks simple, but many people don't understand it. We must publicize this viewpoint. There is a difference between general situation and local situation, between generally and individually, and between main trend and side issues. We must



be mindful of grasping the main trend. If we grasp the wrong thing, we will certainly fall head over heels. It is a question of recognition and a question of logic as well. We say one finger and nine fingers, because it is a more lively way of speaking and more in conformity with our work conditions. Unless mistakes arise in the basic line, we have always netted major achievements in our work. However, this way of speaking does not apply to some people. For example, almost all the 10 fingers of rightists, many of them ultra-rightists, have rotted. Among the students, the majority of ordinary rightists have more than one rotting fingers. But then not all of their fingers are rotting. That is why they still can remain in school.

"Attack one or several points, exaggerate as much as possible, and come up short of the rest." This is a metaphysical method, which is divorced from actual conditions. It was the method used by bourgeois rightists when they launched their frenzied attacks on socialism in 1957. Historically, our Party suffered great damage through the use of such a method. It was during the time when dogmatism reigned supreme. The Li-san line was also like this. Revisionism or right opportunism also employed this method. The Ch'en Tu-hsiu line and the Wang Ming line during the war of resistance against Japan were like this. In 1934, Chang Kuo-t'ao also used this method.

#### 21. Dialectics is to Approach Problems Through Opposites and Unity, Hence in a Comprehensive Way

Life and death, war and peace are antagonistic and contradictory. Nevertheless, there is an inner connection between them. Hence, these opposites sometimes can be united. In our approach to problems, we cannot just look at one side. We should make a comprehensive analysis in order to see through its essence. Thus, so far as judging a person is concerned, it cannot be that all at once he is all good or he is all bad with not even one merit. Why is our Party correct? It is because we can start from objective conditions in assessing and resolving all problems. In this way it can be relatively complete and not absolute.

#### 22. Theory of Uninterrupted Revolution and Theory of Revolution by Stages

The development of cooperatives requires that progress be made in wave-like fashion -- one wave succeeding another with a trough in between, like a valley between two peaks.

The leadership should trim the sails according to the wind and adapt to the circumstances. And when conditions are unfavorable, they should immediately apply the brakes. At an opportune moment they should compress the people's heads, which is a necessary thing to do when heads swell. Some people ask whether we have need of concern or of taboos and commandments. Of course, we have need. We have need of the necessary concern and the necessary taboos and commandments. Chu-pa-chieh (Piggy) [character in the Ming dynasty novel, "The Pilgrimage to the West"] also has three taboos and five commandments. We have need of the necessary rest, the necessary pauses,

the necessary braking or closing of the gate. The method to be used when people start wagging their tails in the air is to set forth new tasks for them, like the quality emulation drive we are now putting forward, so that they won't have time to feel haughty.

### 23. Onesidedness is of Dual Nature

There are two kinds of onesidedness: dogmatism and opportunism (revisionism). Lu Ting-i has said so in an article. Dogmatists want to affirm everything, and are 100 percent Bolshevik. Later we did some checking. After 10 years (1935-1945), they almost went out of existence. Dogmatists exist in China, as well as in foreign countries. To render onesided Marxism-Leninism, they explain it from metaphysics. About work, they let you talk about the good side, but not the bad side. You can only praise, but not criticize. In the "encirclement and suppression of Wang Meng [3769 5536]," I also gave a magnified account of the facts. Now let us lift the encirclement to relieve Wang Meng. There were defects in his writings, but could he not criticize bureaucratism like he did, or talk about people in official circles? In the past, we definitely had much knowledge in talking about class struggle. But we also generated some over-simplification and administrative decrees. Earlier, due to urgency in organizing revolutionary struggles, we certainly could not spend a lot of time in discussions to find a solution to problems. That was our mode of action in the period of power seizure. Some comrades have cultivated this working style. It is easy for them who have had only this kind of experience and known only this mode of action, especially those who have engaged in army work for a long time, to commit such faults. The encirclement and suppression of Wang Meng was the same as the Liberation Army transferring a few regiments to encircle the enemy in battle. The other kind of onesidedness is to "negate everything" -- negate the undertakings of the workers and peasants, negate the struggle of several hundred million people so as to make them lose confidence and render everything dark. This does not correspond with facts. That everything is well in the colossal task of building socialism also does not correspond with facts. Chung Tien-fei [6945 1855 2787] did a good thing in exposing the shortcomings in cinema work. We must take care to correct all the shortcomings that have already been exposed, but we must point out the onesided ones. The article by Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung [7115 0366 6639] and three others have been mistransmitted. Today, I must say this to their face. I disagree very much with that article. I have said that their loyalty in trying to safeguard the interests of the Party and of the working class is sentiments of hatred against poisonous weeds. But after only several months of "blossoming," there have appeared Wang Meng and other monsters and freaks. The opinion is expressed that achievements are few and mistakes are many. "Reporting to my lord, something disastrous has happened! A ghost has appeared!" Conditions are such that it certainly doesn't look like it's going to reach the end of day. Now, this is an incorrect appraisal of the situation and an expression of doubts about the general policy of the Party. The method followed here is over-simplification. It doesn't have the power to persuade. The method used to criticize Wang Meng is the "brief shock"

method. It leaves people who read it unconvinced. I am unconvinced. I have so far not made the acquaintance of Wang Meng. Nor does he have marriage relationships with my sons or daughters. But I am unconvinced. Dogmatism and opportunism are two kinds of onesidedness. One affirms everything and the other denies everything. Both dogmatists and opportunists are metaphysical. However, we must help them to correct their mistakes. This is not just their personal problems. They represent a great number of people. There are dogmatists and opportunists among Communist Party members. Is there none outside the Party? There are dogmatists as well as opportunists among Communist Party members. Is there none outside the Party? There are dogmatists as well as opportunists among five million people. Within the Communist Party there are "leftists" and rightists. This means there are dogmatists and opportunists. Some people say that in writing it is impossible not to be onesided. There is something to this statement. What I have just said is a lot of Marxist thought, which demands that everybody discard onesidedness. This is not possible. Also it does not conform to reality. As a matter of fact, in making criticism, everybody speaks out in accordance with his own experience and standing on one side. But on the other hand, onesidedness goes against dialectics. Can we or can we not ask that a little more dialectics be used? Is it possible or not to popularize dialectics gradually so that more dialectics will be used gradually? I think it can, and should, be done. Day by day, year by year, there will be more people, more writers and professors, who take a more comprehensive approach to problems. That is why I say the existence of onesidedness is a fact. But I ask that onesidedness be overcome gradually. Is it so or not there will be onesidedness in the future? There still will be. There will be onesidedness even after 10,000 years. We have to popularize dialectics and dialectics has to be developed. In a word, I ask that dialectics be popularized step by step so that we will have 600 million dialecticians. With regard to affairs within the ranks of the people, it is necessary to analyze and to reason, not to rely on name calling, but to practice dialectics. In writing, we must be persuasive. Also, we must not give ourselves bureaucratic airs or act in a bureaucratic manner, considering that we are heads of a ministry or bureau or department. These notions we must discard. We must forget we are officials; we must be on an equal footing with everybody. Your post may be high, but still it won't do when you make a mistake. Wasn't Stalin's post high enough? It wouldn't do when he made a mistake. Some people put on the airs of a veteran by saying: "When I was making revolution, you were still crawling under the table!" If you employ that line, people won't like to hear it. As dialectics increases little by little, metaphysics decreases little by little. This will get rid of onesidedness gradually.

#### 24. Two Kinds of Onesidedness

Within the ranks of the Communist Party there are all sorts of people. There are Marxists, who comprise the greater majority. They also have shortcomings, but these are not serious. A portion of the people harbor dogmatic misconceptions. For the most part, these people are loyal and devoted to Party and country. Only their method of approach to problems is onesidedness

of the "left." When they have put a stop to this kind of onesidedness, they will have taken a big step forward. Another portion of the people cherish right opportunist or revisionist misconceptions. These people are relatively dangerous, because their thinking is a reflection of bourgeois ideology within the Party. They hanker after bourgeois liberalism and negate everything, and their relationship with the bourgeois intellectuals in society is extremely complicated. For several months now, people have been criticizing dogmatism, but have omitted revisionism. Dogmatism should be subjected to criticism. If dogmatism is not criticized, many misconceptions cannot be corrected. Now we should begin to see to it that revisionism is criticized. Dogmatists may head toward the opposites, that is either Marxism or revisionism. In the light of the experience of our Party, more dogmatists will head toward the former, while only isolated cases will head toward the latter. This is because they are an ideological faction of the proletariat which has been affected by the frantic viewpoint of the petty bourgeoisie. Some of the "dogmatists" who were attacked were in fact people who have made mistakes in their work. Some "dogmatists" who were attacked were in fact Marxists; they were attacked by certain people who wrongly took them for "dogmatists." Real dogmatists have a reason to feel that "left" is better than right. The reason is that they want to make revolution. However, in terms of factual losses of the revolution, "left" is not better than right. Therefore, it should be corrected resolutely.

## 25. The Question of Red and White Joyful Events

-- Sudden changes are the most fundamental laws of the universe --

The question of red and white joyful events. When in the past we spoke of coping with possible sudden great changes, we were referring principally to questions of war or disruption within the Party. The Chinese people term weddings as red joyful events and funerals as white joyful events. It seems that there is something to it. The Chinese people understand dialectics. Because they will have children after getting married, mothers will split off three or two, or even as many as ten or eight of them, much the same as an aircraft carrier splits off airplanes. Too many children are also no good. When a human being gives birth to a human being, it is a joyful event. One becomes two, two becomes four. As to death, people will cry over it and hold a funeral ceremony. It is also a joyful event. Man invariably will die. If Confucius were still alive and attending the meeting here at Huai-jen T'ang (Hall of Benevolence), he would have been over 2,000 years old. That would have been bad. Dialectically speaking, it is incorrect and metaphysical to have no deaths. When there is a disaster, it should be called a kind of natural phenomenon. Sudden changes are the most fundamental laws of the universe. Birth is a sudden change and so is death. If Chiang Kai-shek dies, we may clap our hands. If John Foster Dulles dies, we will shed no tears. But when new things die, like the defeat of the 1905 Russian revolution or the loss of our bases in the South, then it is no good. When seedlings are brought down by a storm or hail, this of course is no good, because the question of replacing the seedlings immediately arises. Our Communist Party hopes that things will

undergo a change. The so-called leap forward is different from that of old. Overtaking Britain in seven years and the U.S. in 10 or even 15 years will be a sudden change. Of course, this sudden change is not going to occur all at once. To overtake Britain in seven years, it is necessary to divide the seven years into seven stages. In a year there are four seasons, 12 months, 365 days. In between these many days there will be many partial sudden changes. But the greater part will be quantitative changes. Like in coal, we can surpass Britain in two to three years. In this, a sudden change will be better than a quantitative change. If there is no quantitative change, there will be no sudden change. If there is no quantitative change, there will be no basis to make a sudden change. It will be adventurism. After a balance is disrupted, things will move from an imbalance to a new balance. At the First Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, and the Ministry of Geology, they find the going tough. Everybody is pressuring them, and very closely too. This is a good thing. Balance, quantitative change, and unity are temporary and relative, while imbalance, sudden change, and disunity are absolute and permanent. When there are two persons, the task of unity already arises. How much more when there are 600 million people. It seems to me that it is a correct move to have permanent delegates hold a parley. This congress has been having smooth sailing, thanks to the Nanning and Chengtu conferences. It is necessary to discuss unity year after year. This is because every year there is disunity and everybody thinks differently. When the levels of Party members are not the same, it is necessary to hold a meeting and adopt the more rational opinions. Next year we hold a meeting again. It is best to convene a congress every year. Attending this conference are the secretaries of some local and county committees. They have presented many good suggestions. We have to talk about unity every day, because every day there is disunity. Like inside the body of a child, metabolism must go on in the cells. If the old cells do not die off, they will be detrimental to the growth of the child. Metabolism is the giving way of a person named Ch'en and the coming of a person named Hsieh. Here I do not mean to say that I am going to drive Ch'en Po-ta out. In the Yangtze River each succeeding wave pushes the preceding wave forward. All things are undergoing a change. There may be 102 elements now. But after thousands and thousands of years, elements will possibly number not 102, but more than 200. Things need to change, and change they will to their opposites. We have 12 million Party members. Every day there will be some who leave the Party or are subjected to criticism. In Hupeh Province, a brother and his younger sister pasted up big-character wall newspapers to criticize each other. The brother was a veteran and behaved himself like a bureaucrat. Truth, however, was on the sister's side. The result was that the brother lost and the sister won. In Chekiang Province, a father and his son argued about close planting. The son was in favor of it and the father against it. The result was that the father lost and the son won. As a general rule, the opinions of the father and the brother prevail. But that doesn't matter. The question is for them to acknowledge defeat to the son and the younger sister. What I am talking about are major splits in the Party, like those of Mo X X X [5459 X X X] and Kao Kang. There have been four splits in our Party. One, Ch'en Tu-hsiu;

two, Lo Lung-chang; three, Chang Kuo-t'ao; and four, Kao Kang. Wang Ming's "left" deviationist line manifested itself on three occasions as a legitimate form of disruption. In dealing with him we took the measure of treating the illness in order to save the patient, and achieved unity through criticism. New disruptions are possible. As long as there is the Party, the possibility exists that splits will appear. This possibility remains even after a hundred years. There will possibly be great changes in the world a hundred years or a few score years hence. After all, the Soviet Union will take less than 15 years in catching up with the U.S. It is likely that all of you will feel uncomfortable when I talk this way. It seems that only after saying it will we be comfortable. Then all of us will be prepared mentally. Isn't Yugoslavia engaging in a split? Then there is Foster in the U.S. In the past Ch'en, Lo, Chang and Kao tried to organize splits. Recently there were Ting Ling [0002 3781], Li Feng [2621 1496], Sha Wen-han, Li Shih-nung, Sun Tso-i [1327 0155 1355], Ch'en Tsai-li [7115 0375 0536]. . . Many have fallen in the administrative, legal, and literary and art systems in Peking. What's bad about these people meeting their downfall? There will always be splits in this world, the coming of the new and giving way of the old! Year after year, month after month, there will be splits, like the dying of cells. Year after year, month after month, there will be unities, like the maturing of cells. The First International, Second International and Third International all went through the course of emergence, development and extinction. The Information Bureau also ceased to exist and was superseded by the Moscow conference. Later, whenever problems arose, the Soviet Union would convene the representatives of the 12 countries personally for a meeting. A resolution was adopted by the inner council. It has not been made public due to the dissent of Poland.

26. The Law of the Unity of Opposites, the Law of Qualitative and Quantitative Changes, and the Law of Negation and Affirmation Forever Exist Everywhere

At the end of the transition period, after classes have been totally destroyed, politics will completely be relationships within the ranks of the people as far as internal conditions are concerned. By that time there will still be ideological struggles among the people, political struggles, and revolutions. It is impossible not to have these things. The law of the unity of opposites, the law of quantitative and qualitative changes, and the law of affirmation and negation forever exist everywhere. But the nature of the struggles and revolutions will not be the same as in the past. They will be not class struggles, but struggles between the advanced and the backward within the ranks of the people, and struggles between the advanced and the backward in science and technology. The transition from socialism to communism will be a struggle and a revolution. After entry into the communist period is achieved, there certainly will be many stages of development. The relations from this stage to that stage will inevitably be a kind of relations from quantitative change to qualitative change. All kinds of sudden changes and flying leaps are a kind of revolution which must go through struggles. "The theory of no conflict" is therefore metaphysical.

## 27. The Question of Two Possibilities

The question of two possibilities. Will messhalls, nurseries, and communes be able to consolidate or not? It seems that they will be able to consolidate. But we also must be prepared against some of them collapsing. Two possibilities -- consolidation and collapse -- exist simultaneously. If we are not prepared, we may fail utterly. Our resolution is to make it possible for them to consolidate. If some of them do not collapse, then consolidation work cannot be done well. For example, several children have died in the nurseries and several elderly people have died in the happiness homes. When happiness can no longer be found in the happiness home, in what way are they still superior? A group of messhalls also will fail if they serve their rice cold or serve rice without the dishes that go with it. To think that none of them will fail is not in agreement with reality. They fail because of mismanagement. This is very reasonable. On the whole, failure will be partial and temporary. The general trend is development and consolidation. Our Party also has two possibilities. One possibility is consolidation and the other is splits. When in Shanghai, one central committee was split into two. During the Long March, Chang Kuo-t'ao again split one central committee into two. Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih represented a partial split. Partial splits are frequent. Since last year, splits have occurred within the leading groups of one-half of the provinces in the country. Inside a human body cells die off every day. From childhood on this phenomenon occurs. Only in this way can growth be benefited. If there are no deaths, man can no longer survive. If man does not die, then that is not possible. Death can be of benefit; fertilizer can result from it. Partial splits exist every day. Total extinction is also a historical inevitability. All in all, both Party and state, which have served as the tools of class struggle, must perish. But before the historical task of the Party is completed, it is a question of consolidation. We do not hope for splits, but we should prepare against them. If we are prepared, we will possibly avoid big splits. Big and medium splits are temporary. The Hungarian incident was a big split, while the Kao and Mo incidents were medium splits. Every Party branch is undergoing a change. Some members are being expelled, some are being admitted. Some are doing a very good job, some are committing mistakes. It is impossible not to ever undergo a change. Lenin often said that a thing invariably has two possibilities: either victory or extinction. Our People's Republic of China also has two possibilities: victory after victory or extinction. Since Lenin did not conceal the possibility of extinction, the People's Republic must not deny such a possibility. We do not have an atomic bomb in our hands. If the enemy occupies Peking, Shanghai and Wuhan, we will go into the mountains and engage in guerrilla warfare. We will go 10, 20 years backward and return to the Yen-an period. Therefore, we must make vigorous preparations, exert our energies to produce tens of million tons of steel within three or four years, and establish an industrial base so that we will be more consolidated than now. At present our name is quite famous throughout the world. One, because of the shelling of Quemoy; two, because of the People's Communes; and three, 10.7 million tons of steel. It seems that because of these several things, our reputation is great. But

our strength is not. We are still "poor and blank"; we have no iron tool of an inch long in our hands, and we have accomplished not a thing. Though we now have an inch of iron, our country is actually weak. Politically we are a powerful country. Economically and militarily we are a weak country. That is why the task before us is to transform from weakness to strength. We must exert our energies to undergo a change for the better in three years' time. Within three years we can bring about only a partial change, and not a basic change. After another four years, which makes it seven years altogether, everything will be better and our reputation will correspond to reality. Now our reputation is great and our strength insignificant. This we must understand thoroughly. Don't start walking on air the moment you are praised by a foreigner or the moment you open a newspaper and see that it is full of accounts of our soaring enthusiasm and our miraculous doings. In fact, good steel amounted to only 9 million tons. Rolled steel production should be figured at 30 percent less, hence only 6 million tons. We must not deceive ourselves. A lot of grain was produced. After reductions have been allowed, the production in all places was 860 billion catties. We have said it was 750 billion catties. This is to say that they turned up a little more after poking here and there. The 110 billion catties which they turned up have not been taken into account. Nobody suffers if we really have but do not take into account those 110 billion catties. Things will still be there. We were only afraid of being without and so we made a reduction. Granting that there were 860 billion catties, allowances should be made for one-fourth of the output being tuber crops. We might as well make this clear. A meeting should be held in every province, region or county to discuss this problem. Some people don't like to hear what I'm saying. But I insist on talking about this very unfortunate thing. Whether it is the collapse of the communes or public messhalls, splits in the Party, divorce from the masses, occupation by the U.S., extinction of the nation, or engagement in guerrilla warfare, we have a Marxist law which takes care of everything. And that is, all these unfortunate things are temporary and partial. Historically, our many defeats have proved this point. During the Long March, the reduction of our forces from 300,000 in number to a little over 20,000, and that of Party members from 30,000 to a few thousand were all temporary and partial. The extinction of the bourgeoisie and imperialism is permanent, however. The setback, defeat or extinction of socialism will be temporary, because it will be restored before long. Even if restoration is defeated, it also will be temporary. After the great revolution of 1927 was defeated, we took up arms again to fight a guerrilla war. "Unforeseen wind and clouds may appear in the sky suddenly. Fortune or misfortune may befall man 'tween morn and evening." All of us must be prepared. "From of old men of seventy years have rarely been seen." Man invariably will perish. A person always will die. He cannot live to 10,000 years. Man should prepare to set his affairs in order before he dies. This is all gloomy talk. All men will die. But mankind as a whole will grow and flourish. If die we must, we will die. As for socialism, we still want to occupy ourselves with it for a few more years...



## 28. Two Kinds of Practical Possibilities

There are two kinds of practical possibilities. One kind is realistic possibility and the other kind is unrealistic possibility. If one now wants to go to the planet Mars, it is an unrealistic possibility. However, it can be a realistic possibility in the future. Possibilities are of two kinds. If it is possible to transform into reality, it is realistic possibility. The other kind of possibility is something that is not possible to transform into reality. Like dogmatism in the past, was it not 100 percent proof? Was it not discarded everywhere? It seems to me that not marrying until production per mou reaches 800,000 catties is also an unrealistic possibility.

## 29. Wave-like Advance is Inevitable

Economic construction is not something which does not have the slightest forward and backward movements, but which advances surely and steadily. Construction also can be sometimes a little more in volume and sometimes a little less. A horse gallops sometimes a little faster, sometimes a little slower. Sometimes one mounts the horse, sometimes he dismounts it. Such conditions are completely possible. This is because, firstly, we are inexperienced, and secondly, our economic construction devolves on circumstances. For example, economic construction was possibly completed at a somewhat faster rate in the past, because conditions of war existed at that time. If war is imminent, then it is imperative that we develop heavy industry on a greater scale. Economic construction proceeds in wave-like fashion, with its ups and downs, and one wave chasing another. This is to say that there are balance, disruption, and balance restored after disruption. Of course, wave-like advances cannot be too big. If too big, suddenly it will become a venturesome advance and suddenly it will become a conservative advance. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that economic construction will follow the law of wave-like advances and make progress. If you acknowledge this point, then it will no longer startle you when we make a venturesome advance this year and perform a little less next year. That is all there is to it. Taking it as a whole, our First Five-Year Plan was correct.

## 30. Everything Has its Unity and Independence

Now let us talk about the question of the independence of every factory under centralized leadership. Everything has its unity and independence. Man also has his unity and independence. Now that this meeting is going on, it is unity. After the meeting is over, it is independence. Some people will go for a stroll, some will go and read a book, some will go and have their meals. Everybody has his independence. A sense of discipline and a sense of nondiscipline are mutually contradictory things. It is necessary to have a sense of discipline as well as a sense of nondiscipline. It is necessary to have collectivism as well as "liberalism." If we do not give an individual his post-meeting independence, a sense of nondiscipline and "liberalism," but continue the meeting without break or end, will the people not all die? Therefore, every factory, every cooperative, every person must have its or his independence -- an independence that

is linked up with unity. We must look after all workers in the factories and all peasants in the collectives. This is a big problem, one which concerns 600 million people. We must call the Party's attention to this.

### 31. We Want Unity and Also Specifics

We want unity. We also want specifics. Each place must have its specifics which are suited to local conditions for the purpose of bringing local initiative into full play. Such specifics will not be Kao Kang's kind of specifics, but specifics in the interests of the collective and indispensable to the strengthening of national unity.

### 32. We Should Have the Proper Initiative and the Proper Independence

We should all have the proper initiative and the proper independence. Provinces, regions, counties, areas and townships should all have them. The Central Government should not grasp the provinces and municipalities too tightly, and in turn the provinces and municipalities should not grasp the regions, counties, areas and townships too tightly. All that can be united should, and must, be united; all that cannot be united should not be united and must not be united by force. The different regions should fight for this right and not be afraid of being given the label of localism. This kind of fight for a right proceeds from the whole interests of the country and not from local interests. It cannot be called localism. Independence sanctioned by the Central Government is proper independence. It cannot be called assertion of independence.

## ON THE ANTI-CHINA QUESTION

(22 March 1960)

Comrades, please take a look at the appendix. This is a piece of material concerning the opening of an exhibition in Pakistan by our country. After all, who are the people of the so-called anti-China [movement]? How many are there? They are comprised of imperialist elements from certain Western countries, reactionaries and semi-reactionaries from some other countries, and revisionists and semi-revisionists from the international communist movement. The above three categories of people are estimated to constitute a small percentage, say 5 percent, of mankind. At the most, it cannot be more than 10 percent. Let us assume that 10 out of every 100 people are against us. Of the world's population of 2.7 billion, no more than 270 million oppose us. The rest, and there are 2.43 billion, either support us, or are not against us, or are temporarily deceived by our enemies into suspecting us. The last condition is similar to the situation obtaining in China prior to 1949. Then the Kuomintang fabricated rumors to the effect that the Communist Party committed murder and arson and that its members shared property as well as wives. Most people did not believe them and some were skeptical. Not long afterward, the real facts became clear. The Communist Party was recognized by the people as the most disciplined and the most virtuous, and as having a line and a policy that best conformed with the wishes of the people. And the Kuomintang was the worst party. Among our own population of 650 million, those who are really anti-communist at the most constitute no more than 10 percent. This is to say no more than 65 million people. And 585 million people either stand up for us or are temporarily suspicious of us. The situation in Pakistan is like this and so is the situation in India. Those who are truly anti-China are no more than a handful. In the New Delhi exposition, the agricultural pavilions of the different countries were opened in a so-called anti-China atmosphere. However, people who visited the China pavilion numbered as many as 3.5 million, surpassing the attendance at the agricultural pavilion of any other country. I advise you comrades to make an analysis of all three categories of elements, the imperialist elements of Western countries, the reactionaries and semi-reactionaries of other countries, and the revisionists and semi-revisionists of the international communist movement. Firstly, they are

extremely small in number. Secondly, their anti-China activities cannot harm even one hair on our head. Thirdly, their anti-China activities can instigate the entire party and the entire people to unite and set the ambition and determination to catch up with and surpass the most developed Western countries economically and culturally. Fourthly, they will certainly lift a rock only to drop it on their own feet. This is to say that they will expose their own ugliness before the more than 90 percent who are good people. Therefore, so far as we are concerned, their anti-China activities are a good thing, and not a bad thing. They prove that we are true Marxist-Leninists and that our work is not bad. To them, it is a bad thing, not a good thing, and an unlucky omen. Bad luck began to dog Chiang Kai-shek the moment he opposed communism. In 1946, he launched an all-out attack against us. Only three and one-half years later, he was crushed by the people. Everybody understands this event. At present, when foreigners engage in anti-China activities, they merely abuse us verbally a little and do not beat us with their hands. If they try to beat us with their hands, they will certainly not be able to escape the fate which befell Chiang Kai-shek, Hitler and Tojo. Comrades, please ponder this. Supposing that the abovementioned 10 percent bad people and semi-bad people are not anti-China, but pro-China, they are friendly to us, they praise us and say good things about us, where will that put us? Could we not become revisionists who have betrayed Marxism and the people? Furthermore, the bad and semi-bad people of the different countries are not engaging in anti-China activities on a daily basis. Rather, they are doing it intermittently and under various pretexts. For example, under the pretext of the Tibet question and the Sino-Indian border question they conducted anti-China activities for a while. But then they could not do so forever under the pretext of these questions. This is because they were short of reason and over 90 percent of the people did not believe what they said. If they continued their anti-China activities every day, their position would become more and more untenable. The hatred between the U.S. and us is somewhat deeper. But they do not engage in anti-China activities daily. They also do it intermittently. This is also because there is no reason for them to attack us every day. Their listeners will get disgusted with them. When the market dwindles, it can only be closed. After a time, when there is a new pretext, they will set their anti-China activities in motion again. Not only is there now a brief pause between two waves of anti-China activities, but also there may be a pause of a longer duration in the future. This will depend on how well we perform our work. For example: If the entire party and the entire people really unite as one and the gross output and per capita output in our main production items approximate or overtake theirs, then such pauses will be prolonged. This is to say that this will compel the Americans to establish diplomatic relations with us and do business with us on an equal basis, or else they will be isolated. We have the advanced experiences of the Soviet Union to go by. In the past several decades, no one has opposed the Soviet Union with good results. The most brutal opposition came in the form of an armed attack against the Soviet Union. This principally refers to Hitler's savage onslaught during the Second World War. His defeat was also the most disastrous. Therefore, I would like to advise you comrades to utilize this

material on Pakistan to ponder our tasks and work, and through the nature and significance of this so-called anti-China question, to make sufficient preparations mentally to accept the fact that about 10 percent of the people in the world will oppose us intermittently over a prolonged period of time. You have to contemplate what is called a prolonged period in terms of 10 years, at the very least, or even the entire balance of 40 years of the 20th century. If we are given the 40 years, the world situation will have greatly changed by the end of the century. The majority or vast majority of that 10 percent of bad people or semi-bad people most likely will have been overthrown by their own people. In our country, on the average, everybody most likely will have 1,000 tons of steel and 2,000 to 3,000 catties of grain and feed,<sup>1</sup> and the majority of the people will have a college education. By then, the people's level of political consciousness and theoretical level will be far higher than now. Most likely, the whole society will pass over to a communist society at that time. In short, the heart of all questions lies in our own unity and how well we perform our work.

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<sup>1</sup>This same article as published in Vol II states: "1,000 tons of steel and 3,000 to 4,000 catties of grain and feed."

COMMENTS ON VICE PREMIER NIEH JUNG-CHEN'S REPORT  
ON THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

(25 March 1960)

The mass movements of technical revolution and cultural revolution on our industrial and communication fronts, agricultural, forestry, livestock, subsidiary products, and pisciculture fronts, finance and trade fronts, education and health fronts, and national defense fronts are fiercely developing. New people and new things are emerging in abundance. We urge you to examine them carefully, be ready to sum up, and popularize them.

A CRITICISM DISSEMINATED BY THE CCPCC ON "ANSHAN MUNICIPAL PARTY  
COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON THE DEVELOPING SITUATION OF TECHNICAL INNOVATION  
AND THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT ON THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT"

(March 1960)

The Anshan Steel Works, with several hundred thousand staff and workers, is the first large enterprise in the country. In the past they held that this enterprise was modernized and had no need of further so-called technical revolution. They opposed even more grasping mass movements on a large scale, they opposed the direction of "two participations, one change, three combinations," and they opposed putting politics in command. They only placed faith in a minority of people coolly assuming responsibility. A good many people advocated the unified command system and opposed the plant manager system under the leadership of the party committee. They held that the "Marx Steelworks Constitution" (a large steelworks in the Soviet Union having an authoritarian managerial system) was sacred and inviolable. This was the situation prior to 1958; this was the first stage. The second stage began in 1959 when the people began to think about problems, began to believe in mass movements, began to be suspicious of the unified command system, and began to be suspicious of the "Marx Steelworks Constitution." The Central Committee received a good report from them during the Lushan Conference in July 1959. This report advocated a great leap forward, advocated opposing the rightist tendency and going all out, and proposed a feasible high quota. The Central Committee was extremely happy when it read this report. It disseminated the report for various comrades to read. The comrades immediately transmitted it by telephone to the various provinces, municipalities, and regions in order to assist the struggle then in progress to criticize rightist opportunism. Now (March 1960) this report has advanced even further; it is not like the Marx Steelworks Charter but has created an "Anshan Steelworks Constitution." The "Anshan Steelworks Constitution" has appeared in the Far East and in China. This is the third stage.

## SUMMING UP TEN YEARS

(18 June 1960)

The power of initiative is like "building tiles on a high roof" and "breaking bamboo link by link." This power of initiative is derived from the realistic and the practical, it comes from the honest reflection in objective conditions of the mind of the people, and it results from the people's process of understanding the dialectic of the objective environment. In the course of this process there will be a good many mistaken understandings, a gradual correction of these errors, and finally a return to the correct.

It is impossible not to commit errors. As Lenin said, there has never been a man who did not commit errors. An earnest Party will view seriously the commission of errors, search out the reasons for the commission of the errors, and openly correct them. Our Party's general line is correct, and actual work has basically been carried out well. There are some errors which are difficult to avoid. Where is the so-called saint who never commits errors and who at once carries out truth to completion? Knowledge of truth is not achieved at once, but is gradually achieved. We are adherents of the theory of dialectical materialism, not of the theory of metaphysics. Freedom is inevitable knowledge; from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom is a flying leap which is accomplished only gradually in the course of a long process of knowledge. We already have ten years of experience in our socialist revolution and construction and we already understand quite a few things. But we still have insufficient experience in socialist construction. Remaining before us is a great, still-unrecognized realm of necessity. We are still unable to understand it penetratingly. From now on we must continue to investigate and analyze it from practice; we must seek out its constant rules and beneficially utilize these rules in the service of the socialist cause.



DISSEMINATION OF THE CCPCC'S CRITICISM OF THE SHANSI PROVINCIAL  
PARTY COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON THE RURAL LABOR FORCE PROBLEM

(27 October 1960)

The Politburo of the Central Committee, party committees of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, party committees of the various central ministries, and party groups of the various central state organs:

Shansi Provincial Party Committee's report on the rural labor force problem is very good and is now being distributed for your scrutiny.

The problem of the rural labor force is a great problem in the current development of agricultural production. It is a great problem which touches on the continuing leap forward of the entire national economy. It must receive the serious scrutiny of comrades in the entire party. The report of the Shansi Provincial Party Committee is stated very correctly. If we don't immediately change the current situation on the agricultural production front of a labor force which is too small and too weak, then the so-called "national economy with agriculture as the foundation" and "grain as the foundation of that foundation" will become empty talk. Man must eat every day whether engaged in industry, communication, education, capital construction, or any other enterprise; no one can do without grain. No member of the communist party ought to forget this very simple and absolutely true and correct principle. For three months the Shansi Provincial Committee conscientiously adopted measures, reduced the labor force by 1.1 million and returned them to the agricultural production front. The situation of the agricultural labor force has taken a great turn for the better. The Central Committee requires that all levels of party committees and leading organs of various departments seriously study Shansi's report, use Shansi's experience as a reference, analyze from many sides, and comply strictly with the various directives promulgated by the Central Committee on conservation of labor force. On the basis of your actual conditions, adopt all effective measures, squeeze out all of the labor force that can be squeezed out, strengthen the first line of agricultural production, and speedily change the grave situation of the present insufficiency of labor force.

## OPINION ON THE FREE SUPPLY SYSTEM

[1960?]

In handling the free supply system, the Marxist style of work and the bourgeois style of work stand opposed in communist life. In my view the rural area work style and the guerrilla attitude are still good; in 22 years of war these were victorious.

Why is building communism unacceptable? Why must we grasp a wages system? This is offering concessions to the bourgeoisie and borrowing the rural area work style and guerrilla attitude to debase us. The result is development of individualism. We have forgotten that we must persuade through words and not by oppression; is it the PLA unit leaders who have restored the free supply system?

We must eradicate bourgeois jurisdiction and ideology. For example, contesting for position, contesting for rank, wanting to increase wages, and giving higher wages to the intellectual worker and lower wages to the physical laborer are all remnants of bourgeois ideology. To each according to his worth is prescribed by law, and it is also a bourgeois thing. In the future do we want to have a division into classes when riding vehicles? We don't necessarily want to have a special car. We want to show some consideration toward the elderly and the weak, but we don't want different classes for the others.

Our Party is a party which continuously fought a war for more than 20 years. For a long time it has implemented the free supply system. From several tens of thousands of persons it grew to several million, right up to liberation. In the very beginning the collective lived an egalitarian life. In work everyone was industrious and in warfare all were courageous. There was absolutely no reliance on material incentives, but rather a reliance on the drumbeat of revolutionary spirit.

CLASSICAL WORKS RECOMMENDED TO HIGH-RANKING CADRES

[1960?]

Marx:

- 1) The Communist Manifesto
- 2) Wage-Labour and Capital
- 3) Introduction and Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy
- 4) The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50
- 5) The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte
- 6) To Kugelmann
- 7) Value, Price and Profit
- 8) The Civil War in France
- 9) Critique of the Gotha Programme

Engels:

- 1) The 1852 War of the Holy Alliance Against France
- 2) Introduction to Dialectics of Nature
- 3) Socialism from Dream to Scientific Development
- 4) Anti-Duhring (the section on violence)
- 5) Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy

Lenin:

- 1) Philosophical Notes
- 2) "What To Do?" [WHAT IS TO BE DONE?]
- 3) Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution
- 4) Materialism and Empirio-Criticism
- 5) On Imperialism
- 6) The State and Revolution
- 7) The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky
- 8) "Left Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder
- 9) Concerning Marx, Engels, and Marxism

**Stalin:**

- 1) Problems of Leninism
- 2) Concerning Reactionaries (Collected Works)
- 3) Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)
- 4) Marxism and Problems of Linguistics
- 5) Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR

**Plekhanov:**

- 1) Concerning the Evolution of the Monist View of History
- 2) Concerning Literature and Art

## PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATING YOUTH

[1960?]

The principles of educating youth are:

1. Teach them to grasp Marxism-Leninism and to overcome petit-bourgeois consciousness.
2. Teach them to have discipline and organization and to oppose anarchism and libertarianism in organization.
3. Teach them to penetrate resolutely into the lower levels of practical work and to oppose looking down on practical experience.
4. Teach them to become close to the workers and peasants, to serve them resolutely, and to oppose the consciousness of looking down on workers and peasants.

CSO: 3500-W

[Continued in Part II]

