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No. 13, 1 July 1981

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24 August 1981

CHINA REPORT RED FLAG

No. 13, 1 July 1981

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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COMMUNIQUE OF THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE ELEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (Adopted on 29 June 1981)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] The Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its Sixth Plenary Session in Beijing from June 27 to 29, 1981. It was attended by 195 members and 114 alternate members of the Central Committee and 53 non-voting members of the Central Committee and 53 non-voting participants. Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrades Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng, presided at the session.

Items on the agenda of the plenary session were:

1. Discussion and approval of "The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China";
2. Reelection of principal leading members of the Central Committee and election of new ones.

The above-mentioned agenda was thoroughly deliberated and conscientiously discussed at a preparatory meeting held before the plenary session. This session is another meeting of great significance in the history of our party following the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, a meeting for summing up experience and closing the ranks to press forward. This session will go down in history for fulfilling the historic mission of setting to right things which have been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology of the party.

Applying Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism, "The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" unanimously adopted by the plenary session correctly sums up the major historical events of the party in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, particularly the "Great Cultural Revolution." The resolution scientifically analyzes the rights and wrongs in the party's guiding ideology during these events, analyzes the subjective factors and social causes that gave rise to mistakes, realistically evaluates the historical role played by Comrade Mao Zedong, the great leader and teacher, in the Chinese Revolution and fully elaborates the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party. The resolution affirms the correct path for building a modern

and powerful socialist country, a path which has been gradually established since the Third Plenary Session and which confirms to the realities in China, and further points out the orientation for the continued advance of our country's socialist cause and the work of our party. The plenary session believes that the adoption and publication of the resolution will exert great and far-reaching influence on unifying the thinking and understanding of the party, the army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country so that they will strive with one heart and one mind to carry out our new historical task.

The plenary session unanimously approved Comrade Hua Guofeng's request to resign his posts as chairman of the Central Committee and chairman of its Military Commission. The plenary session reelected the principal leading members of the Central Committee and elected new ones by secret ballot. The results of the elections are:

1. Comrade Hu Yaobang--chairman of the Central Committee;
2. Comrade Zhao Ziyang--vice-chairman of the Central Committee;
3. Comrade Hua Guofeng--vice-chairman of the Central Committee;
4. Comrade Deng Xiaoping--chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee;
5. A standing committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee made up of the chairman and vice-chairmen of the Central Committee. They are Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng;
6. Comrade Xi Zhongxun--member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The plenary session holds that the election and reelection of the principal leading members of the Central Committee will play an important part in strengthening the Central Committee's collective leadership and unity on the basis of Marxism and ensuring the full implementation of the party's correct line and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session.

The plenary session gave full play to democracy. All comrades present spoke out freely, adopted the scientific approach of seeking truth from facts and displayed the spirit of criticism and self-criticism in summing up historical experience and discussing and deciding the choice of persons as leading members of the Central Committee. This restored and carried forward the fine tradition formed by our party during the Yanan rectification period. The session vividly demonstrated our party's strong unity and fully reflects the growing and flourishing of our cause.

The plenary session believes that, just as the party's correct summing up of historical experience in the period of the democratic revolution brought great revolutionary victories, the correct summing up of the party's historical experience

since the founding of the People's Republic of China will help bring about new great victories in our future socialist construction. The plenary session calls on the party, the army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, rally more closely around the party Central Committee, carry forward the spirit of "the foolish old man who removed the mountain," be resolute, surmount all difficulties and work hard to turn China step by step into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

CSO: 4004/126

RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on 27 June 1981)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 3-27

[Text] Review of the History of the Twenty-Eight Years Before the Founding of the People's Republic

1. The Communist Party of China has traversed 60 years of glorious struggle since its founding in 1921. In order to sum up its experience in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, we must briefly review the previous 28 years in which the party led the people in waging the revolutionary struggle for new democracy.

2. The Communist Party of China was the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement and was founded under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia and the May 4th movement in China and with the help of the Communist International led by Lenin. The revolution of 1911 led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner, overthrew the Qing Dynasty, thus bringing to an end over 2,000 years of feudal monarchical rule. However, the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of Chinese society remained unchanged. Neither the Kuomintang nor any of the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois political groupings and factions found any way out for the country and the nation, nor was it possible for them to do so. The Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of China alone was able to show the people that China's salvation lay in overthrowing once and for all the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism and then switching over to socialism. When the Communist Party of China was founded, it had less than 60 members. But it initiated the vigorous workers' movement and the people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and grew rapidly and soon became a leading force such as the Chinese people had never before known.

3. In the course of leading the struggle of the Chinese people with its various nationalities for new democracy, the Communist Party of China went through four stages: the northern expedition (1924-1927) conducted with the cooperation of the Kuomintang, the agrarian revolutionary war (1927-1937), the war of resistance against Japan (1937-1945) and the nationwide war of liberation (1946-1949). Twice,

first in 1927 and then in 1934, it endured major setbacks. It was not until 1949 that it finally triumphed in the revolution, thanks to the long years of armed struggle in conjunction with other forms of struggle in other fields closely coordinated with it.

In 1927, regardless of the resolute opposition of the left wing of the Kuomintang with Soong Ching Ling as its outstanding representative, the Kuomintang controlled by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei betrayed the policies of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation and of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism decided on by Dr Sun Yat-sen and in collusion with the imperialists, massacred communists and other revolutionaries. The party was still quite inexperienced and, moreover, was dominated by Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism, so that the revolution suffered a disastrous defeat under the surprise attack of a powerful enemy. The total membership of the party, which had grown to more than 60,000, fell to a little over 10,000.

However, our party continued to fight tenaciously. Launched under the leadership of Zhou Enlai and several other comrades, the Nanchang uprising of 1927 fired the opening shot for armed resistance against the Kuomintang reactionaries. The meeting of the Central Committee of the party held on August 7, 1927 decided on the policy of carrying out agrarian revolution and organizing armed uprisings. Shortly afterwards, the autumn harvest and Guangzhou uprisings and uprisings in many other areas were organized. Led by Comrade Mao Zedong, the Autumn Harvest Uprising in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area gave birth to the first division of the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolutionary army and to the first rural revolutionary base area in the Jinggang Mountains. Before long, the insurgents led by Comrade Zhu De arrived at the Jinggang Mountains and joined forces with it. With the progress of the struggle, the party set up the Jiangxi central revolutionary base area and the western Hunan-Hubei, the Haifeng-Lufeng, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui, the Qiongya, the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, the Hunan-Jiangxi, the Zuojiang-Youjiang, the Sichuan-Shaanxi, the Shaanxi-Gansu and the Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou and other base areas. The First, Second and Fourth Front Armies of the workers' and peasants Red Army were also born, as were many other Red Army units. In addition, party organizations and other revolutionary organizations were established and revolutionary mass struggles unfolded under difficult conditions in the Kuomintang areas. In the agrarian revolutionary war, the First Front Army of the Red Army and the central revolutionary base area under the direct leadership of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De played the most important role. The front armies of the Red Army defeated in turn a number of "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Kuomintang troops. But because of Wang Ming's "left" adventurist leadership, the struggle against the Kuomintang's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign ended in failure. The First Front Army was forced to embark on the 25,000-li Long March and made its way to northern Shaanxi to join forces with units of the Red Army which had been persevering in struggles there and with its Twenty-Fifth Army which had arrived earlier. The Second and Fourth Front Armies also went on their Long March, first one and then the other arriving in northern Shaanxi. Guerrilla warfare was carried on under difficult conditions in the base areas in south China from which the main forces of the Red Army had withdrawn. As a result of the defeat caused by Wang Ming's "left" errors, the revolutionary base areas and the revolutionary forces in the Kuomintang areas sustained enormous losses. The Red Army of 300,000 men was reduced to about 30,000 and the Communist Party of 300,000 members to about 40,000.

In January 1935, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party convened a meeting in Zunyi during the Long March, which established the leading position of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Red Army and the Central Committee of the party. This saved the Red Army and the Central Committee of the party which were then in critical danger and subsequently made it possible to defeat Zhang Guotao's splittism, bring the Long March to a triumphant conclusion and open up new vistas for the Chinese revolution. It was a vital turning point in the history of the party.

At a time of national crisis of unparalleled gravity when the Japanese imperialists were intensifying their aggression against China, the Central Committee of the party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong decided on and carried out the correct policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front.

Our party led the students' movement of 9 December 1935 and organized the powerful mass struggle to demand an end to the civil war and resistance against Japan so as to save the nation. The Xian incident organized by Generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng on 12 December 1936 and its peaceful settlement which our party promoted played a crucial historical role in bringing about renewed cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and in achieving national unity for resistance against Japanese aggression. During the war of resistance, the ruling clique of the Kuomintang continued to oppose the Communist Party and the people and was passive in resisting Japan. As a result, the Kuomintang suffered defeat after defeat in front operations against the Japanese invaders. Our party persevered in the policy of maintaining its independence and initiative within the united front, closely relied on the masses of the people, conducted guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines and set up many anti-Japanese base areas. The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army--the reorganized Red Army--grew rapidly and became the mainstay in the war of resistance. The northeast anti-Japanese united army sustained its operations amid formidable difficulties. Diverse forms of anti-Japanese struggle were unfolded on a broad scale in areas occupied by Japan or controlled by the Kuomintang. Consequently, the Chinese people were able to hold out in the war for 8 long years and win final victory, in cooperation with the people of the Soviet Union and other countries in the anti-fascist war.

During the anti-Japanese war, the party conducted a rectification movement, a movement of Marxist education. Launched in 1942, it was a tremendous success. It was on this basis that the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the party in 1945 adopted the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party and soon afterwards the party's Seventh National Congress was convened. These meetings summed up our historical experience and laid down our correct line, principles and policies for building a new-democratic new China, enabling the party to attain an unprecedented ideological, political and organizational unity and solidarity. After the conclusion of the war of resistance against Japan, the Chiang Kai-shek government, with the aid of U.S. imperialism, flagrantly launched an all-out civil war, disregarding the just demand of our party and the people of the whole country for peace and democracy. With the wholehearted support of the people in all the liberated areas, with the powerful backing of the students' and workers' movements and the struggles of the people of various strata in the

Kuomintang areas and with the active cooperation of the democratic parties and non-party democrats, our party led the People's Liberation Army in fighting the three-year war of liberation and in wiping out 8 million Chiang Kai-shek troops in the Liaoxi-Shenyang, Beiping-Tianjin and Huai-Hai campaigns and in the successful crossing of the Chang Jiang River. The end result was the overthrow of the reactionary Kuomintang government and the establishment of the great People's Republic of China. The Chinese people had stood up.

4. The victories gained in the 28 years of struggle fully show that:

1) Victory in the Chinese revolution was won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Our party had creatively applied the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and integrated them with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In this way, the great system of Mao Zedong Thought came into being and the correct path to victory for the Chinese revolution was charted. This is a major contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

2) As the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, the Communist Party of China is a party serving the people wholeheartedly, with no selfish aim of its own. It is a party with both the courage and the ability to lead the people in their indomitable struggle against any enemy. Convinced of all this through their own experience, the Chinese people of whatever nationality came to rally around the party and form a broad united front, thus forging a strong political unity unparalleled in Chinese history.

3) The Chinese revolution was victorious mainly because we relied on a people's army led by the party, an army of a completely new type and enjoying flesh-and-blood ties with the people, to defeat a formidable enemy through protracted people's war. Without such an army, it would have been impossible to achieve the liberation of our people and the independence of our country.

4) The Chinese revolution had the support of the revolutionary forces in other countries at every stage, a fact which the Chinese people will never forget. Yet it must be said that, fundamentally, victory in the Chinese revolution was won because the Chinese Communist Party adhered to the principles of independence and self-reliance and depended on the efforts of the whole Chinese people, whatever their nationality, after they underwent untold hardships and surmounted innumerable difficulties and obstacles together.

5) The victorious Chinese revolution put an end to the rule of a handful of exploiters over the masses of the working people and to the enslavement of the Chinese people of all nationalities by the imperialists and colonialists. The working people have become the masters of the new state and the new society. While changing the balance of forces in world politics, the people's victory in so large a country having nearly one-quarter of the world's population has inspired the people in countries similarly subjected to imperialists and colonialist exploitation and oppression with heightened confidence in their forward march. The triumph of the Chinese revolution is the most important political event since World War II and has exerted a profound and far-reaching impact on the international situation and the development of the people's struggle throughout the world.

5. Victory in the new-democratic revolution was won through long years of struggle and sacrifice by countless martyrs, party members and people of all nationalities. We should by no means give all the credit to the leaders of the revolution, but at the same time we should not underrate the significant role these leaders have played. Among the many outstanding leaders of the party, Comrade Mao Zedong was the most prominent. Prior to the failure of the revolution in 1927, he had clearly pointed out the paramount importance of the leadership of the proletariat over the peasants' struggle and the danger of a right deviation in this regard. After its failure, he was the chief representative of those who succeeded in shifting the emphasis in the party's work from the city to the countryside and in preserving, restoring and promoting the revolutionary forces in the countryside. In the 22 years from 1927 to 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong and other party leaders managed to overcome innumerable difficulties and gradually worked out an over-all strategy and specific policies and directed their implementation, so that the revolution was able to switch from staggering defeats to great victory. Our party and people would have had to grope in the dark much longer had it not been for Comrade Mao Zedong, who more than once rescued the Chinese revolution from grave danger, and for the Central Committee of the party which was headed by him and which charted the firm, correct political course for the whole party, the whole people and the people's army.

Just as the Communist Party of China is recognized as the central force leading the entire people forward, so Comrade Mao Zedong is recognized as the great leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the whole Chinese people, and Mao Zedong Thought, which came into being through the collective struggle of the party and the people, is recognized as the guiding ideology of the party. This is the inevitable outcome of the 28 years of historical development preceding the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Basic Appraisal of the History of the 32 Years Since the Founding of the People's Republic

6. Generally speaking, the years since the founding of the People's Republic of China are years in which the Chinese Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, has very successfully led the whole people in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction. The establishment of the socialist system represents the greatest and most profound social change in Chinese history and is the foundation for the country's future progress and development.

7. Our major achievements in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic are the following:

1) We have established and consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a new type of state power, unknown in Chinese history, in which the people are the masters of their own house. It constitutes the fundamental guarantee for the building of a modern socialist country, prosperous and powerful, democratic and culturally advanced.

- 2) We have achieved and consolidated nationwide unification of the country, with the exception of Taiwan and some other islands, and have thus put an end to the state of disunity characteristic of old China. We have achieved and consolidated the great unity of the people of all nationalities and have forged and expanded a socialist relationship of equality and mutual help among the more than 50 nationalities. And we have achieved and consolidated the great unity of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of other strata and have strengthened and expanded the broad united front which is led by the Chinese Communist Party in full cooperation with the patriotic democratic parties and people's organizations, and comprises all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism and patriots who stand for the unification of the motherland, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese citizens overseas.
- 3) We have defeated aggression, sabotage and armed provocations by the imperialists and hegemonists, safeguarded our country's security and independence and fought successfully in defense of our border regions.
- 4) We have built and developed a socialist economy and have in the main completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production into public ownership and put into practice the principle of "to each according to his work." The system of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, and exploiters no longer exist as classes since the overwhelming majority have been remoulded and now live by their own labour.
- 5) We have scored signal successes in industrial construction and have gradually set up an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial base and economic system. Compared with 1952 when economic rehabilitation was completed, fixed industrial assets, calculated on the basis of their original price, were more than 27 times greater in 1980, exceeding 410 billion yuan; the output of cotton yarn was 4.5 times as great, reaching 2.93 million tons; that of coal 9.4 times, reaching 620 million tons; that of electricity 41 times, exceeding 300 billion kWh; and the output of crude oil exceeding 105 million tons and that of steel 37 million tons, the output value of the engineering industry was 54 times as great, exceeding 127 billion yuan. A number of new industrial bases have been built in our vast hinterland and the regions inhabited by our minority nationalities. National defense industry started from scratch and is being gradually built up. Much has been done in the prospecting of natural resources. There has been a tremendous growth in railway, highway, water and air transport and post and telecommunications.
- 6) The conditions prevailing in agricultural production have experienced a remarkable change, giving rise to big increases in production. The amount of land under irrigation has grown from 300 million mu in 1952 to over 670 million mu. Flooding by big rivers such as the Chang Jiang, Huang He (Yellow River), Huai He, Hai He, Zhu Jiang, Liao He and Songhua Jiang has been brought under initial control. In our rural areas, where farm machinery, chemical fertilizers and electricity were practically non-existent before liberation, there is now a big increase in the number of agriculture-related tractors and irrigation and drainage equipment and in the quantity of chemical fertilizers applied, and the amount of electricity

consumed is 7.5 times that generated in the whole country in the early years of liberation. In 1980, the total output of grain was nearly double that in 1952 and that of cotton more than double. Despite the excessive rate of growth in our population, which is now nearly a billion, we have succeeded in basically meeting the needs of our people in food and clothing by our own efforts.

7) There has been a substantial growth in urban and rural commerce and in foreign trade. The total value of commodities purchased by enterprises owned by the whole people rose from 17.5 billion yuan in 1952 to 226.3 billion yuan in 1980, registering an increase nearly 13-fold; retail sales rose from 27.7 billion yuan to 214 billion yuan, an increase of 7.7 times. The total value of the state's foreign trade in 1980 was 8.7 times that of 1952. With the growth in industry, agriculture and commerce, the people's livelihood has improved very markedly, as compared with pre-liberation days. In 1980, average consumption per capita in both town and country was nearly twice as much as in 1952, allowing for price changes.

8) Considerable progress has been made in education, science, culture, public health and physical culture. In 1980, enrollment in the various kinds of full-time schools totaled 204 million, 3.7 times the number in 1952. In the past 32 years, the institutions of higher education and vocational schools have turned out nearly 9 million graduates with specialized knowledge or skills. Our achievements in nuclear technology, man-made satellites, rocketry, etc., represent substantial advances in the field of science and technology. In literature and art, large numbers of fine works have appeared to cater for the needs of the people and socialism. With the participation of the masses, sports have developed vigorously, and records have been chalked up in quite a few events. Epidemic diseases with their high mortality rates have been eliminated or largely eliminated, the health of the rural and urban populations has greatly improved, and average life expectancy is now much higher.

9) Under the new historical conditions, the People's Liberation Army has grown in strength and in quality. No longer composed only of ground forces, it has become a composite army, including the naval and air forces and various technical branches. Our armed forces, which are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia, have been strengthened. Their quality is now much higher and their technical equipment much better. The PLA is serving as the solid pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship in defending and participating in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

10) Internationally, we have steadfastly pursued an independent socialist foreign policy, advocated and upheld the five principles of peaceful coexistence, entered into diplomatic relations with 124 countries and promoted trade and economic and cultural exchanges with still more countries and regions. Our country's place in the United Nations and the Security Council has been restored to us. Adhering to proletarian internationalism, we are playing an increasingly influential and active role in international affairs by enhancing our friendship with the people of other countries, by supporting and assisting the oppressed nations in their cause of liberation, the newly-independent countries in their national construction

and the people of various countries in their just struggles and by staunchly opposing imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism in defense of world peace. All of which has served to create favorable international conditions for our socialist construction and contributed to the development of a world situation favorable to the people everywhere.

8. New China has not been in existence for very long, and our successes are still preliminary. Our party has made mistakes owing to its meager experience in leading the cause of socialism and subjective errors in the party leadership's analysis of the situation and its understanding of Chinese conditions. Before the "Cultural Revolution" there were mistakes of enlarging the scope of class struggle and of impetuosity and rashness in economic construction. Later, there was the [Comprehensive, long-drawn out and grave blunder of the "Cultural Revolution."] All these errors prevented us from scoring the greater achievements of which we should have been capable. It is impermissible to overlook or whitewash mistakes, which in itself would be a mistake and would give rise to more and worse mistakes. But after all our achievements in the past 32 years are the main thing. It would be a no less serious error to overlook or deny our achievements of our successful experiences in scoring these achievements. These achievements and successful experiences of ours are the product of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by our party and people, the manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system and the base from which the entire party and people will continue to advance. Uphold truth and rectify error--this is the basic stand of dialectical-materialism our party must take. It was by taking this stand that we saved our cause from danger and defeat and won victory in the past. By taking the same stand, we will certainly win still greater victories in the future.

The Seven Years of Basic Completion of the Socialist Transformation

9. From the inception of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to 1956, our party led the whole people in gradually realizing the transition from new democracy to socialism, rapidly rehabilitating the country's economy, undertaking planned economic construction and in the main accomplishing the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in most of the country. The guidelines and basic policies defined by the party in this historical period were correct and led to brilliant successes.

10. In the first 3 years of the People's Republic, we cleared the mainland of bandits and the remnant armed forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries, peacefully liberated Tibet, established people's governments at all levels throughout the country, confiscated bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and transformed them into state-owned socialist enterprises, unified the country's financial and economic work, stabilized commodity prices, carried out agrarian reform in the new liberated areas, suppressed counterrevolutionaries, and unfolded the movements against the "three evils" of corruption, waste and bureaucracy and against the "five evils" of bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information, the latter being a movement to beat back the attack mounted by the bourgeoisie. We effectively

transformed the educational, scientific and cultural institutions of old China. While successfully carrying out the complex and difficult task of social reform and simultaneously undertaking the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, protect our homes and defend the country, we rapidly rehabilitated the country's economy which had been devastated in old China. By the end of 1952, the country's industrial and agricultural production had attained record levels.

11. On the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong in 1952, the Central Committee of the party advanced the general line for the transition period, which was to realize the country's socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce step by step over a fairly long period of time. This general line was a reflection of historical necessity.

1) Socialist industrialization is an indispensable prerequisite to the country's independence and prosperity.

2) With nationwide victory in the new-democratic revolution and completion of the agrarian reform, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road became the principal internal contradiction. The country needed a certain expansion of capitalist industry and commerce which were beneficial to its economy and to the people's livelihood. But in the course of their expansion, things detrimental to the national economy and the people's livelihood were bound to emerge. Consequently, a struggle between restriction and opposition to restriction was inevitable. The conflict of interests became increasingly apparent between capitalist enterprises on the one hand and the economic policies of the state, the socialist state-owned economy, the workers and staff in these capitalist enterprises and the people as a whole on the other. An integrated series of necessary measures and steps, such as the fight against speculation and profiteering, the readjustment and restructuring of industry and commerce, the movement against the "five evils," workers' supervision of production and state monopoly of the purchase and marketing of grain and cotton, were bound to gradually bring backward anarchic, lop-sided and profit-oriented capitalist industry and commerce into the orbit of socialist transformation.

3) Among the individual peasants, and particularly the poor and lower-middle peasants who had just acquired land in the agrarian reform but lacked other means of production, there was a genuine desire for mutual aid and cooperation in order to avoid borrowing at usurious rates and even mortgaging or selling their land again with consequent polarization, and in order to expand production, undertake water conservancy projects, ward off natural calamities and make use of farm machinery and new techniques.

The progress of industrialization, while demanding agricultural products in ever increasing quantities, would provide stronger and stronger support for the technical transformation of agriculture, and this also constituted a motive force behind the transformation of individual into cooperative farming.

As is borne out by history, the general line for the transition period set forth by our party was entirely correct.

12. During the period of transition our party creatively charted a course for socialist transformation that suited China's specific conditions. In dealing with capitalist industry and commerce, we devised a whole series of transitional forms of state capitalism from lower to higher levels, such as the placing of state orders with private enterprises for the processing of materials or the manufacture of goods, state monopoly of the purchasing and marketing of the products of private enterprise, the marketing of products of state-owned enterprises by private shops, and joint state-private ownership of individual enterprises or enterprise of a whole trade, and we eventually realized the peaceful redemption of the bourgeoisie, a possibility envisaged by Marx and Lenin. In dealing with individual farming, we devised transitional forms of cooperation, proceeding from temporary or all-the-year-round mutual-aid teams, to elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives of a semi-socialist nature and then to advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives of a fully socialist nature, always adhering to the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit, demonstration through advanced examples, and extension of state help. Similar methods were used in transforming individual handicraft industries. In the course of such transformation, the state-capitalist and cooperative economies displayed their unmistakable superiority. By 1956, the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production had been largely completed in most regions. But there had been shortcomings and errors. From the summer of 1955 onwards, we were over-hasty in pressing on with agricultural cooperation and the transformation of private handicraft and commercial establishments; we were far from meticulous, the changes were too fast, and we did our work in a somewhat summary, stereotypes manner, leaving open a number of questions for a long time. Following the basic completion of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in 1956, we failed to do a proper job in employing and handling some of the former industrialists and businessmen. But on the whole, it was definitely a historic victory for us to have effected, and to have effected fairly smoothly, so difficult, compled and profound a social change in so vast a country with its several hundred million people, a change, moreover, which promoted the growth of industry, agriculture and the economy as a whole.

13. In economic construction under the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), we likewise scored major successes through our own efforts and with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries. A number of basic industries, essential for the country's industrialization and yet very weak in the past, were built up. Between 1953 and 1956, the average annual increases in the total value of industrial and agricultural output were 19.6 and 4.8 percent respectively. Economic growth was quite fast, with satisfactory economic results, and the key economic sectors were well-balanced. The market prospered, prices were stable. The people's livelihood improved perceptively. In April 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong made his speech "On the Ten Major Relationships," in which he initially summed up our experiences in socialist construction and set forth the task of exploring a way of building socialism suited to the specific conditions of our country.

14. The first National People's Congress was convened in September 1954, and it enacted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In March 1955, a national conference of the party reviewed the major struggle against the plots of the careerists Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the party and usurp supreme power in the party and the state; in this way it strengthened party unity. In January 1956, the Central Committee of the party called a conference on the question of the intellectuals. Subsequently, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was advanced. These measures spelled out the correct policy regarding intellectuals and the work in education, science and culture and thus brought about a significant advance in these fields. Owing to the fact that the party enjoyed high prestige among the people for its correct policies and fine style of work, the vast numbers of cadres, masses, youth and intellectuals earnestly studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and participated enthusiastically in revolutionary and construction activities under the leadership of the party, so that a healthy and virile revolutionary morality prevailed throughout the country.

15. The eighth national congress of the party held in September 1956 was very successful. The congress declared that the socialist system had been basically established in China, that while we must strive to liberate Taiwan, thoroughly complete socialist transformation, ultimately eliminate the system of exploitation and continue to wipe out the remnant forces of counterrevolution, the principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie but between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of our economy and culture which fell short of the needs of the people; that the chief task confronting the whole nation was to concentrate all efforts on developing the productive forces, industrializing the country and gradually meeting the people's incessantly growing material and cultural needs; and that although class struggle still existed and the people's democratic dictatorship had to be further strengthened, the basic task of the dictatorship was now to protect and develop the productive forces in the context of the new relations of production. The congress adhered to the principle put forward by the Central Committee of the party in May 1956, the principle of opposing both conservatism and rash advance in economic construction, that is, of making steady progress by striking an over-all balance. It emphasized the problem of the building of the party in office and the need to uphold democratic centralism and collective leadership, oppose the personality cult, promote democracy within the party and among the people and strengthen the party's ties with the masses. The line laid down by the Eighth National Congress of the party was correct and it charted the path for the development of the cause of socialism and for party building in the new period.

The 10 Years of Initially Building Socialism in All Spheres

16. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, our party led the entire people in shifting our work to all-round, large-scale socialist construction. In the 10 years preceding the "Cultural Revolution" we achieved very big

successes despite serious setbacks. By 1966, the value of fixed industrial assets, calculated on the basis of their original price, was 4 times that in 1956. The output of such major industrial products as cotton yarn, coal, electricity, crude oil, steel and mechanical equipment all recorded impressive increases.

Beginning in 1965, China became self-sufficient in petroleum. New industries such as the electronic and petrochemical industries were established one after another. The distribution of industry over the country became better balanced. Capital construction in agriculture and its technical transformation began on a massive scale and yielded better and better results. Both the number of tractors for farming and the quantity of chemical fertilizers applied increased over 7 times and rural consumption of electricity 71 times. The number of graduates from institutions of higher education was 4.9 times that of the previous 7 years. Educational work was improved markedly through consolidation. Scientific research and technological work, too, produced notable results.

In the 10 years from 1956 to 1966, the party accumulated precious experience in leading socialist construction. In the spring of 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the necessity of correctly handling and distinguishing between the two types of social contradictions differing in nature in a socialist society, and made the correct handling of contradictions among the people the main content of the country's political life. Later, he called for the creation of "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." In 1958, he proposed that the focus of party and government work be shifted to technical revolution and socialist construction. All this was the continuation and development of the line adopted by the Eighth National Congress of the party and was to go on serving as a valuable guide. While leading the work of correcting the errors in the "Great Leap Forward" and the movement to organize people's communes, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that there must be no expropriation of the peasants; that a given stage of social development should not be skipped; that egalitarianism must be opposed; that we must stress commodity production, observe the law of value and strike an over-all balance in economic planning; and that economic plans must be arranged with the priority proceeding from agriculture to light industry and then to heavy industry. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said that a variety of means of production could be put into circulation as commodities and that there should be a double-track system for labor as well as for education in socialist society. The double-track system for labor refers to a combination of the system of the 8-hour day in factories, rural areas and government offices with a system of part-time work and part-time study in factories and rural areas. The double-track system for education means a system of full-time schooling combined with a system of part-time work and part-time study. Comrade Zhou Enlai said, among other things, that the overwhelming majority of Chinese intellectuals had become intellectuals belonging to the working people and that science and technology would play a key role in China's modernization. Comrade Chen Yun held that plan targets should be realistic, that the scale of construction should correspond to national capability, considerations should be

given to both the people's livelihood and the needs of state construction, and that the material, financial and credit balances should be maintained in drawing up plans. Comrade Deng Xiaoping held that industrial enterprises should be consolidated and their management approved and strengthened, and that the system of workers' conferences should be introduced. Comrade Zhu De stressed the need to pay attention to the development of handicrafts and of diverse undertakings in agriculture. Deng Zihui and other comrades pointed out that a system of production responsibility should be introduced in agriculture. All these views were not only of vital significance then, but have remained so ever since.

In the course of economic readjustment, the Central Committee drew up draft rules governing the work of the rural people's communes and work in industry, commerce, education, science and literature and art. These rules which were a more or less systematic summation of our experience in socialist construction and embodied specific policies suited to the prevailing conditions remain important as a source of reference for us to this very day.

In short, the material and technical basis for modernizing our country was largely established during that period. It was also largely in the same period that the core personnel for our work in the economic, cultural and other spheres were trained and that they gained their experience. This was the principal aspect of the party's work in that period.

17. In the course of this decade, there were serious faults and errors in the guidelines of the party's work, which developed through twists and turns.

The year 1957 was one of the years that saw best results in economic work after the founding of the People's Republic owing to the conscientious implementation of the correct line formulated at the Eighth National Congress of the party. To start a rectification campaign throughout the party in that year and urge the masses to offer criticisms and suggestions were normal steps in developing socialist democracy. In the rectification campaign a handful of bourgeois rightists seized the opportunity to advocate what they called "speaking out and airing views in a big way" and to mount a wild attack against the party and the nascent socialist system in an attempt to replace the leadership of the Communist Party. It was therefore entirely correct and necessary to launch a resolute counterattack. But the scope of this struggle was made far too broad and a number of intellectuals, patriotic people and party cadres were unjustifiably labeled "rightists," with unfortunate consequences.

In 1958, the second plenum of the Eighth National Congress of the party adopted the general line for socialist construction. The line and its fundamental aspects were correct in that it reflected the masses' pressing demand for a change in the economic and cultural backwardness of our country. Its shortcoming was that it overlooked the objective economic laws. Both before and after the plenum, all comrades in the party and people of all nationalities displayed high enthusiasm and initiative for socialism and achieved certain results in production and construction. However, "left" errors, characterized by excessively high

targets, the issuing of arbitrary directions, boastfulness and the stirring up of a "communist wind," spread unchecked throughout the country. This was due to our lack of experience in socialist construction and inadequate understanding of the laws of economic development and of the basic economic conditions in China. More important, it was due to the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong and many leading comrades, both at the centre and in the localities, had become smug about their successes, were impatient for quick results and overestimated the role of man's subjective will and efforts. After the general line was formulated, the "Great Leap Forward" and the movement for rural people's communes were initiated without careful investigation and study and without prior experimentation. From the end of 1958 to the early stage of the Lushan meeting of the Political Bureau of the party's Central Committee in July 1959, Comrade Mao Zedong and the Central Committee led the whole party in energetically rectifying the errors which had already been recognized. However, in the latter part of the meeting, he erred in initiating criticism of Comrade Peng Dehuai and then in launching a partywide struggle against "right opportunism."

The resolution passed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party concerning the so-called anti-party group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou was entirely wrong. Politically, this struggle gravely undermined inner-party democracy from the central level down to the grass-roots; economically, it cut short the process of rectification of the "left" errors, thus prolonging their influence. It was mainly due to the errors of the Great Leap Forward and of the struggle against "right opportunism" together with a succession of natural calamities and the perfidious scrapping of contracts by the Soviet Government that our economy encountered serious difficulties between 1959 and 1961, which caused serious losses to our country and people.

In the winter of 1960, the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong set about rectifying the "left" errors in rural work and decided on the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" for the economy as a whole. A number of correct policies and resolute measures were worked out and put into effect with Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping in charge. All this constituted a crucial turning point in that historical phase. In January 1962, the enlarged central work conference attended by 7,000 people made a preliminary summing-up of the positive and negative experience of the "Great Leap Forward" and unfolded criticism and self-criticism. A majority of the comrades who had been unjustifiably criticized during the campaign against "right opportunism" were rehabilitated before or after the conference. In addition, most of the "rightists" had their label removed. Thanks to these economic and political measures, the national economy recovered and developed fairly smoothly between 1962 and 1966.

Nevertheless, "left" errors in the principles guiding economic work were not only not eradicated, but actually grew in the spheres of politics, ideology and culture. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the party's Eighth Central Committee in September 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong widened and absolutized the class struggle existing only within certain limits in a socialist society and carried forward the viewpoint he had advanced after the anti-rightist struggle in 1957 that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained the principal

contradiction in our society. He went a step further and asserted that, throughout the historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie would continue to exist and would attempt a comeback and become the source of revisionism inside the party. The socialist education movement unfolded between 1963 and 1965 in some rural areas and at the grassroots level in a small number of cities did help to some extent to improve the cadres' style of work and economic management. But, in the course of the movement, problems differing in nature were all treated as forms of class struggle or its reflections inside the party. As a result, quite a number of the cadres at the grassroots level were unjustly dealt with in the latter half of 1964, and early in 1965 the erroneous thesis was advanced that the main target of the movement should be "those party persons in power taking the capitalist road." In the ideological sphere, a number of literary and art works and schools of thought and a number of representative personages in artistic, literary and academic circles were subjected to unwarranted, inordinate political criticism. And there was an increasingly serious "left" deviation on the question of intellectuals and on the question of education, science and culture. These errors eventually culminated in the "Cultural Revolution," but they had not yet become dominant.

Thanks to the fact that the whole party and people had concentrated on carrying out the correct principle of economic readjustment since the winter of 1960, socialist construction gradually flourished again. The party and the people were united in sharing weal and woe. They overcame difficulties at home, stood up to the pressure of the Soviet leading clique and repaid all the debts owed to the Soviet Union, which were chiefly incurred through purchasing Soviet arms during the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. In addition, they did what they could to support the revolutionary struggles of the people of many countries and assist them in their economic construction. The Third National People's Congress, which met between the end of 1964 and the first days of 1965, announced that the task of national economic readjustment had in the main been accomplished and that the economy as a whole would soon enter a new stage of development. It called for energetic efforts to build China step by step into a socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. This call was not fulfilled owing to the "Cultural Revolution."

18. All the successes in these 10 years were achieved under the collective leadership of the Central Committee of the party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Likewise, responsibility for the errors committed in the work of this period rested with the same collective leadership. Although Comrade Mao Zedong must be held chiefly responsible, we cannot lay the blame on him alone for all those errors. During this period, his theoretical and practical mistakes concerning class struggle in a socialist society became increasingly serious, his personal arbitrariness gradually undermined democratic centralism in party life, and the personality cult grew graver and graver. The Central Committee of the party failed to rectify these mistakes in good time. Careerists like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, harbouring ulterior motives, made use of these errors and inflated them. This led to the inauguration of the "Cultural Revolution."

The Decade of the "Cultural Revolution"

19. The "Cultural Revolution," which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976, was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic. It was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong. His principal theses were that many representatives of the bourgeoisie and counterrevolutionary revisionists had sneaked into the party, the government, the army and cultural circles, and leadership in a fairly large majority of organizations and departments was no longer in the hands of Marxists and the people; that party persons in power taking the capitalist road had formed a bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee which pursued a revisionist political and organizational line and had agents in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as in all central departments; that since the forms of struggle adopted in the past had not been able to solve this problem, the power usurped by the capitalist-roaders could be recaptured only by carrying out a Great Cultural Revolution, by openly and fully mobilizing the broad masses from the bottom up to expose these sinister phenomena; and that the Cultural Revolution was in fact a great political revolution in which one class would overthrow another, a revolution that would have to be waged time and again. These theses appeared mainly in the "May 16 circular," which served as the programmatic document of the "Cultural Revolution," and in the political report to the Ninth National Congress of the party in April 1969.

They were incorporated into a general theory--the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"--which then took on a specific meaning. These erroneous "left" theses, upon which Comrade Mao Zedong based himself in initiating the "Cultural Revolution," were obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Zedong Thought, which is the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. These theses must be thoroughly distinguished from Mao Zedong Thought. As for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others, who were placed in important positions by Comrade Mao Zedong, the matter is of an entirely different nature. They rigged up two counterrevolutionary cliques in an attempt to seize supreme power and, taking advantage of Comrade Mao Zedong's errors, committed many crimes behind his back, bringing disaster to the country and the people. As their counterrevolutionary crimes have been fully exposed, this resolution will not go into them at any length.

20. The history of the "Cultural Revolution" has proved that Comrade Mao Zedong's principal theses for initiating it conformed neither to Marxism-Leninism nor to Chinese reality. They represent an entirely erroneous appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation in the party and state.

1) The "Cultural Revolution" was defined as a struggle against the revisionist line or the capitalist road. There were no grounds at all for this definition. It led to the confusing of right and wrong on a series of important theories and policies. Many things denounced as revisionist or capitalist during the "Cultural Revolution" were actually Marxist and socialist principles, many of which had been set forth or supported by Comrade Mao Zedong himself. The

"Cultural Revolution" negated many of the correct principles, policies and achievements of the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic. In fact, it negated much of the work of the Central Committee of the party and the people's government, including Comrade Mao Zedong's own contribution. It negated the arduous struggles the entire people had conducted in socialist construction.

2) The confusing of right and wrong inevitably led to confusing the people with the enemy. The "capitalist-roaders" overthrown in the "Cultural Revolution" were leading cadres of party and government organizations at all levels, who formed the core force of the socialist cause. The so-called bourgeois headquarters inside the party headed by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping simply did not exist. Irrefutable facts have proved that labeling Comrade Liu Shaoqi a "renegade, hidden traitor and scab" was nothing but a frame-up by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers. The political conclusion concerning Comrade Liu Shaoqi drawn by the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party and the disciplinary measure it meted out to him were both utterly wrong. The criticism of the so-called reactionary academic authorities in the "Cultural Revolution" during which many capable and accomplished intellectuals were attacked and persecuted also badly muddled up the distinction between the people and the enemy.

3) Nominally, the "Cultural Revolution" was conducted by directly relying on the masses. In fact, it was divorced both from the party organizations and from the masses. After the movement started, party organizations at different levels were attacked and became partially or wholly paralyzed, the party's leading cadres at various levels were subjected to criticism and struggle, inner-party life came to a standstill, and many activists and large numbers of the basic masses whom the party has long relied on were rejected.

At the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution," the vast majority of participants in the movement acted out of their faith in Comrade Mao Zedong and the party. Except for a handful of extremists, however, they did not approve of launching ruthless struggles against leading party cadres at all levels. With the lapse of time, following their own circuitous paths, they eventually attained a heightened political consciousness and began to adopt a sceptical or wait-and-see attitude towards the "Cultural Revolution," or even resisted and opposed it. Many people were assailed either more or less severely for this very reason. Such a state of affairs could not but provide openings to be exploited by opportunists, careerists and conspirators, not a few of whom were escalated to high or even key positions.

4) Practice has shown that the "Cultural Revolution" did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense, nor could it possibly have done so. It was we and not the enemy at all who were thrown into disorder by the "Cultural Revolution." Therefore, from beginning to end, it did not turn "great disorder under heaven" into "great order under heaven," nor could it conceivably have done so. After the state power in the form of the people's democratic dictatorship was established in China, and especially after socialist transformation was basically completed and the exploiters were eliminated as classes, the socialist

revolution represented a fundamental break with the past in both content and method, even its tasks remained to be completed. Of course, it was essential to take proper account of certain undesirable phenomena that undoubtedly existed in party and state organisms and to remove them by correct measures in conformity with the constitution, the laws and the party constitution. But on no account should the theories and methods of the "Cultural Revolution" have been applied. Under socialist conditions, there is no economic or political basis for carrying out a great political revolution in which "one class overthrow another." It decidedly could not come up with any constructive programme, but could only bring grave disorder, damage and retrogression in its train. History has shown that the "Cultural Revolution," initiated by a leader laboring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques, led to [domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the party,] the state and the whole people.

21. The "Cultural Revolution" can be divided into three stages.

1) From the initiation of the "Cultural Revolution" to the Ninth National Congress of the party in April 1969. The convening of the enlarged Political Bureau meeting of the Central Committee of the party in May 1966 and the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in August of that year marked the launching of the "Cultural Revolution" on a full scale. These two meetings adopted the "May 16 circular" and the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" respectively. They launched an erroneous struggle against the so-called anti-party clique of Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun and the so-called headquarters of Lui Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. They wrongly reorganized the central leading organs, set up the "Cultural Revolution group under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" and gave it a major part of the power of the Central Committee. In fact, Comrade Mao Zedong's personal leadership characterized by "left" errors took the place of the collective leadership of the Central Committee, and the cult of Comrade Mao Zedong was frenziedly pushed to an extreme.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and others, acting chiefly in the name of the "Cultural Revolution group," exploited the situation to incite people to "overthrow everything and wage full-scale civil war." Around February 1967, at various meetings, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and other Political Bureau members and leading comrades of the Military Commission of the Central Committee sharply criticized the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution." This was labeled the "February adverse current," and they were attacked and repressed. Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yun were also wrongly criticized. Almost all leading party and government departments in the different spheres and localities were stripped of their power or reorganized. The chaos was such that it was necessary to send in the People's Liberation Army to support the left, the workers and the peasants and to institute military control and military training. It played a positive role in stabilizing the situation, but it also produced some negative consequences. The ninth congress of the party legitimized the erroneous theories and practices of the "Cultural Revolution," and so reinforced the positions of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others in the Central Committee of the party. The guidelines of the ninth congress were wrong, ideologically, politically and organizationally.

2) From the Ninth National Congress of the party to its Tenth National Congress in August 1973. In 1970-1971 the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique plotted to capture supreme power and attempted an armed counterrevolutionary coup d'etat. This was the outcome of the "Cultural Revolution" which overturned a series of fundamental party principles. Objectively, it announced the failure of the theories and practices of the "Cultural Revolution." Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai ingeniously thwarted the plotted coup. Supported by Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee and things began to improve in all fields. During the criticism and repudiation of Lin Biao in 1972, he correctly proposed criticism of the ultra-left trend of thought. In fact, this was an extension of the correct proposals put forward around February 1967 by many leading comrades of the Central Committee who had called for the correction of the errors of the "Cultural Revolution." Comrade Mao Zedong, however, erroneously held that the task was still to oppose the "ultra-right." The tenth congress of the party perpetuated the "left" errors of the ninth congress and made Wang Hongwen a vice-chairman of the party. Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen formed a gang of four inside the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, thus strengthening the influence of the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique.

3) From the tenth congress of the party to October 1976. Early in 1974 Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen and others launched a campaign to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius." Jiang Qing and the others directed the spearhead at Comrade Zhou Enlai, which was different in nature from the campaign conducted in some localities and organizations where individuals involved in and incidents connected with the conspiracies of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique were investigated. Comrade Mao Zedong approved the launching of the movement to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius." When he found that Jiang Qing and the others were turning it to their advantage in order to seize power, he severely criticized them. He declared that they had formed a "gang of four" and pointed out that Jiang Qing harbored the wild ambition of making herself chairman of the Central Committee and "forming a cabinet" by political manipulation.

In 1975, when Comrade Zhou Enlai was seriously ill, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Comrade Mao Zedong, took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. He convened an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and several other important meetings with a view to solving problems in industry, agriculture, transport and science and technology, and began to straighten out work in many fields so that the situation took an obvious turn for the better. However, Comrade Mao Zedong could not bear to accept systematic correction of the errors of the "Cultural Revolution" by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and triggered the movement to "criticize Deng and counter the right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts," once again plunging the nation into turmoil. In January of that year, Comrade Zhou Enlai passed away. Comrade Zhou Enlai was utterly devoted to the party and the people and stuck to his post till his dying day. He found himself in an extremely difficult situation throughout the "Cultural Revolution," he always kept the general interest in mind, bore the heavy burden of office without complaint, racking his brains and untiringly endeavouring to keep the normal work of the party and the state going, to minimize the damage caused by the "Cultural Revolution" and to protect

many party and non-party cadres. He waged all forms of struggle to counter sabotage by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. His death left the whole party and people in the most profound grief. In April of the same year, a powerful movement of protest signalled by the Tiananmen incident swept the whole country, a movement to mourn for the late Premier Zhou Enlai and oppose the "gang of four." In essence, the movement was a demonstration of support for the party's correct leadership as represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. It laid the ground for massive popular support for the subsequent overthrow of the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong wrongly assessed the nature of the Tiananmen incident and dismissed Comrade Deng Xiaoping from all his posts inside and outside the party. As soon as Comrade Mao Zedong passed away in September 1976, the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique stepped up its plot to seize supreme party and state leadership. Early in October of the same year, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, executing the will of the party and the people, resolutely smashed the clique and brought the catastrophic "Cultural Revolution" to an end. This was a great victory won by the entire party, army and people after prolonged struggle. Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian and other comrades played a vital part in the struggle to crush the clique.

22. Chief responsibility for the grave "left" error of the "Cultural Revolution," an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, does indeed lie with Comrade Mao Zedong. But after all it was the error of a great proletarian revolutionary. Comrade Mao Zedong paid constant attention to overcoming shortcomings in the life of the party and state. In his later years, however, far from making a correct analysis of many problems, he confused right and wrong and the people with the enemy during the "Cultural Revolution." While making serious mistakes, he repeatedly urged the whole people to study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin conscientiously and imagined that his theory and practice were Marxist and that they were essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Herein lies his tragedy. While persisting in the comprehensive error of the "Cultural Revolution," he checked and rectified some of its specific mistakes, protected some leading party cadres and non-party public figures and enabled some leading cadres to return to important leading posts. He led the struggle to smash the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique. He made major criticisms and exposures of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others, frustrating their sinister ambition to seize supreme leadership. All this was crucial to the subsequent and relatively painless overthrow of the "gang of four" by our party. In his later years, he still remained alert to safeguarding the security of our country, stood up to the pressure of the social-imperialists, pursued a correct foreign policy, firmly supported the just struggles of all peoples, outlined the correct strategy of the three worlds and advanced the important principle that China would never seek hegemony. During the "Cultural Revolution" our party was not destroyed, but maintained its unity. The State Council and the People's Liberation Army were still able to do much of their essential work. The Fourth National People's Congress which was attended by deputies from all nationalities and all walks of life was convened and it determined the composition of the State Council with Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping as the core of its leadership. The foundation of China's socialist system remained intact and

it was possible to continue socialist economic construction. Our country remained united and exerted a significant influence on international affairs. All these important facts are inseparable from the great role played by Comrade Mao Zedong. For these reasons, and particularly for his vital contributions to the cause of the revolution over the years, the Chinese people have always regarded Comrade Mao Zedong as their respected and beloved great leader and teacher.

23. The struggle waged by the party and the people against "left" errors and against the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques during the "Cultural Revolution" was arduous and full of twists and turns, and it never ceased. Rigorous tests throughout the "Cultural Revolution" have proved that standing on the correct side in the struggle were the overwhelming majority of members of the Eighth Central Committee of the party and the members it elected to its Political Bureau, Standing Committee and Secretariat. Most of our party cadres, whether they were wrongly dismissed or remained at their posts, whether they were rehabilitated early or late, are loyal to the party and people and steadfast in their belief in the cause of socialism and communism. Most of the intellectuals, model workers, patriotic democrats, patriotic Overseas Chinese and cadres and masses of all strata and all nationalities who had been wronged and persecuted, did not waver in their love for the motherland and in their support for the party and socialism. Party and state leaders such as Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, He Long and Tao Zhu and all other party and non-party comrades who were persecuted to death in the "Cultural Revolution" will live forever in the memories of the Chinese people. It was through the joint struggles waged by the entire party and the masses of workers, peasants, PLA officers and men, intellectuals, educated youth and cadres that the havoc wrought by the "Cultural Revolution" was somewhat mitigated. Some progress was made in our economy despite tremendous losses. Grain output increased relatively steadily. Significant achievements were scored in industry, communications and capital construction and in science and technology. New railways were built and the Changjiang River bridge at Nanjing was completed; a number of large enterprises using advanced technology went into operation; hydrogen bomb tests were successfully undertaken and man-made satellites successfully launched and retrieved; and new hybrid strains of long-grained rice were developed and popularized. Despite the domestic turmoil, the People's Liberation Army bravely defended the security of the motherland. And new prospects were opened up in the sphere of foreign affairs. Needless to say, none of these successes can be attributed in any way to the "Cultural Revolution," without which we would have scored far greater achievements for our cause.

Although we suffered from sabotage by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques during the "Cultural Revolution," we won out over them in the end. The party, the people's political power, the people's army and Chinese society on the whole remained unchanged in nature. Once again history has proved that our people are a great people and that our party and socialist system have enormous vitality.

24. In addition to the above-mentioned immediate cause of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake in leadership, there are complex social and historical causes underlying the "Cultural Revolution" which dragged on for as long as a decade. The main causes are as follows:

1) The history of the socialist movement is not long and that of the socialist countries even shorter. Some of the laws governing the development of socialist society are relatively clear, but many more remain to be explored. Our party had long existed in circumstances of war and fierce class struggle. It was not fully prepared, either ideologically or in terms of scientific study, for the swift advent of the new-born socialist society and for socialist construction on a national scale. The scientific works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are our guide to action, but can in no way provide ready-made answers to the problems we may encounter in our socialist use. Even after the basic completion of socialist transformation, given the guiding ideology, we were liable, owing to the historical circumstances in which our party grew, to continue to regard issues unrelated to class struggle as its manifestations when observing and handling new contradictions and problems which cropped up in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres in the course of the development of socialist society. And when confronted with actual class struggle under the new conditions, we habitually fell back on the familiar methods and experiences of the large-scale, turbulent mass struggle of the past, which should no longer have been mechanically followed. As a result, we substantially broadened the scope of class struggle. Moreover, this subjective thinking and practice divorced from reality seemed to have a "theoretical basis" in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin because certain ideas and arguments set forth in them were misunderstood or dogmatically interpreted. For instance, it was thought that equal right, which reflects the exchange of equal amounts of labor and is applicable in the distribution of the means of consumption in socialist society, or "bourgeois right" as it was designated by Marx, should be restricted and criticized, and so the principle of "to each according to his work" and that of material interest should be restricted and criticized; that small production would continue to engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily and hourly on a large scale even after the basic completion of socialist transformation, and so a series of "left" economic policies and policies on class struggle in urban and rural areas were formulated; and that all ideological differences inside the party were reflections of class struggle in society, and so frequent and acute inner-party struggles were conducted. All this led us to regard the error in magnifying class struggle as an act in defense of the purity of Marxism. Furthermore, Soviet leaders started a polemic between China and the Soviet Union, and turned the arguments between the two parties on matters of principle into a conflict between the two nations, bringing enormous pressure to bear upon China politically, economically and militarily. So we were forced to wage a just struggle against the big-nation chauvinism of the Soviet Union.

In these circumstances, a campaign to prevent and combat revisionism inside the country was launched, which spread the error of broadening the scope of class struggle in the party, so that normal difference among comrades inside the party came to be regarded as manifestations of the revisionist line or of the struggle between the two lines. This resulted in growing tension in inner-party relations. Thus it became difficult for the party to resist certain "left" views put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and others, and the development of these views led to the outbreak of the protracted "Cultural Revolution."

Both reasons subjective

2) Comrade Mao Zedong's prestige reached a peak and he began to get arrogant at the very time when the party was confronted with the new task of shifting the focus of its work to socialist construction, a task for which the utmost caution was required. He gradually divorced himself from practice and from the masses, acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively, and increasingly put himself above the Central Committee of the party. The result was a steady weakening and even undermining of the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country. This state of affairs took shape only gradually and the Central Committee of the party should be held partly responsible. *wh ch conditions* (From the Marxist viewpoint, this complex phenomenon was the product of given historical conditions.) Blaming this on only one person or on only a handful of people will not provide a deep lesson for the whole party or enable it to find practical ways to change the situation. In the communist movement, leaders play quite an important role. This has been borne out by history time and again and leaves no room for doubt. However, certain grievous deviations, which occurred in the history of the international communist movement owing to the failure to handle the relationship between the party and its leader correctly, had an adverse effect on our party, too. Feudalism in China has had a very long history. Our party fought in the firmest and most thorough-going way against it and particularly against the feudal system of land ownership and the landlords and local tyrants, and fostered a fine tradition of democracy in the anti-feudal struggle. But it remains difficult to eliminate the evil ideological and political influence of centuries of feudal autocracy. And for various historical reasons, we failed to institutionalize and legalize inner-party democracy and democracy in the political and social life of the country, or we drew up the relevant laws but they lacked due authority. *WJ* This meant that conditions were present for the over-concentration of party power in individuals and for the development of arbitrary individual rule and the personality cult in the party. Thus, it was hard for the party and state to prevent the initiation of the "Cultural Revolution" or check its development.

A Great Turning Point in History

25. The victory won in overthrowing the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique in October 1976 saved the party and the revolution from disaster and enabled our country to enter a new historical period of development. In the 2 years from October 1976 to December 1978 when the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party was convened, large numbers of cadres and other people most enthusiastically devoted themselves to all kinds of revolutionary work and the task of construction. Notable results were achieved in exposing and repudiating the crimes of the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique and uncovering their factional setup. The consolidation of party and state organizations and the redress of wrong suffered by those who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged began in some places. Industrial and agricultural production was fairly swiftly restored. Work in education, science and culture began to return to normal. Comrades inside and outside the party demanded more and more strongly that the errors of the "Cultural Revolution" be corrected, but such demands met with serious resistance.

This, of course, was partly due to the fact that the political and ideological confusion created in the decade-long "Cultural Revolution" could not be eliminated overnight, but it was also due to the "left" error in the guiding ideology that Comrade Hua Guofeng continued to commit in his capacity as chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. On the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Hua Guofeng had become first vice chairman of the Central Committee of the party and concurrently premier of the State Council during the "movement to criticize Deng Xiaoping" in 1976. He contributed to the struggle to overthrow the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique and did useful work after that. But he promoted the erroneous "two-whatever's" policy, that is, "we firmly uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and we unswervingly adhere to whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave," and he took a long time to rectify the error. He tried to suppress the discussions on the criterion of truth unfolded in the country in 1978, which were very significant in setting things right. He procrastinated and obstructed the work of reinstating veteran cadres in their posts and redressing the injustices left over from the past (including the case of the "Tiananmen incident" of 1976). He accepted and fostered the personality cult around himself while continuing the personality cult of the past. The 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party convened in August 1977 played a positive role in exposing and repudiating the "gang of four" and mobilizing the whole party for building China into a powerful modern socialist state. However, owing to the limitations imposed by the historical conditions then and the influence of Comrade Hua Guofeng's mistakes, it reaffirmed the erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "Cultural Revolution" instead of correcting them. He also had his share of responsibility for impetuously seeking quick results in economic work and for continuing certain other "left" policies. Obviously, under his leadership it is impossible to correct "left" errors within the party, and all the more impossible to restore the party's fine traditions.

26. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in December 1978 marked a crucial turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the birth of the People's Republic. It put an end to the situation in which the party had been advancing haltingly in its work since October 1976 and began to correct conscientiously and comprehensively the "left" errors of the "Cultural Revolution" and earlier. The plenary session resolutely criticized the erroneous "two-whatever's" policy and fully affirmed the need to grasp Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately as a scientific system. It highly evaluated the forum on the criterion of truth and decided on the guiding principle of emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking forward to the future. It firmly discarded the slogan "take class struggle as the key link" which had become unsuitable in a socialist society, and made the strategic decision to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization. It declared that attention should be paid to solving the problem of serious imbalances between the major branches of the economy and drafted decisions on the acceleration of agricultural development. It stressed the task of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. It examined and redressed a number of major unjust, false and wrong cases in the history of the party and settled the controversy on the merits and demerits, the rights and wrongs, of some prominent leaders. The plenary session also elected additional members to the party's central leading organs. These momentous changes in the work of leadership signify

that the party has reestablished the correct line of Marxism ideologically, politically and organizationally. Since then, it has gained the initiative in setting things right and is able to solve step by step many problems left over since the founding of the People's Republic and the new problems cropping up in the course of practice and carry out the heavy tasks of construction and reform, so that things are going very well in both the economic and political sphere.

1) In response to the call of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party for emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, large numbers of cadres and other people have freed themselves from the spiritual shackles of the personality cult and the dogmatism that prevailed in the past. This has stimulated thinking inside and outside the party, giving rise to a lively situation where people try their best to study new things and seek solutions to new problems. To carry out the principle of emancipating the mind properly, the party reiterated in good time the four fundamental principles of upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It reaffirmed the principle that neither democracy nor centralism can be practiced at each other's expense and pointed out the basic fact that, although the exploiters had been eliminated as classes, class struggle continued to exist within certain limits. In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, which was approved by the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ye Jianying fully affirmed the gigantic achievements of the party and people since the inauguration of the People's Republic while making self-criticism on behalf of the party for errors in its work and outlined our country's bright prospects. This helped to unify the thinking of the whole party and people. At its meeting in August 1980, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee set the historic task of combating corrosion by bourgeois ideology and eradicating the evil influence of feudalism in the political and ideological fields which is still present. A work conference convened by the Central Committee in December of the same year resolved to strengthen the party's ideological and political work, make greater efforts to build a socialist civilization, criticize the erroneous ideological trends running counter to the four fundamental principles and strike at the counterrevolutionary activities disrupting the cause of socialism. This exerted a most salutary countrywide influence in fostering a political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness.

2) At a work conference called by the Central Committee in April 1979, the party formulated the principle of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the economy as a whole in a decisive effort to correct the shortcomings and mistakes of the previous 2 years in our economic work and eliminate the influence of "left" errors that had persisted in this field. The party indicated that economic construction must be carried out in the light of China's conditions and in conformity with economic and natural laws; that it must be carried out within the limits of our own resources, step by step, after due deliberation and with emphasis on practical results, so that the development of production will be closely connected with the improvement of the people's livelihood; and that active efforts must be made to promote economic and technical cooperation with

other countries on the basis of independence and self-reliance. Guided by these principles, light industry has quickened its rate of growth and the structure of industry is becoming more rational and better coordinated. Reforms in the system of economic management, including extension of the decision-making powers of enterprises, restoration of the workers' congresses, strengthening of democratic management of enterprises and transference of financial management responsibilities to the various levels, have gradually been carried out in conjunction with economic readjustment. The party has worked conscientiously to remedy the errors in rural work since the later stage of the movement for agricultural cooperation, with the result that the purchase prices of farm and sideline products have been raised, various forms of production responsibility introduced whereby remuneration is determined by farm output, family plots have been restored and appropriately extended, village fairs have been revived, and sideline occupations and diverse undertakings have been developed.

All these have greatly enhanced the peasants' enthusiasm. Grain output in the last 2 years reached an all-time high, and at the same time industrial crops and other farm and sideline products registered a big increase. Thanks to the development of agriculture and the economy as a whole, the living standards of the people have improved.

3) After detailed and careful investigation and study, measures were taken to clear the name of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, former vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and chairman of the People's Republic of China, those of other party and state leaders, national minority leaders and leading figures in different circles who had been wronged, and to affirm their historical contributions to the party and the people in protracted revolutionary struggle.

4) Large numbers of unjust, false and wrong cases were reexamined and their verdicts reversed. Cases in which people had been wrongly labeled bourgeois rightists were also corrected. Announcements were made to the effect that former businessmen and industrialists, having undergone remoulding, are now working people; that small tradespeople, pedlars and handicraftsmen, who were originally laborers, have been differentiated from businessmen and industrialists who were members of the bourgeoisie; and that the status of the vast majority of former landlords and rich peasants, who have become working people through remoulding, has been redefined. These measures have appropriately resolved many contradictions inside the party and among the people.

5) People's congresses at all levels are doing their work better and those at the provincial and county levels have set up permanent organs of their own. The system according to which deputies to the people's congresses at and below the county level are directly elected by the voters is now universally practiced. Collective leadership and democratic centralism are being perfected in the party and state organizations. The powers of local and primary organizations are steadily being extended. The so-called right to "speak out, air views and hold debates in a big way and write big-character posters," which actually obstructs the promotion of socialist democracy, was deleted from the constitution. A number of important laws, decrees and regulations have been reinstated, enacted or enforced, including the

criminal law and the law of criminal procedure which had never been drawn up since the founding of the People's Republic. The work of the judicial, procuratorial and public security departments has improved and telling blows have been dealt at all types of criminals guilty of serious offenses. The 10 principal members of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were publicly tried according to law.

6) The party has striven to readjust and strengthen the leading bodies at all levels. The 5th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party, held in February 1980, elected additional members to the Standing Committee of its Political Bureau and reestablished the Secretariat of the Central Committee, greatly strengthening the central leadership. Party militancy has been enhanced as a result of the establishment of the central commission for inspecting discipline and of discipline inspection commissions at the lower levels, the formulation of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" and other related inner-party regulations, and the effort made by leading party organizations and discipline inspection bodies at the different levels to rectify unhealthy practices. The party's mass media have also contributed immensely in this respect. The party has decided to put an end to the virtually lifelong tenure of leading cadres, change the over-concentration of power and, on the basis of revolutionization, gradually reduce the average age of the leading cadres at all levels and raise their level of education and professional competence, and has initiated this process. With the reshuffling of the leading personnel of the State Council and the division of labor between party and government organizations, the work of the central and local governments has improved.

In addition, there have been significant successes in the party's effort to implement our policies in education, science, culture, public health, physical culture, nationality affairs, united front work, Overseas Chinese affairs and military and foreign affairs.

In short, the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policies of the party have been revived and developed under new conditions and all aspects of party and government work have been flourishing again since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. Our work still suffers from shortcomings and mistakes, and we are still confronted with numerous difficulties. Nevertheless, the road of victorious advance is open, and the party's prestige among the people is rising day by day.

Comrade Mao Zedong's Historical Role and Mao Zedong Thought

27. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. It is true that he made gross mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution," but, if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors secondary. He rendered indelible meritorious service in founding and building up our party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, in winning victory for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people, in founding the People's Republic of China and in advancing our socialist cause. He made major contributions to the liberation of the oppressed nations of the world and to the progress of mankind.

28. The Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, made a theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This synthesis constituted a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions, and it is this synthesis which is Mao Zedong Thought, the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Making revolution in a large eastern semi-colonial, semi-feudal country is bound to meet with many special, complicated problems, which cannot be solved by reciting the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, or by copying foreign experience in every detail. An erroneous tendency of making Marxism a dogma and deifying Comintern resolutions and the experience of the Soviet Union prevailed in the international communist movement and in our party mainly in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and this tendency pushed the Chinese revolution to the brink of total failure. It was in the course of combating this wrong tendency and making a profound summary of our historical experience in this respect that Mao Zedong Thought took shape and developed. It was systematized and extended in a variety of fields and reached maturity in the latter part of the agrarian revolutionary war and the war of resistance against Japan, and it was further developed during the war of liberation and after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China; it constitutes a correct theory, a body of correct principles and a summary of the experiences that have been confirmed in the practice of the Chinese revolution, a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party. Many outstanding leaders of our party made important contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, which are synthesized in the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong.

29. Mao Zedong Thought is wide-ranging in content. It is an original theory which has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism in the following respects:

1) On the new-democratic revolution. Proceeding from China's historical and social conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong made a profound study of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, applied and developed the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, and established the theory of new-democratic revolution--a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the masses of the people on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat. His main works on this subject include: "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," "Report on the Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," "Introducing 'The Communist,'" "On New Democracy," "On Coalition Government" and "The Present Situation and Our Tasks." The basic points of this theory are:

I) China's bourgeoisie consisted of two sections, the big bourgeoisie (that is, the comprador bourgeoisie, or the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie) which was dependent on imperialism, and the national bourgeoisie which had revolutionary leanings but wavered. The proletariat should endeavour to get the national bourgeoisie to join in the united front under its leadership and, in special circumstances, to include even part of the big bourgeoisie in the united front, so as to isolate the main enemy to the greatest possible extent. When forming a united front with the

bourgeoisie, the proletariat must preserve its own independence and pursue the policy of "unity, struggle, unity through struggle"; when forced to split with the bourgeoisie, chiefly the big bourgeoisie, it should have the courage and ability to wage a resolute armed struggle against the big bourgeoisie, while continuing to win the sympathy of the national bourgeoisie or keep it neutral.

II) Since there was no bourgeois democracy in China and the reactionary ruling classes enforced their terroristic dictatorship over the people by armed force, the revolution could not but essentially take the form of protracted armed struggle. China's armed struggle was a revolutionary war led by the proletariat with the peasants as the principal force. The peasantry was the most reliable ally of the proletariat. Through its vanguard, it was possible and necessary for the proletariat, with its progressive ideology and its sense of organization and discipline, to raise the political consciousness of the peasant masses, establish rural base areas, wage a protracted revolutionary war and build up and expand the revolutionary forces.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "the united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy." Together with party building, they constituted the "three magic weapons" of the revolution. They were the essential basis which enables the Chinese Communist Party to become the core of leadership of the whole nation and to chart the course of encircling the cities from the countryside and finally winning countrywide victory.

2) On the socialist revolution and socialist construction. On the basis of the economic and political conditions for the transition to socialism ensuing on victory in the new-democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party followed the path of effecting socialist industrialization simultaneously with socialist transformation and adopted concrete policies for the gradual transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, thereby providing a theoretical as well as practical solution of the difficult task of building socialism in a large country such as China, a country which was economically and culturally backward, with a population accounting for nearly one-fourth of the world's total. By putting forward the thesis that the combination of democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries constitutes the people's democratic dictatorship, Comrade Mao Zedong enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the establishment of the socialist system, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that, under socialism, the people had the same fundamental interests, but that all kinds of contradictions still existed among them, and that contradictions between the enemy and the people and contradictions among the people should be strictly distinguished from each other and correctly handled. He proposed that among the people we should follow a set of correct policies. We should follow the policy of "unity--criticism--unity" in political matters, the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" in the party's relations with the democratic parties, the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" in science and culture, and, in the economic sphere the policy of over-all arrangement with regard to the different strata in

town and country and of consideration for the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, all three. He repeatedly stressed that we should not mechanically transplant the experience of foreign countries, but should find our own way to industrialization, a way suited to China's conditions, by proceeding from the fact that China is a large agricultural country, taking agriculture as the foundation of the economy, correctly handling the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and agriculture and light industry on the other and attaching due importance to the development of the latter. He stressed that in socialist construction we should properly handle the relationships between economic construction and building national defense, between large-scale enterprises and small and medium-scale enterprises, between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities, between the coastal regions and the interior, between the central and the local authorities, and between self-reliance and learning from foreign countries, and that we should properly handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption and pay attention to over-all balance. Moreover, he stressed that the workers were the masters of their enterprises and that cadres must take part in physical labor and workers in management, that irrational rules and regulations must be reformed and that the three-in-one combination of technical personnel, workers and cadres must be effected. And he formulated the strategic idea of bringing all positive factors into play and turning negative factors into positive ones so as to unite the whole Chinese people and build a powerful socialist country. The important ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong concerning the socialist revolution and socialist construction are mainly contained in such major works as "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," "On the Ten Major Relationships," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Talk at an Enlarged Work Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

3) On the building of the revolutionary army and military strategy. Comrade Mao Zedong methodically solved the problems of how to turn a revolutionary army chiefly made up of peasants into a new type of people's army which is proletarian in character, observes strict discipline and forms close ties with the masses. He laid it down that the sole purpose of the people's army is to serve the people wholeheartedly. He put forward the principle that the party commands the gun and not the other way round. He advanced the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention and stressed the practice of political, economic and military democracy and the principles of the unity of officers and soldiers, the unity of army and people and the disintegration of the enemy forces. Thus he formulated by way of summation a set of policies and methods concerning work in the army. In his military writings such as "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," "On Protracted War" and "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experience of China's protracted revolutionary war and advanced the comprehensive concept of building a people's army and of building rural base areas and waging people's war by employing the people's army as the main force and relying on the masses.

Raising guerrilla war to the strategic plane, he maintained that guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare of a guerrilla character would for a long time be the main forms of operation in China's revolutionary war. He explained that it would be

necessary to effect an appropriate change in military strategy simultaneously with the changing balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and with the progress of the war. He worked out a set of strategies and tactics for the revolutionary army to wage people's war in conditions when the enemy was strong and we were weak. These strategies and tactics including fighting a protracted war strategically and campaigns and battles of quick decision, turning strategic inferiority into superiority in campaigns and battles and concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. During the war of liberation, he formulated the celebrated 10 major principles of operation. All these ideas constitute Comrade Mao Zedong's outstanding contribution to the military theory of Marxism-Leninism. After the founding of the People's Republic, he put forward the important guideline that we must strengthen our national defense and build modern revolutionary armed forces (including the navy, the air force and technical branches) and develop modern defense technology (including the making of nuclear weapons for self-defense).

4) On policy and tactics. Comrade Mao Zedong penetratingly elucidated the vital importance of policy and tactics in revolutionary struggles. He pointed out that policy and tactics were the life of the party, that they were both the starting-point and the end-result of all the practical activities of a revolutionary party and that the party must formulate its policies in the light of the existing political situation, class relations, actual circumstances and the changes in them, combining principle and flexibility. He made many valuable suggestions concerning policy and tactics in the struggle against the enemy, in the united front and other questions. He pointed out among other things:

That, under changing subjective and objective conditions, a weak revolutionary force could ultimately defeat a strong reactionary force;

That, we should despise the enemy strategically and take the enemy seriously tactically;

That, we should keep our eyes on the main target of the struggle and not hit out in all directions;

That, we should differentiate between and disintegrate our enemies, and adopt the tactic of making use of contradictions, winning over the many, opposing the few and crushing our enemies one by one;

That, in areas under reactionary rule, we should combine legal and illegal struggle and, organizationally, adopt the policy of assigning picked cadres to work underground;

That, as for members of the defeated reactionary classes and reactionary elements, we should give them a chance to earn a living and to become working people living by their own labor, so long as they did not rebel or create trouble; and

That the proletariat and its party must fulfill two conditions in order to exercise leadership over their allies: A) lead their followers in waging resolute struggles against the common enemy and achieving victories; B) bring material benefits to their followers or at least avoid damaging their interests and at the same time give them political education.

These ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong's concerning policy and tactics are embodied in many of his writings, particularly in such works as "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front," "On Policy," "Conclusions on the Repulse of the Second Anti-Communist Onslaught," "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy," "Don't Hit Out in All Directions" and "On the Question of Whether Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Real Tigers."

5) On ideological and political work and cultural work. In his "On New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong stated:

Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics.

In accordance with this basic view, he put forward many significant ideas of far-reaching and long-term significance. For instance, the theses that ideological and political work is the life-blood of economic and all other work and that it is necessary to unite politics and economics and to unite politics and professional skills, and to be both Red and expert; the policy of developing a national, scientific and mass culture and of letting a hundred flowers blossom, weeding through the old to bring forth the new, and making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China; and the thesis that intellectuals have an important role to play in revolution and construction, that intellectuals should identify themselves with the workers and peasants and that they should acquire the proletarian world outlook by studying Marxism-Leninism, by studying society and through practical work. He pointed out that "this question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle" and stressed that we should serve the people wholeheartedly, be highly responsible in revolutionary work, wage arduous struggle and fear no sacrifice. Many notable works written by Comrade Mao Zedong on ideology, politics and culture, such as "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," "Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals," "Talks at the Yanan Forum of Literature and Art," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "Serve the People" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," are of tremendous significance even today.

6) On party building. It was a most difficult task to build a Marxist, proletarian party of a mass character in a country where the peasantry and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie constituted the majority of the population, while the proletariat was small in number yet strong in combat effectiveness. Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on party building provided a successful solution to this question. His main works in this area include "Combat Liberalism," "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," "Our Study and the Current Situation," "On Strengthening the Party Committee System" and "Methods of Work of Party Committees." He laid particular stress on building the party ideologically, saying that a party member should join the party not only organizationally but also ideologically and should constantly try to reform his non-proletarian ideas and replace them with proletarian ideas. He indicated that the style of work which entailed integrating

theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing self-criticism was the hallmark distinguishing the Chinese Communist Party from all other political parties in China. To counter the erroneous "left" policy of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" once followed in inner-party struggle, he proposed the correct policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," emphasizing the need to achieve the objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades in inner-party struggle. He initiated the rectification campaign as a form of ideological education in Marxism-Leninism throughout the party, which applied the method of criticism and self-criticism.

In view of the fact that our party was about to become and then became a party in power leading the whole country, Comrade Mao Zedong urged time and again, first on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic and then later, that we should remain modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness and keep to plain living and hard struggle in our style of work and that we should be on the lookout against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and should oppose bureaucratism which would alienate us from the masses.

30. The living soul of Mao Zedong Thought is the stand, method and viewpoint embodied in its component parts mentioned above. This stand, viewpoint and method boil down to three basic points: to seek truth from facts, the mass line, and independence. Comrade Mao Zedong applied dialectical and historical materialism to the entire work of the proletarian party, giving shape to this stand, viewpoint and method so characteristic of Chinese communists in the course of the Chinese revolution and its arduous, protracted struggles and thus enriching Marxism-Leninism. They find expression not only in such important works as "Oppose Book Worship," "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys,'" "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?", but also in all his scientific writings and in the revolutionary activities of the Chinese communists.

1) Seeking truth from facts. This means proceeding from reality and combining theory with practice, that is, integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong was always against studying Marxism in isolation from the realities of Chinese society and the Chinese revolution. As early as 1930, he opposed blind book worship by emphasizing that investigation and study is the first step in all work and that one has no right to speak without investigation. On the eve of the rectification movement in Yanan, he affirmed that subjectivism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, a manifestation of impurity in party spirit. These brilliant theses helped people break through the shackles of dogmatism and greatly emancipate their own minds. While summarizing the experience and lessons of the Chinese revolution in his philosophical works and many other works rich in philosophical content, Comrade Mao Zedong showed great profundity in expounding and enriching the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. He stressed that the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is the dynamic, revolutionary theory of reflection and that full scope should be given to man's conscious dynamic role which is based on and is in conformity with objective reality. Basing himself on social practice, he comprehensively and systematically elaborated the

dialectical materialist theory on the sources, the process and the purpose of knowledge and the criterion of truth. He said that as a rule, correct knowledge can be arrived at and developed only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. He pointed out that truth exists by contrast with falsehood and grows in struggle with it, that truth is inexhaustible and that the truth of any piece of knowledge, namely, whether it corresponds to objective reality, can ultimately be decided only through social practice. He further elaborated the law of the unity of opposites, the nucleus of Marxist dialectics. He indicated that we should not only study the universality of contradiction in objective existence, but, what is more important, we should study the particularity of contradiction, and that we should resolve contradictions which are different in nature by different methods. Therefore, dialectics should not be viewed as a formula to be learned by rote and applied mechanically, but should be closely linked with practice and with investigation and study and should be applied flexibly.

He forged philosophy into a sharp weapon in the hands of the proletariat and the people for knowing and changing the world. His distinguished works on China's revolutionary war, in particular, provide outstandingly shining examples of applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics in practice. Our party must always adhere to the above ideological line formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong.

2) The mass line means everything for the masses, reliance on the masses in everything and "from the masses, to the masses." The party's mass line in all its work has come into being through the systematic application in all its activities of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the people are the makers of history. It is a summation of our party's invaluable historical experience in conducting revolutionary activities over the years under difficult circumstances in which the enemy's strength far outstripped ours. Comrade Mao Zedong stressed time and again that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can eventually crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty. He also pointed out that in leading the masses in all practical work, the leadership can form its correct ideas only by adopting the masses and combining the general call with particular guidance. This means concentrating the ideas of the masses and turning them into systematic ideas, then going to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through, and testing the correctness of these ideas in the practice of the masses. And this process goes on, over and over again, so that the understanding of the leadership becomes more correct, more vital and richer each time. This is how Comrade Mao Zedong united the Marxist theory of knowledge with the party's mass line. As the vanguard of the proletariat, the party exists and fights for the interests of the people. But it always constitutes only a small part of the people, so that isolation from the people will render all the party's struggles and ideals devoid of content as well as impossible of success. To persevere in the revolution and advance the socialist cause, our party must uphold the mass line.

3) Independence and self-reliance are the inevitable corollary of carrying out the Chinese revolution and construction by proceeding from Chinese reality and relying on the masses. The proletarian revolution is an internationalist cause which calls for the mutual support of the proletariats of different countries. But for the cause of triumph, each proletariat should primarily base itself on its own country's realities, rely on the efforts of its own masses and revolutionary forces, integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of its own revolution and achieve victory. Comrade Mao Zedong always stressed that our policy should rest on our own strength and that we should find our own road of advance in accordance with our own conditions. In a vast country like China, we must all the more rely mainly on our own efforts to promote the revolution and construction. We must be determined to carry the struggle through to the end and must have faith in the hundreds of millions of Chinese people and rely on their wisdom and strength. Otherwise, it will be impossible for our revolution and construction to succeed or to be consolidated even if success is won. Of course, China's revolution and national construction are not and cannot be carried on in isolation from the rest of the world. It is always necessary for us to try to win foreign aid and, in particular, to learn all that is advanced and beneficial from other countries.

The closed-door policy, blind opposition to everything foreign and any theory or practice of great-nation chauvinism are all entirely wrong. At the same time, although China is still comparatively backward economically and culturally, we must maintain our own national dignity and confidence and there must be no slavishness or submissiveness in any form in dealing with big, powerful or rich countries. Under the leadership of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, we never wavered, whether before or after the founding of new China, in our determination to remain independent and self-reliant and, no matter what difficulty we encountered, we never submitted to any pressure from outside; we showed the dauntless and heroic spirit of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. We stand for the peaceful coexistence of the people of all countries and their mutual assistance on an equal footing. While upholding our own independence, we respect other people's right to independence. The road of revolution and construction suited to the characteristics of a country has to be explored, decided on and blazed by its own people. No one has the right to impose his views on others. Only under these conditions can there be genuine internationalism. Otherwise, there can only be hegemonism. We will always adhere to this principled stand in our international relations.

31. Mao Zedong Thought is the valuable spiritual asset of our party. It will be our guide to action for a long time to come. The party leaders and the large group of cadres nurtured by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought were the backbone forces in winning great victories for our cause; they are and will remain our treasured mainstay in the cause of socialist modernization. While many of Comrade Mao Zedong's important works were written during the periods of new-democratic revolution and of socialist transformation, we must still constantly study them. This is not only because one cannot cut the past off from the present and failure to understand the past will hamper our understanding of present-day problems, but also because many of the basic theories, principles and methodology

set forth in these works are of universal significance and provide us with valuable guidance now and will continue to do so in the future. Therefore, we must continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought, study it in earnest and apply its stand, viewpoint and method in studying the new situation and solving the new problems arising in the course of practice. Mao Zedong Thought has added much that is new to the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory. We must combine our study of the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong with that of the scientific writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is entirely wrong to try to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and to deny its guiding role in our revolution and construction, just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years. And it is likewise entirely wrong to adopt a dogmatic attitude towards the sayings of Comrade Mao Zedong, to regard whatever he said as the unalterable truth which must be mechanically applied everywhere, and to be unwilling to admit honestly that he made mistakes in his later years, and even try to stick to them in our new activities. Both these attitudes fail to make a distinction between Mao Zedong Thought--a scientific theory formed and tested over a long period of time--and the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years. And it is absolutely necessary that this distinction should be made. We must treasure all the positive experience obtained in the course of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution and construction over 50 years or so, apply and carry forward this experience in our new work, enrich and develop party theory with new principles and new conclusions corresponding to reality, so as to ensure the continued progress of our cause along the scientific course of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Unite and Strive To Build a Powerful, Modern Socialist China

32. The objective of our party's struggle in the new historical period is to turn China step by step into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and with a high level of democracy and culture. We must also accomplish the great cause of reunification of the country by getting Taiwan to return to the embrace of the motherland. The fundamental aim of summing up the historical experience of the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic is to accomplish the great objective of building a powerful and modern socialist country by further rallying the will and strength of the whole party, the whole army and the whole people on the basis of upholding the four fundamental principles, namely, upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These four principles constitute the common political basis of the unity of the whole party and the unity of the whole people as well as the basic guarantee for the realization of socialist modernization. Any word or deed which deviates from these four principles is wrong. Any word or deed which denies or undermines these four principles cannot be tolerated.

33. Socialism and socialism alone can save China. This is the unalterable conclusion drawn by all our people from their own experience over the past century or so; it likewise constitutes our fundamental historical experience in the 32 years

since the founding of our People's Republic. Although our socialist system is still in its early phase of development, China has undoubtedly established a socialist system and entered the stage of socialist society. Any view denying this basic fact is wrong. Under socialism, we have achieved successes which were absolutely impossible in old China. This is a preliminary and at the same time convincing manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. The fact that we have been and are able to overcome all kinds of difficulties through our own efforts testifies to its great vitality. Of course, our system will have to undergo a long process of development before it can be perfected. Given the premise that we uphold the basic system of socialism, therefore, we must strive to reform those specific features which are not in keeping with the expansion of the productive forces and the interests of the people, and to staunchly combat all activities detrimental to socialism. With the development of our cause, the immense superiority of socialism will become more and more apparent.

34. Without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China. Likewise, without the Chinese Communist Party, there would be no modern socialist China. The Chinese Communist Party is a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and imbued with a strict sense of discipline and the spirit of self-criticism, and its ultimate historical mission is to realize communism. Without the leadership of such a party, without the flesh-and-blood ties it has formed with the masses through protracted struggles and without its painstaking and effective work among the people and the high prestige it consequently enjoys, our country--for a variety of reasons, both internal and external--would inexorably fall apart and the future of our nation and people would inexorably be forfeited. The party leadership cannot be free from mistakes, but there is no doubt that, by relying on the close unity between the party and the people, it can correct its mistakes, and in no case should one use the party's mistakes as a pretext for weakening, breaking away from or even sabotaging its leadership. That would only lead to even greater mistakes and court grievous disasters. We must improve party leadership in order to uphold it. We must resolutely overcome the many shortcomings that still exist in our party's style of thinking and work, in its system of organization and leadership and in its contacts with the masses. So long as we earnestly uphold and constantly improve party leadership, our party will definitely be better able to undertake the tremendous tasks entrusted to it by history.

35. Since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee, our party has gradually mapped out the correct path for socialist modernization suited to China's conditions. In the course of practice, the path will be broadened and become more clearly defined, but, in essence, the key pointers can already be determined on the basis of the summing up of the negative as well as positive experience since the founding of the People's Republic, and particularly of the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution. "

1) After socialist transformation was fundamentally completed, the principal contradiction our country has had to resolve is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production. It was imperative that the focus of party and government work be shifted to socialist

modernization centering on economic construction and that the people's material and cultural life be gradually improved by means of an immense expansion of productive forces. In the final analysis, the mistake we made in the past was that we failed to persevere in making this strategic shift. What is more, the preposterous view opposing the so-called "theory of the unique importance of productive forces," a view diametrically opposed to historical materialism, was put forward during the "Cultural Revolution." We must never deviate from this focus, except in the event of large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (and even then it will still be necessary to carry on such economic construction as wartime conditions require and permit). All our party work must be subordinated to and serve this central task--economic construction. All our party cadres, and particularly those in economic departments, must diligently study economic theory and economic practice as well as science and technology.

2) In our socialist economic construction, we must strive to reach the goal of modernization systematically and in stages, according to the conditions and resources of our country. The prolonged "left" mistakes we made in our economic work in the past consisted chiefly in departing from Chinese realities, trying to exceed our actual capabilities and ignoring the economic returns of construction and management as well as the scientific confirmation of our economic plans, policies and measures, with their concomitants of colossal waste and losses. We must adopt a scientific attitude, gain a thorough knowledge of the realities and make a deep analysis of the situation, earnestly listen to the opinions of the cadres, masses and specialists in the various fields and try our best to act in accordance with objective economic and natural laws and bring about a proportionate and harmonious development of the various branches of economy. We must keep in mind the fundamental fact that China's economy and culture are still relatively backward. At the same time, we must keep in mind such favorable domestic and international conditions as the achievements we have already scored and the experience we have gained in our economic construction and the expansion of economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries, and we must make full use of these favorable conditions. We must oppose both impetuosity and passivity.

3) The reform and improvement of the socialist relations of production must be in conformity with the level of the productive forces and conducive to the expansion of production. The state economy and the collective economy are the basic forms of the Chinese economy.

The working people's individual economy within certain prescribed limits is a necessary complement to public economy. It is necessary to establish specific systems of management and distribution suited to the various sectors of the economy. It is necessary to have planned economy and at the same time give play to the supplementary, regulatory role of the market on the basis of public ownership. We must strive to promote commodity production and exchange on a socialist basis. There is no rigid pattern for the development of the socialist relations of production. At every stage our task is to create those specific forms of the relations of production that correspond to the needs of the growing productive forces and facilitate their continued advance.

4) Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life. We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate revolution. Otherwise, social stability and unity will be jeopardized. We must unswervingly unite all forces that can be united with and consolidate and expand the patriotic united front.

5) A fundamental task of the socialist revolution is gradually to establish a highly democratic socialist political system. Inadequate attention was paid to this matter after the founding of the People's Republic, and this was one of the major factors contributing to the initiation of the "Cultural Revolution." Here is a grievous lesson for us to learn. It is necessary to strengthen the building of state organs at all levels in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, make the people's congresses at all levels and their permanent organs authoritative organs of the people's political power, gradually realize direct popular participation in the democratic process at the grassroots of political power and community life and, in particular, stress democratic management by the working masses in urban and rural enterprises over the affairs of their establishments. It is essential to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, improve our constitution and laws and ensure their strict observance and inviolability. We must turn the socialist legal system into a powerful instrument for protecting the rights of the people, ensuring order in production, work and other spheres, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies. The kind of chaotic situation that was obtained in the "Cultural Revolution" must never be allowed to happen again in any sphere.

6) Life under socialism must attain a high ethical and cultural level. We must firmly eradicate such utterly fallacious views as denigrate education, science and culture and discriminate against intellectuals, views which had long existed and found extreme expression during the "Cultural Revolution"; we must strive to raise the status and expand the role of education, science and culture in our drive for modernization. We unequivocally affirm that, together with the workers and peasants, the intellectuals are a force to rely on in the cause of socialism and that it is impossible to carry out socialist construction without culture and the intellectuals.

It is imperative for the whole party to engage in a more diligent study of Marxist theories, of the past and present in China and abroad, and of the different branches of the natural and social sciences. We must strengthen and improve ideological and political work and educate the people and youth in the Marxist world outlook and communist morality; we must persistently carry out the educational

policy which calls for an all-round development morally, intellectually and physically, for being both Red and expert, for integration of the intellectuals with the workers and peasants and the combination of mental and physical labor; and we must counter the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and the decadent remnants of feudal ideology, overcome the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology and foster the patriotism which puts the interests of the motherland above everything else and the pioneer spirit of selfless devotion to modernization.

7) It is of profound significance to our multi-national country to improve and promote socialist relations among our various nationalities and strengthen national unity. In the past, particularly during the "Cultural Revolution," we committed, on the question of nationalities, the grave mistake of widening the scope of class struggle and wronged a large number of cadres and masses of the minority nationalities. In our work among them, we did not show due respect for their right to autonomy. We must never forget this lesson. We must have a clear understanding that relations among our nationalities today are, in the main, relations among the working people of the various nationalities. It is necessary to persist in their regional autonomy and enact laws and regulations to ensure this autonomy and their decision-making power in applying party and government policies according to the actual conditions in their regions. We must take effective measures to assist economic and cultural development in regions inhabited by minority nationalities, actively train and promote cadres from among them and resolutely oppose all works and deeds undermining national unity and equality. It is imperative to continue to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief. To uphold the four fundamental principles does not mean that religious believers should renounce their faith but that they must not engage in propaganda against Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and that they must not interfere with politics and education in their religious activities.

8) In the present international situation in which the danger of war still exists, it is necessary to strengthen the modernization of our national defense. The building up of national defense must be in keeping with the building up of the economy. The People's Liberation Army should strengthen its military training, political work, logistic service and study of military science and further raise its combat effectiveness so as gradually to become a still more powerful modern revolutionary army. It is necessary to restore and carry forward the fine tradition of unity inside the army, between the army and the government and between the army and the people. The building of the people's militia must also be further strengthened.

9) In our external relations, we must continue to oppose imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism, and safeguard world peace. We must actively promote relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We must uphold proletarian internationalism and support the cause of the liberation of oppressed nations, the national construction of newly independent countries and the just struggles of the peoples everywhere.

10) In the light of the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution" and the present situation in the party, it is imperative to build up a sound system of democratic centralism inside the party. We must carry out the Marxist principle of the exercise of collective party leadership by leaders who have emerged from mass struggles and who combine political integrity with professional competence, and we must prohibit the personality cult in any form. It is imperative to uphold the prestige of party leaders and at the same time ensure that their activities come under the supervision of the party and the people. We must have a high degree of centralism based on a high degree of democracy and insist that the minority is subordinate to the majority, the individual to the organization, the lower to the higher level and the entire membership to the Central Committee. The style of work of a political party in power is a matter that determines its very existence. Party organizations at all levels and all party cadres must go deep among the masses, plunge themselves into practical struggle, remain modest and prudent, share weal and woe with the masses and firmly overcome bureaucratism. We must properly wield the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, overcome erroneous ideas that deviate from the party's correct principles, uproot factionalism, oppose anarchism and ultra-individualism and eradicate such unhealthy tendencies as the practice of seeking perks and privileges. We must consolidate the party organization, purify the party ranks and weed out degenerate elements who oppress and bully the people. In exercising leadership over state affairs and work in the economic and cultural fields as well as in community life, the party must correctly handle its relations with other organizations, ensure by every means the effective functioning of the organs of state power and administrative, judicial and economic and cultural organizations and see to it that trade unions, the youth league, the women's federation, the science and technology association, the federation of literary and art circles and other mass organizations carry out their work responsibly and on their own initiative. The party must strengthen its cooperation with public figures outside the party, give full play to the role of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, hold conscientious consultations with democratic parties and personages without party affiliation on major issues of state affairs and respect their opinions and the opinions of specialists in various fields. As required of other social organizations, the party's organizations at all levels must conduct their activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the law.

36. In firmly correcting the mistake of the so-called "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," a slogan which was advanced during the "Cultural Revolution" and which called for the overthrow of one class by another, we absolutely do not mean that the tasks of the revolution have been accomplished and that there is no need to carry on revolutionary struggles with determination. Socialism aims not just at eliminating all systems of exploitation and all exploiting classes but also at greatly expanding the productive forces, improving and developing the socialist relations of production and the superstructure and, on this basis, gradually eliminating all class differences and all major social distinctions and inequalities which are chiefly due to the inadequate development of the productive forces until communism is finally realized. This is a great revolution, unprecedented in human history. Our present endeavour to build a modern socialist China constitutes but one stage of this great revolution. Differing from the revolutions before the overthrow of the system of exploitation,

this revolution is carried out not through fierce class confrontation and conflict, but through the strength of the socialist system itself, under leadership, step by step and in an orderly way. This revolution which has entered the period of peaceful development is more profound and arduous than any previous revolution and will not only take a very long historical period to accomplish but also demand the unswerving and disciplined hard work and heroic sacrifices of many generations.

In this historical period of peaceful development, revolution can never be plain sailing. There are still overt and covert enemies and other saboteurs who watch for opportunities to create trouble. We must maintain high revolutionary vigilance and be ready at all times to come out boldly to safeguard the interests of the revolution. In this new historical period, the whole membership of the Chinese Communist Party and the whole people must never cease to cherish lofty revolutionary ideals, maintain a dynamic revolutionary fighting spirit and carry China's great socialist revolution and socialist construction through to the end.

37. Repeated assessment of our successes and failures of our correct and incorrect practices of the 32 years after the founding of our People's Republic, and particularly deliberation over and review of the events of the past few years, have helped to raise immensely the political consciousness of all party comrades and of all patriots. Obviously, our party now has a higher level of understanding of socialist revolution and construction than at any other period after liberation. Our party has both the courage to acknowledge and correct its mistakes and the determination and ability to prevent repetition of the serious mistakes of the past. After all, from a long-term historical point of view the mistakes and setbacks of our party were only temporary whereas the consequent steeling of our party and people, the greater maturity of the core force formed among our party cadres through protracted struggle, the growing superiority of our socialist system and the increasingly keen and common aspiration of our party, army and people for the prosperity of the motherland will be decisive factors in the long run. A great future is in store for our socialist cause and for the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions.

38. Inner-party unity and unity between the party and the people are the basic guarantee for new victories in our socialist modernization. Whatever the difficulties, as long as the party is closely united and remains closely united with the people, our party and the cause of socialism it leads will certainly prosper day by day.

The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party unanimously adopted in 1945 by the enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th Central Committee of the party unified the thinking of the whole party, consolidated its unity, promoted the rapid advance of the people's revolutionary cause and accelerated its eventual triumph. The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party believes that the present resolution it has unanimously adopted will play a similar historical role. This session calls upon the whole party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to act under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, closely rally around the Central Committee of the party, preserve the spirit of the legendary foolish old man who removed mountains and work together as one in defiance of all difficulties so as to turn China step by step into a powerful modern socialist country which is highly democratic and highly cultured. Our goal must be attained! Our goal can unquestionably be attained!

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SPEECH AT THE MEETING IN CELEBRATION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (1 July 1981)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 28-38

[By Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Comrades and friends:

We are gathered here today to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. At this moment, we are all deeply aware that our party and state are in an important historical period, a period in which we are bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead.

To bring order out of chaos, carry on our cause and forge ahead, we must undo all the negative consequences of the "Cultural Revolution," advance the great cause pioneered by the party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and pave the way further to socialism and communism for the Chinese people.

The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which has just ended, adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." The resolution reviews the party's 60 years of struggle, sums up the basic experience it has gained in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, makes a concrete and realistic evaluation of a whole train of crucial historical events, analyzes what was right and what was wrong in the ideology behind these events and the subjective factors and social roots giving rise to them, evaluates Comrade Mao Zedong's role in history and expounds Mao Zedong Thought scientifically, and indicates our way forward more clearly. The plenary session also took decisions on other important matters. History will prove that it too was a meeting of paramount importance for our party--a new milestone for our party and state in the course of bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead.

Looking back over the path our party has traversed, we are keenly conscious of the fact that the Chinese revolution has not been smooth sailing. We can say that the 60 years since the founding of the Communist Party of China have been years of unflinching, heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation and the happiness of the Chinese people, years of ever closer integration, through repeated

application, of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and years when right prevailed over wrong and positive aspects prevailed over negative aspects in the party. They have been years during which we marched on to a number of victories despite untold hardships and setbacks.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is one of unflinching, heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation and the happiness of the Chinese people?

In modern Chinese history, between the Opium War of 1840-1842 and the outbreak of the May 4th movement of 1919, the Chinese people waged protracted, heroic struggles against imperialism and feudalism. The 1911 revolution led by the great revolutionary Dr Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing Dynasty monarchy, thus bringing to an end more than 2,000 years of feudal autocracy. However, the way to China's salvation was not discovered through any of these struggles. It was not until the Communist Party of China was born after the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the May 4th movement in China that new vistas were opened up for the Chinese revolution, as a result of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the rising workers' movement in China, and with the help of the international proletariat.

The enemy of the Chinese revolution was formidable and ferocious. But none of the hardships overwhelmed the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China. In a dauntless revolutionary spirit, our party led the people in rising up to fight the enemy. We communists and the people depended on each other for survival; we relied closely on the people, and the people had deep faith in us. Our party steeled itself in the grim struggle and became the most advanced and most powerful leading force in the history of the Chinese revolution and built a new and well-trained people's army. After 28 years of arduous struggle in four great people's revolutionary wars (the northern expedition, 1924-1927, the agrarian revolutionary war, 1927-1937, the war of resistance against Japan, 1937-1945, and the war of liberation, 1946-1949), our party led the people of all our nationalities in finally overthrowing in 1949 the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and winning the great victory of the new-democratic revolution, a victory which led to the founding of the People's Republic of China, a state of the people's democratic dictatorship.

After the founding of the People's Republic, our party led the entire people in sustained advance. We thwarted the threats, attempts at subversion, sabotage and armed provocations of the imperialists and hegemonists, and safeguarded the independence and security of our great motherland. Except for Taiwan Province and a few other islands, we have achieved and consolidated the unification of our country. We have achieved and strengthened the great unity of the Chinese people of whatever nationality and of the workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the country. We have formed and consolidated the broadest possible united front of all socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and other patriots who uphold the reunification of the motherland--a united front led by the Chinese Communist Party in full cooperation with all the democratic parties. And we smoothly effected the decisive transition of our society from new democracy to socialism. Thanks to the arduous struggle of the whole party and people, we in

the main completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and embarked on large-scale, planned socialist economic construction. Thus, our economy and culture registered an advance unparalleled in Chinese history. However numerous the shortcomings and mistakes in our work and however imperfect some aspects of our social system, we have eliminated the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes and have established the socialist system. Hence, with nearly a quarter of the world's population, China has entered upon a socialist state of society, a state of society new in the history of mankind. Beyond a shadow of a doubt, this is the most radical social change in Chinese history. It is a leap of the most far-reaching significance in the progress of mankind and a tremendous victory for and a further development of Marxism.

The change is indeed striking. In the 80 years before the Opium War and the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the ceaseless struggles of the people had all failed despite their heroism, and their hopes and lofty aspirations were sadly frustrated. The picture has been altogether different in the 60 years since the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. A new epoch in Chinese history was ushered in. The Chinese people have taken their destiny into their own hands; they have stood up in the East. Never again will the Chinese nation be bullied and oppressed.

In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, it is with deep emotion that we feel that the splendid fruits of the Chinese people's revolution have been truly hard-won. They have been won by the Chinese people in 60 long years of hard struggle under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. They have been nurtured with the blood of millions of communists and non-party revolutionaries who died before the firing squad, on the battlefield or at their posts.

Let us rise and pay our sincere tribute to the memory of all the revolutionary martyrs: All the revolutionary leaders and cadres, communists and Communist Youth League members, veteran revolutionaries and young fighters, non-party comrades-in-arms and foreign friends who laid down their lives for the Chinese people at different stages of the Chinese revolution over the past six decades.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is one of ever closer integration, through repeated application, of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution?

From the moment of its inception, our party adopted Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology. However, the general principles of Marxism provide no ready-made recipe for revolution in a particular country, especially a big, oriental, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like China. During its formative years, the 1920's and the 1930's, our party suffered again and again from the "infantile malady" of turning Marxism into a dogma and deifying foreign experience--a malady which could not but leave the Chinese revolution groping in the dark and even lead it into a blind alley. Comrade Mao Zedong's great contribution lies in the fact that, in the course of combating this erroneous tendency and in the struggles waged collectively by the party and the people, he succeeded in integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and in

summing up freshly gained experiences. In this way Mao Zedong Thought took shape as the guiding scientific ideology conforming to Chinese conditions. It is this scientific ideology that has guided the sweeping advance of the Chinese revolution from one triumph to another.

Mao Zedong Thought, coming into being and developing in the course of the Chinese revolution, is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of our party and a summing-up of the victories in the gigantic struggles of the Chinese people. Its theories on the new-democratic revolution, on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle, on the building of a revolutionary army, on military strategy, on ideological and political work, on cultural work, and on the building of the party, as well as its theories concerning scientific modes of thought, work and leadership which will be even more important in guiding all our work in the future, have all added new and original ideas to the treasure-house of Marxism. As a theory and as the summing-up of experiences verified in practice, as the application and development of Marxism in China, Mao Zedong Thought has been and will remain the guiding ideology of our party.

However, Comrade Mao Zedong had his shortcomings and mistakes just like many other outstanding figures in the forefront of the march of history. Chiefly in his later years, having been admired and loved for so long by the whole party and people, he became over-confident and more and more divorced from reality and the masses and, in particular, from the party's collective leadership, and often rejected and even suppressed correct opinions that differed from his. Thus, he inevitably made mistakes, including the comprehensive, long-drawn-out and gross blunder of initiating the "Cultural Revolution"; this was a tremendous misfortune for the party and the people. Of course, it must be admitted that both before the "Cultural Revolution" and at the time of its inception, the party failed to prevent Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous tendency from growing more serious but, instead, accepted and approved some of his wrong theses. We veterans who had been working together with him for a long time as his comrades-in-arms, or who had long been following him in revolutionary struggle as his disciples, are keenly aware of our own responsibility in this matter, and we are determined never to forget this lesson.

Although Comrade Mao Zedong made grave mistakes in his later years, it is clear that if we consider his life work as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his errors. He had dedicated himself to the Chinese revolution since his youth and had fought for it all his life. He was one of the founders of our party and the chief architect of the glorious Chinese People's Liberation Army. At the most trying times in the Chinese revolution, he was the first to discover the correct road for the revolution, work out a correct over-all strategy and gradually formulate a whole set of correct theories and tactics, thus guiding the revolution from defeat to victory. After the founding of the People's Republic, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, new China quickly consolidated its position and embarked on the great cause of socialism. Even in the last few years of his life, when his errors had become very serious, Comrade Mao Zedong still remained alert to the nation's independence and security and had a correct grasp of

the new developments in the world situation. He led the party and people in standing up to all pressures from hegemonism and instituted a new pattern for our foreign relations. In the long years of struggle, all comrades in our party drew wisdom and strength from Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought which nurtured successive generations of our party's leaders and large numbers of its cadres and educated the whole Chinese people. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, theorist and strategist, and the great national hero in Chinese history. He made major contributions to the cause of the liberation of the world's oppressed nations and to the cause of human progress. His immense contributions are immortal.

While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we deeply cherish the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong. We deeply cherish the memory of the great Marxists, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, and the memory of Comrades Ren Bishi, Dong Biwu, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi, Luo Ronghuan, Lin Boqu, Li Fuchun, Wang Jiaxiang, Zhang Wentian, Tao Zhu and others, all of whom were outstanding leaders of our party and, together with Comrade Mao Zedong, made important contributions to the victorious Chinese revolution and to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Xiang Jingyu, Deng Zhongxia, Su Zhaozheng, Peng Pai, Chen Yannian, Yun Daiying, Zhao Shiyuan, Zhang Tailei, Li Lisan and other prominent leaders of our party in its formative years. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Fang Zhimin, Liu Zhidan, Huang Gonglue, Xu Jishen, Wei Baqun, Zhao Bosheng, Dong Zhentang, Duan Dechang, Yang Jingyu, Zuo Quan, Ye Ting and other outstanding commanders of the people's army who early laid down their lives for the party and the country. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, a great contemporary woman fighter who fought together with us over a long period of time and became a member of the glorious Chinese Communist Party before her death, of Cai Yuanpei, the prominent Chinese intellectual forerunner, and of Lu Xun, the great standard-bearer of our proletarian revolutionary culture. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Liao Zhongkai, He Xiangning, Deng Yanda, Yang Xingfo, Shen Junru and other close non-party comrades-in-arms of ours who consistently supported our party. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Zou Taofen, Wen Yiduo, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Li Siguang and other distinguished fighters in the fields of science and culture. We deeply cherish the memory of Yang Hucheng, Tan Kah Kee, Zhang Zhizhong, Fu Zuoyi and other renowned patriots who made important contributions to the victorious Chinese people's revolution. We deeply cherish the memory of Norman Bethune, Agnes Smedley, Anna Louise Strong, Dwarkanath S. Kotnis, Edgar Snow, Inejiro Asanuma, Kenzo Nakajima and other close friends of the Chinese people and eminent internationalist fighters.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is also the history of the triumph of right over wrong and of the triumph of the party's positive aspects over its negative ones?

The revolutionary cause our party has embarked upon is a sacred cause involving the radical transformation of Chinese society, a completely new cause never undertaken by our forefathers. The enemy of the revolution was formidable and the social conditions under which the revolution took place were extremely complex. Therefore,

it was only natural that we should make mistakes of one kind or another, and even grievous ones, in the course of our revolutionary struggles. The important thing is to be good at learning through practice once a mistake has been made, to wake up in good time and endeavour to correct it, to strive to avoid a blunder which is long-drawn-out and comprehensive in character, and to avoid repetition of the same grievous blunder.

Our party was born and grew to maturity in the old society. [At the high tide of the revolution, large numbers of revolutionaries joined our ranks. This boosted our strength, but a few careerists and opportunists, too, wormed their way into the party. This could hardly be avoided. The point is that while transforming society, our party must pay attention to remoulding itself, and be good at educating and remoulding those who have diverse non-proletarian ideas when they join our party and good at recognizing careerists and conspirators for what they are, so as to be able to foil their schemes and conspiracies.]

The greatness of the party does not lie in any readiness to guarantee complete freedom from any negative phenomena but in its ability to overcome shortcomings and rectify errors and to defeat sabotage by all alien forces. Let us look back: Isn't this precisely how our party has fought in the past? Its history contains the grave errors of Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism and Wang Ming's "left" dogmatism. There were also conspiracies to split the party hatched by Zhang Guotao and by Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. [There were even the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. However, none succeeded in destroying our party. The extremely treacherous careerists and conspirators Lin Biao and Jiang Qing exploited the "Cultural Revolution" to seize supreme power; they committed every conceivable sin against our nation and people, with the gravest consequences. Yet they were finally unmasked and swept into the garbage bin of history by the party and the people. Isn't this an incontrovertible historical fact? Instead of being destroyed by sabotage or crippled by reverses of one kind or another, our party has emerged each time refreshed and reinvigorated from the struggle to overcome mistakes and prevail over what is negative. It is our party that is invincible.]

The past 60 years prove that our party is indeed a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and a party wholeheartedly serving the people, entirely dedicated to their interests and with no particular interest of its own. It is truly a long-tested party which has acquired rich experience, learned many lessons and is capable of leading the people in braving difficulties to win victory after victory in the revolution. The role of this great party as the force at the core of the Chinese people's revolutionary cause and its leadership in this cause are the dictates of history and of the will and interests of the people of all our nationalities, dictates which no force on earth can change or shake.

Comrades and friends:

With widespread popular support, our party smashed at one stroke the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in October 1976. This saved the revolution and our socialist state and ushered in a new period of historical development. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee held in December 1978 marked a decisive turning point in the post-1949 history of our party.

The tremendous significance of this plenary session lies in the fact that it really started to correct matters in an all-round, determined and well-considered way by relying on the masses. Since then, right through the fourth, fifth and sixth plenary sessions, our party has been working hard with concentrated energy and attention and under difficult and complex conditions, and has adopted and implemented step by step a series of major policy decisions in ideological, political and organizational matters and all aspects of socialist construction, thus correcting the erroneous "left" orientation. Moreover, in the light of the new historical conditions, our party has gradually charted a correct course for socialist modernization that is suited to China's conditions.

The most striking change of all is the shift of the focus of work of the whole party and nation after the liquidation and repudiation of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. The leading organs from the central down to local levels are now concentrating their energy and attention on socialist modernization. Now that liquidation of the long prevalent "left" deviationist guiding ideology is under way, our socialist economic and cultural construction has been shifted to a course of development that takes into account the basic conditions of the country and the limits of our ability, proceeds step by steps, and seeks practical results and steady advance. With the implementation of the party's policies, the introduction of the system of production responsibilities and the development of a diversified economy, an excellent situation has developed in the vast rural areas in particular, a dynamic and progressive situation seldom seen since the founding of the People's Republic.

In sociopolitical relations, our party has resolutely and appropriately solved many important issues which had been wrongly handled over a long period of time, eliminated a number of major factors detrimental to stability and unity and put an end to the social unrest and upheaval fomented in the "Cultural Revolution." We are now striving to foster socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and reform and perfect the socialist political system. This gives a powerful impetus to the consolidation and development of a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness.

Through organizational consolidation and rectification of the style of work, tangible progress has been made in the normalization of party life, the development of inner-party democracy and the strengthening of the party's ties with the masses. The party's prestige, grievously damaged during the "Cultural Revolution," is gradually being restored.

To ensure the proper implementation of the principle of emancipating the mind, our party has reiterated that it is necessary to uphold the four fundamental principles of the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the Communist Party's leadership, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These principles constitute the common political basis for the unity of the whole party and the unity of the entire people and provide the fundamental guarantee for the success of socialist modernization.

The great change which began with the 3d Plenary Session of the party's 11th Central Committee and our correct line and policies fulfill the common aspirations of the people and the party. Speaking of the general orientation and major policy

decisions taken since the session, many comrades have said, "they suit us fine." These words reflect the thoughts and feelings of the masses and of the majority of cadres. They explain why the change is so dynamic and irresistible.

Needless to say, many difficulties confront us. We have yet to finish the process of correction, and in various fields many problems remain to be resolved. Our material resources, expertise and experience are far from adequate for the achievement of the four modernizations. The people's living standards are still very low and many pressing problems demand solution. We have yet to introduce further improvements in the party's leadership and style of work. It is wrong to take these difficulties lightly. Only by taking them into full account will we be invincible. The road before us is still long and tortuous. It is like climbing the Taishan Mountain; when we have reached the half-way gate to heaven, we find that the three "eighteen bends" lie ahead of us, demanding Herculean efforts. Until we have negotiated these bends, however, we won't be able to reach the south gate to heaven. Still climbing, we will find it relatively easy to mount the Peak of the Jade Emperor, our destination, and only then can we claim to have accomplished the splendid cause of socialist modernization. Once at the south gate to heaven, we shall be in a position to appreciate the great Tang Dynasty poet Du Fu's well-known lines, "Viewed from the topmost summit, all mountains around are dwarfed." The hardships that once towered like "mountains" will then look small and we will be able to negotiate the obstacles on the way to the "topmost summit" more or less easily. In the course of our long journey, we will certainly be able to conquer the eighteen bends, reach the south gate of heaven and then ascend the Peak of the Jade Emperor. Once there, we shall push towards new summits.

Comrades and friends:

The historical experience of the past 60 years can be summed up in one sentence: There must be a Marxist, revolutionary line and a proletarian party capable of formulating and upholding this line. Faced with the gigantic task of socialist modernization centering around economic construction in the new historical period, we are deeply aware that the key to the fulfillment of this task lies in our party.

Now, the entire people has placed its hopes on our party, and other peoples of the world are closely watching it. Whether or not we can steer the ship of the Chinese revolution onward through storm and stress in the new historical period, whether or not we can modernize our agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology fairly smoothly, avoid suffering such serious setbacks and paying such huge price as in the past, and achieve results that will satisfy the people and win the praise of posterity, all depend on the efforts of all comrades in the party in the next decade or two. We must not let our people down.

With higher political awareness, we must make our party a solid core which is more mature politically, more unified ideologically and more consolidated organizationally, and more able to unite with all our nationalities and lead them in socialist modernization.

1. All members of the party must work with selfless devotion for China's socialist modernization and in the service of the people.

We Chinese communists must always proceed from our basic standpoint with the objective of wholeheartedly serving the people. Serving the people in essence means that our party must rally the masses round it and, by virtue of its correct guidelines and policies, its close ties with the masses, its members' exemplary role and its propaganda and organizational work, help them to see where their fundamental interests lie and to get united to strive for them.

The people are the makers of history. Both the people's revolution and the construction of socialism led by our party are the people's very own cause. At all times party members comprise only a small minority of the population; so we must rely on the people in all our work, have faith in them, draw wisdom from them, set store by their creativeness and subject ourselves to their supervision. Otherwise, we will accomplish nothing, we will fail. Since victory was won in the revolution, the people have become the masters of the country and society. To organize and support them in fulfilling this role and building a new life under socialism is the very essence of the party's leadership over affairs of state.

For us communists, serving the people means primarily dedication to the cause of communism and readiness to sacrifice ourselves for the interests of the people. In the years of war, many of our party members were the first to charge at the enemy and the last to pull back; they remained staunch and unyielding in captivity, dying as martyrs; and they were invariably the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. What an inspiration and encouragement they were to millions upon millions of our people! Today, in peacetime construction, and particularly after the decade of havoc of the "Cultural Revolution," we need this revolutionary spirit even more. Although our party's fine style of work was corroded by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, there are still large numbers of fine party members who have maintained and carried forward this revolutionary spirit, a spirit characterized by readiness to sacrifice one's individual interests and even one's own life, for the interests of the people. They have won high praise from the people, and they have earned it. It is utterly wrong to think and act as though the revolutionary spirit may be discarded in peacetime construction and party members no longer need to share weal and woe with the masses whose interests they may subordinate to their own. That would be to debase our party spirit.

The style of work of a party in power vitally affects its very existence. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in 1942, "Once our party's style of work is put completely right, the people all over the country will learn from our example. Those outside the party who have the same kind of bad style will, if they are good and honest people, learn from our example and correct their mistakes, and thus the whole nation will be influenced. So long as our communist ranks are in good order and march in step, so long as our troops are picked troops and our weapons are good weapons, any enemy, however powerful, can be overthrown." Let us firmly resolve to strive to our utmost to restore and carry forward the fine style of work which our party and Comrade Mao Zedong cultivated, and to lead the whole Chinese nation in building a high level of socialist civilization.

2. We must be good at carrying forward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in the light of the new historical conditions.

We have obtained great successes in revolution and construction in the past under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We will obtain new and greater successes in our long march into the future by relying on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought for guidance. If we communists have any family heirlooms to speak of, by far the most important one is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It has always been our basic and unshakable principle to uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and persist in taking the tenets of Marxism as our guideline.

Marxism is the crystallization of scientific thinking on proletarian revolution; it is our most powerful weapon for understanding and transforming the objective world. Its tenets are truths that have been repeatedly verified in practice. However, it does not embrace all the truths in the unending course of human history, nor can it possibly do so. For us revolutionaries, the theory of Marxism is the guide to action and by no means a rigid dogma to be followed unthinkingly. All revolutionaries true to Marxism have the responsibility to ensure that it does not become divorced from social life and does not stagnate, wither or ossify; they must enrich it with fresh revolutionary experiences so that it will remain full of vitality. Therefore, our fundamental approach to Marxism is that we should apply and advance Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; such is our unshirkable historical duty as Chinese communists. This is not easy of course. It requires us to make an arduous, lifelong effort to achieve a better integration of the tenets of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization.

We must continue to apply ourselves to the study and investigation of the history of the Chinese revolution. For the China of today has grown out of the China of yesterday, a China about which we know, not too much, but too little. We should especially study present-day China because our efforts to create a radiant future must first of all be based on a comparatively correct understanding of the present. And the trouble is that we don't know much; in fact we still know very little about Chinese realities today and the objective laws governing the building of socialism.

Our cause is an integral whole and has a single goal. Yet, ours is a vast country with extremely diverse conditions. Therefore our study and understanding of the overall situation and of the situation in different regions must be closely coordinated. If we overlook the whole and disregard uniformity, we shall make the mistake of acting blindly and thoughtlessly and with no consideration for the whole in directing the work in specific regions. If we ignore the regions' specific conditions in directing the work of the whole country, we shall make the mistake of being guided by our own conjectures and fancies which may have no relation to reality. We Chinese communists should be revolutionaries who are at once far-sighted and realistic in our approach.

We lay stress on self-reliance and strive to solve our problems by our own efforts and treasure our own experience. But we must never be conceited and underrate the experience of others. We should through analysis absorb whatever is useful in others' experience and lessons. We must therefore earnestly study and analyze the experience of other countries, other regions and other people while studying and summing up our own.

The integration of the universal truth of Marxism with Chinese reality is a long process of repeated cycles of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. In the new historical period, we should emancipate our minds and constantly identify and grapple with the new conditions and problems in our practice and thus equip ourselves with rich, varied and living perceptual knowledge. At the same time, we must set our minds to work and learn more social and natural sciences and their methods in order to raise perceptual knowledge to the plane of rational knowledge, logical knowledge that is more or less systematic, and verify it again and again in practice. We must therefore study diligently, learn from specialists and heed differing views and opinions and, at the same time, delve deep into reality and carry out thorough, systematic investigation and study so as to successfully synthesize our direct and indirect experience.

So long as we proceed in study and work in accordance with this stand, viewpoint and method, we shall be able to put all our party work on a scientific foundation, make discoveries and function creatively for socialist modernization, thus ensuring the triumphant advance of our great cause.

3. We must put democratic life in the party on a sounder basis and strengthen party organization and discipline.

One of the fundamental reasons why the grievous errors of the "Cultural Revolution" remained unrectified for so long is that the regular political life of our party, inner-party democratic centralism and the collective leadership of the Central Committee in particular, had been disrupted. As a result, the personality cult, anarchism and ultra-individualism all prevailed. This afforded the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and other scoundrels an opportunity they exploited to the full. No comrade in the party must ever forget this bitter lesson and we must all take warning from it.

We are historical materialists. We do not deny the significant role that outstanding individuals play in history or the significant role of outstanding leaders in a proletarian party. But at the same time we maintain that our party must be placed under collective leadership to be exercised by those who combine ability with political integrity and who have emerged in the course of mass struggles, and that we must ban all forms of the personality cult. Party organizations should commend all comrades, irrespective of their personality cult. Party organizations should commend all comrades, irrespective of their rank or position, who have made special contributions and achieved outstanding results in their work, so as to encourage other party members and people to learn from their example. But such public commendation must be truthful and unvarnished.

Appropriate relationships should be established between the leaders and the led in our party organizations at all levels. Comrades at a lower level must respect and obey the leadership of comrades at a higher level. They must not feign compliance while actually violating or resisting instructions from the higher level. On the other hand, comrades at a higher level must heed the opinions of their subordinates, respect their functions and powers and accept their supervision. Leaders should take part in inner-party activities just like ordinary party members, abide by party rules and discipline and the law of the state, and maintain their ties with the rank-and-file and the masses in general; they must not put themselves in a special category just because they are in leading positions.

Decisions concerning important matters must be made after collective discussions by the appropriate party committee, and no one individual is allowed to have the final say. All members of a party committee must abide by its decisions. Party committees at all levels must practice a division of labor and responsibilities to be discharged under the collective leadership of the party committee, with each member doing his share conscientiously and responsibly and in the best and most efficient way possible.

All party members are entitled to criticize, at party meetings, any individuals within the party, including leading members of the Central Committee; retaliation is impermissible. Party organizations at all levels and all party members should give full play to their initiative and dare to work independently and conscientiously in a spirit characterized by boldness in thinking and action. But no party member is allowed to impair the party's interests and the common goal by turning the department or unit entrusted to him by the party into his own independent kingdom.

Our party's fighting strength lies in its vitality and strict discipline. Now that we are committed to the socialist modernization of the country and our task is most challenging and difficult, we have still greater need to promote this fine party tradition.

4. We must be good at keeping ourselves politically pure and healthy and under all circumstances maintain our revolutionary vigor as members of a party in power.

Ours is a large party with a membership of 39 million and it is a party in power. This can easily make some of our comrades feel conceited and succumb to bureaucratic practices. Confronted as we are with so many new things and new problems, we can hardly avoid making mistakes. Besides, class struggle continues to exist to a certain extent in our society, and the ideological influences of the exploiting and other non-proletarian classes still survive. These facts, combined as they are with the complexities of contemporary international relations, put us in daily contact with the undesirable phenomena of capitalism, feudalism and small production. The contradictions between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology and between correct and erroneous thinking within our party demand that we make more effective use of the best weapon communists have for remoulding themselves, namely, the practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Communists should take a clear-cut stand on questions of principle and should uphold truth. Every party member should uphold the party spirit and be unequivocal in his position on questions of right and wrong which involve the interests of the party and the people and should show clearly what he is for and what he is against. The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our party.

Our party's fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism, gravely undermined in previous years, is now being revived and carried forward, and some new and useful experience has been gained in this respect. In making either criticism or self-criticism, one should base oneself on facts and rectify existing mistakes without

trying to hide or magnify them. Criticisms should be offered in a well-reasoned way and should be instructive so that they can help the comrades concerned raise their level of political consciousness; they must not be based on speculation or aimed at intimidating others. We should induce the comrades concerned voluntarily to examine themselves and correct their mistakes. In our criticisms we must not make far-fetched interpretations and unduly involve other comrades at a higher or lower level. So long as the comrades concerned have recognized their mistakes and are willing to correct them, we should encourage them to go on working boldly. Our main mistake in the past was to engage in excessive struggle that yielded results contrary to our expectations; people became reluctant to make self-criticism and were afraid to criticize others. We must change this unhealthy tendency.

We communists need to practice criticism and self-criticism so that our party will become more, not less, united and militant. Provided we fully revive and carry forward this fine tradition, our party will undoubtedly continue to show inexhaustible vitality and will never show signs of decay.

5. We must select more cadres who combine ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life and appoint them to leading posts at all levels.

Insofar as experience in struggle is concerned, it may be said that our party's cadres belong to three or four generations, which shows that ours is a long-standing and well-established cause. It is indeed fortunate that our leading cadres at all fronts are largely veterans who have been tempered in prolonged revolutionary struggle. If cadres can be called valuable party assets, then these numerous senior comrades are most valuable.

But the laws of nature cannot be changed and, after all, most of our senior comrades are physically not as strong and active as before. In order to make sure that there is an adequate number of successors to carry on our cause and guarantee continuity in our party's guidelines and policies, we must devote much of our energy from now on to the selection and training of thousands upon thousands of cadres who combine ability and political integrity and are in their prime and give these comrades the opportunity to take part in leadership in various fields so that they may be better and more effectively tempered through practice. It is now a pressing strategic task facing the whole party to build up a large contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger cadres.

The older comrades have an especially significant role to play in fulfilling this strategic task. Comrades Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and Li Xiannian have said more than once that although the old comrades may be pardoned for other mistakes, they would be committing an unforgivable historical error if they did not redouble their efforts to train younger successors. The old comrades should work personally with the organizational departments of the party and the masses in the selection and training of younger cadres and eagerly and enthusiastically guide them to front line posts of leadership. At the same time, they should free themselves from the onerous pressure of day-to-day work and advance their views and judgments on key and long-range problems. The Central Committee of the party

earnestly hopes that all veteran party comrades will have the depth of insight and foresight to discharge this crucial historic responsibility to the best of their ability. Meanwhile, it hopes that party organizations at all levels and all comrades in their prime who have been selected for higher posts will respect and take good care of our veterans and learn as much as possible from them.

At present, we are facing the major task of learning anew. It is the hope of the Central Committee of the party that all party comrades and the younger comrades in particular will brace up, strengthen their party spirit, enhance their political consciousness, set stricter demands on themselves, diligently study Marxist-Leninist works and works by Mao Zedong and the history of the party, our nation and the world, acquire more theoretical and practical knowledge, and learn more about management and technology as required by their own occupations and specific jobs. The results of our study will determine the quality of our leadership and work and will have a direct bearing on the progress of the socialist modernization of our country. Since we have successfully learned to destroy the old world, we can surely learn even more successfully how to build a new one.

6. We must forever uphold internationalism and cast in our lot with the proletariat and the people of the whole world.

We Chinese communists have always integrated patriotism with internationalism.

We are patriots. We have invariably fought might and main for our national liberation, for the well-being of our people and the unification and prosperity of our motherland. We have never knuckled under to any pressure from any foreign power. We have never flinched in our determination to be independent and to rely on ourselves, no matter how formidable the difficulties we have faced. Our country is still relatively backward economically and culturally; but we have always maintained our national self-respect in the face of hegemonist threats of force or in our relations with all stronger and richer countries, and will not tolerate any servility in thought or deed. As it is, Taiwan still stands apart from its reunified motherland and we are resolved to strive together with the people of the whole country, not least including those in Taiwan, for its return and for the sacred cause of the complete reunification of our motherland.

At the same time we are proletarian internationalists. We have always cast in our own lot with the other peoples of the world in their just struggles and with the cause of human progress. Our struggles have throughout enjoyed the support of the other peoples of the world, and we on our part have always supported the struggles of the world's oppressed nations and people for emancipation, the cause of world peace and the cause of human progress, and we have consistently opposed imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism. Our cause of socialist modernization is at once patriotic and internationalist. Its success will be a tremendous contribution to the cause of world peace and human progress. We hereby wish solemnly to proclaim once again that the Communist Party of China will always live in friendship and cooperation and on an equal footing with all the political parties and organizations in the world which are dedicated to human progress and to national liberation and will learn from their useful experience, and that we will never interfere in the internal affairs of any foreign political party. Even when it

becomes stronger and more prosperous, socialist China will belong to the Third World and forever stand by the other peoples of the world, strive for world peace and friendly intercourse among peoples, abide faithfully by the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and continue to promote more economic, cultural, scientific and technological exchange and cooperation with other nations; it will never seek advantage at the expense of others or bully weaker nations and will never under any circumstances seek hegemony.

Comrades and friends:

The decisions of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party were adopted after ample and extensive exchanges of views and discussions both prior to and during the session. Its outcome fully testifies to our party's ability to safeguard and strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxist principles and to the fact that the political life of our party has now become much healthier.

Some well-intentioned friends at home and abroad have been worried about our party's ability to achieve complete unity, while a handful of people harboring evil designs placed their hopes on successfully sowing dissension so as to undermine the unity of our party. Now, reality has given them a clear answer: No force on earth can break the Chinese Communist Party's strong unity based on Marxist principles.

Comrades and friends:

We, the proletariat, are the class which commands the future, and our party has lofty ideals and aspirations. The best way for us to celebrate this grand festival, our party's birthday, is to learn from historical experience and thus unite and look forward, focusing our attention to unresolved problems.

Socialist modernization is a great revolution. We are undertaking this great revolution in a huge oriental nation left economically and culturally backward by ruthless imperialist oppression and plunder. The fact that China entered upon socialism before developed capitalist countries is due to its specific historical conditions, to the correct leadership exercised by our party and the arduous struggles of the entire people. It represents a development of scientific socialism and is a credit to our party and the Chinese people. On the other hand, our socialist cause is bound to meet many difficulties arising from our economic and cultural backwardness. This in turn calls for more strenuous and protracted struggle.

We are still living under the threat of aggression and sabotage from outside. Therefore, our whole party, our whole army and our whole people must more actively apply their revolutionary spirit, heighten their revolutionary vigilance and steel their revolutionary will so as to win victory in this great revolution.

We have suffered severe setbacks in our advance to socialism and paid heavily for our errors. However, these errors and setbacks have made us firmer, more experienced, more mindful of our actual conditions, more sober and more powerful. We have learned much from our reverses and mistakes and shall go on learning more.

In this sense, our grievous errors and reverses are but fleeting phenomena. We must not overlook that we have a vast contingent of cadres steeled in struggle, that we have build up a substantial material base, that the whole party, army and people fervently desire a prosperous motherland, and that we enjoy the superiority of our socialist system. All this and the fact that we now have correct ideological, political and organizational lines, constitute the decisive factor that will apply for a long time to come. There is no doubt whatsoever that our socialist cause and the hundreds of millions of Chinese people have a bright future.

The internal unity of the party and the party's unity with the people are the essential condition for the triumph of our cause. While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we wish to pay our sincere respects to the workers, peasants and intellectuals who are fighting valiantly on the different fronts, to the glorious People's Liberation Army, the great wall of steel that defends our motherland, to the vast numbers of hard-working cadres, to our party's close aides, the Communist Youth League members who are full of vigor and vitality, and to our fellow-countrymen in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and to Chinese citizens overseas! We wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to all the democratic parties and non-party personages and friends of all circles who have cooperated with our party and rendered invaluable support to the people's revolution and to construction.

The unity of the Chinese people with the other peoples of the world is another essential condition for the triumph of our cause. In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we wish to express our deep gratitude to all friendly countries which have entered into relations of equality and mutual assistance with us, and to all our foreign friends and comrades who have rendered our party and people invaluable help.

Let all comrades in the party and the people of all nationalities in our country unite as one under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and work hard to make China a modern and powerful socialist country which is prosperous, highly democratic and culturally advanced! Let us all strive for the supreme ideal of communism!

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UNITE UNDER THE GREAT BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AND ADVANCE TO VICTORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 39-42

[Editorial]

[Text] The first of July this year is the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. Just when the comrades of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are solemnly commemorating this glorious festival, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has victoriously concluded. It was yet another important meeting after the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and it will definitely have a far-reaching influence on the course of the history of our party and state. It was a meeting for summing up experiences and forging ahead in unity. It will go down in history for successfully completing the historical task of correcting past mistakes under the party's guiding thought. This plenary session is indeed of very great significance to continuing the great revolutionary cause initiated by our party under the leadership of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Mao Zedong.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee is a great document of epochmaking significance in the history of our party. The "resolution" reviews the combat journey undertaken by our party over the past 60 years, makes a correct summary of certain significant historical incidents, especially the "Great Cultural Revolution," since the founding of the PRC, and appraises in a truth-seeking way the position in history of our great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong in China's revolution. It fully expounds the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as our party's guiding thought, fully affirms the great achievements of our country in socialist revolution and construction, fully explains the course, which has been established since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and is suited to China's situation, for building a modern powerful socialist country and further indicates the direction of progress for the development of China's socialist cause and the building of our party. The "resolution" is a strong spiritual weapon of our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country for unifying their thinking and developing socialist modernization with one heart and one mind.

The plenary session also reelected the principal leading members of the CCP Central Committee and elected new ones. It accepted Comrade Hua Guofeng's resignation from his offices as chairman of the CCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission and elected Comrade Hu Yaobang as chairman of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the Central Military Commission, Comrades Zhao Ziyang and Hua Guofeng as vice chairmen of the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Xi Zhongxun as secretary of the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee. At the same time, it decided that Comrades Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng should become members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. This important decision is of very great significance in strengthening the collective leadership of the CCP Central Committee, ensuring our party's unity and unification on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, ensuring the complete realization of the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and ensuring the smooth carrying out of socialist modernization.

The 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee was convened on the basis of the large amounts of work carried out since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee held in December 1978 constituted a great transition of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. The 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee marked the end of the situation of progressing amid fluctuations after the smashing of the "gang of four" and the beginning of our correcting past mistakes in a serious, comprehensive and systematic manner. The plenary session discussed and solved a number of political, economic, organizational and theoretical problems which concerned the future and destiny of our party and state. In particular, it correctly analyzed the major contradictions in a socialist society and resolutely made the strategic policy decision of shifting the emphasis of our party's work to socialist modernization. It highly appraised the discussion on the criterion for testing truth, corrected the incorrect principle of the "two whatevers," affirmed that it is necessary to completely and accurately master the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and established the guiding principles of emancipating people's minds, getting our brains working, seeking truth from facts and uniting and looking ahead. Later, with the aim of clearing up certain confused understandings and incorrect ideas existing in the society, the CCP Central Committee again emphatically put forth the four basic principles which the whole party and the people throughout the country must uphold as a common political foundation for unity of the whole party and among the people throughout the country. The line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee have played a decisive role in emancipating the cadres and masses from the shackles of the personality cult and dogmatism which prevailed for a time, in clearing up our party's leftist mistakes in the guiding thought over a long period of time and in establishing the road for China's socialist modernization. We can thus say that the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee provided the necessary conditions for the holding and the success of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, and that the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee is a continuation and development of the 3d Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee.

The 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee called on the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, unite even more closely around the CCP Central Committee, continue to bring into play the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains, have great determination, surmount all difficulties and struggle hard to gradually build our country into a modern powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization! This is in fact the general spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee. After this plenary session, our party's major task is to make this spirit truly become the unified thinking and action of the whole party and army and the people throughout the country. The party organizations at all levels and all party members, and in the first place the party's leadership cadres at all levels, must seriously study the "resolution" of this plenary session and all other documents. All our comrades should understand that the basic purpose of our summing up the historical experience over the past 32 years since the establishment of the PRC is, on the basis of upholding the four basic principles, to further concentrate the will and forces of the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country on the great target of building a modern powerful socialist country. The unity of the party and the unity between the party and the people is our invaluable asset. Upholding truth and correcting our mistakes constitute our basic stand. What our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must seriously achieve is to unify their thinking and understanding through studying the documents of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, uniting and looking ahead, and throwing themselves into socialist modernization with one heart and one mind.

Correctly understanding the position in history of Comrade Mao Zedong and upholding Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding thought of our party constitute a fundamental question which concerns our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in uniting and looking ahead. The "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee has actually scientifically expounded this question.

In reviewing the combat journey of our party over the past 60 years and in summing up the historical experience of our party since the founding of the PRC, we must make a fair and scientific appraisal of the position in history of Comrade Mao Zedong which is in line with the actual situation. Just as in dealing with all other great personalities in history, we should adopt the scientific attitude of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in dealing with Comrade Mao Zedong. As a matter of fact, the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee adopted this scientific attitude, sought truth from facts and made an appropriate analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes during his later years and also the causes of those mistakes. It not only did not put all the blame for the mistakes in the party's guiding thought on Comrade Mao Zedong alone, but it fully affirmed his significant position and magnificent role in history. It specifically pointed out: Judging from Comrade Mao Zedong's life as a whole, "his meritorious achievements rendered to China's revolution far outweighed his errors. His meritorious achievements should occupy a first position while his errors occupy only a second position." This is surely in keeping with the historical reality and with the desire of the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

In his youth, Comrade Mao Zedong started searching for a truth for the salvation of the nation and the people. When he found Marxism-Leninism, this ideological weapon with which the proletariat and the oppressed people strive for their liberation, he devoted himself to integrating its basic principles with the specific practice of China's revolution and struggled all his life for its realization. Undoubtedly, judging from his whole life, Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary and theorist and a great proletarian strategist and militarist. The mistakes he made were after all the mistakes made by a great Marxist. Being a generally accepted great leader of our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, Comrade Mao Zedong rendered great meritorious achievements to the founding and development of our party and the Chinese PLA, the victory in the liberation of the Chinese people, the founding of the PRC and the development of China's socialist revolution and construction. Being a great, world-renowned international proletarian activist, he made significant contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism, the liberation of the entire proletariat and all the oppressed people and the progress of mankind. His meritorious achievements and contributions can never be obliterated.

The greatest achievement of Comrade Mao Zedong was that he persistently applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific practice of China's revolution, made a scientific summation and theoretical generalization of a number of original experiences in the long period of revolutionary practice by our party and the Chinese people, and formulated a scientific guiding thought which is suited to China's situation. This is in fact Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as the principal representative. It is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. As a scientific guiding thought, it was gradually formulated and developed through its struggle against the erroneous tendencies of dogmatizing Marxism and deifying the resolution of the Communist International and the experience of the Soviet Union which once prevailed in the international communist movement and in our party during the 1920's and 1930's. It became mature through systematic summation and practice in various aspects during the latter period of the agrarian revolutionary war and the war against Japanese aggression, and continued its development through practice during the subsequent long period of revolution and construction. With its very rich substance from various aspects and its original theories, Mao Zedong Thought has enriched the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. Historical experiences have repeatedly demonstrated that Mao Zedong Thought, which is a unification of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and China's revolutionary practice, is the banner which guides China's revolution and construction in marching from victory to victory and is the most precious spiritual wealth of our party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Mao Zedong Thought, which has been proved in practice as a scientific theory, will for a long time guide our action. We must seriously study Marxist-Leninist works and the works of Comrade Mao Zedong, study hard the new situation and new problems emerging in our practice and continuously enrich and develop our party's revolutionary theory with new principles and conclusions through practice so as to ensure that our cause will continue to advance along the scientific track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Following the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and correctly assessing our party's historical achievements after the establishment of the PRC are also significant questions closely related to the question of our whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country uniting and looking ahead.

How should the 32 years since the establishment of the PRC be correctly assessed? Quite obviously, it is incorrect to adopt an attitude of complete affirmation or complete negation, describing the past 32 years as either having no complications or faults whatsoever, or as simply a complete failure devoid of any merit. A correct assessment should be: We do not deny that we went through some tortuous roads over the past 32 years and ran into various kinds of faults. However, in general, the history since the establishment of the PRC is actually the history of our party, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country in developing socialist revolution and construction, exploring the road for developing socialist construction which is in keeping with China's situation and scoring great achievements and gaining rich experiences. This is actually a basic assessment made at the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee. Only such an assessment is in line with the historical reality and only it can unify the thinking and action of the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

To achieve unanimity with the "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee in making a basic assessment of the past since the establishment of the PRC, we must look at the overall situation rather than looking merely at some isolated parts. There is really no need to conceal the fact that our party did not have much experience in leading the socialist cause and made a lot of mistakes which included the "Great Cultural Revolution"--a serious mistake which affected the overall situation over a long period of time and brought great calamities to the party, the state and the people. However, judging from the history since the establishment of the PRC as a whole, the mistakes were still only partial ones. Of course, we must not allow people to ignore and cover up past mistakes. However, it is equally wrong to ignore or negate the achievements scored over the past 32 years and the experiences gained through scoring those achievements. We must not negate the overall situation with the partial situation nor negate the entire 32 years after the establishment of the PRC with the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution." The great achievements we scored in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the PRC have been obvious to all and recognized throughout the world. They can never be obliterated. We have victoriously realized a change from new democracy to socialism, successfully established our socialist political and economic systems, eliminated the exploitation system from the territories of our country, realized the rights of the working people in being the masters of their own affairs, carried out massive and planned socialist economic and cultural construction and established an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system, thus providing a considerable material and technical foundation for our developing socialist modernization today. With the development of production, the material and cultural lives of the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been greatly improved. China's international position has been continuously

enhanced and it is playing a more and more significant positive role in international affairs. At the same time, we have also made courageous explorations in opening up the road of socialist construction which is suited to China's national conditions. We have accumulated rich positive and negative experiences and enhanced our level of understanding the objective laws of socialist construction. All these are victorious results scored by all comrades of the party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country under the leadership of the party in applying and developing through practice the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on scientific socialism. Only socialism can save China; and without the Communist Party, there will be no socialist new China. This is in fact a truth generally acknowledged and proved by historical facts since the founding of the PRC.

In uniting and looking ahead and developing socialism with one heart and one mind, the most critical issue is to follow the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and, on the basis of the historical experience over the past 60 years, specifically do a good job of building our party.

At present, our party has 39 million party members and is a ruling party leading socialist revolution and construction in a great Eastern nation with a population of 1 billion. Only by realizing unity in the whole party is it possible to achieve great unity among the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Only when all the comrades of the party have firmly established their confidence in developing socialist modernization and brought into play the revolutionary spirit of the Yanan period, the war of liberation and the initial period after the founding of the PRC will it be possible to encourage the people of all nationalities throughout the country to work hard and do substantial work with confidence, one hundred percent for socialist modernization. When we do a good job of promoting party building, make an even greater effort in bringing the party's fine traditions and work style into play and further unify and consolidate our party in politics, ideology and organization, victories will be guaranteed for the affairs of the state and the people and the whole socialist modernization. All our Communist Party members and especially party cadres must seriously understand and specifically implement the "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and achieve unanimity with the "resolution" politically and ideologically. We should stop getting ourselves entangled in all historical problems and haggling over old accounts concerning one's personal grievances. All comrades of the party should attach the most importance to the overall situation, the party's unity, the party's cause and the people's interests. All comrades should work hard to enhance their own level of Marxism, take all the revolutionary elders and martyrs in the history of our party as models, maintain and bring into play the tradition of struggling for the socialist and communist causes throughout one's life and really become the vanguards of communism. As was pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his speech at the rally marking the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, we must do a good job of building our party. All our party members must strive for China's socialist modernization regardless of one's own safety and serve the people wholeheartedly; be good at continuously pushing forward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions; further strengthen the party's democratic life and strictly enforce the party's organizational discipline; be good at frequently brushing the dust off themselves and always keep their revolutionary

spirit young even when they are in power; select and promote more cadres who have both ability and political integrity and are in their prime of life to leadership posts at all levels; and uphold internationalism forever and share a common fate with the proletariat and masses of people throughout the world. When we achieve these, our party will definitely become a strong core for uniting and leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country in developing socialist modernization.

Socialist modernization is a great revolution. It is a new stage of development in China's socialist revolution. The history of China's revolution over the past 60 years has demonstrated that the CCP has the determination and ability to lead the people throughout the country to realize this great revolutionary task. All just people can see that our party has never covered up its mistakes and has always strived to correct the mistakes itself. Our party is faithful to the people. Apart from seeking the greatest interests for the greatest number of people, it never seeks any selfish interest. The victorious holding of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee shows that our party has become even more mature politically, even more unified ideologically and even more consolidated organizationally. So long as the whole party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country follow the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, closely unite around the CCP Central Committee, hold aloft the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, keep on fighting in spite of all setbacks and struggle hard, we will definitely be able to thoroughly fulfill the new, great revolutionary task of socialist modernization.

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CELEBRATION AND RECOLLECTIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 pp 42-46

[Article by Deng Yingchao]

[Text] By Chinese tradition, people are known as having completed the "sexagenarian cycle" when they reach the age of 60. The first of July this year marks the 60th anniversary of the founding of our dear party, the CCP. Human beings generally become feeble and senile when completing the "sexagenarian cycle." However, our party has a different natural law from human beings. Thoroughly tempered over a long period of time while giving leadership to the Chinese revolution and construction, our party has become healthier, more mature, stronger and more daring to march forward. The party's 60th anniversary is a major happy event in the political life of the people of all nationalities and worthy of joyous celebrations. Along the lengthy road of revolution, countless comrades and comrades in arms in the party and patriotic, revolutionary progressive outside the party have sacrificed their lives. As we, the lucky survivors, are present in person on this grand occasion, words fail us in expressing the joy from the bottom of our hearts and the feeling of our happiness. The span of 60 years is extremely short and transient compared with mankind's lengthy history. However, the 60 years' experience of our party cannot be described in a short article. Speaking of my own personal feeling, occasionally I feel that those 60 years are too long but primarily I feel they are as short as the twinkling of an eye. What has been experienced in these 60 years appears to be a long, long movie about the revolution, full of noble, heroic and exciting contents that keep appearing before my eyes one scene after another or just lingering in mind. It is also like a long scroll of majestic and magnificent drawings not only about the great and twisted road we have traversed but about today's grand construction program and the brilliant future. This picture will continue to be drawn until we reach our party's ultimate goal--communism.

I

Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future. Talking about the past, our party advanced on the road full of difficulties and dangers from the very first day it was founded. When the first party congress was held, our party members numbered no more than a few score. It was suppressed by the reactionary rulers when it was born. The first congress was to be held in Shanghai. As the enemy was searching for us, we had to move to Nanhu Lake in Jiaxing County, Zhejiang. We held the congress in a boat, disguised as tourists. Although very small at the beginning, this party, believing in Marxism, was the vanguard of the

rising proletariat. We organized and with iron discipline, it was dedicated to national independence, the people's liberation and the struggle for socialism and communism. It was the most advanced and revolutionary force in China's history and a new thing with the strongest vitality. Therefore, soon after its birth, it displayed the power and influence of this new life. When it was 3 years old, it had a membership of several thousand. Yet, it was still a baby and, as was necessary, it entered into China's much too complex political arena when it was very young. Particularly, after it entered into cooperation with the Kuomintang in 1924 after the latter was reorganized under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese revolution experienced a new and greater development. The number of our party members rose from several thousand to several tens of thousands.

Due to the warlord separatist regimes in China at that time, the progress of the revolution was uneven. We could conduct open activities in the Guangzhou area and semi-open activities in Shanghai but we had to be completely under cover without any open activities in areas north of the Chang Jiang, in northern and northeastern China. Under these conditions, our party adopted different forms of activities in these three different zones, regardless of our work in relation to the workers, peasants, youths or women. At that time, we had party organizations in the coastal areas, Guangdong, Jiangsu and Zhejiang, Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and Wuhan. In view of the nature of the semifeudal and semicolonial Chinese society, we correctly put forth the task of national [minzu 3046 2469] and democratic revolution and the slogan "down with foreign powers, get rid of warlords and work for the victory of the national [kuomin 0948 3046] revolution." It was under the leadership and with the work of our party that the great revolution emerged during the period from 1924 to 1927. However, we were not very clear about how the proletariat should handle well the relations with the bourgeoisie during the democratic revolution, whether we should keep our leadership power and how to keep it because the CCP was still very young.

After our party cooperated with the Kuomintang in establishing the united front, we helped the Kuomintang build its party, government and army. After launching the eastern expedition twice in 1924-1925 to eliminate the warlords in Guangdong, the northern expedition was conducted. When the northern expedition army reached the areas north and south of the Chang Jiang after a series of victories, the worker and peasant, youth and women mass movements mushroomed throughout the country. In particular, the peasant mass movement developed most vigorously. The revolutionary situation had never been better. It was at this juncture that Chiang Kai-shek, the anticommunist chieftain representing the compradors, landlords and warlords, betrayed the revolution. Not long afterwards, Wang Jingwei, a political opportunist and sham revolutionary "leftist," collaborated with Chiang Kai-shek. They launched attacks against the Communist Party, resorted to white terror and cruelly massacred communists and patriotic progressives, thereby inflicting a tragic defeat to the great revolution when its victory was already in sight. Our party was under surprise attack and merciless suppression. The people's revolutionary movement under the leadership of our party had to go underground. There were objective reasons to this eventuality. Primarily, it was because our party was still young, inexperienced and not ideologically or organizationally prepared. What was more important, Chen Duxiu, the principal

leader of the party Central Committee at that time, committed the right opportunist mistake. He kept yielding to the counterrevolutionary attacks so much that he became a capitulationist. Although the "7 August" meeting corrected this mistake and established the general line of land revolution and armed struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, regretfully we did not sum up the experience and draw lessons. Later, we committed left mistakes. Not until Comrade Mao Zedong had written such articles as "Introducing 'The Communist'" and "The Question of Independence and Initiative Within the United Front" did we make a correct summary of such a question as how the proletariat should correctly handle the relations with the bourgeoisie during the democratic revolution. When the two parties, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, cooperated from the second time, we developed and expanded such armed forces as the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army and insisted on the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time, we correctly handled this question within the national united front against Japan, thereby winning the victory of the 8-year war of resistance against Japan.

What has been said so far deals only with how we experienced serious tests, overcame mistakes and sailed from failure to success, from the angle of the united front tactics. In the 60 years of our party's history, we made mistakes and suffered drawbacks more than once and all the serious left and right mistakes without exception originated from the party Central Committee. However, all those mistakes were corrected by the correct and healthy force within the party Central Committee. This is a characteristic that a communist party should have and that markedly distinguishes the communist party from other parties. Such a party has indomitable vitality. Having experienced successes and failures, summed up both positive and negative experiences and been repeatedly tempered, our party has become a mature Marxist party. Lenin said: "An important and reliable criterion to judge whether a party is a serious party and whether it really fulfills its obligations to its own class and the working people is the party's attitude toward its own mistakes. Openly admitting mistakes, disclosing the reasons for mistakes, analyzing the circumstances leading to mistakes and carefully studying the methods to correct mistakes, these are the hallmarks of a serious party and they show how a party is fulfilling its own duty and educating and training its class and the people in general." Our party did exactly so during the period of democratic revolution and as a result we won great victory in leading the new democratic revolution. During the period of socialism, the present party Central Committee is leading us in correcting left mistakes and taking the road of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. If only we unswervingly uphold the four basic principles and follow the principles and policies formulated after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party will doubtlessly lead the people of all nationalities in gradually building China into a powerful socialist country which is materially modernized, politically democratic to a high degree and spiritually civilized.

II

The rectification movement begun in 1942 chiefly to combat subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped party writing was in effect a continuation of the Zunyi meeting ideologically. The Zunyi meeting corrected Wang Ming's left mistakes in military

affairs and established Comrade Mao Zedong's leading position in the Red Army and the party Central Committee. As we were on the Long March at that time, it was impossible to thoroughly investigate Wang Ming's mistakes. The Yanan rectification thoroughly investigated and denounced the left mistakes of which Wang Ming was the representative. This rectification had tremendous historical significance and far-reaching influence in our party's ideological and organizational building, in the war of resistance against Japan and in the entire democratic revolution. In Yanan, the various bases of the war against Japan or the areas under the Kuomintang domination, this rectification was an education for our cadres and party members in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It greatly improved our theoretical level and our methods of leadership and work. An unprecedentedly deepgoing educational movement after the founding of our party, it enabled our party's senior cadres and many party members to clearly distinguish, when summing up our party's historical experience, between what conformed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and what were dogmatic and sectarian mistakes as well as stereotyped party writing.

At that time, the delegations from various bases and from areas under the rule of the Kuomintang who were attending the party's Seventh National Congress in Yanan and some senior cadres in Yanan or in areas of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region respectively attended the Central Party School's first, second and third branches to study and participate in the rectification movement. I had the opportunity to study at the Central Party School's first branch. The method was primarily self-study supplemented by discussion sessions to sum up experiences and lessons and conduct criticism and self-criticism. During the period of schooling, all participants systematically read the party's historical documents, assigned papers on the rectification movement and Marxist-Leninist theoretical works, combining practice with what they were studying and distinguishing right from wrong. The entire course was a self-education for ideological transformation in a gentle and mild way. This was the first opportunity for me to study in the 18 years since I joined the party. I was extremely excited and elated. But I was greatly shocked at the results of comparing myself with the documents telling us of the party's positive and negative experiences. Only then did I come to know that although a party member for 18 years, I still was subjective in thought and my world outlook was primarily nonproletarian. I had devoted myself to revolutionary tasks for a long time, strictly observed party discipline and been able to accomplish a number of missions. I indulged myself in complacency because of my achievements. In depth of mind, I was, however, still arrogant, lacking a clear understanding of the role of the individual. My impurities in party spirit and my subjective ideas toward work made the revolution and our tasks suffer. When all this came across my mind, I felt ashamed and thought that I had not yet joined the party as far as my ideology was concerned. My self-reproach and uneasiness strengthened my resolve to reform myself and to more diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. I was determined to raise my theoretical level, to strictly demand a unifying of work motives and results and to make fewer or no mistakes due to subjective wishes. I truly made good progress through the rectification movement and the study course. To study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and reform one's ideology is a Communist Party member's lifetime task, however. The event mentioned above took place nearly 40 years ago, but my present self-examination has told me that I am still not qualified to be a graduate

possessing a diploma. The transformation of one's world outlook takes a long time and goes through a painful process. It requires us to proceed from reality at all times and in all acts, to seek truth from facts, to work conscientiously and to earnestly use dialectical materialist and historical materialist methods to study and analyze concrete conditions and problems. This is my understanding achieved through the rectification movement. But, it does not mean that I have acted strictly according to this understanding, still less to say that I acted well. So, after studying at the party school, I carried out directives from and worked under erroneous leaderships and committed some mistakes in the course of the Chinese revolutionary struggle. For these, I shall have qualms of conscience just as we are celebrating the 60th founding anniversary of our party. We are now in a historical new period. Given this new condition, we need to unfold a study campaign more deepgoing and widespread than the Yanan rectification movement so that we can better shoulder the historical tasks for the new period. This is my message to our comrades throughout the party: Let us study hard, put strict demands on ourselves in ideology, politics and in work and constantly remold ourselves. Let us refrain from doing anything that might tarnish the prestige of our party or harm the party's discipline and work style. Let us be Communist Party members worthy of the name and give play to our exemplary role. This is the best way to commemorate and celebrate our party's 60th founding anniversary.

III

The CCP's Seventh National Congress was the best of its kind in the party's history for giving full play to democracy. At that congress, Comrade Mao Zedong was the unanimously acknowledged leader of the whole party, Mao Zedong Thought was affirmed as the guiding thinking directing the whole party's work and the whole party raised the level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Criticism and self-criticism correctly conducted at the congress further united our party ideologically and further strengthened it organizationally. It was a congress of unity, democracy and victory. Since the conclusion of that congress, the whole party rallied closely round the party Central Committee, valiantly pressed forward in a concerted pace, promptly won victories in the war of resistance against Japan and won final victory in the war for nationwide liberation in less than 4 years. The experience of success by that congress and the important documents adopted at its sessions are still assisting us and are worth our efforts at study. Reviewing the past helps one understand the present. In this sense, let me inform the public of the following events which have not been published in documents and which I consider worth mentioning.

1. Inner-party democracy was given full play in the election of the 7th party Central Committee in accordance with the conditions that existed at that time. The namelist of candidates was drawn up on the basis of extensive democracy. The names were put together by a centralized leadership and then discussed by the delegates to the congress. The candidates for the Central Committee were not nominated by a superior leadership but by the various delegations. The names of the candidates nominated by the delegates were put together by the presidium of the congress without determining beforehand the quotas for full and alternate

members to be elected. The number of full and alternate members of the Central Committee was decided by a preliminary election. Those who won more than 50 percent of the votes cast at the preliminary election were nominated candidates for full membership of the Central Committee while those who won less than 50 percent of the votes cast were nominated as candidates for alternate membership, thus accounting for the namelists of candidates for full and alternate members of the party's Central Committee. The formal elections then followed. Those who failed in the first election of full members of Central Committee were added to the namelist of candidates for alternate membership in a second voting. Those who won more than 50 percent of the votes cast in the second voting were elected alternate members of the party's Central Committee while those who won less than 50 percent of the votes cast were disqualified. The namelists and quotas were not predetermined but decided by the results of the votings. This election method fully reflected the delegates' aspirations, ensuring full democracy and highly centralized leadership, it embodied the mass line, "from the masses, to the masses." Thus the election of the party's Central Committee was a concentration of the opinions of the delegates. The members of the 7th party Central Committee were therefore highly qualified and competent persons of great prestige who played important roles.

2. After the congress announced the namelists of the full and alternate members elected to the Central Committee, Chairman Mao took the floor and issued his important appeal to those elected. Speaking in a highly pitched voice, he said that those elected to the Central Committee must not look at themselves as officials elected to public office and that their election placed on them a heavier responsibility in serving the people. This teaching of Chairman Mao is still very dear to me. It reminds me at all times that I should always think of the masses, serve them heart and soul and work conscientiously and earnestly with full responsibility to the people.

Chairman Mao delivered the concluding speech, "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," at the seventh party national congress. Guided by his appeal, the whole party united closely, pressed forward valiantly, and finally removed the three big mountains that had lain like a dead weight on the Chinese people for a long time, giving birth to a new China, the PRC. In the past 32 years the PRC has stood erect in the east and has not been in the least shaken by any perilous storm. Under the party leadership, the people throughout the country are now working hard to accomplish their socialist modernization program. The Chinese people are playing an increasingly important role in maintaining world peace and pursuing human progress. I am convinced that no difficulties, no obstacles and no insidious sabotage schemes can hinder our pace of advance. The Chinese people, led by the CCP and armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, will defeat all domestic and foreign forces hostile to them. Our party has been repeatedly tested in struggles, revolutionary wars and socialist construction in the past 60 years and is more mature and stronger than ever before. By summing up the historical experience it has accumulated, our party has found the correct road to achieve socialist modernization, a road suited to the conditions

in China. We will certainly be victorious and invincible so long as we persist in the four basic principles and advance along the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The entire history of its past 60 years tells us that the CCP is indeed a great, glorious and correct party.

Let us celebrate the 60th founding anniversary of our dear party, the CCP. At the same time, let us cherish the precious memory of Comrade Mao Zedong and pay boundless tribute to him. Let us shout: A long, long life to the CCP!

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INTEGRATION AND UNITY OF THE UNIVERSAL TRUTH OF MARXISM-LENINISM WITH CHINA'S
CONCRETE PRACTICE SHOULD BE UPHELD--COMMEMORATING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CCP

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[Article by Li Weihai]

[Text] Sixty years have elapsed since the founding of the CCP. In the long river of the history of mankind 60 years are but a brief moment, a twinkling of an eye. But, a great leap forward had taken place in the history of our country in these 60 years! Over the past 60 years, under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people carried out a magnificent and immensely arduous struggle and won great victories in the new democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and socialist construction. China has changed from a semicolonial and semifeudal country into a great socialist one by internally eliminating the system of man exploiting and enslaving man and externally altering its role as the aggressed and humiliated to one that stands up prodigiously among the nations in the world. Such an earth-shaking change in China, a country that accounts for one-fourth of the world's population, is bound to have a great historical significance in the world.

The 60-year history of the party, as we review it comprehensively, is a history of the successful integration and unity of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice after experiencing difficulties and setbacks. This is a pillar of development of the history of our party and of modern China. The success and failure, advance and retreat, development and stagnation of the Chinese revolution and construction in the past 60 years all revolved around this pillar. There were only three key historical changes in this process: namely, 1) from the "May 4th" movement to the founding of the party; 2) the Zunyi meeting in 1935 and the Yanan period; and 3) the period since the 3d Plenary Session in 1978.

I. The Chinese Revolution Takes on a New Appearance Following the Discovery of Marxism-Leninism

The CCP was a product of Marxism-Leninism combining with the Chinese workers' movement and was born with the help of the Communist International led by Lenin. The "May 4th" movement laid the groundwork for the founding of the CCP ideologically and provided the cadres, but the important thing was that Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, had been discovered. Some of the young comrades today fail to grasp well the significance of this event and look upon it as

something very common. It was in fact an unprecedented major event in China and a big turning point in Chinese history. Looking at modern history we can see that since the Opium War, wave upon wave of progressive personalities in the disaster-ridden Chinese nation shed blood and made sacrifices in search of the truth to save the country and the people, with countless people losing their lives. Hong Xiuquan, Yan Fu, Kang Youwei and Sun Yat-sen were representative of those personages, born before the birth of the CCP, who looked to the West. But, even the great revolutionary forerunner Mr Sun Yat-sen failed to find a genuine way out for the country and the nation. Although the 1911 revolution he led brought an end to the feudal imperial system that had lasted over 2,000 years, it failed to free the Chinese people from tragic misery. It was only during the period of the "May 4th" movement, brought about by the salvos of the October Revolution in Russia, that the Chinese people discovered Marxism-Leninism, the only weapon that could save China. This was true as far as I myself was concerned. Having been raised in a poor family, I was in my youth filled with an intense patriotic passion in my search for a way to save the country and the people. However, it was only after the "May 4th" movement and after joining a work-study program in France that I moved from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism.

China took on a new appearance with the coming into being of a Marxist-Leninist political party, the CCP. A tremendous change took place among the Chinese people ideologically and as far as livelihood was concerned. After its founding, the party immediately led the working class and the masses in an anti-imperialist and antifeudalist struggle, developing very rapidly into a nucleus force unknown to the Chinese people before. After encountering repeated defeats and failing to find a way out, Mr Sun Yat-sen came across the October Revolution in Russia and the CCP. He then turned to advocating "looking upon Russia as a teacher," "alliance with Soviet Russia, alliance with the CCP and assistance to peasants and workers," and with the help of the Soviet representatives and our party, he gave a new interpretation to the three principles of the people, reorganized the Kuomintang and founded the Whampoa Military Academy. The first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP took place, thus launching the great revolution of 1924-1927. The working class entered the political arena as a leading force. The peasant movement, which had spread like a violent storm, formed a solid foundation for the national revolution. The victorious northern expedition overthrew a number of northern warlords. China's appearance underwent tremendous changes in a few short years! However, on "12 April" 1927, the KMT reactionaries, Chiang Kai-shek and others who represented the big landlords and big bourgeoisie openly betrayed the revolution. Many people of the national bourgeoisie chimed in with the Chiang Kai-shek camp of reaction and large numbers of Communist Party members and revolutionary people were massacred. Our party was subdued in a pool of blood. At this crucial moment it reshuffled the central leadership and established a five-member Standing Committee of the Political Bureau under the Central Committee, empowering it to act on behalf of the Political Bureau. It convened the famous "7 August" conference in which capitulationism represented by Chen Duxiu was defeated and the general principle of carrying out the agrarian revolution and stepping up armed resistance against the Kuomintang reactionaries was adopted. It launched the Nanchang Uprising and the Autumn Harvest Uprising and started the 10-year "agrarian revolutionary war" [1927-1937]. Especially noteworthy is the fact that after leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Comrade Mao Zedong went to the Jinggang Mountains

where he established the first rural revolutionary base--the hope of the Chinese revolution. In the course of subsequent practice Comrade Mao Zedong formulated, step by step, a series of policies on party building, army building, government establishments and land reform as well as policies on running the country and giving the people peace and security. He also developed the strategy and tactics for the peasant revolutionary war. With these policies and experiences which gradually spread to other revolutionary bases, our party with Comrade Mao Zedong as its representative successfully opened up the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seize the political power of the country. During the 10-year agrarian revolutionary war the CCP established more than 10 Red revolutionary bases from northern Shaanxi to Hainan Island and the Red Army grew to a force numbering 300,000 men. All this shows that Marxism-Leninism, once grasped by the Chinese people and the revolutionary party representing them, can demonstrate its unparalleled power.

Nevertheless, prior to the Zunyi conference in 1935 our party was still in its infancy and, immature as it was, still did not quite understand how to integrate Marxism-Leninism with practice in the Chinese revolution. Thus, in the later years of the 1924-1927 great revolution, it committed mistakes of capitulationism represented by Chen Duxiu, by handing the leadership of the revolution back to the bourgeoisie and willingly serving the bourgeoisie as their errand boy. It especially failed to understand the need to seize army leadership, did not dare to lead the peasants in carrying out the agrarian revolution and did not understand the need and was not ready to wage armed struggle when it was forced by the bourgeoisie to split from them. Therefore we were caught unprepared by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei and were so weak and incompetent that the two pointed their butcher's knives at us as they betrayed the revolution one after another and effected the "Nanjing-Hankou coalition." The once dynamic great revolution thus promptly ended in failure. At this crucial moment the "7 August" 1927 conference defeated the capitulationism represented by Chen Duxiu and saved our party, but it also left the door wide open for left mistakes. After this, our party was jolted by left-deviationist mistakes three times, especially by extremely serious ones committed by the left line represented by Wang Ming--a line which dominated the party for 4 years and did most serious damage to it. Proclaiming themselves "genuine Bolsheviks," Wang Ming and his followers donned a Marxist-Leninist cloak, took on for themselves the authority of the Communist International, and made use of the weakness of the empiricists in the party to oppose the correct principles represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, which stood for integration of Marxism-Leninism with practice in the Chinese revolution, and to oppose the correct line, principles and policies on taking the path of using the countryside to encircle the cities in the Chinese revolution. They drived that "Marxism does not come from the gullies" and smeared Comrade Mao Zedong as having "peasant ideas," pursuing "parochial empiricism" and following the "peasant line." They expelled Comrade Mao Zedong from the party and army leadership in the central soviet district, leaving him only the post of soviet chairman which was later made a figurehead post. As a result of Wang Ming's leftist adventurism, this led to the ruin of the excellent revolutionary situation which was then developing with marked success. Consequently our party organizations in the white areas were almost totally wiped out and 90 percent of the Red Army's strength was lost. During the

Long March, Wang Ming and his followers practiced flightism [the advocacy of running away from the battlefield or from difficulties in revolutionary struggle]. This exposed the party and the Red Army to the danger of extinction. All this proves that without integrating Marxism-Leninism with practice of the Chinese revolution and without Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese revolution cannot be victorious and will ultimately meet defeat even if victories are won.

II. With Firm Strides We Are Crossing the Summit

The Zunyi meeting held in 1935 settled accounts with Wang Ming's left-deviationist adventurist mistakes in military affairs, reorganized the party's leadership and reaffirmed Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership of the whole party. At the life-and-death crucial moment, it saved the party, the Red Army and the revolution. This was also the first meeting of our party to solve major problems in the Chinese revolution by maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands. Only after the Zunyi meeting did our party, under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Mao Zedong as its head, fully achieve a complete unity of understanding about integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, lead the Chinese revolution toward victory step by step, and at the same time, enrich the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism with original contributions. This was the most important turning point in the history of our party. It signified that our party has passed the stage of infancy and entered the stage of maturity. The poem "Loushan Pass" written by Comrade Mao Zedong in February of 1935 reads: "Idle boast the strong pass is a wall of iron, With firm strides we are crossing its summit." This is the best description for this historical turning point. When we read this poem, in close connection with our party history, we fully realize that these three words "crossing its summit" are as heavy as a ton.

Why do we say that it was only from the time of the Zunyi meeting to the Yanan period that our party achieved a complete unity of understanding about integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution?

First of all, it is because "our understanding of the objective world involves a process. In the beginning we lack an understanding of the objective world, we do not completely understand it, and it is only repeated practice that leads to achievements and victories, tumbles and setbacks, and it is only through the comparison of successes and failures that it is possible to gradually develop complete or relatively complete understanding." (Mao Zedong: "Speech at the Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee") Around the time of the Zunyi meeting, our party had already accumulated rich experience and learned lessons from its successes and failures in the first and second revolutionary civil wars. From practice, many cadres had, step by step, seen through the erroneous leadership exercised by Wang Ming and his ilk and realized Comrade Mao Zedong's correctness. Only then was it possible to bring about this great historical turn at the Zunyi meeting. I personally did not attend the Zunyi meeting. However, I expressed by determination to support the meeting, as soon as I heard a report on it. This was because practice had educated me. Even after the 3d Plenary Session

of the 6th CCP Central Committee had already brought an end for Li Lisan's adventurism, Wang Ming and others insisted on convening an emergency meeting of the Central Committee and refused to accept the work assignments given them by the central authorities. I disagreed with them and therefore favored action to struggle against them. Later, Mif, deputy director of the Eastern Department of the Communist International, came to China. He said that Wang Ming and others were correct and issued an instruction to convene the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee. Because of my confidence in the Communist International, I then turned around to support them. During the fifth campaign against "encirclement and annihilation" in 1933, the CCP Central Bureau decided to expand the Red Army by 30,000 people during Red May. I was assigned to shoulder the responsibility. They said that only by expanding the army by 30,000 people would it be possible to smash the "encirclement and annihilation." In this regard, it issued a military order. Due to the efforts of the party organizations in various fields and localities and the enthusiasm of emancipated peasants to vie with each other in joining the army, the result was that the army was expanded by more than 50,000 people. However, not long after that the fifth campaign against "encirclement and annihilation" failed and I was instructed to go to Jiangxi and Guangdong to relay a plan on the Long March so that people there could make early preparations. Why was that necessary? Once, I overheard a conversation between two principal responsible comrades saying that "Shanghai is finished" (meaning that organizations in Shanghai were a total loss) The history of our work in Shanghai was fairly long and there was a fairly solid foundation for such work. Shanghai was not "finished" during the "12 April" incident. It was not "finished" under the influence of putschism. It was not "finished" under the influence of the Li Lisan line. Nevertheless, it was "finished" under the influence of the "international line." What is the reason for all this? I knew nothing about the situation on the frontline or the work in the White area. Therefore, I was surprised and shocked. Also, according to the plan on the Long March a base area was supposed to be set up in the Hongjiang area in western Hunan. But, after the Long March began, people only cared about running for their lives and were unable to hold their ground. The Long March was on the verge of a fiasco. What was the reason for all this? It was because of the education I received from these harsh facts that I completely supported the Zunyi meeting and Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership. At the same time, it was because of its experience and the lessons in successes and failures that our party was able to earnestly sum up such experience and lessons in the Yanan period. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "On the eve and in the course of the war of resistance against Japan, I wrote a number of essays such as 'Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War,' 'On Protracted War,' 'On New Democracy' and 'Introducing "The Communist,"' and I drafted a number of documents of policy and tactics for the Central Committee. All of them sum up revolutionary experience. These essays and documents could only be written at that time and not before because until then we had not been through storm and stress and we could not compare our two victories and two defeats, and therefore we were not adequately experienced and could not fully understand the laws governing the Chinese revolution." ("Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee") This entirely conformed with facts and reflected his dialectical-materialist attitude.

Next, it was because after the Zunyi meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong had written a large number of articles, mainly criticizing Wang Ming's left deviationist dogmatism and at the same time also criticizing empiricism. In Yanan, he also correctly led the

study on the rectification campaign from 1942 to 1945 and educated the cadres in the party to achieve a complete unity of understanding about Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution. During the rectification campaign, he led cadres, particularly the high-ranking cadres, to study Marxist-Leninist theories as well as the historical documents of the party such as "Before the Sixth National CCP Congress" and "Since the Sixth National CCP Congress"; to sum up experience and lessons; to carry out discussions among themselves; to conduct self-criticism, and to engage in investigations and study. When the rectification campaign began in Yanan, things such as the big-character posters appeared in individual schools. However, Comrade Mao Zedong did not adopt such methods at that time. He adopted democratic methods like a gentle breeze and a milk rain, the method of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the method adhering to the formula "unity-criticism-unity." (Kang Sheng's trial of cadres by extorting confessions and believing such confessions and his "rescue movement" were something else. They are not included in the rectification campaign.) The Yanan rectification campaign initiated and led by the party Central Committee with Comrade Mao Zedong as its head was a general education movement on Marxism-Leninism. That was a movement of self-education among Communist Party members. Such a movement was also being popularized in base areas behind the enemy line. Through the study of Marxism-Leninism, the discussion of the party history in a serious and realistic manner, and the profound summation of one's experience and lessons, this movement helped the broad masses of party members to emancipate themselves from the ideological yoke of subjectivism and dogmatism, further grasp the orientation in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and bring about new unity in the whole party on a new foundation. At that time, it educated not only the middle-aged generation (the older generation today) but also the younger generation (the middle-aged generation today). After the study on the rectification campaign, the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was held on the eve of the Seventh National CCP Congress, meritorious service laid a solid ideological and political foundation for turning the Seventh National CCP Congress into a united and victorious congress. After that, a victory was won in the war of resistance against Japan and within a short period of over 3 years a victory was won in the war of liberation. The great People's Republic of China was finally founded.

The Yanan period is a period for the maturation and development of Mao Zedong Thought. The party constitution unanimously adopted by the Seventh National CCP Congress stipulated: "The CCP takes Mao Zedong Thought--a thought that integrates Marxist-Leninist theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution--as its guide to action in all its work; and combats all doctrinaire or empiricist deviations."

As far as I myself am concerned, the Yanan period, including the period of the Yanan rectification campaign, was one in which I made a fundamental change in my world outlook under the teaching of Mao Zedong Thought. In the past, I was fettered by empiricism ideologically over a protracted period. After I had participated in the revolution, I had always worked enthusiastically, followed the leadership, observed discipline and refused to assert my independence. I also had some arguments of a principled nature with Chen Duxiu and Li Lisan, but in the end, I still obeyed them organizationally. Organizationally, this showed my merit, however,

ideologically, I failed to play a conscious dynamic role and lacked the ability to ponder and solve problems independently. Therefore, when the leadership of the party Central Committee was correct, I made fairly remarkable achievements in my work; when the leadership of the party Central Committee was erroneous, my mistakes were also quite conspicuous. After Wang Ming and the others came to power during the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee in 1931, I and a number of other comrades were dismissed from our positions. I thought to myself: Why did we commit mistakes despite our long years of work experience and why were Wang Ming and the others regarded as correct despite the fact that they had no experience? I had only one answer for this: because they had a "theory." Therefore, I strongly requested to be sent to Moscow for study. After I arrived in Moscow, I requested to be admitted into a long-term class so I would be able to study more theory. In fact, I acquired little theoretical knowledge when I was in Moscow. Instead, I was influenced by dogmatism. I was ordered to return to China in 1932. I arrived in Ruijin in April 1933, just in time for the so-called struggle against the Luo Ming line. I was ordered to take part in the so-called struggle against "Luo Ming's line in Jiangxi." The Luo Ming line was headed by Deng (Xiaoping), Mao (Zetan) and Xie (Weijun), and the struggle against it was launched by the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee. I exerted myself in this struggle and committed a serious mistake. After the Zunyi meeting, I was able to gradually realize that the struggle was actually aimed at hurting Comrade Mao Zedong's prestige among the masses and local organizations. When Dimitrov lectured on the cadre question at the seventh congress of the Comintern in 1935, he advocated independent thinking and responsibility. He said: "Those who cannot express their creativity and say 'I will do what you tell me to do' are not Bolsheviks." (Selected Works of Dimitrov," p 165) This was a great enlightenment to me. Nevertheless, I was still unable to understand what was meant by independent thinking and creativity. Not until the period of the Yanan rectification led by Comrade Mao Zedong did I understand that it meant mastering the principle of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and using this principle to reanalyze oneself, put strict demands on oneself, transform our study and work attitudes characterized by the separation of theory from practice and form a study and work attitude of seeking truth from facts. This marked a forward leap in my ideology and a change in my world outlook. Thereafter, while I paid attention to studying theory, especially philosophy, in doing my work I also paid attention to studying the methods of study and investigation taught by Comrade Mao Zedong and to analyzing the contradictions in things and their trends of development. This benefitted me a great deal. I can never forget that the Yanan rectification played the role of a school in emancipating my mind and that Comrade Mao Zedong was the teacher who emancipated my mind.

During the Yanan period and particularly after the rectification and the great production movement, a series of fine revolutionary traditions and spirit was formed in our party. Take, for example, the spirit of integrating theory with practice and of seeking truth from facts; the spirit of forming close ties with the masses and of serving the people wholeheartedly; the spirit of practicing criticism and self-criticism, upholding truth and correcting mistakes; the spirit of arduous struggle and self-reliance; the spirit of not differentiating between what is low and what is noble in revolutionary work and of treating revolutionary comrades as equals and as close as hands and feet; the spirit of uniting and of consciously observing discipline; and so on. These manifestations of the Yanan spirit are our priceless heritage and beacons that shine forever. Under no circumstances must they be abandoned.

During the Yanan period, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, our party achieved the integration and unification of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. The primary achievement scored by the party was the solution of the questions of theory and policy for a new democracy. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "These questions--what should be done with the democratic revolution of that time and how should the party's general line and various specific policies be formulated--were completely solved during this period, particularly after the rectification, ("Speech at the Enlarged Central Working Conference") Prior to this, Chen Duxiu's fundamental belief during the first revolutionary civil war period was in an old democracy because he believed that the Chinese revolution was a bourgeois democratic revolution, that "under normal circumstances the victory of the national revolution is naturally the victory of the bourgeoisie," that the working class was "more childish" than the bourgeoisie, that "in the national revolution...the working class is not an independent revolutionary force," that the working class can only assist the party in power (See Chen Duxiu's "The Chinese National Revolution and the Various Social Classes") and that proletarian socialist revolution should be launched after capitalism had developed. Only after committing many left-deviationist mistakes did Chen Duxiu hurry to transcend the democratic revolution and blur the demarcation line between democratic revolution and socialist revolution. After applying Marxist-Leninist theory to proletarian leadership in democratic revolutions and after making a thorough analysis of Chinese society, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward a comprehensive theory and a set of correct principles and policies for the new democratic revolution, thus blazing a new trail for a Chinese-style democratic revolution.

The united front and armed struggle are two strategic questions in the new democratic theory and policy. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "1) The proletariat either establishes a revolutionary national united front with the bourgeoisie, or is forced to break it up; and 2) armed struggle is the principal form of the struggle--these are the two basic features in a Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2 pp 557-568) The armed struggle he mentioned here was in essence the peasants' civil war period. The objective cause for the failure of the revolution of 1927 was the abnormal strength of the counterrevolutionary forces and the subjective cause for its failure was that our party was still not good at handling these two big questions. The party's sixth congress held in 1928 affirmed that the task for China's democratic revolution had not been completed yet. It put forward the 10 great programs for the democratic revolution and correctly solved a series of important questions for the Chinese revolution. The party's sixth congress made important contributions in the history of the party, but it not only failed to correct the two principal mistakes that began after the "7 August" meeting but continued to implement them. The two mistakes were: 1) We failed to distinguish between the national bourgeoisie and the big comprador bourgeoisie and believed that in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution, only by opposing China's national bourgeoisie could this revolution be carried out to the end, because the national bourgeoisie was one of the most dangerous enemies obstructing the victory for the revolution; 2) We upheld the theory of making urban areas the center and believed that the party's task was "to win over the masses and prepare to launch an armed uprising." (See "Resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China") All our left-deviationist mistakes thereafter also repeated these two strategic principal mistakes. In particular, the third left-deviationist mistake represented by Wang Ming developed to the extreme. Wang and the others regarded the third force, who resented the rule of

Chiang Kai-shek and demanded resistance to Japan for national salvation following the "September 18th incident," as the "most dangerous enemy"; regarded the Fujian People's Government, which was established by our 19th Route Army, as the "center where the reformist counterrevolutionaries of all those in power was assembled"; (Bo Gu's "What Has the CCP Done and What Will It Do To Realize the National Revolutionary War of Arming the Masses?") not only gave no aid to the Fujian People's Government but transferred to the west the main force of the Red Army which was active on the eastern front and was actually playing a role of assisting the 19th Route Army. Moreover, they called on the peasants and workers and the troops in Fujian to oppose the Fujian People's Government in order to "hasten its bankruptcy." This was one of the important reasons for the failure of the fifth antiencirclement and suppression campaign.

Working in the White areas, "in particular White areas" in the cities, Comrade Liu Shaoqi developed a set of very good strategies and tactics such as correctly handling relations between overt and covert activities and between legal and illegal activities, the mass struggle strategy and agitation and propaganda work. However, as the aforementioned two errors of strategic nature were not avoided, our work in the "White areas" underwent no fundamental change throughout the second revolutionary war period ending in December 1935 when the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held at Wayaobao decided to establish the national united front for the war of resistance against Japan.

After the Wayaobao meeting, the Xian incident was resolved in a peaceful way, the cooperation between Kuomintang and the Communist Party for the second time was realized and the war of resistance against Japan started. It was during the Yanan period that our party correctly solved these two vital problems in a comprehensive way under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: In a country like China under imperialism's political oppression, there are two categories of bourgeoisie, i.e., the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie with the latter being the target of the revolution. The national bourgeoisie is a class with a dual character. Throughout the historical anti-imperialist and antifeudal period, we had to win over and unite with the national bourgeoisie, following a policy of both struggle and unity toward it. After accomplishing the anti-imperialism and antifeudalism task, we had to also do our best to maintain our alliance with it. Later, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: Although some elements of the national bourgeoisie went along with the counterrevolution during the period from 1927 to 1931, we must not believe that because of this we should not have tried to politically win it over and economically protect it during that period and that our excessively leftist policy toward the national bourgeoisie during that period had not been an adventurist policy. On the contrary, our policy during that period should have been protecting it and winning it over so that we could have concentrated our strength to oppose the principal enemy. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4 p 1232)

During the agrarian revolutionary war Comrade Mao Zedong paved the way to the Jinggang Mountains. After arriving in Yanan, by integrating theory with practice he thoroughly solved the questions of armed struggle and of encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities. He pointed out: "In China

war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization." "Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2 pp 507-508) [page numbers as received] "Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph." (Ibid, p 573) "The Communist Party must not be impetuous and adventurist in its propaganda and organizational work in the urban and rural areas which have been occupied by the enemy and dominated by the forces of reaction and darkness for a long time, but it must have well-selected cadres working underground and must accumulate strength and bide its time there." (Ibid, p 599)

During the war of liberation our party further improved its various new democratic policies. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "All comrades in the party should understand that the enemy is now completely isolated. But his isolation is not tantamount to our victory. If we make mistakes in policy, we shall still be unable to win victory." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1229) "Only when all the policies and tactics of the party are on the correct path will it be possible for the Chinese revolution to win victory." (Ibid, p 1241) When we read Volume 4 of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," we can see how the party Central Committee led by Comrade Mao Zedong kept the various policies for the new democratic revolution on the correct path, thus ensuring the victory of the revolution.

III. Carry Forward the Yanan Spirit and Take China's Own Road in Building Socialism

The integration and unity of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice cannot be achieved at one stroke, nor can it be accomplished once and for all. As we integrated or united Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, won the victory of the democratic revolution by blazing our own path for the democratic revolution and our own path for the socialist revolution and completed the shift from new democracy to socialism, a new great task appeared before the party and the people--that is, how to integrate and unite Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice in building socialism in order to blaze China's own path in building socialism. Comrade Mao Zedong raised this question in 1957. He said: "With barely 7 years of economic construction behind us, we still lack experience and need to accumulate it. Nor did we have any experience in revolution when we first started and it was only after we had taken a number of tumbles and acquired experience that we won a nationwide victory. What we must now demand of ourselves is to gain experience in economic construction in a shorter period of time than it took us to gain experience in revolution and not to pay as high a price for it. We will have to pay a price but we hope it will not be as high as that paid during the period of revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 401) At the enlarged work conference of the party Central Committee in January 1962 he once again raised this question before the whole party.

It should be pointed out that it is even greater and more arduous to integrate and unite Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice and to blaze China's own path in building socialism than in making revolution. This is not only because China is a big country in the East with a large population, 80 percent of which are

peasants, which is backward economically and culturally and which has its own characteristics and difficulties in building socialism, but it is also because the history of building socialism in the world is still short and there still is a lack of ripe experience in this regard. In this respect, it is therefore all the more necessary for us to draw on the experiences and lessons we acquired, in terms of successes and failures in the course of revolution; to be cautious and conscientious, to guard against arrogance and rashness and to persistently strive to better integrate and unite Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice. It was at this time after making one tremendous achievement after another in the new democratic and socialist revolution, that our party became arrogant. With the prestige of the party leader reaching a peak, a personality cult and personal arbitrary decisions markedly developed. Thus we gradually deviated from the basic principle of integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice which our party had established after overcoming innumerable hardships and paying a price in blood, and we even ran counter to the principle. Moreover, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques took advantage of the situation to carry out sabotage activities. As a result, we not only were unable to shorten the period of time and reduce the price we had to pay as Comrade Mao Zedong had hoped, but on the contrary, we paid a higher price.

After smashing the "gang of four" and especially as a result of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party resolutely corrected the erroneous "two whatever's" policy, highly appraised the discussions on the question of the criterion for truth, fully affirmed the necessity to grasp comprehensively and accurately the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and restored the principle of integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice--a fundamental principle of Mao Zedong Thought. This marked another great juncture in the history of our party. Guided by the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session and under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, the whole party, after summing up experience, embarked on an all-round and systematic effort to set to right things which had been thrown into disorder and step by step carried out readjustment and restructuring in the political, economic and cultural fields in order to find a way for socialist modernization suited to our country's conditions. The ideological, political and organizational lines formulated by the party Central Committee since the 3d plenum are all correct. Comrades in the party and people of all nationalities in the country have gradually extricated themselves from the mental fetters of the personality cult and from the ossified ideology and have raised their political awareness to a considerable extent. Our party's political maturity, its understanding of scientific socialism and its ideological emancipation, vigor and vitality all have surpassed those in any period since the founding of the People's Republic. It may be said without exaggeration that this is another major ideological emancipation for our party and our people since the "May 4th" movement and the Yanan rectification movement. It has also been a major ideological emancipation for myself.

Of course, this does not mean that there are no more difficulties ahead of us and that we have an adequate understanding of socialist modernization. This is certainly not so. In fact, we are facing numerous difficulties and our understanding is far from being adequate. Social practice is developing ceaselessly and accordingly our understanding should be developed and deepened continuously. To find out and sum up the objective law of China's socialist modernization, we have

to make still greater and harder efforts. This requires us to continue to persist in integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice, to uphold the four basic principles, to emancipate our minds and to make conscientious and painstaking efforts to sum up experience. Ours is a great civilized country with a long history and the abundance of positive and negative experience which our party gained during the past 60 years is rare in the world. As long as we carry forward the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement and make continued efforts to sum up experience and draw lessons conscientiously, profoundly and in an all-round way, all positive experience and negative lessons are bound to become our treasured assets and a reliable guarantee for smooth progress in our socialist modernization.

To continue to carry forward the Yanan revolutionary traditions and the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement, we should in all seriousness carry out correct and not distorted criticism and self-criticism and always remain modest and prudent. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us that criticism and self-criticism are one of our party's three major styles of work and a fundamental method for self-education among the people. Moreover, Comrade Mao Zedong, penetratingly summing up historical experience, pointed out: "There have been several occasions in the history of our party when great conceit manifested itself and we suffered in consequence." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 901) This also applies to the situation in Comrade Mao Zedong's later years. We are very glad that now the new party Central Committee has not only put into practice the correct line, principles and policies, but has also revived the style of criticism and self-criticism destroyed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during Comrade Mao Zedong's later years. It has thus set a good example for us. We should take the party Central Committee as our example, popularize and carry out correct criticism and self-criticism throughout the party, especially in the party leading organs at various levels, and continue to eradicate the protracted influence of left deviationist ideas as well as the influence of bourgeois ideas, feudalist ideas and small-production practices. We should also resist the corrosion by reactionary and decadent ideas of one kind or another that are found in society. This is a guarantee for the true implementation of the various principles and policies of our party, the continuation and development of its correct theory and line and the maintenance of our veteran comrades' integrity at their advanced age.

To accomplish the great yet arduous cause of socialist modernization, it is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the socialist alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the country and to develop and strengthen the united front of all socialist workers and patriots. Although our party has 39 million members, they are still a minority in the country's population. Thus we must rely on the broad masses of nonparty personnel to do a lot of work in the country's various undertakings. As early as 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Affairs of state are the public affairs of the whole nation and not the private affairs of a single party or group. Hence communists have the duty to cooperate democratically with nonparty people and have no right to exclude them and to monopolize everything. The Communist Party is a political party which works in the interest of the nation and the people and which has absolutely no private ends to pursue. It should be supervised by the people and must never go against their will. Its members should be among the people and with them and must not set themselves above them." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 767) Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out: "The Communist Party sincerely and honestly wishes

to set the affairs of state to right. But we still have many failings...We shall get rid of such failings by strengthening education within the party and by cooperating democratically with nonparty people. It is only by subjecting our failings to such a crossfire, both from within and from without, that we can remedy them and really set the affairs of state to right." (Ibid, p 769) We communists, old, middle-aged and young, should act seriously according to these teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Engels put it well: "It is quicker for a great class, like a great nation, to learn from the consequences of its own mistakes than from anything else." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 325) We still have much exploring, and experimenting and hard work to do for a long time to come in order to find China's own way of socialist modernization suited to its conditions and to build our country into a powerful socialist state with a modern economy and a high degree of democracy and civilization. However, as long as we uphold the principle of integrating and uniting Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice, are good at summing up experiences, study and solve problems, engage in criticism and self-criticism, remain modest and prudent and work with a will to make the country strong, our goal will unquestionably be attained and our party will certainly become greater and more glorious and correct. Then, undoubtedly, socialist China will become prosperous.

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ADVANCE FROM VICTORY TO VICTORY UNDER THE FIRM LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE--COMMEMORATING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CCP

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[Article by Tan Zhenlin]

[Text] It is now 60 years since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

During these 60 years, we have achieved both thorough victory in the new democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and great victory in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Though on its path of advance our party has made some mistakes, undergone twists and turns and suffered heavy losses, these are secondary compared with our achievements, and more importantly, we have accumulated abundant experience. Recently the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee has [made a comprehensive assessment and a profound summing] up of the great achievements and the experience and lessons in our 32 years of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The positive and negative experience in the past 60 years, especially in the 32 years since the founding of our country, tell us that to guide the cause of China's revolution and construction toward victory, there should first be a correct line and second a firm leading group to carry out that line. True, we cannot do without a correct line, but neither can we do without a firm leading group to carry out the line.

The leading core of our party Central Committee at present has been formed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. During the past 2 and more years, this leading core has been steadfastly carrying out the correct line and policies. As a result, profound changes have been brought about in the political, economic and cultural life of our country and marked successes have been achieved on various fronts. The facts have proved that this leading core is a strong and united leading group and that it is entirely capable of leading the whole party and the whole people to build socialist modernization smoothly.

Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Once the political line is determined, cadres become a decisive factor." The main criterion for the strength of a leading group is whether it can use the correct Marxist-Leninist line to solve the major problems it faces. Owing to the long-term interference by leftist ideology, and especially the serious mistakes of the 10 years of "Cultural Revolution," our country is facing

mountains of difficulties and problems. Many grave problems have already been or are being solved by the leading group of the party's Central Committee in accordance with the correct line formulated by the 3d Plenary Session. Many "long-standing, big and difficult" problems are also being solved, or beginning to be solved, boldly and resolutely.

In his article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "In socialist society the basic contradiction is still between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base." Revolution aims to liberate the productive forces. After the completion in the main of the socialist transformation, we must shift, without losing any time, the focus of our work to economic construction to develop the productive forces. At the first session of the eighth party congress in 1956, a call was formally raised for shifting the focus of our work to economic construction. As was said in the "Resolution on the Political Report of the Eighth National Party Congress" approved in that session, "Decisive victory has already been achieved in socialist transformation. This shows that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has already been basically solved, the thousands of years of history of the system of exploitation of men by men has already basically ended and the socialist social system has already been basically established." Out of such a correct estimate of the situation, the "resolution" further pointed out that "the principal contradiction at home has already become the contradiction between the people's demand for building an advanced industrialized country and the reality of the backward agricultural country, and the contradiction between the people's need for a rapid development of the economy and culture and the status quo in which the economy and culture cannot meet the demand of the people." The main task for the party and the people of our country is to concentrate our efforts on solving this contradiction and to change our country from a backward agricultural one into an advanced industrialized one. The line and policies formulated in the first session of the eighth party congress in line with this scientific analysis were also correct. During the 10 years following, we achieved great successes in all-round socialist construction; in particular, we accumulated rich experience in groping for a way to build socialism in line with the conditions in China. Had it not been for interference by leftist ideology, and had we resolutely and unswervingly carried out the correct line and policies of the eighth congress, we would have achieved far greater and far more magnificent successes in developing the productive forces.

To develop the productive forces, problems must be solved in two respects: 1) suit the relations of production to the nature of the productive forces; 2) to study the laws governing the development of the productive forces themselves. We have neglected the problems in both respects.

In 1956, we successfully and smoothly completed the socialist transformation in the ownership of the means of production without inflicting any destruction on the productive forces. On the contrary this opened up broad prospects for the development of the productive forces. This was really a great victory. But at this very juncture, we began to be proud and careless. Although in theory we admitted that the relations of production and the productive forces fitted each other while contradictory to each other and brought up the task of "protecting and developing the productive forces under the new relations of production,"

in practice we failed to solve this problem. Owing to our continuous persistence in upholding the viewpoint or taking the class struggle as the principal contradiction and our constant engagement in endless political movements, which resulted in the undue broadening of the scope of the class struggle, we failed to pay attention to the state and nature of the development of the productive forces. On the one hand, we blindly made endless fuss about the "transformation" of the relations of production in an attempt to make a breakthrough. For example, in the whole framework of society we had no regard for the multitiered status of the productive forces but busied ourselves in establishing the so-called predominance of the socialist economy in an infatuated way, regarding all urban and rural individual economy conducive to the national economy and the people's livelihood as a spontaneous capitalist force that "undermines the foundation of socialism" restricting it in every way and even banning it. As to the socialist state-owned and collective economy, we failed to make a conscientious analysis of the differences between the various departments and enterprises in technical equipment, organization and management and in the degree of socialization of their production, while one-sidedly pursuing so-called scale of public ownership and continually "escalating" and "making transition." These practices made the relations of production exceed the level of the development of the productive forces. On the other hand, our understanding of the relations of production was often too narrow and limited only to ownership, so that we often neglected or even gave up profound study into a series of major problems such as the reform of the system of economic management and the perfection of the policy of distribution according to work, and we even regarded distribution according to labor and the production responsibility system under socialist ownership as "capitalism" and criticized them accordingly. These leftist measures deflated the initiative of the laborers, obstructed the development of the production forces and hindered the improvement of people's livelihood.] During the rough domination of the "gang of four" these errors were taken to the extreme and the road for economic development grew narrower and narrower, until it was brought into a deadend with our economy on the verge of collapse. Even during the 2 years immediately after the smashing of the "gang of four," such leftist errors still fettered us and inflicted great difficulties on our economic work.

After our party's 3d Plenary Session, this problem was satisfactorily solved at last. In the 2 years and more since then, the leading core of our Central Committee has made an analytical study of the nature of the productive forces in our country in a truth-seeking way and has adopted a series of important policy decisions in line with the concrete conditions in our country in order to adjust the relations of production. In the countryside, after breaking through one obstruction after another, we have resolutely corrected the nationwide erroneous practice of indiscriminately "learning from Dazhai" and "making the transition in poverty," vigorously popularized various forms of production responsibility system in line with local conditions, reaffirmed and implemented the party's policies of distribution according to labor and on private plots, and encouraged commune members to develop household sideline occupations and to transport and sell their products in a lawful way. In towns, we have vigorously supported and developed collective enterprises and individual economy, thus we have broadened the way not only for developing economy and enlivening the market but

also for increasing employment opportunities for youth there. Our experiments in reforming the management system of the state-owned economy have already initially changed the situation of "everyone eating out of the same pot" and solved relatively well the problem of the relations among the interests of the state, the collective (enterprises) and the individuals. All these things have greatly aroused the production enthusiasm of the laborers both in urban and rural areas, and industrial and agricultural production has thus achieved marked advance in development. On the basis of the development of production, the people's living standard has also markedly improved. Any unprejudiced person is profoundly moved by the daily improving economic situation at present. If it were not for the correct leadership of the leading core of the Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session, it would have been unimaginable to achieve such great successes.

Drawing a wedge between class struggle and

[For a long time the energy and effort of our party was concentrated on "class struggle" and on political movements, and it was a natural result that no energy or effort was left for making deep and careful investigation and study of the laws that govern the movement of the productive forces themselves, such as the structure and layout of production, and of the natural resources related to the structure and layout of the production, such as minerals, hydropower, land, forests and grassland. That was why when we made economic plans, we often lacked adequate reliable objective information and raised quite a few subjective slogans; thus we acted blindly in many respects in carrying out construction.] Although some problems such as that of correctly handling the relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and between industry along the coast and in the interior, were raised, they remained in the stage of general principles, while no mature, concrete methods were found through exploration to really solve them. For years there was a loud cry that agriculture should be placed first, light industry second and heavy industry third, but in arranging our actual work we still placed heavy industry first, light industry second and agriculture third. In handling the structure of agriculture, we understood the principle of "taking grain as the key link" in a one-sided way and squeezed out diversified economy. In handling the structure of industry we wrongly clung to "taking steel as the key link" and brought about serious imbalance between light and heavy industry and between basic industry such as energy, mining and communications, and the processing industry. The lopsided development of production caused long-term shortage of the supply of oil, meat, vegetables, various kinds of special local products and many industrial products for daily use, which certainly caused great inconvenience to the people's daily life.

Since the 3d Plenary Session, the leading core of the party Central Committee has instructed the departments concerned to send a large number of cadres to cooperate with local party and government authorities in making an all-round and deep investigation and study throughout the country so as to solve the problems in this respect. On the basis of a clear understanding of the conditions in the country, it has made many important policy decisions for changing the structure and layout of the productive forces. For instance, in combination with readjustment the production relations in the countryside and popularizing the production responsibility systems, many concrete measures have been adopted to encourage the collective and commune members as individuals to vigorously develop diversified

economy without slackening their effort in grain production. Marked results have been achieved. Output of cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar crops, tea, silk cocoons, jute and flax and meat in 1980 all set new records. Diversified economy has become an important source of the peasants' income. Because of the development of diversified economy, the special local products that had disappeared for a long time have poured into the markets and pleased the town people too. This is really a fine policy bringing benefits to both the state and the people. Since the 3d Plenary Session the central authorities have strengthened support and assistance for light industry in respect of investment and the supply of energy and material, and encouraged idle production capacity in heavy industry to shift to producing consumer goods. The shortage in the supply of consumer goods of daily use has already eased. Recently the State Council convened a nationwide conference on daily-use mechanical and electrical products to strengthen reorganization and cooperation in the machine-building industry in line with the demand of the people and the production capacity and to make an overall arrangement for the production of several consumer durables in urgent demand by the people. This is the first time this has happened in the more than 30 years since the founding of our country. Though it is still in a state of experiments and tests, this is after all a pleasing first step made for the purpose of mastering the productive forces and is, therefore, worth making great propaganda for. We can all see that it is only since the 3d Plenary Session that the principle of placing emphasis on agriculture, then light industry, then heavy industry which had been talked about for so long, has been gradually carried out.

Now, there are still a few people who doubt the economic policies of the party Central Committee. This is very wrong. Stalin said, "Socialism can only be built on the basis of the flourishing development of the social productive forces, on the basis of great abundance of products and commodities, on the basis of the well-to-do livelihood of the laborers and on the basis of the rapid raise of the cultural level." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 318) The present economic policies of the party Central Committee fully embody this socialist principle. They unfold the beautiful future of our country to the people. Every party member and cadre should have full confidence in the correctness of the leadership of the party Central Committee and fight hard for the implementation of its various economic policies.

The cadres of the party are a precious treasure of the party and our party has always shown concern for and taken loving care of its cadres. During the tumultuous 10 years, for the purpose of usurping party leadership, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques carried out ruthless struggle against and dealt merciless blows to leading cadres at all levels, resulting in a great number of cases in which many cadres were wronged, misjudged or framed as traitors, spies and capitalist-roaders. The frame-up and persecution suffered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi was one of the biggest miscarriages of justice in our country. During the 2 years following the smashing of the "gang of four," though a few of the wrong, mishandled and framed cases were redressed, owing to the obstruction caused by the errors of the "two-whatevers," rehabilitation work went on slowly and many major wrong cases were not redressed in time. After the

3d Plenary Session, the work on redressing wrong, mishandled and framed cases sped up, especially on the cases of Liu Shaoqi and other leaders of the party and state. After a great deal of investigation and study, they were rehabilitated by seeking truth from facts, and their merits and achievements in our history were affirmed. This emancipated a large number of cadres involved in these wrong cases, and many of them have resumed their work. They have played great roles in carrying out the party's line and policies.

The socialist cause is an unprecedentedly great cause, demanding that we do our best in bringing every positive factor into play to serve this cause. This is especially so for realizing the four modernizations. For that will be impossible if the initiative of the intellectuals is not brought into full play. Before the eighth national congress of the party, in January 1956, the Central Committee convened a conference on the problem of intellectuals, in which Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out in his "Report on the Problems of Intellectuals" that the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals "have been serving the socialist cause and have become a part of the working class." Correct policies on intellectuals were also stipulated in the conference. They were reiterated at the eighth congress. But, for a long time they were not really carried out. In 1957, the scope of the anti-rightist struggle was seriously over-extended and a number of intellectuals were unjustifiably labeled "rightists." Later, movement after movement of criticism was launched incessantly in the cultural and ideological sphere to keep on striking at the intellectuals. During the "Cultural Revolution" the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques denounced all the intellectuals as "stinking ninth category" and regarded them as targets of "overall dictatorship." Many intellectuals were cruelly persecuted.

Happily, since the 3d Plenary Session the Central Committee of the party has adopted resolute and decisive measures to implement the party policies on intellectuals. Those intellectuals who were wrongly labeled rightists and who were wrongly struck at have been rehabilitated. On behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed that according to the actual situation and consistent performance of the intellectuals, the overwhelming majority of intellectuals have already become a part of the working class and a force to be relied on for building socialism. With their status raised there has been an unprecedented surge of enthusiasm and creativeness of the intellectuals, and more and more important roles are being played by them on all fronts.

To bring into play all positive factors as fully as possible, and to change negative factors into positive ones in line with the reality in our country that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction, announcements were made to the effect that former businessmen and industrialists, having undergone remolding, are now laborers who earn their living by their own labor, and the status of the vast majority of former landlords and rich peasants, who have become working people through remolding, has been redefined. These measures have not only affected former landlords, rich peasants and capitalists themselves, but, what is more important, have roused the initiative of their relatives and their posterity.

The implementation of these policies has really united the people throughout the country and developed the broad united front which includes all socialist laborers, patriots who support socialism, and patriots who support the unification of our motherland. Both manual and mental laborers are marching shoulder-to-shoulder with one heart and one mind on the bright road leading to the four modernizations.

The above samples are only a few of the profound changes brought about in various fields since the 3d Plenary Session. They are not inclusive. But even these are sufficient to prove that the leading core of the party Central Committee at present is a vigorous leading group that can be entirely trusted.

Why is this leading group so vigorous? The most important cause, in addition to the guidance of the correct line formulated by the 3d Plenary Session, is that it has been formed by collective succession and it has truly exercised leadership.

According to Marxist views, collective leadership is the supreme principle of the leadership of the proletarian political party and the socialist state. As Lenin pointed out, a leader is a group. All major issues of the line and policies of the party and state must be decided by the collective, not by the words of a single individual, and still less should the will of an individual be enforced upon the collective or upon the whole party. Comrade Mao Zedong time and again talked about the great importance of collective leadership and mass line. In leading our long revolutionary struggle, especially during the Jinggangshan and the Yanan periods, he took the lead in carrying out collective leadership and persisted in the mass line. Many old comrades had personal experience of this and were deeply moved by it. However, in his later years, along with the great victories achieved one after another in our revolutionary cause and along with the growth of his personal prestige, he grew proud and was gradually divorced from practice and the masses. He grew more and more arbitrary in his work style and seriously weakened and damaged the party's principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the state. Because of the longstanding influence of feudal autocracy in China, intensified by the preaching and incitement of individual careerists and schemers such as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, who exploited the love of the broad masses for the leader for their own personal gain, the personality cult inflicted tremendously heavy losses to the cause of the party. This is a very profound lesson.

On account of this serious historical lesson, since the 3d Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has adopted a series of effective measures to strengthen collective leadership, curb personality cult, and vigorously adjust and strengthen the leading groups at all levels. The election of additional and replacement members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the setting up of the Secretariat at the 5th Plenary Session and the further readjustment of the central leading structure at the 6th Plenary Session have vigorously strengthened the collective leadership of the party Central Committee. Meanwhile, it has been decided that the existing practice of leading cadres holding their posts all their lives will be abolished, the former practice of overcentralization of power will be changed and effort will be made to make the leading groups at all levels revolutionized, younger and more knowledgeable and specialized. This series of fundamental measures is aimed at preventing personal autocracy and personality cult from reemerging in our party and at relying more on the experience, wisdom and force of the collective in leading the people throughout the country to accomplish the magnificent cause of socialist modernization. Therefore they are enthusiastically supported by the whole party and the people throughout the country.

Are the new line and policies carried out by the party Central Committee in the fields of politics, economy, culture and social life a turn to the right? Are they a retrogression? Quite a few comrades do have such worries. However, the situation that has developed on all fronts since the 3d Plenary Session has told us that this is neither a turn to the right nor a so-called retrogression, but a determined correction of the leftist errors that lasted many years. How difficult it is to wipe out the influence of leftist thinking! The many measures adopted by the party Central Committee now are aimed at a vigorous correction of our former leftist errors, to effectively boost our cause under the premise of upholding the four basic principles, while also preventing an upsurge of rightist thinking. In doing so, we are really abiding by the ideological line of dialectical materialism of seeking truth from facts and of proceeding from reality in everything.

No doubt, the series of new line and policies adopted by the party Central Committee should still be tested in later practice, so as to further develop and perfect them. New problems and difficulties may crop up in concrete work later, but we are confident that under the guidance of the correct line of the 3d Plenary Session and under the firm leadership of the party Central Committee we can surely lead the 1 billion people of our country to overcome all kinds of difficulties on our way of progress and to march triumphantly on the broad road of socialist modernization, so long as we strengthen our unity and fight hard and indomitably with one heart and one mind.

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RESPECT AND REMEMBRANCE--MARKING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE CCP

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[Article by Bo Yibo]

[Text] It has been fully 60 years since the birth of our great party. During the more than half century, our comrades in the entire party have joined the people of all nationalities throughout the country in working under the party leadership, enduring hardships and fighting heroically. They finally founded the People's Republic and won brilliant victories in the great struggle to build socialism. Today, our party has become more mature and stronger and our cause is full of vitality and hope.

The long revolutionary struggles tempered a number of outstanding party leaders, among whom Comrade Mao Zedong held the position of prime importance. While commemorating the birthday of our party, we cherish a feeling of great reverence and profound memory for the martyrs who gave their lives for the Chinese people's revolutionary cause, the revolutionary leaders who dedicated their lives and made outstanding contributions to the great cause, and Comrade Mao Zedong, whose historical contributions are forever indelible.

I

It is always because of a revolutionary leader's outstanding leadership and actual contributions during long revolutionary practice in the great historical era that he wins people's trust, love and esteem. In order to select a leader, an ordinary communist must conduct long observations during revolutionary practice before he can gradually know and confirm who truly has leadership qualities and who is the most capable person. I firmly believe that Comrade Mao Zedong also underwent such a process before he became a worthy leader of our party.

In 1927, our great revolution failed because our young party, then under the leadership of Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism, was off its guard against and incapable of resisting the surprise attacks launched by the Kuomintang under the control of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei. A countless number of communists, patriots and revolutionary masses fell in pools of blood, the party suffered serious losses in its strength, and the revolution in China was at a low ebb. I, like many other comrades in the party, seriously pondered such questions as where the revolution would go; how to understand the character, motive force and tasks of the Chinese revolution; and who was to lead us in continuing our advance.

We constantly discussed those questions and made careful observations. We witnessed the setbacks caused to the revolution successively by Comrade Qu Qiubai's putschism after the August 7 conference and Comrade Li Lisan's "leftist" line in the latter half of 1930. Later, Li Lisan's "leftist" line ruled the party for as long as 4 years and caused still more serious adverse consequences. The facts showed that none of them could lead the party to victory.

In the late 1920's, I had an opportunity to read ZHONGYANG TONGXUN [CENTRAL NEWSLETTER], a secret journal of the party, when I was working for the military committee of the Shunzhi [Hubei] provincial party committee. In that journal, I read about the 16-character formula proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." This 16-character formula was based on the premise that we had revolutionary base areas. It vividly showed the dialectical relations between ourselves being preserved and developed and the enemy being struck down and wiped out. It also concentratively generalized the tactical and strategical principles of the guerrilla warfare waged by the Red Army. I also read about Comrade Mao Zedong's views on the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains and on the establishment of a Red political power. He made a scientific, Marxist analysis of the relative strength of the enemy forces and our own, the contradictions among imperialist aggressors and various warlord factions at home, and the imbalance between political and economic developments in Chinese society. He pointed out that it was completely possible for our party to build a Red political power, develop revolutionary forces and establish independent regimes of the workers and the peasants by armed force in areas where reactionary rule was weak, particularly the areas bordering reactionary forces, in the situation of separatist warlord regimes and the confused wars among warlords. He also said that the middle section of the Luoxiao Mountain, with a revolutionary political power there, was not an ordinary zone, but a revolutionary base area; and that to build political power was of great political and military significance to the consolidation and expansion of independent regimes. At that time, we discussed and held that it was an amazing achievement by Comrade Mao Zedong to lead armed peasants into the Jinggang Mountains to build the Red Army and Soviet regime there after the failure of the great revolution, and thus open up the "Jinggang Mountain road" and point out a clear direction for the revolution at a critical moment in the Chinese revolution.

At that time, I was engaged in clandestine work among enemy troops. After the great revolution failed, I too vaguely felt that we should develop revolutionary forces in the countryside. Later on, I also thought that we should conduct armed struggle. As I was uncertain about my thinking, I was greatly inspired by Comrade Mao Zedong's views when I read about them. I considered them to be very suitable to the needs of the revolution then and to be courageous, insightful and foresighted. I felt that Comrade Mao Zedong was an unusual strategist in our party.

From 1931 to 1936, I was arrested and held by the Kuomintang reactionaries in Caolanzi prison in Peiping. In the prison, we communists of course were concerned about the development of the situation of our revolution. We argued over the nature of the January 28 resistance against Japanese aggression in Shanghai, the Fujian People's Government and the anti-Japanese united army in Zhangjiakou. Our argument was focused on whether the national bourgeoisie would take part in

resistance against Japan or not, and what tactics we should adopt. Some of us held that the Kuomintang could no longer use its old methods to continue its rule, and it would have to use a more cunning and deceptive way, namely, resistance against Japan, to maintain its rule; that we must expose it because it was even more reactionary. Others held that while that was a crucial moment for national survival, a moment of acute national contradiction, we should welcome the national bourgeoisie and form a united front with them because the January 28 resistance against Japan showed the progressiveness of the national bourgeoisie in turning to the revolution and opposing the policy of nonresistance. The argument could not be settled.

Then we heard about a slogan put forward by the party Central Committee for forming an anti-Japanese national united front, and we also studied the report on establishing the antifascist united front delivered by Comrade Dimitrov at the seventh congress of the Communist International. The question in our debate was initially solved. In 1936, we read about the report "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism" by Comrade Mao Zedong after the Wayaobao conference of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. Analyzing the political situation at that time, the report pointed out: the 19th Route Army led by Cai Tingkai and others represent the interests of the national bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie, and the rich peasants and small landlords in the countryside. They once fought bitterly against the Red Army. "It must be considered beneficial to the revolution that they turned their guns, originally trained on the Red Army, against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. It marks a split within the Kuomintang camp." The report further systematically answered the theoretical and tactical questions over which we had argued for a very long time. We were indeed excited. The report showed us that at the crucial moment of the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong knew how to keep to the correct course and adopt far-sighted tactics and strategy in uniting all available forces to strive for new victories.

After that, we firmly believed that Comrade Mao Zedong had outstanding leadership qualities. We greatly revered him. After I got out of prison, I had more contacts with Comrade Mao Zedong's Thought and firmly regarded Comrade Mao Zedong as our party's outstanding leader.

II

In the spring of 1943, I went to Yanan. This was the first time I had gone to the central authorities. On the day after my arrival, Comrade Mao Zedong asked me to have a talk with him. This was also the first time I met Comrade Mao Zedong. He was amiable and easy to approach. His talk was so interesting and absorbing that I did not notice when he started formal conversation. Instead, I thought he was still chatting with me. Comrade Mao Zedong asked me: Are you Comrade Bo Yibo? I said, yes. He then clasped my hand tightly, saying: "As if walking on thin ice, as if walking on thin ice." He said this in order to remember my name. [The writer's surname means thin] He then asked me where I was born. I said I was born in Dingxiang County, Shanxi Province. He said the surname of the mother of Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty was also Bo. Her younger brother was called Bo Zhao. Emperor Wen was once the prince of Dai and he made Zhongdu, Shanxi, the capital. I was amazed by what he told me because I was completely ignorant of that period of history. Later, I read the "Historical Records" and found that everything he said was correct. What an intimate knowledge of Chinese history Comrade Mao Zedong had.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: In the past, I did not have a good understanding of your activities. You were in the White area and we were in the Soviet area. The passage of information was blocked by the Kuomintang. I heard Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Peng Zhen mention your name. He continued: Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist" was very well written. Have you read it? He talked about "self-cultivation" and I talked about "rectification." We meant the same thing. Comrade Peng Zhen gave a good Marxist report on the anti-Japanese democratic political power in the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei border area. He continued: There are two front armies in the Chinese revolution, one in the White area and the other in the soviet area. Comrade Liu Shaoqi is the representative in the White area. Comrade Mao Zedong then asked me about my past experience. I said: I joined the party during the great revolution. At that time, I was an ignorant teenager. He answered: Our revolution was started by a group of ordinary young people. I said: At that time, I did not have much understanding of Marxism-Leninism. I was just enthusiastic, and believed that revolution was the only way to a bright future. At that time, I read all kinds of books, books concerning the three people's principles, Chen Duxiu's speeches and books by Kropotkin, the anarchist. Only after I was admitted to the party did I begin to have some understanding of Marxism. However, my understanding of Marxism is still very superficial. Comrade Mao Zedong said smiling: This is a natural process. I have been a follower of various religions and doctrines. When I was young, I went with my mother to Nanyu to worship the Buddha. Later, I believed in Marxism.

I gave a report to Comrade Mao Zedong on our experience in the prison of Beiping. When I came to the long debate in our prison, he linked it up with the situation of the Yanan rectification campaign and said: That debate was also a two-line struggle. When I mentioned the principles guiding our daily life and struggle in the prison, and our emphasis on physical health, studying Marxism-Leninism, strengthening our faith and struggling to the end, Comrade Mao Zedong said: That was very good. You changed the prison into a school. You armed your minds by studying revolutionary theory, and retained, tempered and educated a group of comrades. This was a victory. Comrade Mao Zedong asked me about the comrades who were released from the prison together with me. He also asked how they were. Having heard my report, he showed his concern and said: "You hailed from all corners of the land. Then you were assigned to work in various places and returned to all corners of the land again. You have done a great deal of work, and have made contributions." When the conversation ended, he asked me to give him a name list. I did so. I also reported to him on our united front work in Shanxi. In the autumn of 1936, when we were just freed from prison, the party sent us to do united front work in the area under the rule of Yan Xishan. Yan Xishan was a representative of the big landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie. How were we to do our work? We used as a weapon the report given by Comrade Mao Zedong after the Wayaobao conference. During this period, we heard Comrade Mao Zedong say: Doing united front work is like swimming in the sea. We should be bold and should not drown. He also said: In united front work, Communist Party members should be "square inside and round outside" like a coin. We should abide by principles. However, we should maintain such flexibility as allowed by the principles, to suit different conditions. Not long after the "7 July incident" in 1937, Comrade Liu Shaoqi went from Yanan to Taiyuan, where he conveyed to us the spirit of the Luochuan conference and mentioned Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion: We should rely on ourselves in fully arousing the masses, and extensively develop guerrilla warfare

behind the enemy lines; we should not be confined by Yan Xishan's "restrictions." When we first went to Shanxi, it was completely correct for us to carefully set up the united front, to oppose leftist adventurism and to unfold our work through legal forms compatible with our legal status. However, the situation is different now. Our policy should be fully arousing the masses, strengthening our own forces and implementing the principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands."

At this critical moment of strategic change, this important view pointed out the direction for us, ensuring that we did not get lost. In the autumn of 1937, Comrades Zhu De and Peng Dehuai led the 8th Route Army to Shanxi and told us: You must rapidly take your dare-to-die corps with you to the east and south of Shanxi. Comrade Mao Zedong said that we should launch guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear and establish anti-Japanese bases like "making eyes" in a game of Go. In 1938, when Wuhan fell into enemy hands and the Kuomintang stepped up its anticommunist activities, Comrade Peng Dehuai conveyed to us Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion: We should wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the Kuomintang's anti-communist activities. In 1938, before he launched the "December incident," Yan Xishan shouted: It will rain very soon. Let us get "umbrellas." This meant that they were ready to take the offensive against the communists in Shanxi, the 8th Route Army, the ready-for-sacrifice league and the dare-to-die corps. At this moment when the party organization sent people to Yanan to report to the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong said: Yan Xishan is preparing "umbrellas." You should do the same. He also said: There is great disorder throughout the country. "Independent areas" are being set up everywhere. During those years, we assigned and unfolded our work in accordance with these clear directives and with the specific conditions of Shanxi. While uniting with Yan Yishuan in fighting against Japan, we did painstaking work in boldly expanding the party's revolutionary forces and in gradually assuming leadership over Shanxi's ready-for-sacrifice league and new army. After smashing the diehards' offensive Shanxi's new army joined the battle array of the 8th Route Army, becoming the people's anti-Japanese armed forces directly under our party's leadership and command. Most of the high-ranking leaders and the basic members of the ready-for-sacrifice league came over to the side of our party.

On hearing my report regarding these events, Comrade Mao Zedong profoundly pointed out: Dogmatists do not acknowledge that we should change our policies when national contradictions dominate class contradictions. In fact, at this moment, we should not only unite with workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, but should also do ideological work among the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie. Chiang Kai-shek and Yan Xishan were representatives of the big bourgeoisie. Without the participation of the big bourgeoisie, the anti-Japanese national united front would not have been established. He also said: However, the big bourgeoisie joined the anti-Japanese national united front rather reluctantly. We must be on guard against their surrender. We must expand the left-wing forces and try to win over the middle-of-the-road forces to the progressive side. Finally, he said: Your number is so small, yet you have united a large number of people and won a victory. You have demonstrated the success of our party's united front policy in an exemplary way.

This meeting with Comrade Mao Zedong lasted 8 hours. It left an unforgettable impression on me. One would not feel uneasy when talking to him. He explained

the profound in simple terms. He gave profound meaning to ordinary everyday talk. One could instantly feel the strength of his talk and understand some philosophy from it. At the same time, one would feel the depth and breadth of his wisdom. He was very good at generalization and drawing conclusions. After hearing reports and holding discussions, he often made a brief and enlightening summary which broadened people's vision and enhanced their level of understanding. Through this talk, I further realized that Mao Zedong was a great revolutionary strategist. Then, I had better understanding of him and greater respect for him.

When I worked in Shanxi, I had quite a lot of shortcomings and mistakes. This was primarily because I did not handle problems in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought. For example, Comrade Mao Zedong said that we should be "square inside and round outside" in doing united front work. However, I was only "square inside" and not "round outside." That is to say, I emphasized principles and neglected flexibility. Sometimes, I went too far in handling problems. Moreover, I did not appear calm enough. Some friends of the united front criticized me, out of good will, for being "cocky." Assuming a cocky manner could sometimes help to suppress the diehards. However, under other circumstances, it often brought things to a deadlock, making things more difficult and hindering us from being united. Besides, I did not handle contradictions among the people properly and was susceptible to mountain-stronghold mentality. In 1942, the first column of the dare-to-die corps and the 386th Brigade of the 8th Route Army were merged and combined into the Taiyu column. They were originally two entities. Moreover, there were differences between local cadres and cadres from other places, new cadres and old cadres, intellectual cadres and worker and peasant cadres and of certain gravity, differences between the army and the local people. To handle the relationship between these two entities, which had many contradictions, I should have done what Comrade Mao Zedong consistently advocated: Be lenient with others, be strict with oneself and carry out more self-criticism. However, I did not do so, or, I did not do enough. I "blamed both sides without discrimination" when they had disputes. At that time, I thought I was being "fair." Actually, I did not pay enough attention to the 386th Brigade, nor did I deliberately make known their merits and strong points. I was somehow partial to and sided with the dare-to-die corps, of which I was once leaders.

During the Yanan period, when Comrade Mao Zedong was once talking about eliminating the mountain-stronghold mentality, he gave an example: When two children have a fight, parents usually scold their own child or even beat it in order to comfort the other child and put an end to the dispute. He said even common people knew how to handle the problem of "mountain-stronghold mentality." I was very inspired by this. In 1944, when I was studying in the central party school, in his report entitled "Our Study and the Current Situation," Comrade Mao Zedong called on cadres to cast off mental burdens and set the machine in motion. In answering his call, I wrote some materials to confess the above-mentioned shortcomings and mistakes and expressed by resolution to rectify them. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong made a remark on the materials I wrote: "Like the party, an individual has to undergo the process of awakening. All that was mentioned in the article was just natural in the process of awakening. I have not been able to do some of the points myself. I should continue to make efforts." Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks were amiable and modest and they helped me to correctly treat my mistakes and shortcomings, and inspired me to continue to enhance my level of understanding, and do a good job. Now, I am still very grateful toward Comrade Mao Zedong for giving me encouragement and help!

Our party is a party of reformers. As the leader of such a party, Comrade Mao Zedong was a resolute truth-seeker. In seeking the road for the new democratic revolution that suited the national condition of China, he exhausted his energy for the large part of his life. Eventually he won a great historic success and overthrew the three big mountains that weighed on the backs of the people. After the founding of People's China, he continued to seek the road of building socialism in a large country such as ours.

There were two things that left me with unforgettable impressions.

The first was: One day in the spring of 1953, Comrade Mao Zedong asked me to have a talk with him during which he advised me to read thoroughly certain books, to read some books on philosophy, to learn some dialectics and materialism and to also study logic. He then said to me sternly and sincerely: When you make mistakes you always say that it is because you are busy with your work. It is wrong to say that. Wasn't Lenin busy during the October Russian Revolution? Yet Lenin got things into shape in an intricate and complex Russia. The reason why you make mistakes is that you lack something that penetrates everything. Since its founding in 1921 our party has performed earth-shaking deeds on a spectacular scale, scoring great achievements. But, in its early years, due to a lack of experience, the party made many mistakes. It was not until 1942 when the whole party carried out the rectification of its work style that a fundamental guiding principle was found, or, we may say, a road to victory for the Chinese revolution; namely, 20 years elapsed before the consistency between subjectivism and objectivism, a road to victory for the Chinese revolution, was found.

This talk by Comrade Mao Zedong penetratingly outlined the important experiences of our party in its long history. The consistency between subjectivism and objectivism was not only the road to victory for the new democratic revolution but, we should say, the road to victory for the cause of socialism. Haven't our positive and negative experiences in the course of building socialism since the founding of our country fully proven this most important point? Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has come back to the Marxist political, ideological and organizational lines. At the central work conference in 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed that to emancipate the mind means to conform the mind to objective reality and to conform subjectivism to objectivism, and that this is what seeking truth from facts means. This conforms fully with what Comrade Mao Zedong said. We should comply with this correct principle forever.

The second was: In 1956, after hearing the reports of 34 departments of the central authorities, Comrade Mao Zedong made the famous speech, "On the 10 Major Relationships." This exploration was of great significance on the road toward our country's socialist construction.

After the founding of new China, led by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, the whole party and people spent only 3 years in healing the wounds of war and restoring the economy. Following that they succeeded in realizing the socialist transformation in a relatively smooth way and, at the same time, scored tremendous achievements in economic construction in the first 5-year plan. This laid the primary foundation for the further development in the

cause of socialism. But, in the course of learning from the advanced experiences of the Soviet Union, we made the mistake of copying them mechanically in disregard of specific conditions. At the beginning of 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the summing up of such experiences, thus further seeking the road toward economic development that suited the national situation of our country. Not long before that, Comrade Liu Shaoqi had asked responsible persons of the industrial departments to make reports and hold forums, many new problems were discovered. When I reported this to Comrade Mao Zedong, he said happily: "This is very good. Organize similar activities because I would like to hear about them." He later personally heard the reports of 34 departments of industry, agriculture, transportation, commerce and finance of the central authorities. This was an important activity of investigation and study in the history of our country's socialist construction, and I had personally taken part in the entire course of such reporting activity. The circumstances and images of matters that occurred 25 years ago are unforgettable, even though I am old. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong was already over 60 years old and his health was not good. But almost every day, he listened to the reports immediately after getting up from bed and went back to bed for a rest after hearing the reports. It was only when he ate meals that he was at leisure. He called it, "from the bed to the ground, from the ground to the bed." He worked in this way continuously for 2 months. This spirit of working hard for the benefit of the people's cause was very touching. Comrade Mao Zedong often said that "man must have some spirit." He himself showed this in an exemplary way. Back then, he had a profound grasp of the situation and always tried to get to the bottom of the matter in order to acquaint himself with basic conditions and major problems. At briefings those present spoke out freely, and Comrade Mao Zedong listened carefully to differing opinions. Some questions he considered before attending the briefings so he could sum them up immediately after hearing them discussed. As for other questions, he never jumped to conclusions on them. He took a correct attitude and used correct methods so that he could pool the wisdom of those present.

The spirit of probing a matter to the bottom and seeking truth from facts runs throughout the speech "On the 10 Major Relationships" written by Comrade Mao Zedong on the basis of thorough investigation and study. Taking an analytical attitude toward the experiences of other countries and those gained at home, he advocated learning from the strong points of all other countries and nations and opposed copying all foreign things mechanically or rejecting them all without analyzing them. This speech upholds the viewpoint of materialist dialectics and opposes swinging from one extreme to another. In handling economic and some other relations, he advocated that "consideration must be given to both sides, not to just one." "To give consideration to only one side, whichever it may be, is harmful to socialism." He stressed the doctrine that everything has two aspects. "In short, there are two aspects, not just one. To say there is only one is to be aware of one aspect and to be ignorant of the other." While giving consideration to both sides, we may have to lay particular emphasis on one side. For example, on the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and agriculture and light industry on the other, he, proceeding from the fact that China is a big agricultural country, stressed the need to take agriculture as the foundation and to pay close attention to the development of agriculture and light industry. On the relationship between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior, he stressed the need to make full use of industry in the coastal regions and to develop it.

While being briefed, Comrade Mao Zedong said to comrades in charge of light industry: "Your drive in work is not vigorous enough, not as vigorous as that of the heavy industry departments." This criticism reminded us that we who were engaged in heavy industry were so zealous that we brought pressure to bear on others. By saying this, he actually encouraged and supported a more vigorous development of light industry. Later, he explicitly pointed out that arrangements should be made for the development of the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry instead of the order of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. In addition, in handling the relationship between the central and local authorities, he advocated that "we want both unity and particularity." He stressed that it is necessary "to enlarge the powers of the local authorities to some extent." He also dealt with the historical conditions of China and other countries in this regard and indicated that a division of powers between the central and local authorities would facilitate relatively swift economic development. He also advocated delegating appropriate powers to basic-level units and that "every unit of production must enjoy independence as the correlative of centralization if that unit is to develop more vigorously." Both giving consideration to each side and particularly emphasizing one side are done to achieve the general purpose: To mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and to turn as many negative factors as possible into positive ones to serve the great cause of socialism.

Today, when we restudy this important speech made by Comrade Mao Zedong 25 years ago, we still strongly feel the strength of his wisdom as a great thinker. His argument and analysis are not abstract. Nor are they made regardless of reality. Instead, they were based on reality, carefully thought-out and scientific. Here, I suddenly remember Paul Lagargue's comment on Marx' ability as a great thinker: "He skillfully resolved a matter into its components, then combined them, described details and various forms of development and discovered the inner relations." It would not be exaggerating to make the same comment about Comrade Mao Zedong.

IV

The road traveled by an explorer is by no means smooth. Losing one's way and trying to find it again, suffering setbacks and achieving success, are often intertwined. We went through such a tortuous and difficult path of development in the 10 years after the Eighth National CCP Congress when we began to build socialism in an all-round way and when Mao Zedong led our party in continuing to find a way for construction suited to our national conditions.

In 1956, when he made the speech "On the 10 Major Relationships," Comrade Mao Zedong also put forward the slogan: "Achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." Shortly afterwards, the Eighth National CCP Congress decided that the main task of the people throughout the country in the new period was to concentrate their energies to develop social productive forces. By 1957, our country made remarkable achievements in construction and all undertakings were vigorously developing. However, victory brought a certain potential danger to our party and to Comrade Mao Zedong--in the wake of a great victory, Comrade Mao Zedong and many other responsible comrades at the central and local levels, including myself, became careless and arrogant and were overeager for quick results. At the 1957 Moscow congress of communist and workers parties, Comrade Mao Zedong said that China

would catch up with Britain in the output of main industries within 15 years or so. At the Nanning conference in January 1958, he improperly criticized those who were against rash advance and found fault with Comrade Zhou Enlai and Chen Yun who adhered to the correct stand. After the Chengdu conference in April, he continued to oppress "rightist conservatism" and advocated "removing the White flag and planting the Red one." At the same time, he put forth the slogan of "doubling the output of steel." At the Beidaihe meeting in August, he suggested the establishment of the rural people's communes. As a result of his incorrect estimate of the situation, and overestimation of the role of man's subjective will and efforts, a great rash advance occurred. This tendency, characterized by excessive targets, the issuing of arbitrary directions, boastfulness and the stirring up of a "communist wind," spread unchecked throughout the country. It inflicted great losses on the socialist cause.

To be fair, it was Comrade Mao Zedong who first called for correcting the leftist mistakes made in 1958. He proposed and presided over the CCP Central Committee's Zhengzhou conference in early November 1958, the Wuchang meeting in late November, the second Zhengzhou conference in February 1959, the Shanghai conference in May 1959 and the Lushan meeting in July. All these meetings, including the early stage of the Lushan meeting, were held to correct leftist mistakes. During these meetings, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the theories and policies regarding the development of commodity production, the observation of the law of value and the principle of distribution according to work. He was opposed to skipping any stage of social development and the expropriation of the peasants. He emphasized the study of socialist economic laws and the scientific principles of communism. He suggested that we be full of stratagems and good at making judgments, and that we allow for unforeseen circumstances, and seek truth from facts. He was opposed to slack stratagems, making of arbitrary decisions, ossification of the mind, leaving of loopholes in plans and engaging in high tides every day. He also pointed out that balance is a fundamental question in economic work, and that we should make proper arrangements for people's clothing, food, housing, daily necessities and transport because this was a major issue which concerned the stability of the 650 million people. These suggestions were undoubtedly correct. However, while correcting these leftist mistakes, Comrade Mao Zedong indiscriminately emphasized that "people should be encouraged rather than discouraged." Obviously, we should protest and guide the people's enthusiasm for building socialism. However, we should discourage rather than encourage those leading cadres who were enthusiastic about the leftist principles. The leftist mistakes were not thoroughly rectified at that time, but our work during the 6 months or so greatly changed the tendency of boastfulness. Had this work been continued, the passive situation would have been remedied and completely changed. Unfortunately, during the latter period of the Lushan meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong erroneously criticized Comrade Peng Dehuai and some other comrades and launched a nationwide struggle against "right opportunism." This destroyed in a moment all our achievements scored in fighting against leftist mistakes over the past 9 months. Many mistakes, which had been criticized from November 1958 to July 1959, were once again affirmed. This prolonged the influence of the leftist mistakes. Together with successive years of natural calamities and the perfidious scrapping of contracts by the Soviet Government, our industrial and agricultural production as well as our people's livelihood encountered great difficulties.

More than half a year had passed and the situation forced Comrade Mao Zedong to rethink. He found that this situation should not continue. In the autumn of 1960, although he was not ready to totally give up the policy of the "Great Leap Forward," he realistically suggested at a central meeting that we should slow down for several years and should not seek superficial successes while actually inviting grievous disasters. Not long afterward, the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong decided to readjust the national economy. At a meeting in January 1961, Comrade Mao Zedong said: At present, we should try to fill in the gaps, that is to say, we should carry out readjustments. Under the leadership of Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping, we formulated and adopted a series of correct policies and decisive measures and did a great deal of painstaking and effective work such as cutting down the capital construction front; closing, stopping production, merging and changing some enterprises to another line of production; and withdrawal of currency from circulation. In particular, we smoothly mobilized 20 million residents in the urban areas to return to the rural areas, thus lightening the burden of the urban areas in supplying these residents with grain and nonstaple food and strengthening the front line of agricultural production. This played an important role in improving the situation. With regard to this matter, Comrade Mao Zedong said more than once: "Our people and our cadres are doing well. We have 20 million people at our beck and call. What political party other than the ruling CCP could have done it?" As we recall, due to erroneous guiding principles, the people suffered unnecessary losses during the years of the "Great Leap Forward." However, Comrade Mao Zedong had won the trust of the people by leading the party through decades of hard struggle. At that time, the masses excused us for doing wrong things because of our good intentions. This is why they shared, on their own initiative, the care and burden of the state and worked together to overcome the temporary difficulties. The masses had faith in the party. The whole nation continued to rally around the CCP Central Committee, and many cadres shared weal and woe with the broad masses. It was precisely because of this that in those difficult years we were able to extricate our economy, which had suffered serious setbacks, from a difficult situation in 2 to 3 years. In 1964 we began to score new achievements in the economy. In early 1965, we basically accomplished the tasks of the national economic readjustment and were entering a new stage of development. At this moment, on behalf of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Zhou Enlai called on the whole Chinese people to make energetic efforts to build China step by step into a socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. In 1965 when prosperity reappeared, the economic situation was even better.

Today, when we review the history of the tortuous path of development in the 10 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution," we can see that although we made many mistakes and suffered serious setbacks, we still made tremendous achievements in various undertakings, thanks to the determined and persistent efforts of the whole party, the entire people and the many cadres who braved all difficulties. Summing up the experience of these 10 years, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "A large part of the material and technical foundation on which we are undertaking modernization was built in that period. Most of the backbone forces in economic, cultural and other construction throughout the country and their work experiences were also formed in that period. This is the main aspect of the party's work in that period."

The "briefing by the 34 departments," the speech "On the 10 Major Relationships" and the lessons and experiences of the achievements and mistakes in the 10 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution" profoundly show us that in making a collective study, deciding on a major policy and organizing people to carry it out, the summing up of correct ideas by a leader on the basis of democracy and on the practical and responsible attitude taken by the participants is essential; and a leader's democratic work is even more essential. This is one of the important reasons why we were able to correctly sum up experiences, to formulate correct policies and to surmount difficulties at that time. I think we made some very unwise decisions such as the launching of the "Great Leap Forward," the establishment of people's communes in 1958 and the "struggle against right deviations" in 1959 because we failed to carry forward this spirit. Comrade Mao Zedong was mainly responsible for the mistakes made in that period. He himself said: "I should be responsible for all the mistakes made directly by the Central Committee and should share the responsibility for the mistakes made by it because I am its chairman." Of course, we cannot blame Comrade Mao Zedong for all the mistakes. At that time, if some responsible persons at the central and local levels, including myself, had kept a relatively clear head, had had a good grasp of the situation, had reported it truthfully to higher authorities and had put forward practical propositions, then many mistakes could have been avoided or at least they would not have developed to that serious extent. This is a matter for deep self-examination.

The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee correctly solved the extremely serious problem of assessing Comrade Mao Zedong's achievements and errors. As a serious Marxist political party, our party adopted a scientific attitude of historical materialism and dialectical materialism toward this major problem. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" correctly pointed out: "Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. He made serious mistakes in the 'Great Cultural Revolution.' However, as far as his whole life is concerned, his contributions to the Chinese revolution are far greater than his mistakes." When we look back on the victorious course of the Chinese revolution, we cannot but deeply revere him and cherish the memory of him. People have already seen and will see more clearly that the glorious achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong, who devoted himself all his life to the revolution, will go down forever in the history of our party and the people's revolution in our country. The scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought will continue to guide us in successfully advancing toward the great future of the socialist cause.

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UNSWERVINGLY UPHOLD OUR PARTY'S ABSOLUTE LEADERSHIP OVER THE ARMY--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE CCP'S 60TH FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY

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[Article by Yang Dezhi]

[Text] As we solemnly commemorate its 60th founding anniversary, our party has successfully held the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The session adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," reelected principal leading members of the Central Committee and elected new ones. This is an event of great, immediate and far-reaching historical significance. It shows that our party, which dares to uphold the truth, is good at correcting its mistakes and, through the tests of twists and turns as well as victories, has further united and become stronger and greater and is worthy to be called a proletarian revolutionary party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the whole party, the entire army and people of all the nationalities in the country are closely rallying around the party Central Committee and building a modern and powerful socialist country with one heart and one mind. Our cause will certainly surge forward with great vitality.

The CCP is the force at the core leading the people throughout China. During the new historical period, the nucleus of the four basic principles we uphold is firm perseverance in the leadership of the CCP. When this is related to the people's army, it means upholding the principle of "the party commands the gun" or adhering to the party's absolute leadership over the army. An army of the proletariat is the prime requirement for a proletarian party to seize political power and consolidate it. It is an armed group implementing revolutionary political tasks. The purpose of our army, since the date of its birth, has been one of serving the Chinese people heart and soul. It has taken on its shoulders the mission of fulfilling the historic tasks of the proletarian party in this country. Its nature and missions dictate that only under the CCP's absolute leadership can it fulfill its great historic tasks. Without party leadership, our army cannot accomplish its revolutionary political missions, nor can it serve its purpose nor retain its proletarian nature.

The Chinese PLA was founded by Comrade Mao Zedong and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and, under the CCP's absolute leadership, has grown in strength through the tests of protracted periods of war. One of the

special characteristics of the democratic revolution in China is resorting to armed revolution to oppose armed counterrevolution. In this country, without the leadership of the CCP and without armed struggle, the people's army cannot exist or grow and the cause of revolution cannot be victorious. Since its defeat in the first great revolution, our party has understood the truth that "political power grows out the barrel of a gun." It led armed uprisings in many parts of the country and began to establish the people's army. On 1 August 1927, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, He Long, Ye Ting and Liu Bocheng, acting in accordance with the instructions given them by the party; led more than 30,000 troops of the northern expedition army to stage the Nanchang Uprising, firing the first shots against the Kuomintang reactionaries. In pursuance of the decision of the party's "7 August" conference, Comrade Mao Zedong led the Autumn Harvest Uprising in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area on 9 September that same year and directed the uprising troops to the Jinggangshan Mountains to establish an armed independent regime of workers and peasants. In April 1928, the troops led by Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi that were left behind after taking part in the Nanchang Uprising and the units participating in the insurrection in southern Hunan arrived at the Jinggangshan Mountains after repeated fighting and joined the force led by Comrade Mao Zedong. These forces merged into the 4th Army of the Chinese workers and peasants' Red Army. During this period, our party led more than 100 armed uprisings in Guangzhou, Pingjiang and in the areas of Hubei-Henan-Anhui, western Hunan-Hubei, Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, Haifeng-Lufeng and in the regions on the left and right sides of Xijiang River and Hainan Island. With the founding of a number of Red armies of workers and peasants, the flames of the Chinese revolution were kindled. By 1930 the Red Army units had grown to nearly 100,000 men. Several armies and corps were formed. These later developed into the First, Second and Fourth Front Armies. The party not only launched but also carefully cultivated the people's army. From the very beginning of our army's founding, the party attached great significance to building party organizations and to political and ideological work in the army. At that time the Red Army was mainly composed of peasants and those who had crossed over from the old armies. Consequently, there was a rather serious problem of unhealthy trends prevailing in the Red Army such as slackness in discipline, ultrademocracy, anarchism and warlord style. In view of this problem, Comrade Mao Zedong himself called the ninth party congress of the Fourth Red Army in December 1929 at Gutian Village in Shanghang County, Fujian Province, and delivered the report "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." With the dissemination of the guidelines of the resolution adopted at the Gutian Congress, a wide-scale ideological education to eliminate nonproletarian ideas was carried out in all army units. In the course of the long revolutionary war in the ensuing years, the party launched several new-type ideological education movements in the army, thereby gradually putting our army on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and making it an entirely new people's army different from any army in the old days. At the same time the principle that party branches should be organized on a company basis was formulated and party organizations and political departments at various levels along with a system of political work were established in our army. Our army's purpose was defined as that of serving the people wholeheartedly. The army was required to display the three major styles of work--integrating theory with practice, making criticism and self-criticism and forging close ties with the masses--to carry out the tasks as a fighting force, a working force and a productive force, to adhere to the three basic principles of unity between the army and the people, between officers and men, and of

disintegrating the enemy troops, to put into practice the three major democracies-- political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy--and to abide by the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention. This ensured the party's absolute leadership over the army and enabled the army to preserve its proletarian nature.

It was for this reason that during the 22 years of unprecedentedly arduous revolutionary war, our army was able to grow from small to large, to become stronger and stronger in the course of fighting and to fight valiantly together with the people. It was because of this that our army was able to smash the enemy's encirclement and suppression, interceptions and attacks in the agrarian revolutionary war, to defeat the Japanese imperialist aggressors in the war of resistance against Japan and to put the Kuomintang reactionaries to rout in the war of liberation. It was also because of this that our army was able to overthrow the reactionary rule by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Following the nationwide liberation, our army maintained its fine traditions, continued to advance and successfully safeguarded the socialist revolution and construction of the motherland. Today it has developed into a relatively sizable people's army composed of numerous services and branches, a mighty force against aggression and expansion by imperialism and hegemonism and for the defense of peace in the Far East and in the world.

It was for this reason that during the past decades our army was able to forge close flesh-and-blood ties and maintain fish-and-water relations with the people. Either on heavy-combat battlefields or in rescue efforts, our army's commanders and fighters were willing to sacrifice themselves in order to protect the interests of the masses. For this purpose thousands upon thousands of our fine comrades gave their lives. On the other hand the people have always regarded our army men as their own soldiers. The people have lived frugally in order to support army units: They have shielded wounded soldiers from enemy search even at the cost of their own lives. They warmly love and trust the people's army.

It was for this reason that our army was able to repeatedly smash the criminal acts of careerists and conspirators in splitting the party and the armed forces, to rally closely and consistently around the party Central Committee, to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to stand as a mainstay loyal to the party and the people's revolutionary cause. During the Long March Zhang Guotao plotted to set up another Central Committee and to split the party and the Red Army, but in the end he met with the ignominious fate of having to flee alone without even his bodyguards. After liberation Gao Gang dished up the "army party theory" in a futile attempt to use the gun to command the party, but finally this scheme failed and was exposed, and he had to reap the bitter fruit of his own sowing. Lin Biao plotted to usurp the party and state leadership, wildly clamoring that he wanted to "command everything" and "arrange everything." In the end, however, he was unable to win over to his side even a squad or a platoon. All he could do was to hurriedly escape with his wife, his son and a few sworn followers, and in the end he died in the wilderness. With a dream of becoming "empress of the Red capital," Jiang Qing tried sometimes to attack and sometimes to win over our army, but she could never succeed. Finally she was arrested and was brought to the judgment of history by the party and the people. These ironclad facts eloquently prove that the party's absolute leadership played a decisive role in the growth and development of our army.

Historical experiences, positive and negative, tell us that without the CCP's absolute leadership, our people's army cannot exist even for a single day. To resolutely uphold the party's absolute leadership or to oppose it amounts to a question which is not only crucial to the growth and development of our army but which also concerns the success or failure of our revolutionary cause. We must bear in mind this incontestable truth, which has been verified through decades of practice. Any idea or action attempting to weaken or do away with the party's absolute leadership in the army is extremely detrimental and must be resolutely opposed.

We are now at a new historic juncture. The army not only shoulders the task of building and defending the four modernizations, but also has to do well in consolidating, improving and building itself. This is a matter of importance that the people of all nationalities in the country have entrusted to the people's soldiers and a great historical task that the party has assigned to our army. To accomplish this hard yet glorious task, it is imperative to resolutely uphold the party's absolute leadership of the army.

The most fundamental thing about resolutely upholding the party's absolute leadership is to firmly keep to the leadership of the party's Marxist revolutionary line and its principles and policies. As proved by our army's experience over the decades, by firmly supporting the strategic changes made by the party and by resolutely carrying out its correct line, principles and policies at major historical junctures, we have been able to overcome the twists and turns and the difficulties encountered on the road and to advance from victory to victory. At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan, our party decided to carry out a second Kuomintang-CCP cooperation effort in the interest of the whole nation and reorganized the Red Army, our main armed forces, as the 8th Route Army, while the guerrillas remaining in the southern provinces after the Long March were reorganized to form the New 4th Army. Our party then ordered the various army units to penetrate deeply into the enemy rear areas to engage in guerrilla warfare and build anti-Japanese bases in order to contribute, through our concrete action, to the formation of a national united front against Japanese aggression. This marked a major strategic change in our party's history. Resolutely supporting the party's strategic change and implementing its strategic policy decision, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army set out to various battlefields in high morale to fight bloody battles with the Japanese aggressors. Vigorous flames of anti-Japanese battles were kindled here and there, from the area of the Changbai Mountains to the foot of the Wuzhi Mountains and from the banks of the Huanghe to the Chang Jiang Valley. Comrades Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, Liu Bocheng, Deng Xiaoping, He Long, Luo Ronghuan, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen separately led the main force of the 8th Route Army, namely the 115th, 120th and 129th Divisions, to northern China. After that the New 4th Army led by Comrades Ye Ting, Xiang Ying and Chen Yi marched to southern and northern Jiangsu to carry out anti-Japanese guerrilla operations. Taking advantage of the topography of the Luliang, Wutai, Taihang and Yimeng Mountains and relying on the broad masses, our 8th Route Army carried out guerrilla operations, appearing and disappearing mysteriously and fighting flexibly and skillfully to strike at the Japanese aggressors. It always won the battle and performed many superb feats. It fought at Pingxingguan, carried out a night raid on Yangmingbao, defeated the

"encircling attacks from nine directions," smashed the "iron-wall encirclement," and shattered the "containment policy." It smashed the numerous "village mopping-up," "nibbling" and "sweeping" campaigns, wiped out large numbers of enemy and puppet troops, frustrated the three anticommunist high tides launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries, recovered the vast expanse of lost land and built the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei, Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan, Shanxi-Suiyuan and Shandong anti-Japanese bases. It used its concrete actions to tell the people of all nationalities and of all strata in the country the fact that the people's army led by the CCP stood at the forefront of the war of resistance against Japan, was a main force to save the nation from peril and represented the genuine hope of the people to be extricated from the abyss of misery. At the same time, it made the enemy aware that the Chinese people, now armed, could in no way be defeated. This encouraged and spurred on the anti-Japanese war on a nationwide scale.

The period from 1941 to 1943 was the hardest time in the war of resistance against Japan. At that time the Hebei-Shandong-Henan border region, where I worked, was hit by drought 3 years in a row, and there were also epidemic diseases. The stubborn forces made up of the Japanese and puppet troops continued their ceaseless wild mopping-up operations, implementing the cruel "triple atrocity" policy of burning all, killing all and looting all. In the face of the precedented difficulties, our Hebei-Shandong-Henan army units resolutely carried out the party's policy of "consolidating the basic areas, developing the guerrilla areas, persisting in the struggle in border areas and preserving and saving our forces." On the one hand, they went all out to deal blows at the invading enemy troops. During those 3 years, they fought some 2,300 battles, killing more than 19,000 enemy and puppet troops and capturing some 9,000. On the other hand, they mobilized the soldiers and people to provide for and help themselves by engaging in production. A call was issued to bear all hardships and to surmount every difficulty. Finally, the difficult period was over. Historical experience shows that at the crucial moment the army must support the party's strategic changes and resolutely implement its correct line, principles and policies. This is a vital guarantee for the victory of the revolution. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee held in 1978, our party has, systematically and thoroughly, set to right things that had been thrown into disorder, eliminated the old, erected the new and established the path to carry out modernization according to China's actual situation. The central work conference held in 1980 again made a major policy decision, working hard to carry out further economic readjustments and to achieve greater political stability. Now the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee once again calls on the whole party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to continue carrying forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains, to work with one heart and one mind, and to turn China into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization. At this crucial moment when this major change is taking place, we should all the more carry forward our glorious traditions, resolutely implement the line, guidelines and policies laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee; continue to emancipate our thinking; firmly uphold the four basic principles; eliminate interferences from left and right erroneous thinking; further straighten out the ideological line; closely keep pace with the party's strategic changes both in one's own thinking and one's own actions; and make fresh contributions to developing and safeguarding the four modernizations program.

To follow the party's absolute leadership means to obey the party's command in everything. In fulfilling the task assigned by the party, we must be all the more set on driving forward when there is danger ahead. We should fight wherever the party directs us. By no means shall we fear difficulties and retreat. This is our army's fine work style that has been handed down from one generation to another. During the difficult years of war, Comrade Mao Zedong and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as well as the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army had already set examples. In the second year of the war of liberation when our army had just entered the stage of launching a strategic counterattack against the Kuomintang reactionaries, all the conditions our army met were very difficult. To draw the war to the Kuomintang controlled area, wipe out the enemy on exterior lines and thoroughly smash to pieces Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary plan to shift the war to the liberated areas, Chairman Mao resolutely decided to send a part of our army to penetrate the Kuomintang-controlled area in order to attract the enemy's main force and relieve the enemy's threat against the liberated area in Shandong. Our main forces led by Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping resolutely implemented the orders issued by the party Central Committee, courageously shouldered this arduous but glorious task, valiantly marched south and broke through many enemy defense lines. They made a leap forward of a thousand li, fought the enemy for state power and boldly drove into the Tabieshan area. Like a sharp knife thrust into the enemy's heart, they directly threatened Kuomintang lairs in Wuhan and Nanjing and drew up the great curtain of our army's strategic counterattack. At that time, on the question of whether or not the Tabieshan revolutionary base area could be consolidated, the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao envisaged three possibilities: 1) Our army would be unable to hold its ground and would have to turn back after paying a price. 2) It would be unable to hold its ground and have to fight guerrilla warfare in the vicinity after paying a price. 3) It would be able to hold its ground after paying a price. Senior officers Liu and Deng as well as the broad masses of army commanders and fighters remarkably accomplished their task with actual deeds, firmly held their ground in the Tabieshan area and realized the best possibility. It was in that same year that under the leadership of Comrade Nie Rongzhen, our Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei troops triumphantly fought the Qingfengdian campaign. First of all, they drew out of their lairs the enemy troops guarding Shijiazhuang. Then, they made a forced march like a strong wind, wiped out the whole enemy division in the movement and captured over 10,000 enemy soldiers, including the commander of the enemy's 3d Army, Luo Lirong. After that, they once again brought into full play the work style of continuous fighting and fearing no fatigue, and concentrated the main force of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei field army and some local troops in central Hebei to liberate Shijiazhuang, which was heavily guarded by the enemy. In the Shijiazhuang campaign, over 20,000 enemy soldiers guarding the city were totally wiped out. This joined the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei liberated area with the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan liberated area and played an important role in further developing a large-scale counterattack on the north China battlefield. Commander in Chief Zhu De praised this campaign highly as a "new example of seizing a big city," and jubilantly wrote a poem: "Heroes in our party have emerged one after another. From now on, we do not have to worry about our hair graying at the temples." This kind of revolutionary spirit in our army of resolutely implementing orders issued by the party, of advancing wave upon wave

and of pressing forward with an indomitable will is not only a priceless treasure for defeating the enemy and winning victories in war years, but also a gigantic force for developing and safeguarding the four modernizations program today. To safeguard the security of the motherland's territorial land, air space and waters, and to oppose aggression and threats to China by imperialism and hegemonism, our army must display the heroic spirit of pressing forward with indomitable will and of vowing not to coexist with our enemy, and must resolutely carry out the orders issued by our party. Following certain changes in the state system, the system of the army will also undergo certain changes. Under the new historical conditions, all cadres and fighters of our army must bring into full play the fine traditions and work style of the members of the old Red Army and the old 8th Route Army; resolutely accept the party's assignments; learn from Comrade Lei Feng, who cherished whatever assignment he was given, did his best, devoted himself to his duties and remarkably fulfilled missions assigned by the party; and support and strengthen the party's absolute leadership over the army. They must do so whether they are stationed in the cities, guard the border regions, remain PLA troops, or have been transferred to work in local areas or engage in any revolutionary tasks.

To uphold the party's absolute leadership, we must persistently regard political work as the lifeline of our army and incessantly use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate the army. This is a solid foundation in ensuring the party's absolute leadership over the army. The fundamental distinction between a proletarian army and a bourgeois army is that the proletarian army has a set of revolutionary political functions and that the ideological and theoretical foundation in guiding this army is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Our army is a revolutionary armed force composed mainly of peasants, coming from the many different parts of the country, diverse in origin, experience and disposition. What kind of strength has made this army united as one under the banner of the party for scores of years? What kind of strength has made this army courageous, fearless and invincible? One important factor is the education the PLA troops receive in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This education helps all the commanders and fighters understand why they join the army and what they are fighting for, acquire a highly developed political consciousness and common revolutionary ideals and attain a common goal of struggle. Therefore, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army are able to consciously place themselves under the absolute leadership of the party and unremittingly fight for the noble interests of the party and the people at all times. In the 22-year long democratic revolution in which armed struggle was regarded as the main form of struggle and in 32 years of socialist revolution and socialist construction, many heroes and models have emerged from our army. They are brilliant representatives in this regard. Our experience in the past tells us that to persistently educate the PLA troops with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will create vitality in political work and militancy in PLA troops. After the decade of disorder in the country, some comrades have a misunderstanding that since Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his late years, it looks like we do not have to uphold Mao Zedong Thought anymore. This view is erroneous. We must deal with Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought with a scientific approach. Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in the 10-year "Great Cultural Revolution." However, if we judge his activities as a whole, he made indelible contributions to founding and developing the party and the people's liberation and to the birth of the People's Republic of China and the advance of socialism in our country. He has

been publicly recognized as a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist and the great leader of the whole party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Our party and the people of all nationalities in the country would have had to grope in the dark much longer had it not been for Comrade Mao Zedong and the party Central Committee he led more than once to rescue the Chinese revolution from grave danger and chart the firm, correct political course for the party and the army. As a product that integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong Thought is recognized as the guiding ideology of the party. So far as our army is concerned, Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on the building of the people's army, his theses on political work in the army and his series on strategy and tactics in a people's war are even more powerful ideological weapons, which have always been used to overcome difficulties and obstacles and defeat the enemy. For decades, Mao Zedong Thought has nurtured the cadres and the fighters of our armed forces. Those who were admitted during the era of the Red Army, during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, during the war of liberation or after the founding of the PRC have all been highly educated by Mao Zedong Thought. The growth and development of our armed forces have never strayed from the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Of course, our advocacy of upholding Mao Zedong Thought is by no means an attempt to restore the erroneous leftist ideology which prevailed prior to the 3d Plenary Session. It is necessary to sum up the experiences and lessons learned from the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. Without doing so, more and more serious mistakes might possibly be made. However, in summing up such experiences and lessons of history, certain historical conditions must be taken into consideration. We not only oppose adopting a dogmatic attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought, mechanically memorizing certain existing ways of handling things or engaging in the so-called "two whatevers," but also oppose adopting an attitude of completely negating Mao Zedong Thought, thinking that it has lost its practical significance of guidance or refusing to study and apply it. We should uphold the correct principle put forth at the 3d Plenary Session, understand completely and correctly the scientific nature of Mao Zedong Thought, adopt a dialectical and historical materialistic viewpoint toward Comrade Mao Zedong and his theses, and use the Marxist doctrine that everything has two different aspects to replace the subjective idealism and the metaphysical method that adopt either an absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative attitude toward everything. The cadres and fighters of our armed forces, in particular those ranking cadres, should take the lead in studying Comrade Mao Zedong's works, in particular his philosophical and military writings, study his stand, viewpoint and method of analyzing and handling problems, and study his high skill in building the armed forces, directing warfare and defeating a strong enemy. This is particularly significant for ensuring the ceaseless advancement of our armed forces under the party's absolute leadership and for winning victory in any future war against aggression.

In upholding the party's absolute leadership, it is essential to have firm confidence in the party and to establish the faith that the cause of revolution will surely be victorious. History has undisputedly attested that the CCP is the motive force leading our cause forward and that only the party can guide the Chinese people in extricating themselves from the predicament of being exploited

and enslaved and marching onto the brilliant road to socialism; that only the party can make the Chinese nation stand erect in the East and become an important force in supporting the just struggle of the peoples of various countries in the world, in opposing imperialism and hegemonism, in defeating all anti-China activities and in defending peace in the East and the world. Without the CCP's leadership, there are neither the brilliant victories already won by the Chinese people nor the bright future of socialist modernization. It is the resolute confidence of the whole party, the whole armed forces and the people of various nationalities throughout the country to uphold the strengthening and improvement of the party's leadership. It cannot be denied that our party committed mistakes in the past decade and more and is still facing many difficulties. However, our party has had the fine work style of conducting criticism and self-criticism and the ability to correct its mistakes and surmount the obstacles along the path toward advancement.

After the failure of the 1927 revolution, Chiang Kai-shek slaughtered tens of thousands of our party members and hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. The blood we shed could fill a stream. Nevertheless, the CCP members were not intimidated. They wiped away their blood stains, buried the dead bodies of their companions, held high the revolutionary banner and continued to advance forward. Because of Wang Ming's mistaken "left" adventurist leadership during the land reform revolutionary period, the Red Army lost all the White areas and 95 percent of the soviet areas. The Red Army was forced to withdraw from the Soviet areas and almost landed itself in an impasse. But after the Zunyi conference, our party gained a new life and the Red Army was able to continue to develop. Although there are still many problems at present and the tasks are arduous, our party has since the 3d Plenary Session formulated the correct line, principles and policies for solving these problems and the situation and lessons learned since the founding of the PRC and adjusted and strengthened the leadership of the party Central Committee. This fully shows that our party is good at maintaining and strengthening party unity and raising the party's fighting capability by adhering to Marxism. This is our reliable guarantee for accomplishing the great tasks of the new era. We must be firm and optimistic about the future and possess the confidence for winning victory. Any doubts and waverings about the future are unfounded.

Recalling the past and looking toward the future, we feel an upsurge of emotion and are filled with confidence. So long as we bear in mind that we are the great Chinese PLA led by the CCP and that we always should follow the instructions of the party Central Committee, this people's army will forever be invincible. This has been borne out by our army's history of hard struggle over the past decades and will be borne out by the sacred struggle of defending the security and independence of the great motherland.

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THE PARTY'S BIRTH ANNIVERSARY AND THE DATE OF THE CONVENING OF ITS FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 81 inside back cover

[Article by Shao Weizheng [6730 4850 2973]]

[Text] Commemorative activities to celebrate the founding anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party began in the late 1930's. The earliest forms of these activities were chiefly publishing commemorative articles and holding small-scale report meetings. However, there was no fixed date for such commemorative activities at that time. They usually took place in July. The reason was that the party's "first national congress" was held secretly without being recorded in writing, and in the early documents and articles, no exact date of its convening in July was mentioned. For example, in his report to the International's Executive Committee in 1922, Maring, a representative of the Communist International, wrote: "In July 1921, delegates from the groups in various parts of the country held a meeting in Shanghai and decided to found the Chinese Communist Party and to join the Communist International." In their commemorative articles written in 1936, Chen Tanqiu and Mif differed when mentioning the date of the convening of the "first national congress," the former stating that it was in July and the latter stating that it was at the end of July. Since then, the exact date of the convening of the "first national congress" became an "outstanding issue." Since it was difficult to research this historical fact under the arduous circumstances of hard struggle at that time, there was not a fixed date for the early commemorations.

It was Comrade Mao Zedong who first proposed commemorating the CCP's founding anniversary on 1 July. In May 1938, in his report "On Protracted War," he proposed: "1 July this year will be the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party." And in June, the party committee of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region sent out a circular which decided that 1 to 7 July would be a "commemoration and propaganda week in honor of the anniversary of the start of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the 17th anniversary of the founding of the CCP." Related commemorative activities were also held in other parts of the country.

In June 1941, the "instructions on commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the CCP and the 4th anniversary of start of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression" by the CCP Central Committee required all base areas

to hold commemorative activities in various forms on 1 July. At the same time, some special issues and monographs were published. This was the first instructions on commemorating "1 July" in the name of the CCP Central Committee. On 1 July that year, all major papers and journals of the party carried editorials, and JIEFANG RIBAO devoted a whole page under the heading "Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the CCP," under which commemorative articles by Comrades Zhu De, Lin Boqu and Wu Yuzhang were carried, as well as new reports on activities in Yanan and other places to commemorate "1 July." This was the commemoration on the largest scale in the 20 years since the party's founding. From then on, "1 July" was fixed as commemoration day for the founding of the party, and now the whole party and the whole country grandly commemorate this solemn date every year.

Obviously, it was because of the difficulties in verifying the opening date of the "first national congress" that the Central Committee selected the first day of that month, that is, "1 July," to be the commemoration day for the founding of the party. This is different from the actual date of the convening of the "first national congress." However, as time goes on, and since the date of the convening of the "first national congress" remained unclear for a long time, gradually, some articles and works also mixed up the commemoration day for the founding anniversary of the party and the actual date of the convening of the "first national congress." They mistakenly took "1 July" as the date of the convening of the "first national congress." This mistake lasted for a rather long period of time. Even when leading comrades concerned had made clear explanations on this question, it was not basically cleared up.

Under the guidance of the correct policy of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, as on other fronts, an inspiring situation has appeared in the research work on the history of the party. After studying and analyzing numerous original documents and materials, we know that the "first national congress" of our party was actually convened on 23 July. This achievement will help us to distinguish clearly the commemoration day for the founding of the party and the date of the convening of the "first national congress," to make the latter clear while, on the other hand, restoring the original meaning of the Central Committee in commemorating "1 July." We hold that the realistic research on the date of convening the "first national congress" does not conflict with continuing to take "1 July" as the commemoration day for the founding of the party and that they can be unified. Being a glorious festival in our country, "1 July" will continue to be solemnly commemorated by the whole party, the whole army and the whole nation.

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END



