CHOU EN-LAI

A GREAT DECADE

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A GREAT DECADE

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AS the Chinese People's Republic celebrates the tenth anniversary of its birth, people throughout the world, irrespective of their political opinions, cannot but acknowledge that truly earth-shaking changes have taken place in China. The Chinese people have changed from slaves living in a hell on earth into fearless masters of their fate. The entire nation looks back upon the great victories already won with rejoicing and looks to the future with full confidence.

Let us see what changes China has undergone in the past decade; why they have taken place and what main lessons can be drawn from them.

It is well known that ten years ago China was extremely backward economically. At that time, China stood twenty-sixth in the world's output of steel, and twenty-fifth in output of electric power. Its output of coal was relatively larger: it took ninth place. Its output of cotton yarn, product of its relatively better developed cotton textile industry, still gave it no better than fifth place. There were only 3 million industrial workers in the country, less than 0.6 per cent of the population. Though vast old China always claimed to be an agricultural country, it was obliged to import wheat, rice and cotton every year for several decades preceding liberation. Customs returns show that 6,000 million catties[1] of grain were imported in 1933 while 6,900,000 *tan*[2] of

[1] A catty is equivalent to 0.5 kilogram or 1.1023 pounds.

[2] A *tan* is equivalent to 50 kilograms or 110.23 pounds.

cotton were imported in 1946. For a long time there was an unfavourable foreign trade balance. Year after year there was a deficit in the state budget. In the twelve years from the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war in July 1937 to May 1949, the volume of currency issued by the reactionary Kuomintang government increased over 140,000 million times while commodity prices rose over 8,500,000 million times.

So deplorable was the state of affairs in China at the time that the U.S. Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, in the statement which he read to the Congressional Committees on Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations in executive session in February 1948, had to acknowledge that even the incessant outpouring of U.S. aid could not rescue China from its economic crisis. He asserted that "China does not itself possess the raw material and industrial resources" which would enable it to become a first-class power within the foreseeable future. In August 1949, Dean Acheson, who succeeded Marshall as Secretary of State, in his letter to U.S. President Truman, ridiculed the "promises" of the Chinese Communist Party to solve the problem of "feeding the population." He predicted that no government in China would succeed in tackling this problem.

But even in June 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung solemnly declared at the opening ceremony of the Preparatory Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking: "The Chinese people will see that, once its destiny is in the hands of the people, China will, like the rising sun in the east, flood the earth with its brilliant rays, swiftly wash away the dirt left behind by the reactionary government, heal the war wounds and

build up a new, strong and prosperous people's democratic republic of China which will be true to its name."

Whose prediction has come true?

According to the adjusted planned figures for 1959 (it can now already be foreseen that most of the planned targets will be overfulfilled), the total output value of industry and agriculture will be 5.3 times that of 1949; of this total the value of industrial production will be 11.7 times larger. Steel output will reach 12 million tons, 76 times the 1949 figure of 158,000 tons; coal, 335 million tons, more than 10 times the 1949 figure of 32,430,000 tons; electric power, 39,000 million kilowatt-hours, more than 9 times the 1949 figure of 4,310 million kilowatt-hours; and cotton yarn, 8.2 million bales, 4.5 times the 1949 figure of 1.8 million bales. In 1958, China jumped to seventh place in the world in steel, third place in coal, eleventh place in electric power and second place in cotton yarn production. Even though modern industry had been introduced for nearly a century, fixed industrial assets totalled less than 13,000 million yuan by 1949 in old China; in the ten years of New China the value of newly added fixed industrial assets amounts to around 45,000 million yuan. In old China, after nearly seventy years of power development, power generating capacity amounted to less than 1.9 million kilowatts by 1949; in ten years in New China the new power generating capacity added is more than three times that figure. By 1949 after nearly sixty years of development of its iron and steel industry annual steel making capacity was less than one million tons in old China; the new annual steel making capacity added in ten years of New China is more than ten times that figure.

The imperialists ridiculed our adjusted 1959 plan as a "big leap backward." As everybody knows, 1958 was a year of an exceptionally big leap forward in China's industrial and agricultural production, with the verified output value of industry 66 per cent bigger than in 1957. The adjusted 1959 target for output value of industry is still 25.6 per cent higher than in 1958, the year of the exceptionally big leap forward. This is obviously a continued great leap forward on the basis of an exceptionally big leap forward. Such a rate of leaping advance is beyond anything the imperialist countries dare dream of. Let us compare our speed of development with that of the two leading imperialist countries. In the nine years between 1950 and 1958, China's total output value of industrial production rose at an average annual rate of 28 per cent whereas the comparable rate in the U.S. was 3.7 per cent and in Britain 2.9 per cent. In 1958, the year of the exceptionally big leap forward in China's industry, industrial production fell by 6.5 per cent in the U.S. and by 0.9 per cent in Britain compared with the previous year. If our speed is described as a "big leap backward," how should their speed be called?

To belittle the great significance of our big leap forward, bourgeois commentators have advanced another paradoxical argument: China's rate of development is great only because its original level was very low. But what are the facts? Our rate of growth manifests itself not only in the average annual percentage increase, but also in absolute volume. China's steel output was 158,000 tons in 1949 and will reach 12 million tons in 1959, that is, an increase of 11,842,000 tons in ten years, roughly equivalent to the net increase in the 29 years between 1872 and 1901 in the U.S., or in the 67 years between

1869 and 1936 in Britain. Why could the U.S. and Britain not progress at that time at the same leaping rate as China is doing today? What argument can your bourgeois sophists produce to explain away the crawling rate of progress in the capitalist countries?

As a result of this rapid rate of industrial growth, especially in heavy industry, marked changes have taken place in the composition of China's national economy. In 1949, the total value of industrial output accounted for 30 per cent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output while the output value of means of production accounted for 26.6 per cent of the total value of industrial output. By 1958, the proportions reached 63.6 per cent and 57.3 per cent respectively. Now we have ourselves begun to produce about 500 types of steel and 6,000 types of rolled steel, many new types of heavy-duty machine tools, 2,500-ton hydraulic forging presses, complete sets of coal mining and coking equipment, equipment for big blast furnaces more than 1,500 cubic metres in volume, jet planes, various types of motor vehicles, tractors, sea-going vessels with a deadweight of 5,000 tons, 72,500-kilowatt hydro-electric power generating equipment and 50,000-kilowatt thermo-power generating equipment, complete sets of textile, paper-making and sugar-refining equipment and other products. There has also been a marked change in the geographical distribution of industry. Formerly over 90 per cent of the iron and steel industry was concentrated in Northeast China. With the exception of Tibet, iron and steel bases of varying sizes and numbers have been established in every province, municipality and autonomous region in the country. Power plants were concentrated previously in a few large cities and industrial bases. Now all large,

medium-sized and small cities and even some rural areas have power stations of varying sizes. Previously the textile industry was mainly concentrated in Shanghai, Tsingtao, Tientsin, and Wusih. Now many new modern textile mills have been built in most of China's provinces. Big industrial bases have been built in many areas that were formerly desolate and inaccessible like Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu and cities with very few people. All these facts show that the foundation has been laid for the industrialization of China. No force in the world can prevent our country from developing into a prosperous and powerful, big industrial country in the not too distant future.

While developing industry, we have not forgotten to develop agriculture. In these ten years, the total value of China's agricultural output will have increased two and a half fold. In 1959, the total grain output will reach 550,000 million catties, 2.5 times the 1949 figure of 216,200 million catties. This year, the total cotton output will reach 46.2 million *tan*, 5.2 times the 1949 figure of 8.89 million *tan*. Our total grain output has ranked first in the world since 1952. Last year, our total cotton output ranked second in the world. Of course in terms of per capita output the agricultural level of our country, like the industrial level, is still quite low. But the crux of the problem is rate of development. Although our country has very limited agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizer, and the United States has many times as much as our country, grain output went up 130 per cent in our country between 1949 and 1958 while in the United States it only rose 25 per cent. During the same period, our cotton output shot up 372 per cent while in the United States it dropped 28 per cent.

Capital construction has made rapid progress in the rural areas. In the initial stage after liberation there were only 240 million *mou*[1] of irrigated land in the country. With the construction of large numbers of rural water conservancy projects and reservoirs in the past ten years, the total irrigated area has been expanded to more than 1,000 million *mou*. Vast numbers of small factories have been set up in the rural areas, mainly for the purpose of serving agriculture. Forestry, livestock breeding, side-occupations and fishery, closely related to agriculture, have also shown marked growth. From 1949 to 1958, a total of 500 million *mou* of land were afforested, the number of big draught animals increased from 60 to 85 million head and of pigs from 57 to 160 million head.

Great progress has been made, too, in communications and transport in keeping with the expansion of industry and agriculture. In 1949, there were less than 22,000 kilometres of railway open to traffic in China. This figure increased to over 31,000 kilometres in 1958. Now the railway network has been extended to all provinces and autonomous regions in the country except Tibet. During the same period, the total highway mileage was extended from 80,000 to 400,000 kilometres. In 1950, China's civil aviation lines totalled only 11,000 kilometres while in 1958, it increased to 33,000 kilometres. In the nine years from 1949 to 1958, the total volume of railway freight transport in terms of ton-kilometres increased more than 10 times, lorry transport more than 27 times and steamship and tug-boat transport more than 10 times. The volume of freight carried by wooden junks, animal-drawn

[1] A *mou* is equivalent to 0.0667 hectare or 0.1647 acre.

carts and other non-mechanized vehicles also markedly increased. Many gigantic projects were built during these nine years, such as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, the Paoki-Chengtu Railway, the Yingtan-Amoy Railway, the Tienshui-Lanchow Railway, the Paotow-Lanchow Railway, the Yangtse River Bridge at Wuhan, the Chinghai-Tibet Highway, the Sikang-Tibet Highway and the Sinkiang-Tibet Highway. Projects now under construction include the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, the Szechuan-Kweichow Railway, the Neikiang-Kunming Railway, the Hunan-Kweichow Railway and several big bridges to span the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers. By 1958, as a result of building simple roads on a large scale, 97 per cent of China's county towns were accessible by lorry. Rapid development has also been made in postal and telecommunication and broadcasting work. The total number of post and telecommunication offices in the country grew from over 20,000 in 1949 to more than 60,000 in 1958. Telephone lines reach 98 per cent of the rural people's communes in the country.

The volume of retail sales in China in 1958 was 3.2 times that of 1950. Compared with 1950, the increase in sales in the main consumer goods was: grain, 62 per cent; edible vegetable oils, 97 per cent; salt, 94 per cent; sugar, 300 per cent; aquatic products, 240 per cent; cotton cloth, 120 per cent; and machine-made paper, 270 per cent. Commodity prices have been consistently steady in China since 1950 thanks to the steady increase in supplies of consumer goods, the thorough elimination of speculation, the balancing of state revenue and expenditure and the balancing of bank credits. Certain planned adjustments were made only in the relative prices between industrial and agricultural products.

China's foreign trade has also seen tremendous changes in the past ten years. The right to administer the customs was taken back out of the hands of the imperialists after the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. A change has also begun to take place in the long-existing excess of imports over exports. In 1958, the total volume of imports and exports was 3.1 times the 1950 figure. Imports increased by 190 per cent and exports by 230 per cent. In the main, imports and exports have been balanced. Contrary to pre-liberation conditions when imports mainly consisted of consumer goods, now over 90 per cent are means of production such as machinery, raw materials and other materials. This has played a tremendous role in China's economic construction. China's exports are still mainly agricultural products, but the proportion of industrial products in the total volume of exports has gradually grown from 9.3 per cent in 1950 to 27.5 per cent in 1958.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung anticipated, "With the upsurge in economic construction, there will inevitably appear an upsurge of cultural construction." From 1949 to 1958, the number of students in higher educational institutions increased from 117,000 to 660,000, a 5.7-fold increase, and in secondary specialized schools from 229,000 to 1.47 million, a 6.4-fold increase, the number of middle school students increased from 1.04 million to 8.52 million, an 8.2-fold increase, while the number of primary school pupils rose from 24.4 million to 86 million, a 3.5-fold increase. Primary education was in the main made universal in many counties and cities in 1958 and 85 per cent of all school-age children throughout China were enrolled in school. The literacy campaign and spare-time literacy classes have also developed greatly among

the factory and office workers, the peasants and urban population. The Communist Party's policy of "education serving the political interests of the proletariat and education combined with productive labour" was carried out in all grades of schools, thus deepening the socialist revolution on the educational front.

Scientific research has shown great development in the past ten years. By the end of 1958, there were more than 840 special research institutes in the natural sciences and technology and more than 32,000 research workers, approximately 20 times and 50 times more respectively than at the time of liberation.

The same period witnessed a tremendous growth in the fields of publishing, the cinema, the theatre and other arts.

The public health service has also developed rapidly in the past ten years. In 1958, there were over 5,600 hospitals and sanatoria in the country with 440,000 beds, a more than fivefold increase compared with 1949. In addition, over 900,000 simple beds were set up in small cities and the rural areas. Technical personnel in the public health service numbered 2,160,000 in 1958, 2.8 times the 780,000 in 1950.

The standards of the people's material and cultural life were greatly raised with the development of construction in all fields. This is fully demonstrated by the growing volume of retail commodity sales and the development in culture, education and public health mentioned above. In 1949, there were altogether 8 million workers and employees in enterprises, public undertakings and state organs. This number had risen to more than 45 million by the end of 1958, an increase of 5.7-fold, in which the number of industrial workers grew from 3 to 25.6 million,

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an 8.5-fold increase. Not only was the phenomenon of unemployment left over from old China completely wiped out, but the scope of employment was also markedly expanded. On an average two out of every five of the urban population are employed. The average wages of Chinese office and factory workers more than doubled between 1949 and 1958. The personal income of the peasants nearly doubled. The number of workers and employees enjoying labour insurance grew from 600,000 in 1949 to 13,780,000 in 1958. Since the peasants throughout the country joined the people's communes, the overwhelming majority of those who lack labour power are being provided with grain or meals free of charge. The old hard life in which they had to worry about where their food would come from will soon become a memory of the past.

The state has given great attention to construction in the areas inhabited by the national minorities. State investments in the national minority areas amounted to more than 7,000 million yuan between 1950 and 1958. Now new industrial bases have been established and railways and highways built in many national minority areas. The total industrial output value of the national minority areas in 1958 was ten times what it was in 1949, and grain output and the number of livestock more than doubled. The volume of sales in national minority areas by state-owned commercial enterprises and supply and marketing co-operatives increased 5.7-fold in 1958 compared with 1952, and the volume of purchases 6.2-fold. The number of national minority students rose to over nine times the pre-liberation total. There were 775 hospitals and sanatoria with over 34,000 beds; in addition there were over 14,000 clinics and health centres. The trend towards a constant decrease of population among

the minority peoples which continued for hundreds of years has been completely reversed and a new phenomenon of the growing improvement of their economic and cultural life has appeared. In the Tibet region, things were somewhat different, because democratic reforms there had long been held up in the past. But since the rebellion was put down, the people there have also energetically embarked on their advance towards a new life. It will not take very long to build a happy and progressive Tibet.

Everybody knows too that ten years ago the political situation in China was abysmally dark and reactionary. The lackeys of the imperialists — the comprador capitalists, feudal landlords, warlords, bureaucrats, local despots and evil-minded gentry — rode roughshod over the people and bled them white. The broad mass of the people were in a state of slavery and utterly without rights. People of many national minorities suffered national oppression under the Han rulers in addition to oppression by the imperialists, and the aristocrats, landlords and slave-owners of their own nationalities. The country remained split for a long time; imperialist wars of aggression, the free-for-all fighting among different groups of warlords and the counter-revolutionary civil wars launched by the reactionary rulers continued for several decades and played havoc with the people. During the Kuomintang regime, bandits, gangsters, superstitious sects and secret societies ran riot everywhere; appalling lawlessness and utter disorder prevailed.

What tremendous changes have taken place in all this in the past ten years! The corrupt, iniquitous government which trampled upon the people is gone and has been replaced by an honest, industrious and hard-work-

ing government which really serves the people, a government of the kind the people dreamed of for generation after generation. The situation in which the people had no rights has ended once and for all; the broadest mass of the people enjoy democracy in law and in fact and to the widest extent in the administration of the public affairs of the country. National oppression has been eliminated; our motherland has become a big family in which all nationalities are completely equal and give fraternal aid to one another. The country has achieved a unity of unprecedented firmness. Bandits, gangsters, superstitious sects and secret societies as well as prostitutes, beggars, gambling houses and narcotic drugs have all been swept away; there is law and order everywhere. The broad mass of the people, united as one and full of vigour, are building their own happy life eagerly, courageously and with boundless energy.

What a pitiful position China occupied ten years ago in international affairs is well known. For many years, China had been a colonial and semi-colonial country. The imperialist powers regarded our country as rich booty from which everyone snatched what he could. The European imperialists tried to carve China up; the Japanese aggressors wanted to devour it alone and did swallow nearly half of it between 1937 and 1945. The United States, after the Second World War, was bent on taking over the place of the Japanese aggressors. China, the most populous country in the world, was not only deprived of the rights which were its due in international political life, but was almost deprived of the right to manage its own affairs.

The colonial and semi-colonial old China has now gone for ever; the people's new China has emerged, independ-

ent and free. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared at the founding of the People's Republic of China: "Our nation will henceforth join the big family of peace-loving and freedom-loving nations in the world. It will work bravely and industriously to create its own civilization and happiness and will, at the same time, further world peace and freedom." The weakness of China is being transformed into its opposite — strength. At the same time, internationally, the situation in which China had no rights is changing to its opposite. Over all the territory which has been liberated, it fully exercises its sovereignty; it must also exercise its right to have its say on all major international questions which concern its interests and the interests of world peace. U.S. imperialism, while launching its aggressive war in Korea, seized our territory Taiwan and tried to spread the flames of aggression from Korea to the Chinese mainland in a futile attempt to strangle new-born China by force of arms. The Chinese people waged a mighty struggle to resist U.S. aggression, aid Korea, protect their homes and defend their motherland, and they crushed this aggressive scheme. Taiwan is still occupied by U.S. imperialism, but the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and no force whatsoever can prevent them from doing so. Up to now U.S. imperialism is still trying hard to isolate and exclude New China from international affairs. This attempt, however, is becoming more and more a failure with every passing day. Now we have established full or partial diplomatic relations with 33 countries, economic relations with 93 countries and regions, and cultural contacts and exchanges of friendly visits with 104 countries and regions. We are closely united with the great Soviet Union and the other

socialist countries. In accordance with the "five principles" and the Bandung Declaration, we have established and developed relations of friendship and co-operation with many nationally independent countries in Asia and Africa, forming a vast area of peace. As one of the big powers of the world and as a member of the great socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, we have been contributing, as is our duty, to the defence of world peace and the development of human progress.

How is all this swift, flying progress to be explained? How has it taken place?

The swift, flying progress of People's China is, in the final analysis, due to the fact that Chinese society has undergone a most thoroughgoing democratic revolution and socialist revolution and that China has established a socialist society based on public ownership of the means of production.

If the Chinese people had not overthrown imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which weighed upon them like three great mountains, they would, as a matter of course, only find themselves for ever plunged in poverty and backwardness. And if, after toppling these mountains, they had not taken the road of socialism at once, had not carried out thoroughly the socialist revolution, or had not embarked on planned socialist construction, but, after achieving national independence, had taken the road of capitalism like some other countries, they could not possibly have made such rapid progress in the past ten years, not to mention the big leap forward that has taken place since last year.

The reactionary view that an economically and culturally backward country cannot realize socialism has long been torn to pieces by Lenin and Comrade Mao Tse-

tung. As to why the development of China's socialist revolution and construction has been so rapid and so successful, it should be pointed out that there are both objective and subjective conditions to be considered. Objectively, China is a country with a vast territory and a large population; it is rich in natural resources; the mass of its people are enthusiastic for the revolution and have revolutionary traditions. The Chinese revolution took place after the Great October Socialist Revolution, so China has been able to avail itself of the experience and assistance of the Soviet Union and of the assistance of the whole socialist camp. Subjectively, there is the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the leader of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This leadership is well versed in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; in integrating the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in construction with China's own experience; in integrating, in the light of conditions in China, the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of the revolution by stages; in applying, in the light of conditions in China, the working method of the mass line, integrating leadership by the Party with the mass movement of millions of people, with the initiative and creative energy of millions of people. Here I would like to say a few more words about the method of leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, especially on the method of uninterrupted revolution and the method of the mass line.

China's development in the past ten years has been a process of uninterrupted revolution.

As early as at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in March 1949, the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the founding of the People's Republic of China would mark the victory of the democratic revolution on a nationwide scale and at the same time the beginning of the socialist revolution. The state power of people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance established in 1949 as a result of the victory of the revolution, though including some representatives of the national bourgeoisie, was in essence already a state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At that time, the central question of the nationwide democratic revolution, that of overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, had been solved and the basic contradiction within the country was already one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The revolution should not stop at the stage of democratic revolution, it must continue to develop towards the victory of the socialist revolution.

In the first few years after 1949 the Chinese people still had to exert very great efforts to accomplish the tasks left over from the stage of democratic revolution — principally the carrying through of the anti-feudal land reform on a national scale. Following the nationwide victory of the great people's revolution in 1949, however, because of the confiscation of bureaucrat-capital and the change from bureaucrat-capitalist ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, this great people's revolution, economically speaking, went beyond the scope of democratic revolution. It had become a task of prime importance for the proletariat and the other working peo-

ple to build a mighty socialist state economy and to firmly establish their leading position in the whole national economy. To counter the activities of bourgeois law-breakers in disrupting the socialist economy, the Party in 1952 led the mass struggle "against the three evils" (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) among government functionaries, and "against the five evils" (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing the state's economic information) among bourgeois industrialists and businessmen. This dealt a crushing blow to the offensive launched by the bourgeoisie and, on the basis of this victory, pushed capitalist industry and commerce a great step forward towards state capitalism which submitted itself to the leadership of the socialist economy and accepted supervision by the working class. After the land reform, the Central Committee of the Party issued timely directives on developing the movement of mutual aid and co-operation, vigorously encouraged and stimulated the peasants who used to work on their own to advance in the direction of co-operation and carried on a sharp, persistent struggle against thinking tending in the rightist direction on this question. The Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung firmly refuted such bourgeois points of view of certain people both inside and outside the Party as those calling for the "consolidation of the new democratic order," "long-term co-existence between socialism and capitalism" and the "guaranteeing of the four great freedoms in the rural areas — freedom of sale and purchase, letting and renting of land, freedom of employing farmhands, freedom of borrowing and lending money and freedom of trading" and in good time set forth the Party's general line for the transition period of

simultaneously carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction. This general line immediately won the support of the people of the whole country and was written into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Thanks to the adoption by the Party of a series of measures for socialist transformation without loss of time, the revolutionary movement advanced steadily without interruption and culminated in the emergence of a nationwide upsurge in agricultural co-operation in the autumn and winter of 1955. This upsurge in turn set off the upsurge in the nationwide switch-over of capitalist industry and commerce to joint state-private operation by whole trades and stimulated the upsurge in the organization of handicraft co-operatives by individual handicraftsmen. In this way, the socialist revolution in the field of the ownership of means of production was completed in the main.

But the task of socialist revolution did not end here. Not long after, the Party set a new task: it is necessary to continue the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts and carry it through. It is necessary to make the various aspects of the superstructure further fit in with the socialist economic base and, at the same time, the relations between men and men in production should be further adjusted on the basis of the already established socialist ownership of the means of production so that the socialist relations of production would be further perfected and expanded. This was the task of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign in 1957-1958. As a result of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign, the bourgeois rightists, who opposed socialism, were completely isolated from the people and the socialist consciousness of the mass of

the people was greatly raised. The contradictions among the people were further dealt with correctly, and the relations between functionaries in state organs and enterprises and the mass of workers and peasants, the mutual relations among the mass of workers and peasants, and the mutual relations among the various nationalities, were all further improved. Thanks to the victory of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people throughout the country for building socialism soared to unparalleled heights.

The revolutionary movements that had developed uninterruptedly since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic yielded an unparalleled great result in 1958 and 1959, the first two years of the Second Five-Year Plan period, and this was the big leap forward in the national economy.

The rate of growth of China's industrial production was already very high in the First Five-Year Plan period. Nevertheless, the rate in 1958 and 1959 has far surpassed the level of the preceding five years. There was an average annual increase of 18 per cent in the total value of industrial output during the First Five-Year Plan period. But in 1958 and 1959 (here and elsewhere, the 1959 figure is the planned target), the average annual increase is 45 per cent. The average annual increase in steel was 31.7 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 50 per cent in these two years, the average annual increase in coal was 14.4 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 60 per cent in these two years. The total value of agricultural output rose at an annual average rate of 4.5 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 17 per cent in 1958 and 1959. The average annual in-

crease of food crops was 3.7 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 22 per cent in these two years, and that of cotton was 4.7 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period and 19 per cent in these two years. Nearly 10,000 industrial projects were completed in the First Five-Year Plan period, but more than 41,000 were completed in 1958 alone. Of these, 537 above-norm industrial projects were completed or partially completed and put into operation in the First Five-Year Plan period; but in 1958 alone, the number was 700.

Why has China's economy been able to grow at an even higher rate in 1958 and 1959 than in the First Five-Year Plan period? It is not only because a preliminary foundation was laid for industrialization during the First Five-Year Plan period and thus favourable material conditions were created for rapid economic growth in the Second Five-Year Plan period; even more important, it is because in most of the First Five-Year Plan period the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce had not yet been completed, the relations of truly comradely co-operation between men and men in production had not yet been fully established and bourgeois influences still existed to a serious extent on the political and ideological fronts — all of which hampered the initiative of the working people in production. In the latter half of the First Five-Year Plan period, that is, from the second half of 1955 to 1957, the socialist revolution gained one great victory close following the other on the economic, political and ideological fronts, the productive forces of society and the initiative of the working people in production were emancipated to an unprecedented extent and our Party, in the light of this favourable situation, put forward and carried out in good

time the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism." It is precisely because of all this that the Chinese people were able to open up a new stage at the very beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, the stage of the big leap forward, and to get the national economy to advance at a much higher rate than during the First Five-Year Plan period.

After the socialist relations of production and the superstructure which conforms to them, that is, to the economic base, have been established, they are still in the process of being continuously developed and perfected, therefore they cannot be immutable. The various aspects of the relations of production require adjustment from time to time to meet the requirements of the continued development of the productive forces, and along with this, the various aspects of the superstructure built on this economic base also need to be reformed from time to time. Between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure, contradictions constantly arise, are resolved, and arise again. This is a dialectical process which is like an ever-flowing stream which is constantly being renewed. It is possible to ensure a constant growth of the productive forces, precisely because the socialist relations of production and their superstructure can be constantly adjusted and reformed as the need arises. The development of the people's commune movement throughout the rural areas which began during the big leap forward of China's agricultural production in 1958 is fresh proof of this truth. In face of the requirements posed by the immense development of agricultural production and of the entire rural economy, it was felt that the

original advanced agricultural co-operatives could not cope with the situation. Between the summer and autumn of 1958 the more than 740,000 agricultural co-operatives throughout the country, each averaging about 160 households, were merged and reorganized into more than 26,000 communes, averaging about 4,600 households each; later, after the check-up, they were further reorganized into more than 24,000 communes averaging more than 5,000 households each, in other words, more than 30 times as large as the original agricultural co-operatives. Big in scale and strong, the people's communes are not only able to develop production and construction rapidly in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery, but also to achieve unified leadership over the work of industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs in the rural areas, realizing the integration of economic organizations and basic organs of state power. Rural people's communes are still economic organizations with collective ownership of the means of production. While the principal means of production still belong to the production brigades, which correspond roughly to the former agricultural producers' co-operatives, the commune level already owns part of the means of production and may draw every year certain sums from the various production brigades for its accumulation fund. A certain amount of free supplies is included as part of the system of distribution in the income of commune members. In 1958, the year when the people's communes were successfully established, the total output value of China's agriculture increased 25 per cent as compared with 1957. Of this, the output value of forestry increased 193.2 per cent, fishery 128 per cent and animal husbandry 5.2 per cent. The increase in rural water conservancy works and the

area of afforestation far surpassed the total increase in the entire First Five-Year Plan period. Industry and transportation operated by the people's communes have also made very great progress. According to recent statistics compiled after the check-up, the people's communes throughout the country operate about 700,000 industrial units, with a total output value three times as much as during the corresponding period of the previous year. In 1958, the funds accumulated by the rural people's communes amounted to 10,000 million yuan, more than twice as much as during 1957. In 1958, the income and the standard of living of the peasants throughout the country were about 10 per cent higher on the average than in 1957. All these facts show that the great advantages of the people's communes are indisputable and all the "arguments" of those people who are opposed to this movement are untenable.

What a tremendous change is this transformation of the more than 110 million individual peasant households into over 24,000 communes! What a glorious victory for the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution!

The process of socialist revolution in China has been one of uninterrupted revolution; at the same time, it is a step-by-step advance which accords with each particular stage of development. The Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out: "We are advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution; we hold that no 'Great Wall' exists or can be allowed to exist between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and between socialism and communism. We are at the same time advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of revolution by stages; we

hold that different stages of development reflect qualitative changes and that these stages of different quality should not be confused." In practice, we not only make a careful distinction between the tasks of the democratic revolution and of the socialist revolution, between the principles of socialism and of communism, and oppose attempts to skip over necessary stages of social, historical development, but at each given stage of social, historical development, we also make a careful distinction, according to the specific conditions, between the various sub-stages that more or less have the nature of quantitative changes (the change from one sub-stage to another is also, of course, one of a lesser qualitative nature); and we adopt appropriate steps in conformity with the needs of the step-by-step transformation of the relations of production and the step-by-step maturing of the consciousness of the masses. The broad mass of peasants have been able to advance, consciously and voluntarily, from an individual economy to people's communes because in the course of their advance they have gone through successive stages: the stage of mutual-aid teams, of regular year-round mutual-aid teams, of elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives and of advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. Capitalist industrialists and businessmen were able, without much reluctance, to accept joint state-private operation by whole trades because they, too, had gone through a series of stages including the fulfilment of government contracts for the manufacture and processing of goods by capitalist firms, the state purchase of the output of capitalist enterprises, and the state distribution of all their finished products in the field of industry; the state designation of merchants acting on a commission basis as distributors on its behalf and mer-

chants purchasing commodities from state stocks and retailing them at fixed prices in the field of commerce; and the joint state-private operation of individual enterprises. Similarly, the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts has also gone through a series of mass movements which, in keeping with the concrete conditions of class struggle, advanced like waves, high at one time and low at another, and went deeper step by step. This correct leadership by the Party has enabled the masses both to maintain their revolutionary enthusiasm at a constant, full flow, without it cooling down because of pauses in the development of the revolution, and to raise the level of their consciousness constantly, step by step, so that they should not be unprepared for the further development of the revolution. It is because of this that every call of the Party throughout the entire course of the socialist revolution has been warmly supported by the mass of the people. It is also because of this that although the socialist revolution has developed very rapidly, industrial and agricultural production has been on the rise constantly and there has been practically no destruction.

The success won by the Party in the application of the theories of uninterrupted revolution and the development of the revolution by stages is inseparably connected with the fact that the Party has persisted in the Marxist-Leninist working method of the mass line throughout the course of the socialist revolution. The Party has always paid attention to combining its leadership with broad mass movements, guiding the masses to raise the level of their revolutionary consciousness constantly and to organize their own strength to emancipate themselves step by step, instead of imposing revolution

on the masses or bestowing victory on the masses as a favour. We have talked about this on more than one occasion because it was by firmly adhering to this working method that the Party won the victory of the democratic revolution. What is new in this matter is that after the all-round victory of the socialist revolution, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tsetung have continued to apply this working method systematically in building socialism, thus formulating the Party's general line for building socialism and bringing about the big leap forward in the national economy. It can be said for sure that if the working method of the mass line which combines the Party's leadership with the mass movement had been departed from, there would have been no general line of the Party for building socialism and consequently no such big leap forward in the national economy as has taken place since last year.

At the heart of the Party's general line for building socialism is the great importance attached to the political consciousness, initiative and creativeness of the masses in building socialism. The general line calls for going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism. This is a call to the 650 million people to raise the level of their political consciousness, initiative and creativeness, to give full play to their enthusiasm, wisdom and strength in building socialism. It is necessary to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Is it possible to accomplish this complicated and difficult task? The imperialists and bourgeois elements said that it was impossible. They asserted that "greater and faster" could not go together with "better and more economical," as this would amount to "keeping a horse

running while giving it no feed." The right opportunists within our ranks, echoing them, also said that it was impossible. But we firmly replied that it was possible, because we place our reliance first and foremost on the creators of history — the mass of the people. This is a force which the imperialists and bourgeois elements as well as the right opportunists cannot understand at all or can only understand imperfectly. Our country has vast manpower; and man as labourer, inventor and user of the tools of production is the decisive factor in the social productive forces and the most precious "asset." Of course, without the socialist revolution, as it has been mentioned above, it would have been impossible to bring into play the initiative of our 650 million people, an extremely great creative force. But even after the socialist revolution was realized, if no attention were paid to using appropriate methods to mobilize this initiative, it would still be impossible to bring this initiative into full play and consequently still impossible to achieve the objective of getting greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism. In accordance with the objective laws of economic and political life, the Party's general line has correctly handled the relations between industry and agriculture, between heavy and light industry, between industry run by the central and local authorities, and between large, medium-sized and small enterprises. It has provided for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and simultaneous development of heavy and light industry while giving priority to heavy industry; simultaneous development of industry run by the central and local authorities, of large industrial enterprises and medium-sized and small industrial enterprises, of modern and indigenous methods of

production under centralized leadership, overall planning, division of work and co-ordination. The aim of carrying out this policy of "walking on two legs" is not only to maintain the necessary balance between the different economic branches but first of all to fully mobilize all positive forces, to give the greatest scope for the broadest construction forces of the masses to deploy themselves and use their strength to the fullest extent in building socialism, thereby ensuring greater, faster, better and more economical results. Although the labour productivity of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises using indigenous or combining indigenous and modern methods of production is not as high as in large enterprises run on modern lines, yet it is clearly very much higher than the simple manual labour of the past. Under present conditions in China, it will not be a waste of manpower but precisely a rational use of manpower to pay attention to the development of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises run with indigenous or a combination of indigenous and modern methods of production alongside large industrial enterprises run on modern lines; far from reducing the speed of industrialization it will greatly accelerate it. At the same time, the working method of combining centralized leadership with full-scale mass movements is practised in all economic branches and enterprises. Thus, the central task of socialist construction, that of industrialization, becomes a task which is directly and actively undertaken by the broadest mass of the people; in a certain sense it can be regarded as a matter of the whole nation running industry.

One of the fundamental reasons why some people in our Party have fallen into the bog of right opportunism is that they do not recognize the active role of the mass

of the people in construction. They oppose the Party's general line, and in particular, the policy of "walking on two legs" which calls for the simultaneous development of central and local industry, big, medium-sized and small enterprises and modern and indigenous methods; they oppose the building of socialism by way of mass movements which, they say, is no more than "petty-bourgeois fanaticism," which would "only bring greater, faster, but not better and more economical results," and would cause "more loss than gain." The right opportunists seized on individual, temporary defects in the work and, without making any analysis, exaggerated them freely in order to achieve their goal of negating the big leap forward and opposing the general line. The facts have best refuted all their assertions which imply mistrust in the masses, fear of the masses and slander of the masses.

Is it true that adoption of the method of mass movements in building socialism is "petty-bourgeois fanaticism," that it would "only bring greater and faster but not better and more economical results," or that it would cause "more loss than gain"? It is well known that during the big leap forward, many important engineering projects were completed and put into operation ahead of schedule as a result of the all-out efforts of the working people. For instance, it took only fourteen months, instead of the originally scheduled two years, for the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company to put into operation a giant modern blast furnace with a daily capacity of more than 2,000 tons of iron. In something over four months the Anshan Iron and Steel Company put into operation a giant modern open-hearth furnace with a daily capacity of more than one thousand tons of steel; this was originally scheduled to take more than ten months to build.

The Kwanting Reservoir, which involved 1.45 million cubic metres of earthwork and masonry and has a storage capacity of 2,270 million cubic metres, was some time ago completed in two and a half years. In building the new Miyun Reservoir, which will involve 20.56 million cubic metres of earthwork and masonry and have a storage capacity of 4,100 million cubic metres, it took only one year to finish 14.67 million cubic metres of earthwork and masonry and so enable the reservoir to begin to detain the flood waters. It took only a little more than ten months to build such a huge building as the Great Hall of the People in Peking. It is not only by far the most magnificent and finest building of its kind in China but ranks among the best in the world. The cost of all such construction is much lower than that of similar construction in the First Five-Year Plan period. Take construction in the iron and steel and coal industries for example. The cost of building large blast furnaces formerly averaged 25,000 yuan per cubic metre of furnace volume. Now it averages only 14,000 to 18,000 yuan, a drop of 28 to 44 per cent. The cost of constructing big coal mines formerly averaged 33 yuan per ton of production capacity. Now it averages only 22 yuan, a drop of 33 per cent. Can anybody in face of these facts say that such construction is only "greater and faster" but not "better and more economical"? Production, too, has been both "greater and faster" and "better and more economical." Not only did the output of industrial products greatly increase in 1958, but large numbers of new products, almost equivalent to the sum total in the whole of the First Five-Year Plan period, were successfully trial-produced thanks to the full mobilization of the masses to overcome difficulties in every possible way. And

quite a number of them were high-grade, precision, large, complicated or pioneering products that reached or approached international standards. Similarly, by bringing into full play the collective wisdom of the masses, the utilization coefficient of various kinds of production equipment in China has continued to rise in the past two years; the utilization coefficients of blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and locomotives, among other equipment, have reached the world's record levels. During the entire First Five-Year Plan period, the industrial ministries reduced costs by 29 per cent, but in 1958 alone, they cut them by another 12.5 per cent. We would like to ask the right opportunists who think that greater and faster results will not mean better and more economical results and that the launching of mass movements in industry will lead to a mess or cause more loss than gain: what is your explanation for all this?

The right opportunists tried to attack the Party's general line by taking advantage of the fact that at first the products of small enterprises using indigenous methods of production, especially that of small blast furnaces, were of relatively low quality and produced at a relatively high cost. But here again they still cannot see the wood for the trees. They failed to see what a tremendous role small-scale production using indigenous methods plays in the big leap forward in building socialism. In 1959, China will turn out 20 million tons of pig iron, about half of which will be produced by small blast furnaces. The big and medium-sized blast furnaces, which took us many years to build, total about 24,000 cubic metres in volume; but the small blast furnaces which have been built in the past two years and are in normal operation total more than 43,000 cubic metres in volume.

The production techniques of the small blast furnaces, just like those of the big blast furnaces, need time to develop. There is no reason at all to make a fuss about this. Following the efforts made in the first half of this year, the utilization coefficient and the quality of the products of the small blast furnaces have been greatly improved and production costs have been substantially reduced. The best small blast furnaces have already approached the standards of the big ones in these respects. The small blast furnaces still have very great potentialities which remain to be tapped. It is estimated that during the Second Five-Year Plan period, the small blast furnaces can produce a total of approximately 55 to 60 million tons of iron. The output of small and medium-sized coal pits will account for some 40 per cent of the total coal output this year. Therefore, it can be said that neither the big leap forward nor the general line would have been possible, if, in the work of industrialization, we had not adopted the policy of "walking on two legs" and this method of the mass line.

The recent Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party criticized rightist conservative thinking and called on the people throughout the country to fight against rightist tendencies, and to go all out and launch a vigorous campaign to increase production and practise economy. This timely decision brought about a new upsurge in production among the working people throughout the country. According to data compiled by the State Statistical Bureau the total value of the country's industrial output in August was 14 per cent higher than in July, and in September it showed another sharp increase of about 27 per cent over August. Steel output in August was 13.5

per cent higher than it was in July and the September output showed another increase of 20 per cent over August. Coal output in August was 11.5 per cent higher than it was in July while the September output showed another increase of 18 per cent over that of August. In the first nine months of the year, the aggregate value of industrial output showed an increase of 45.5 per cent over the corresponding period of last year, with steel output up 67 per cent; coal, 72 per cent; the volume of freight transport, 69 per cent; the volume of state purchases of commodities, 42 per cent and retail sales, 16 per cent. State stocks of commodities by the end of September were 22 per cent larger than at the same time last year and the market supply situation was good. Although our country's agricultural production was affected by severe natural calamities this year, by relying on our great achievements in water conservancy construction and especially on the newly established people's communes which led tens of millions of peasants in waging intensive struggles against the natural calamities, these were overcome in many areas. It is expected that on the basis of last year's exceptionally good harvest, a harvest still richer than that of last year will be reaped this year.

All these facts show in full measure that: firstly, the demand for greater, faster, better and more economical results is entirely realistic and is beginning to be fulfilled and, as more experience is acquired in the future, it will be fulfilled more fully and effectively. Secondly, to fulfil this demand, it is necessary to carry through the whole set of policies of "walking on two legs," and so enable the broad mass of our heroic people to put forth all their strength. Thirdly, to fulfil this demand it is

necessary to develop a well-guided, large-scale mass movement in every enterprise, in order that the political consciousness, initiative and creativeness of the broad masses may be brought into play, that they may be led to make an all-out effort and set high aims for themselves in their work. In fact, the application of the policy of "walking on two legs" on a nationwide scale and the launching of a mass campaign within each enterprise are two aspects of the mass line method of work as applied to the building of socialism.

From this it can be seen that adoption of the mass line of work both in the socialist revolution and in the socialist construction has enabled China's socialist cause to advance very swiftly and smoothly; it has ensured our country's growth by leaps and bounds in the past ten years, and especially in the last year and this.

Thanks to the big leap forward in these two years, the major targets originally set for 1962 in the Second Five-Year Plan will be overfulfilled this year. We shall thus be able in the next three years to make bigger progress in industry and agriculture and devote more efforts to strengthening certain weak links. It can be anticipated that the Second Five-Year Plan period will be five years of a big leap forward. Since such tremendous changes have taken place in China's national economy in the past decade, the changes in the next decade will certainly be even more spectacular. By that time, China will have exceeded Britain in the output of most of the major industrial products.

Of course, our leap forward is just beginning. So far as the needs of the country and the people are concerned, what we have accomplished is far from enough and our experience is far from adequate. We must continue to

work and study hard, to earnestly sum up and accumulate experience in the course of our work and learn from the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. But at any rate, we have laid the foundation for a rapid advance and found the road to a continued leap forward. No matter how the imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries slander us or the internal bourgeois rightists and certain right opportunists within our Party oppose us, they can never undermine the foundation laid by the people of our country or turn them from the road they have chosen. The people's communes are described by the people as "something no thunderbolt can shatter." This is the verdict of the masses not only about our people's commune movement but also about our general line, the big leap forward, the entire cause of socialism and the unity of our Party and the 650 million people of our country.

The international situation is just as favourable to our leap forward as are internal conditions. Firstly, thanks to the might and unity of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union and the growth of the struggle against aggression and war by the peoples throughout the world, the forces of peace and progress are ever more clearly gaining the upper hand over the forces of war and reaction. This fact found clear, new expression in the success of Comrade Khrushchov's visit to the United States. Secondly, the socialist cause of the Chinese people has won the sympathy and support of the people all over the world, and first and foremost of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for independence and democracy.

In celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people would like in particular to thank the Soviet Union which helped our country build 166 construction projects in the First Five-Year Plan period, signed with China last year and this year new agreements to help us build another 125 projects and has sent more than 10,800 experts in the economic, cultural and educational fields to work in China in the past ten years. At the same time, our thanks go to the other socialist countries which helped China build 68 construction projects during the First Five-Year Plan period, later signed new agreements with China to help build another 40-odd projects and have sent more than 1,500 experts to work in China. Our achievements are inseparably linked with the enormous aid given by the peoples of the fraternal countries. The Chinese people will never forget their love and friendship. We must for ever adhere to the Marxist-Leninist principle of combining patriotism with internationalism and continuously consolidate and develop our brotherly co-operation with them.

In order to outstrip Britain in the output of major industrial products in the second decade, we must make efforts to strengthen certain weak links in our present industrial system and continue to work energetically to improve agriculture so as to provide ample sources of raw materials for light industry, while ensuring a continued increase in the output of food crops. It is quite obvious that after this target is achieved, it will still not be possible to regard our economic level as high. We shall still have to continue to strive for higher targets at a speed which the Western bourgeoisie dare not even dream of. The Chinese people are firmly resolved to

build their country within not too long a period into a great socialist state with highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture and finally realize the lofty ideal of communism. There will undoubtedly be difficulties, and not a few of them, but we shall never be daunted by them. Looking back over the achievements and summing up the experience of the past ten years, we are firmly convinced that provided we persistently carry out the Party's general line and firmly rely on the two great forces of the great unity of the people of the whole country and the great unity of the peoples throughout the world, we will certainly be able to overcome still more successfully all obstacles in our way ahead and achieve still more brilliant victories in the coming ten years.

Let all the people of our country continue to do their utmost and go ahead courageously with the building of our great motherland under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great leader of the people Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism!

周恩来

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