

June 27, 1981
Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China

Citation:

"Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," June 27, 1981, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Translation from the Beijing Review 24, no. 27 (July 6, 1981): 10-39.

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121344>

Summary:

The Chinese Communist Party assesses the legacy and shortcomings of Mao Zedong, criticizes the Cultural Revolution, and calls for Party unity going forward.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from the MacArthur Foundation.

Original Language:

Chinese

Contents:

- English Translation
- Chinese Transcription

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 June 27, 1981)

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 sixty years of glorious struggle since its founding in 1921. In order to sum up its experience in the thirty-two years since the founding of the People's Republic, we must briefly review the previous twenty-eight 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 sixty 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 (1924-27) conducted with the co-operation of the Kuomintang, the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927-37), the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the nationwide War of Liberation (1946-49). 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 co-ordinated 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 co-operation 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 December 9, 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 Xi'an Incident organized by Generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng on December 12, 1936 and its peaceful settlement which our Party promoted played a crucial historical role in bringing about renewed co-operation 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 eight long years and win final victory, in co-operation 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 Enlarged 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 whole-hearted 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 co-operation 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, after the Liaoxi-Shenyang, Beiping-Tianjin and Huai-Hai campaigns and the successful crossing of the Changjiang (Yangtse) River, in wiping out a total of 8,000,000 Chiang Kai-shek troops. 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 twenty-eight 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 principles 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 whole-heartedly, 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 principle 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 multinational Chinese people 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 imperialist 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 twenty-two years from 1927 to 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong and other Party leaders managed to overcome innumerable difficulties and gradually worked out an overall 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 twenty-eight years of historical development preceding the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Basic Appraisal of the History of the Thirty-Two 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 thirty-two 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 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 fifty 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 co-operation 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, Xianggang (Hong Kong) and Aomen (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 defence 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 410,000 million yuan; the output of cotton yarn was 4.5 times greater, reaching 2,930,000 tonnes; that of coal 9.4 times, reaching 620 million tonnes; that of electricity 41 times, exceeding 300,900 million KWH; and the output of crude oil exceeded 105,000,000 tonnes and that of steel 37 million tonnes; the output value of the engineering industry was 54 times greater, exceeding 127,000 million yuan. A number of new industrial bases have been built in our east hinterland and the regions inhabited by our minority nationalities. National defence 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 Changjiang (Yangtze), Huanghe (Yellow River), Huaihe, Haihe, Zhujiang (Pearl River), Liaohe and Songhuajiang 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 a nearly 13-fold increase; 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, enrolment in the various kinds of full-time schools totalled 204 million, 3.7 times the number in 1952. In the past thirty-two 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 P.L.A. 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 defence of world peace. All of which has served to create favourable international conditions for our socialist construction and contributes to the development of a world situation favourable 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 meagre 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 thirty-two years are the main thing. It would be a no less serious error to overlook or deny our achievements or 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 laved 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 three 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 counter-revolutionaries, 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, lopsided 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 co-operation 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 co-operative 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 purchase 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 enterprises 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 co-operation, proceeding from temporary or all-the-year-round mutual-aid teams, to elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives of a semi-socialist nature and then to advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives 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 co-operative 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 co-operation 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, stereotyped 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, complex 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 (1953-57), 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 per cent 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 perceptibly. 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 Party's correct policies, fine style of work and the consequent high prestige it enjoyed among the people, 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 counter-revolution, 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.

Ten 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 ten 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 greater than 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 seven years. Educational work was improved markedly through consolidation. Scientific research and technological work, too, produced notable results.

In the ten 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 equalitarianism 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 labour as well as for education [1] in socialist society. 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 and 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 improved 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.

Nineteen fifty-seven was one of the years that saw the best results in economic work since 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 counter-attack. But the scope of this struggle was made far too broad and a number of intellectuals, patriotic people and Party cadres were unjustifiably labelled "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 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 excessive 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 later part of the meeting, he erred in initiating criticism of Comrade Peng Dehuai and then in launching a Party-wide 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 the rectification of "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, which exists only within certain limits in 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 grass-roots 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 defence and science and technology. This call was not fulfilled owing to the "cultural revolution".

18. All the successes in these ten 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 for all those errors on him alone. 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 counter-revolutionary 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 clearly 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 counter-revolutionary 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 counter-revolutionary 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 this revolution 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 seventeen 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 labelling Comrade Liu Shaoqi a "renegade, hidden traitor and stab" was nothing but a frame-up by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers. The political conclusion concerning Comrade Liu Shaoqi drawn by the Twelfth 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 paralysed, 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 consequently 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 though 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 overthrows 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 labouring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counter-revolutionary 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 Liu 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 labelled 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 1970-71 the counter-revolutionary Lin Biao clique plotted to capture supreme power and attempted an armed counterrevolutionary coup d'état. Such 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 counter-revolutionary 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 harboured 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 the 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 counter-revolutionary 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 Tian An Men 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 counter-revolutionary Jiang Qing clique. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong wrongly assessed the nature of the Tian An Men 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 Party 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 counter-revolutionary 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 counter-revolutionary 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 the 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 for ever 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 counter-revolutionary 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 cause. 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 labour and is applicable to 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 broadening the scope of class struggle as an act in defence 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 differences 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".

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. 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 thoroughgoing 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. 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.

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 two years from October 1976 to December 1978 when the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh 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 wrongs 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" errors 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 counter-revolutionary 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 "Tian An Men Incident" of 1976). He accepted and fostered the personality cult around himself while continuing the personality cult of the past. The Eleventh 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 prevailing historical conditions 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 was impossible to correct "Left" errors within the Party, and all the more impossible to restore the Party's fine traditions.'

26. The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh 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-whatevers" 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 signified that the Party re-established the correct line of Marxism ideologically, politically and organizationally. Since then, it has gained the initiative in setting things right and has been 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 spheres.

1) In response to the call of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh 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 practised at each other's expense and pointed out the basic fact that, although the exploiters had been eliminated as classes, class struggle continues 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 Fourth Plenary Session of the Eleventh 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 itself 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 counter-revolutionary 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 two 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 co-operation 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 co-operation, 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 two 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 re-examined and their verdicts reversed. Cases in which people had been wrongly labelled 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 labourers, 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 re-defined. 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 practised. Collective leadership and democratic centralism are being perfected in 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 offences. The ten principal members of the counter-revolutionary 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 Fifth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, held in February 1980, elected additional members to the Standing Committee of its Political Bureau and re-established 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 labour 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 efforts 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 Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh 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. The 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, and they 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 an 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 enabled 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 to 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 up defence, 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 labour 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 problem 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 whole-heartedly, 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 formulating by way of summation a set of policies and methods concerning political 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 wars 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 wars. 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 include 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 ten 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 defence and build modern revolutionary armed forces (including the navy, the air force and technical branches) and develop modern defence technology (including the making of nuclear weapons for self-defence).

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 him seriously tactically; that we should keep our eyes on the main target of 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 labour, 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 important 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 whole-heartedly, 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 Yan'an 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 practising 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, viewpoint and method 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, Pre face 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 Yan’an, 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 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, when it 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 on 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 method of "from the masses, to the masses" and by combining the leadership with the masses and 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, keener 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 to 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 thus 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, it is all the more imperative for us to 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, no matter what difficulty we encountered, we never wavered, whether before or after the founding of New China, in our determination to remain independent and self-reliant and, 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 co-existence 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 scientific approaches set forth in these works are of universal significance and provide us with invaluable 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 immutable 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 fifty years or so, apply and carry forward this experience in our new work and 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 defence 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 thirty-two 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 thirty-two 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 exempt from mistakes, but there is no doubt that it can correct them by relying on the close unity between the Party and the people, 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 Third Plenary Session of its Eleventh 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 centring on economic construction and that the people's material and cultural life be gradually improved by means of an immense expansion of the 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 our 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 favourable domestic and international conditions as the achievements we have already stored 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 favourable 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 resolution. 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 grass roots 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 activities, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies. The kind of chaotic situation that 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 gross fallacies as the denigration of education, science and culture and discrimination against intellectuals, fallacies 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 labour; 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 every the modernization of our national defence. The building up of national defence 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.

7) The improvement and promotion of socialist relations among our various nationalities and the strengthening of national unity are of profound significance to our multinational country. In the past, particularly during the "cultural revolution", we made a grave mistake on the question of nationalities, the mistake of widening the scope of class struggle, and we 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 adhere to 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 words 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 defence. The building up of national defence 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 co-operation 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 with other social organizations, Party 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 many generations of unswerving and disciplined hard work and heroic sacrifice. 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 thirty-two years since 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 since 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. In the last analysis, 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 Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth 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 Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh 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 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 unquestionably can be attained!

于建以党的若干史的

(一九八一年六月二十七日中共第十一中央委第六次全体一致通)

建以前二十八年史的回

(1) 中共党自一九二一年成立以，已走六十年的光斗程。了党在建以三十二年的，有必要略地回一下建以前二十八年党人民行的新民主主革命斗。

(2) 中共党是克思列宁主同中工人相合的物，是在俄十月革命和我“五四”的影下，在列宁的共助下生的。大的革命先行者中山先生一九一一年辛亥革命，推翻了清王朝，束了千多年的封建帝制。但是，中社的半殖民地、半封建性并有改。无是国民党，是其他和小政治派，都有也不可能找到家和民族的出路。只有中共党才人民指出了中的出路在于底推翻帝主、封建主的反治，并而入社主。中共党成立只有五十多党。党了烈烈的工人和大人民群的反帝反封建斗，很快展成中人民前所未有的力量。

(3) 中共党在中各族人民新民主主而斗的程中，了共合作的北伐，土地革命，抗日和全解放四段，其受了一九二七年和一九三四年次重失的痛苦考。期武斗和各方面、各种形式斗的密切配合，于一九四九年取得了革命的胜利。

一九二七年，介石和汪精控制的国民党，不以宋杰出代表的国民党左派的反，背叛了中山所定的共合作政策和反帝反封建政策，勾帝主，酷屠共党人和革命人民。党比幼稚，又在秀右投降主的下，致使革命在强大人的突然下遭到重失，已展到六万多党的党只剩下了一万多党。

党仍然强地斗。周恩等同志的南昌起打了武反抗国民党反派的第一。党的“八七”确定了行土地革命和武起的方，后行了秋收起、州起和其他多地的起。毛同志的湖南江西界地的秋收起，建了工革命第一，在井冈山建立了第一村革命根据地。朱德同志的起部不久就到井冈山。着斗的展，党建了江西中央革命根据地和湘鄂西、海丰、鄂豫皖、琼崖、浙、湘鄂、湘、左右江、川、甘、湘鄂川黔等根据地，建立了工第一、第二、第四方面和其他多部。在国民党治下的白，也在苦的件下，展了党和其他革命，展了群革命斗。在土地革命中，毛、朱德同志直接的第一方面和中央革命根据地起了最重要的作用。各方面曾国民党的多“剿”。由于王明左冒主造成的第五次反“剿”的失，第一方面不得不行二万五千里征而到北，同在那里持斗的北和先期到的二十五相合。第二、第四方面也先后征到北。主力撤离后的一些南方根据地，持了苦的游。王明左造成的失使革命根据地和白的革命力量都受到极大失，三十万人到三万人左右，共党三十万人到四万人左右。

一九三五年一月党中央政治局在征途中行的遵，确立了毛同志在和党中央的地位，使和党中央得以在极其危急的情下保存下，并且在以后能胜的分裂主，胜利地完成征，打中革命的新局面。在党的史上是一生死攸的折点。

在日本帝主加我的侵略、民族危机空前重的，以毛同志首的党中央定和行了正确的抗日民族一政策。党了“一二·九”生，掀起了要求停止、抗日救亡的强大群斗。良、虎城的西安事以及我党促成的次事的和平解，推共再次合作、抗日，起了重大的史作用。抗期，国民党治集反共反人民，消极抗，因而在抗日的正面上退。我党持一中立自主的政策，密地依靠大人民群，展后游，建立了多抗日根据地。由改的八路、新四迅速地展成抗的中力量。北抗日在十分困的情下持斗。在占和国民党治，泛展了各种形式的抗日斗。，中人民的抗日才能持八年之久，并同和其他家人民的反法西斯互相支援，直到取得最后胜利。

抗日期，我党一九四二年始在全党行整，克思主的思想教育收到了巨大的成效。在此基上，一九四五年党的六七中全作出了《于若干史的》，接着行了党的第七次全代表大，了史的，建立新民主主的新中，制定了正确的路、方和政策，使全党在思想上、政治上、上到空前的一和。抗日束后，介石政府依美帝主的援助，拒我党和全人民于和平民主的正要求，悍然全面。党在全各解放人民的全力支持下，在国民党治生、工人和各人民斗的有力配合下，在各民主党派和无党派民主人士的极合作下，人民解放行了三年多的解放，沈、平津、淮海三大役和渡江作，消了介石的八百万，推翻了国民党反政府，建立了大的中人民共和。此，中人民站起了。

(4) 二十八年斗的胜利充分明：

一、中革命的胜利，是在克思列宁主的指下取得的。我党创造性地用克思列宁主的基本原理，把它同中革命的具体合起，形成了大的毛思想，找到了取中革命胜利的正确道路。于克思列宁主的发展是一重大的。

二、中共党是无的先，是全心全意人民服的不任何私利的政党，是敢于并善于人民百折不地向人作斗的政党。中各民族人民身中看到了事，而在党的周成泛的一，了我史上空前强大的政治。

三、中革命的胜利，主要是依靠我党所完全新型的与人民血肉相的人民，通期人民胜强大入取得的。有一支人民的，就不可能有人民的解放和家的立。

四、中革命在各段都曾得到各革命力量的援助，是中人民永不忘的。但是中革命的胜利，根本上是中共党持立自主、自力更生的原，依靠中各族人民自身的力量，千辛万苦，胜多阻才取得的。

五、中革命的胜利，在我束了极少削者治大人民的史，束了帝主、殖民主奴役中各族人民的史。人民成了新家新社的主人。人民革命在一人口占全人近四分之一的大胜利，改了世界政治力量的比，也激了多似中受帝主、殖民主削迫的家的人民，增强了他前的信心。中革命的胜利是第二次世界大以后最重大的政治事件，局和世界人民斗的展具有深刻的久的影。

(5) 新民主革命的胜利是无先烈和全党同志、全各族人民期牲斗的果。我不把一切功于革命的袖，但也不低估袖的重要作用。在党的多杰出袖中，毛同志居于首要地位。早在一九二七年革命失以前，毛同志就已明确指出无民斗的极端重要性以及在上的右危。革命失后，他是成功地把党的工作重点由城市入村，在村保存、恢复和展革命力量的主要代表。在一九二七年至一九四九年的二十二年中，毛同志和党的其他人一道，克服重重困，逐步制定和行了使革命由重失大胜利的的略和各政策。如果有毛同志多次危机中挽救中革命，如果有以他首的党中央全党、全各族人民和人民指明定正确的政治方向，我党和人民可能要在黑暗中摸索更。同中共党被公全各族人民的核一心，毛同志被公中共党和中各族人民的大袖，在党和人民集体斗中生的毛思想被公党的指思想，是中人民共和建以前二十八年史展的必然果。

建三十二年史的基本估

(6) 中共党在中人民共和成立以后的史，的，是我党在克思列宁主、毛思想指下，全各族人民行社主革命和社主建并取得巨大成就的史。社主制度的建立，是我史上最深刻最大的社革，是我今后一切步和展的基。

(7) 建三十二年，我取得的主要成就是：

一、建立和固了工人、的、以工盟基的人民民主政即无政的家政。它是中史上有的人民家作主的新型政，是建社主的富强民主文明的代化家的根本保。

二、和固了全范（除台等以外）的家一，根本改了中四分五裂的局面。和固了全各族人民的大，形成和展了五十多民族平等互助的社主民族系。和固了全工人、民、知分子和其他各人民的大，加强和大了中共党的，同各民主党派、人民体通力合作的，由全体社主者、社主的者和祖一的者成的，包括台同胞、港澳同胞和外在一。

三、胜了帝主、霸主的侵略、破坏和武挑，了家的安全和立，胜利地行了保祖疆的斗。

四、建立和展了社主，基本上完成了生料私有制的社主改造，基本上了生料公有制和按分配。削制度消了，削作已不再存在，他中的大多人已改造成自食其力的者。

五、在工建中取得重大成就，逐步建立了立的比完整的工体系和民体系。一九八〇年同完成恢复的一九五二年相比，全工固定按原价算，增二十六倍多，到四千一百多元；棉量增三点五倍，到二百九十三万吨；原煤量增八点四倍，到六二千万吨；量增四十倍，到三千多度；原油量到一零五百多万吨；量到三千七百多万吨；机械工值增五十三倍，到一千二百七十多元。在的地和少数民族地，建了一批新的工基地。防工无到有地逐步建起。源勘探工作成很大。路、公路、水、空和事

，都有很大的展。

六、生 件生 著改，生 水平有了很大提高。全 灌溉面 已由一九五二年的三 大到 在的六 七千多万，江、河、淮河、海河、珠江、河、松花江等大江河的一般洪水 害得到初步控制。解放前我 村几乎有 机械、化肥和 力，在 用拖拉机、排灌机械和化肥施用量都大大都加，用 量等于解放初全 量的七点五倍。一九八〇年同一九五二年相比，全 粮食增 近一倍，棉花增 一倍多。管人口增 快，在已近十，我 仍然依靠自己的力量基本上保 了人民吃 穿衣的需要。

七、城 商 和 外 易都有很大增。一九八〇年与一九五二年相比，全民所有制商 收 商品 由一百七十五元增加到二千二百六十三元，增 十一点九倍；社 商品零售 由二百七十七元增加到二千一百四十元，增 六点七倍。家 出口 易的，一九八〇年比一九五二年增 七点七倍。着工、 和商 的 展，人民生活比解放前有了很大的改善。一九八〇年，全 城 平均每人的消 水平，扣除物价因素，比一九五二年提高近一倍。

八、教育、科、文化、生、体育事 有很大 展。一九八〇年，全 各 全日制 校在 校 生二 零四百万人，比一九五二年增 二点七倍。三十二年，高等 校和中等 校培 出近九百万 人才。核技、人造 星和 火箭等方面的成就，表 出我 的 科技 水平有很大的提高。文 方面 作了一大批 人民服、社 主 服的优秀作品。群 性体育事 蓬勃 展，不少 目取得出色的成。烈性 染病被消 或基本消，城 人民的 健康水平大大提高，平均 命大大延。

九、人民解放 在新的 史 件下得到 大和提高，由 一的 展成 包括海、空 和其他技 兵种在 的合成。野、地方 和民兵三 合的武 力量得到了加强，部 的素 和技 有了很大的提高和改。在保 和 加社 主 革命和社 主 建 中，人民解放 了人民民主 政的 强柱石作用。

十、在 上，始 不渝地奉行社 主的 立自主的外交方，倡 和 持了和平共 五原，同全世界一百二十四 家建立了外交系，同更多的 家和地 展了、 易和文化往。我在 合 和安理 的席位得到恢复。我 持 无 主， 展同各 人民的友，支持和援助被 迫民族的解放事、新 立 家的建 事和各 人民的正 斗，反 帝 主、霸 主、殖民主 和种族主，世界和平，在 事 中 着越 越重大的 极作用。一切我 的社 主 建 造了有利的 件，促 了 形朝着有利于世界人民的方向 展。

(8) 新中 建立的 不，我 取得的成就只是初步的。由于我 党 社 主 事的 不多，党的 形的分析和 情的 有主 主的偏差，“文化大革命”前就有 把 斗 大化和在 建 上急躁冒 的。后，又生了“文化大革命”全局性的、 的 重。就使得我 有取得本 取得的更大成就。忽、掩盖 是不允的，本身就是，而且 招致更多更大的。但是，三十二年我 取得的成就是主要的，忽 或否 我的成就，忽 或否 取得些成就的成功，同 是 重的。我的成就和成功 是党和人民 造性地 用 克思列宁主 的 果，是社 主 制度优越性的表，是全党和全 各族人民 前的基。“持真理，修正”，是我 党 必 采取的 唯物主 的根本立。去采取 立，曾使我的事 危安、 胜。今后 采取 立，必 引 我 取得更大的胜利。

基本完成社 主 改造的七年

(9) 一九四九年十月中 人民共和 成立到一九五六年，我 党 全 各族人民有步地 新民主主 到社 主的，迅速恢复了民 并 展了有 划的 建，在全 大部分地 基本上完成了生 料私有制的社 主 改造。在 史 段中，党 确定的指 方和基本政策是正确的，取得的胜利是 煌的。

(10) 建 后的三年，我 清了 民 党反 派在大的 余武 力量和土匪，了西藏的和平解放，建立了各地各 的人民政府，收了官僚 本企 并把它改造成 社 主 企，一了全 政 工作，定了物价，完成了新解放 土地制度的改革，了反革命，展了反 污、反浪、反官僚主 的“三反”，展了打退 攻的反行、反偷漏、反 家、反偷工料、反 家 情的“五反”。中的教育科 文化事，行了很有成效的改造。在胜利 完成繁重的社 改革任 和行 大的抗美援朝、保家 的同，我 迅速恢复了在 中遭到 重破坏的民，全 工 生一九五二年底已 到 史的最高水平。

(11) 一九五二年，党中央按照毛 同志的建，提出了 渡期的路：要在一 相 的期，逐步 家的社 主 工化，并逐步 家、手工 和 本主 工商的社 主 改造。路 反映了 史的必然性。

一、家的社 主 工化，是家 立和富强的 然要求和必要 件。

二、新民主主义革命在全国胜利和土地制度改革在全国完成以后，国内的主要矛盾已不是工人阶级和资产阶级、社会主义道路和资本主义道路之间的矛盾。国家需要有利于国计民生的资本主义工商业有一定的发展，但资本主义工商业的发展也必然出现不利于国计民生的一面，就不能不产生限制和反限制的斗争。在国家资本主义和各民族资产阶级政策之下，在工人阶级和民族资产阶级之间，在工人阶级和民族资产阶级之间，利益冲突越来越明显。打倒投机倒把、整顿和改进工商业、行“五反”、工人监督生产、粮棉等一系列必要的措施和步骤，必然地把原来落后、混乱、畸形发展、唯利是图的资本主义工商业逐步引上社会主义改造的道路。

三、我国人民，特别是在土地改革中重新获得土地而缺少其他生产资料的条件下，为了避免重新借高利贷甚至典出土地，生产两极分化，发展生产，兴修水利，抗御自然灾害，采用机械和其他新技术，确有走互助合作道路的要求。随着工业的发展，一方面产品的需要日益增大，一方面技术改造的支援日益增强，也是促使我国向合作化方向发展的一股力量。

史明，党提出的过渡时期总路线是完全正确的。

(12) 在过渡期中，我国创造性地开辟了一条适合中国特点的社会主义改造的道路。对资本主义工商业，我国创造了委托加工、计划订货、统购包销、委托代售、公私合营、全行业公私合营等一系列从低级到高级的国家资本主义的过渡形式，最后实现了马克思和列宁设想的和平赎买。在农业方面，我国遵循自愿互利、典型示范和国家帮助的原则，创造了互助合作和常年互助，发展到半社会主义性质的初级农业生产合作社，再发展到社会主义性质的高级农业生产合作社的过渡形式。对于个体手工业的改造，也采取了类似的方法。在改造过程中，国家资本主义和合作化显示了明显的优越性。到一九五六年，全国大部分地区基本上完成了生产资料私有制的社会主义改造。工作中也有缺点和偏差。在一九五五年夏季以后，合作化以及手工业和个体商业的改造要求过急，工作过粗，改变过快，形式也过于简单划一，以致在期间遗留了一些问题。一九五六年资本主义工商业改造基本完成以后，对于一部分原工商业者的使用和安排也不很适当。但整个来说，在一亿人口的大国中比较顺利地完成了如此复杂、困难和深刻的社会变革，促进了工农业生产和整个国民经济的飞速发展，的确是伟大的历史性胜利。

(13) 我国第一个五年计划的完成，依靠我们自己的努力，加上和其他友好国家的支援，同时取得了重大的成就。一批国家工业化所必需而又非常薄弱的工业建立了起来。一九五三年到一九五六年，全国工业总产值平均每年增长百分之十九点六，农业总产值平均每年增长百分之四点八。发展比计划快，效果比预期好，重要部门的比例失调有所缓和。市场繁荣，物价稳定，人民生活显著改善。一九五六年四月，毛泽东同志发表《论十大关系》的讲话，初步总结了我国社会主义建设的经验，提出了探索适合我国情况的社会主义建设道路的任务。

(14) 一九五四年九月召开了第一次全国人民代表大会，制定了中华人民共和国宪法。一九五五年三月召开的党的全国代表会议，开展了反对高岗、饶漱石分裂党、篡党和向党最高权力挑战的重大斗争，增强了党的团结。一九五六年一月党中央召开的知识分子会议和之后提出的“百花齐放、百家争鸣”方针，制定了知识分子和教育文化工作的正确政策，促进了各方面事业的繁荣。由于党的正确政策、优良作风和崇高威信深入人心，广大干部、群众、青年和知识分子自觉学习马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想，在党的领导下积极参加革命和建设工作，在全国形成了革命的、健康的、朝气蓬勃的社会主义道德风尚。

(15) 一九五六年九月党的第八次全国代表大会取得很大成功。大会指出：社会主义制度在我国已基本建立起来；我国必须解放台湾、彻底完成社会主义改造、最后消灭剥削制度和清除反革命残余而斗争，但是主要矛盾已不再是工人阶级和资产阶级的矛盾，而是人民对于经济文化迅速发展的需要同当前经济文化不能满足人民需要的状况之间的矛盾；全国人民的主要任务是集中力量发展社会生产力，实现国家工业化，逐步满足人民日益增长的物质和文化需要；虽然还有阶级斗争，还要加强人民民主专政，但其根本任务已是在新的生产关系下面保护和迅速发展生产力。大会坚持了一九五六年五月党中央提出的既反保守又反冒进即在综合平衡中稳步前进的社会主义建设方针。大会着重提出了政党的建设，强调坚持民主集中制和集体领导制度，反对个人崇拜，发展党内民主和人民民主，加强党和群众的联系。八大的路线是正确的，它新时期社会主义事业的展和党的建设指明了方向。

开始全面建设社会主义的十年

(16) 社会主义改造基本完成以后，我国各族人民开始进入全面的大规模的社会主义建设。直到“文化大革命”前夕的十年中，我国虽然遭到严重挫折，仍然取得了很大的成就。以一九六六年同一九五六年相比，全国工业总产值按原价计算，增加了三倍。棉、原煤、石油、粮食、机械等主要工业产品的产量，都有巨大的增长。一九六五年起实行了石油全部自给。电子工业、石油化工等一批新的工业部门建立了起来。工业布局有了改善。农业的基本建设和技术改造开始大规模地展开，并逐步收到成效。全国用拖拉机和化肥施用量都增长六倍以上，农村用电量增长七十倍。高等学校的招生人数是前七年的四点九倍。整个来说，教育水平得到显著提高。科技工作也有比较突出的成果。

党在十年中积累了社会主义建设的重要经验。毛泽东同志在一九五七年春提出必须正确区分和处理社会主义社会不同性质

的社 矛盾，把正确理人民部矛盾作 家政治生活的主。接着，他提出要“造成一 又有集中又有民主，又有律又有自由，又有一意志、又有人心情舒、生活，那 一种政治局面”的要求。一九五八年，他又提出要把党和家的工作重点到技 革命和社 主建上。些都是八大路的 展，具有的指意。毛 同志在正“大”和人民公社化中的 提出了不能民，不能超越段，反平均主，强 展商品生、遵守价值律和做好合平衡，主以重序安排民 划等点；少奇同志提出了多生 料可以作商品行流通和社 主社要有种制度、种教育制度的点；周恩来同志提出了我知分子大多已是人民的知分子，科技在我 代化建中具有性作用等点；云同志提出了划指必切合，建 模必同力相适，人民生活 and 家建必兼，制定划必做好物、政、信平衡等点；小平同志提出了于整工企，改善和加强企管理，行工代表大制等点；朱德同志提出了要注意展手工和多种的点；子恢等同志提出了中要行生任制的点。所有些，在和以后都有重大的意。党中央在整民程中制定的村人民公社工作例草案和有工、商、教育、科、文等方面的工作例草案，比系地了社 主建的，分定了适合情的各具体政策，至今我仍然有重要的借作用。

之，我在以行代化建的物技基，很大一部分是期建起的；全 文化建等方面的骨干力量和其他的工作，大部分也是在期培和累起的。是期党的工作的主方面。

(17) 十年中，党的工作在指方上有重失，了曲折的展程。

一九五七年的工作，由于真行党的八大的正确方，是建以效果最好的年份之一。一年在全党展整，群向党提出批建，是社 主民主的正常步。在整程中，极少右派分子乘机鼓吹所“大大放”，向党和新生的社 主制度放肆地攻，妄取代共党的，种攻行的反是完全正确和必要的。但是反右派斗被重地大化了，把一批知分子、人士和党干部划“右派分子”，造成了不幸的后果。

一九五八年，党的八大二次通的社 主建路及其基本点，其正确的一面是反映了大人民群迫切要求改我文化落后的普遍愿望，其缺点是忽了客的律。在次前后，全党同志和全各族人民在生建中了高度的社 主极性和造精神，并取得了一定的成果。但是，由于社 主建不足，展律和中基本情不足，更由于毛 同志、中央和地方不少同志在胜利面前滋了傲自情，急于求成，夸大了主意志和主努力的作用，有真的查研究和点，就在路提出后率地了“大”和村人民公社化，使得以高指、瞎指、浮夸和“共”主要志的左重地泛。一九五八年底到一九五九年七月中央政治局山前期，毛 同志和党中央曾努力全党正已察到的。但是，山后期，毛 同志地了彭德怀同志的批判，而在全党地展了“反右”斗。八八中全于所“彭德怀、克、天、周小舟反党集”的是完全的。斗在政治上使党中央到基的民主生活遭到重害，在上打了正左的程，使延了更。主要由于“大”和“反右”的，加上自然害和政府背信地撕毁合同，我民在一九五九年到一九六一年生重困，家和人民遭到重大失。

一九六〇年冬，党中央和毛 同志始正村工作中的左，并且定民行“整、固、充、提高”的方，即在少奇、周恩、云、小平等同志的主持下，制定和行了一系列正确的政策和果的措施，是史段中的重要。一九六二年一月召的有七千人加的大的中央工作，初步了“大”中的教，展了批和自我批。前后又“反右”中被批判的大多同志行了甄平反。此外，被划“右派分子”的大多人摘掉了“右派分子”帽子。由于些和政治的措施，一九六二年到一九六六年民得到了比利的恢复和展。

但是，左在工作的指思想上并未得到底正，而在政治和思想文化方面有展。在一九六二年九月的八中全上，毛 同志把社 主社中一定范存在的斗大化和化，展了他在在一九五七年反右派斗以后提出的无同的矛盾仍然是我社的主要矛盾的点，一步言在整社 主史段都存在和企复辟，并成党生修正主的根源。一九六三年至一九六五年，在部分村和少城市基展的社 主教育，然于解干部作和管理等方面的起了一定作用，但由于把些不同性的都是斗或者是斗在党的反映，在一九六四年下半年使不少基干部受到不有的打，在一九六五年初又地提出了的重点是整所“党走本主道路的派”。在意形域，也一些文作品、点和文界的一些代表人物行了的、火的政治批判，在待知分子、教育科文化上生了愈愈重的左的偏差，并且在后展成“文化大革命”的火。不，些有到支配全局的程度。

由于全党和全各族人民的主要注意力一九六〇年冬以后一直是在行整的正确方，社 主建逐步地重新出欣欣向的景象。党和人民一致，同甘共苦，克服了自己的困，外住了集的力，清了的全部款（主要是抗美援朝中的火款），并且大力支援了多家人民的革命斗和建事。一九六四年底到一九六五年初召的第三全人民代表大宣布：整民的任已基本完成，整民入一新的展期，要努力把逐步建成一具有代、代工、代防和代科技的社 主强。召由于“文化大革命”而有得到行。

(18) 十年中的一切成就，是在以毛同志为首的党中央集体下取得的。期工作中的，任同也在党中央的集体。毛同志有主要任，但也不能把所有咎于毛同志人。期，毛同志在于社主社斗的理和上的展得越越重，他的人作逐步害党的民主集中制，人崇拜象逐步展。党中央未能及正些。林彪、江青、康生些野心家又有用心地利用和助了些。就致了“文化大革命”的。

“文化大革命”的十年

(19) 一九六六年五月至一九七六年十月的“文化大革命”，使党、家和人民遭到建以最重的挫折和失。“文化大革命”是毛同志和的。他的主要点是：一大批的代表人物、反革命的修正主分子，已混党里、政府里、里和文化域的各界里，相大的一多的位的已不在克思主者和人民群手里。党走本主道路的派在中央形成了一司令部，它有一修正主的政治路和路，在各省、市、自治和中央各部都有代理人。去的各种斗都不能解，只有行文化大革命，公地、全面地、自下而上地大群揭上述的黑暗面，才能把被走派篡的力重新回。上是一推翻一的政治大革命，以后要行多次。些点主要地出在作“文化大革命”性文件的《五·一六通知》和党的九大的政治告中，并曾被概括成所“无政下革命的理”，而使“无政下革命”一有了特定的含。毛同志“文化大革命”的些左点，明地离了作克思列宁主普遍原理和中革命具体相合的毛思想的道，必把它同毛思想完全。至于毛同志所重用的林彪、江青等人，他成取最高力的反革命集，利用毛同志的，背着他行了大量殃民的罪活，完全是另外一种性的。他的反革命行罪已被充分揭露，所以本不多加列。

(20) “文化大革命”的史，明毛同志“文化大革命”的主要点既不符合克思列宁主，也不符合中。些点我形以及党和家政治的估，是完全的。一、“文化大革命”被成是同修正主路或本主道路的斗，法根本有事根据，并且在一系列重大理和政策上混淆了是非。“文化大革命”中被作修正主或本主批判的多西，上正是克思主原理和社主原，其中很多是毛同志自己去提出或支持的。“文化大革命”否定了建以十七年大量的正确方政策和成就，上也就在很大程度上否定了包括毛同志自己在的党中央和人民政府的工作，否定了全各族人民建社主的苦卓的斗。

二、上述的是非混淆必然致我的混淆。“文化大革命”所打倒的“走派”，是党和家各中的干部，即社主事的骨干力量。党根本不存在所以少奇、小平首的“司令部”。确的事明，硬加少奇同志的所“判徒”、“奸”、“工”的罪名，完全是林彪、江青等人的陷。八十二中全少奇同志所作的政治和理，是完全的。“文化大革命”所“反威”的批判，使多有才能、有成就的知分子遭到打和迫害，也重地混淆了我。

三、“文化大革命”名上是直接依靠群，上既离了党的，又离了大群。始后，党的各普遍受到并陷于、半，党的各干部普遍受到批判和斗，大党被停止了生活，党期依靠的多极分子和基本群受到排斥。“文化大革命”初期被卷入的多数人，是出于毛同志和党的信，但是除了极少极端分子以外，他也不成党的各干部行酷斗。后，他不同的曲折道路而提高悟之后，逐步“文化大革命”采取怀疑望以至抵制反的度，多人因此也遭到了程度不同的打。以上些情，不可避免地一些投机分子、野心分子、分子以可乘之机，其中有不少人被提拔到了重要的以至非常重要的地位。

四、明，“文化大革命”不是也不可能是任何意上的革命或社步。它根本不是“了人”而只是了自己，因而始有也不可能由“天下大”到“天下大治”。在我，在人民民主政的家政建立以后，尤其是社主改造基本完成、削作已消以后，然社主革命的任有最后完成，但是革命的容和方法已同去根本不同。于党和家肌体中确实存在的某些暗面，然需要作出恰的估并用符合法、法律和党章的正确措施加以解，但不采取“文化大革命”的理和方法。在社主件下行所“一推翻一”的政治大革命，既有基，也有政治基。它必然提不出任何建性的，而只能造成重的混、破坏和倒退。史已判明，“文化大革命”是一由者，被反革命集利用，党、家和各族人民重的。

(21) “文化大革命”的程分三段。

一、“文化大革命”的到一九六九年四月党的第九次全代表大。一九六六年五月中央政治局大和同年八月八十一中全的召，是“文化大革命”全面的志。次相通了《五·一六通知》和《于无文化大革命的定》，所“彭真、瑞卿、定一、尚昆反党集”和所“少奇、小平司令部”行了的斗，党中央机构行了的改，成立了所“中央文革小”并它掌握了中央的很大部分力。毛同志的左的人上取代了党中央的集体，毛同志的人崇拜被鼓吹到了狂的程度。林彪、江青、康生、春等人主要利用所“中央文革小”的名，乘机煽“打倒一切、全面”。一九六七年二月初，震林、毅、英、李富春、李先念、徐向前、臻等政治局和委的同志，在不同的上“文化大革命”的作法提出了强烈的批，但被“二月逆流”而受到

制和打。朱德、云同志也受到 的批判。各部 各地方的党政 机构几乎都被 或改。派人民解放 行三支（支左、支工、支、管、），在 的混情下是必要的，定局起了极的作用，但也了一些消极的后果。党的九大“文化大革命”的理和合法化，加强了林彪、江青、康生等人在党中央的地位。九大在思想上、政治上和上的指方都是的。

二、党的九大到一九七三年八月党的第十次全 代表大。一九七〇年至一九七一年生了林彪反革命集取最高力、策反革命武政的事件。是“文化大革命”推翻党的一系列基本原的果，客上宣告了“文化大革命”的理和的失。毛、周恩同志机智地粉碎了次叛。周恩同志在毛同志支持下主持中央日常工作，使各方面的工作有了机。一九七二年，在批判林彪的程中，周恩同志正确地提出要批判极左思潮的意，是一九六七年二月前后多中央同志要求正“文化大革命”一正确的。毛同志却地的任仍然是反“极右”。党的十大了九大的左，并且使王洪文上了党中央副主席。江青、春、姚文元、王洪文在中央政治局成“四人”，江青反革命集的力量又得到加强。

三、党的十大到一九七六年十月。一九七四年初，江青、王洪文等提出展所“批林批孔”；同有的地方和位清查与林彪反革命集活有的人和事不同，江青等人的矛是指向周恩同志的。毛同志先是批准展所“批林批孔”，在江青等人借机行篡活以后，又他作了批，宣布他是“四人”，指出江青有党中央主席和操“”的野心。一九七五年，周恩同志病重，小平同志在毛同志支持下主持中央日常工作，召了委大和解工、交通、科技等方面的一系列重要，着手多方面的工作行整，使形有了明好。但是毛同志不能容忍小平同志系地正“文化大革命”的，又了所“批、反右翻案”，全因而再度陷入混。一九七六年一月周恩同志逝世。周恩同志党和人民无限忠，鞠躬瘁。他在“文化大革命”中于非常困的地位。他全大局，任任怨，行党和家的正常工作，量少“文化大革命”所造成的失，保大批的党外干部，作了持不懈的努力，了心血。他同林彪、江青反革命集的破坏行了各种形式的斗。他的逝世引起了全党和全各族人民的无限悲痛。同年四月，在全范掀起了以天安事件代表的悼念周理、反“四人”的强大抗。上是小平同志代表的党的正确，它后粉碎江青反革命集奠定了大的群基。中央政治局和毛同志天安事件的性作出了的判，并且地撤了小平同志的党外一切。一九七六年九月毛同志逝世，江青反革命集加取党和家最高的活。同年十月上旬，中央政治局行党和人民的意志，毅然粉碎了江青反革命集，束了“文化大革命”。是全党、全和全各族人民期斗取得的大胜利。在粉碎江青反革命集的斗中，英、李先念等同志起了重要作用。

（2 2）于“文化大革命”一全局性的、的左重，毛同志有主要任。但是，毛同志的究是一大的无革命家所犯的。毛同志是常注意要克服我党和家生活中存在着的缺点的，但他晚年多不能加以正确的分析，而且在“文化大革命”中混淆了是非和我。他在犯重的候，多次要求全党真克思、恩格斯、列宁的著作，始自己的理和是克思主的，是固无政所必需的，是他的悲所在。他在全局上一持“文化大革命”的，但也制止和正一些具体，保一些党的干部和党外著名人士，使一些干部重新回到重要的位。他了粉碎林彪反革命集的斗，江青、春等人也行重要的批和揭露，不他取最高的野心得逞。些都后我党利地粉碎“四人”起了重要作用。他晚年仍然警地注意我的安全，住了社帝主的力，行正确的外政策，支援各人民的正斗，并且提出了划分三世界的正确略和我永不霸的重要思想。在“文化大革命”中，我党有被摧毁并且能持一，院和人民解放能行多必要的工作，有各族各界代表人物出席的第四全人民代表大能召并且确定了以周恩、小平同志核心的院人，我社主制度的根基仍然保存着，社主建在行，我的家仍然保持一并且在上重要影。些重要事都同毛同志的巨大作用分不。因一切，特是因他革命事期的大，中人民始把毛同志看作是自己敬的大袖和。

（2 3）党和人民在“文化大革命”中同左和林彪、江青反革命集的斗是曲折的，是一直有停止的。“文化大革命”整程的峻考表明：党的八中央委和它所出的政治局、政治局常委、的成，大多都站在斗的正确方面。我党的干部，无是曾被地打倒的，或是一直持工作和先后恢复工作的，大多是忠于党和人民的，社主、共主事的信念是定的。遭到打和折磨的知分子、模范、民主人士、以及各民族各的干部和群，大多都有祖和党、社主的立。在“文化大革命”中受迫害而牲的少奇、彭德怀、龙、陶等党和家人以及其他一切党外同志，永被在各族人民心中。正是由于全党和大工人、民、解放指、知分子、知青年和干部的共同斗，使“文化大革命”的破坏受到了一定程度的限制。我民然遭到巨大失，仍然取得了展。粮食生保持了比定的增。工交通、基本建和科技方面取得了一批重要成就，其中包括一些新路和南京江大的建成，一些技先的大型企的投，和人造星射回收的成功，型交水稻的育成和推，等等。在家的情下，人民解放仍然英勇地保着祖的安全。外工作也打了新的局面。然，一切不是“文化大革命”的成果，如果有“文化大革命”，我的事取得大得多的成就。在“文化大革命”中，我管遭到林彪、江青反革命集的破坏，但于胜了他。党、人民政、人民和整社的性都有改。史再一次表明，我的人民是大的人民，我的党和社主制度具有大而强的生命力。

(24)“文化大革命”所以生并且持十年之久，除了前面所分析的毛同志上的直接原因以外，有复的社史原因。主要的是：

一、社史的史不，社史家的史更短，社史的展律有些已比清楚，更多的有待于探索。我党去期于和激烈斗的境中，于迅速到的新生的社史社和全模的社史建事，缺乏充分的思想准和科研究。克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林的科著作是我行的指，但是不可能我社史事中的各种提供成答案。思想上看，由于我党的史特点，在社史改造基本完成以后，在察和理社史展程中出的政治、文化等方面的新矛盾新，容易把已不于斗的仍然看做是斗，并且面新件下的斗，又于沿用去熟而已不能照搬的行大模急暴雨式群性斗的方法和，而致斗的重大化。同，种离生活的主主的思想和做法，由于把克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林著作中的某些想和点加以解或教化，反而得有“理根据”。例如：社史社在消料分配中通行的等量相交的平等利，即克思所的“利”限制和批判，因而按分配原和物利益原就限制和批判；社史改造基本完成以后小生每日每地大批地生本主和，因而形成一系列左的城政策和城斗政策；党的思想分歧都是社斗的反映，因而形成繁激烈的党斗，等等。就使我把于斗大化的迷成保克思主的活性。此外，人挑起中，并把党之的原家端，中施加政治上、上和事上的巨大力，迫使我不得不行反大沙文主的正斗。在种情的影下，我在行了反修防修，使斗大化的迷日益深入到党，以致党同志不同意的正常也被作是所修正主路的表或所路斗的表，使党系日益化。，党就很抵制毛等同志提出的一些左点，而些左点的展就致“文化大革命”的生和持。

二、党在面着工作重心向社史建一新任因而需要特慎的候，毛同志的威望也到高峰。他逐傲起，逐离和离群，主主和人作日益重，日益凌于党中央之上，使党和家政治生活中的集体原和民主集中制不受到削弱以至破坏。种象是逐形成的，党中央此也一定的任。克思主的点看，复象是一定史件的物，如果咎于某人或若干人，就不能使全党得到深刻教，并找出切有效的改革步。在共主中，袖人物具有十分重要的作用，是史已反复明和不容置疑的。但是共主史上由于有正确解袖和党的系而出的一些重偏差，我党也生了消极的影。中是一封建史很的家，我党封建主特是封建土地制度和豪霸行了最最底的斗，在反封建斗中成了优良的民主；但是期封建制主在思想政治方面的毒仍然不是很容易清的，种种史原因又使我有可能把党民主和家政治社生活的民主加以制度化，法律化，或者然制定了法律，却有有的威。就提供了一种件，使党的力分集中于人，党人和人崇拜象滋起，也就使党和家于防止和制止“文化大革命”的和展。

史的大折

(25)一九七六年十月粉碎江青反革命集的胜利，危中挽救了党，挽救了革命，使我的家入了新的史展期。始到十一三中全之前的年中，大干部和群以极大的情投入各革命和建工作。揭批江青反革命集的罪行，清查他的反革命派体系，取得了很大成。党和家的整，冤假案的平反，始部分地行。工生得到比快的恢复。教育科文化工作也始走向正常。党外同志越越强烈地要求正“文化大革命”的，但是遇到了重的阻碍。固然是由于十年“文化大革命”造成的政治上思想上的混不容易在短期消除，同也由于任党中央主席的同志在指思想上犯了左的。同志是由毛同志在一九七六年“批”中提任党中央第一副主席兼院理的。他在粉碎江青反革命集的斗中有功，以后也做了有益的工作。但是，他推行和不改正“凡是”（即“凡是毛主席作出的策，我都，凡是毛主席的指示，我都始不渝地遵循”）的方；制一九七八年展的反正具有重大意的于真理准的；拖延和阻恢复老干部工作和平反史上冤假案（包括“天安事件”）的程；在的人崇拜的同，制造和接受他自己的人崇拜。一九七七年八月召的党的第十一次全代表大，在揭批“四人”和全党建社史代化强方面起了极作用。但是，由于史件的限制和同志的影，次大有能正“文化大革命”的理、政策和口，反而加以肯定。工作中的求成急和其他一些左政策的，同志也有任。很明，由他正党的左特是恢复党的优良，是不可能的。

(26)一九七八年十二月召的十一三中全，是建以我党史上具有深意的大折。全束了一九七六年十月以党的工作在徘徊中前的局面，始全面地真地正“文化大革命”中及其以前的左。次全批判了“凡是”的方，充分肯定了必完整地、准确地掌握毛思想科的体系；高度价了于真理准的，确定了解放思想、筋、事求是、一致向前看的指方；果地停止使用“以斗”不适用于社史社的口，作出了把工作重点移到社史代化建上的略策；提出了要注意解好民重大比例重失的要求，制了于加快展的定；着重提出了健全社史民主和加强社史法制的任；查和解了党的史上一批重大冤假案和一些重要人的功是非。全增了中央机构的成。些在工作中具有重大意的，志着党重新确立了克思主的思想路、政治路和路。此，党掌握了反正的主，有步地解了建以的多史留和生活中出的新，行了繁重的建和改革工作，使我的家在上和政治上都出了很好的形。

一、在三中全会提出的解放思想、实事求是的号召下，大批干部和群众去盛行的人崇拜和教主的精神枷锁中解脱出来，党外思想活跃，出现了努力研究新情况、新问题的生动景象。

为了正确地解放思想的方针，党及各地重申必须坚持社会主义道路，坚持人民民主专政即无产阶级专政，坚持共产党的领导，坚持马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想四项基本原则，重申民主和集中不可偏废的原理，并指出削足适履已绝迹，但斗争仍在一定范围内存在的基本事实。党的四中全会的英同志在祝建三十周年大会上的讲话，既充分肯定了建以党和人民所取得的大成就，又党在去工作中的作了自我批评，家的光明前途作了，加强了全党和全各族人民的团结。一九八〇年八月的中央政治局，提出反“左”思想侵蚀和清政治思想上的封建余毒的历史性任务。同年十二月的中央工作会议，定加强党的思想政治工作，加强建社会主义精神文明，批判反四项基本原则的思潮，打破破坏社会主义的反革命活动，全安定、生活的政治局面生了重大的良好影响。

二、党在一九七九年四月召开的中央工作会议上提出整风“整、改革、整、提高”的方针，正前年工作中的失误，真清理去在方面长期存在的左的影响。党指出建必适合国情，符合规律和自然规律；必量力而行，循序前进，不求效，使生的展同人民生活的改善密切切合；必在坚持独立自主、自力更生的基础上，积极展外合作和技术交流。在些方针指引下，工的展加快了，工部构正朝着合理的的方向展；包括大企业自主、恢复工代表大会制度和加强企业的民主管理、政分管理等在的管理体制的改革，正合整有步地行。党真救合作化后期以村工作上的失误，提高副产品价格，推行各种形式的酬劳制，恢复并适当大自留地，恢复村集市贸易，展村副业和多种经营，极大地了民的积极性。年的粮食量是建以最高的，作物和副产品的生都得了迅速的展。由于和整民的展，人民生活有了改善。

三、大量切的查研究，原中共中央副主席、中人民共和主席少奇同志以及遭受冤屈的其他党和国家领导人、各族各界的袖人物恢复了名誉，肯定了他 在期革命斗中党和人民建的史功。

四、在全复查和平反了大量的冤假案，改正了划右派分子的案件。宣布原工商者已改造成者；把原者的小商小、手工者原工商者中出；已改造成者的大多原地主、富分子改了成分。一系列工作妥善地解了大量党和人民部的矛盾。

五、各人民代表大的工作得到加强，省、人代增了常机构，和以下人民代表由民直接的制度正在普遍行。党和家的集体和民主集中制正在健全。地方和基的力正在逐步大。取消了不利于社会主义民主的所“大、大放、大字、大”。恢复、制和施行了一系列重要的法律、法令和例，包括建以一直有制的刑法、刑事法。加强了司法、察和公安机的工作。打了各种重的刑事犯罪分子。依法公判了林彪、江青反革命集十名主犯。

六、党大力整和加强了各班子。五中全会增政治局常委，成立中央，有力地加强了党中央的。中央和各律查委的建立，《于党政治生活的若干准》和其他有党法的制定，各党的机和律查机正不正之所做的工作，提高了党的斗力。党的机在方面也做了多努力。党定除干部上存在的身制，改力分集中的，要求在持革命化的前提下逐步各人的年老化、知化和化，并在些方面着手做了一些工作。由于整了院的成和行党政分工，中央和地方政府工作得到加强。

此外，党在教育、科、文化、生、体育工作，民族工作，工作，工作，事工作和外交工作等方面，真落党的各政策，都取得了重要的成就。

之，三中全会以，毛泽东思想的科原理和党的正确政策在新的件下得到了恢复和展，党和家的各工作重新蒸蒸日上。我的工作中有失和缺点，我的面前有多困。但是，胜利前的航道已打通，党在人民中的威信正在日益提高。

毛 同志的 史地位和毛 思想

(27) 毛 同志是大的克思主义者，是大的无产阶级革命家、战略家和理论家。他然在“文化大革命”中犯了重罪，但是就他的一生看，他中革命的功大于他的失。他的功是第一位的，是第二位的。他我党和中国人民解放的立和展，中各族人民解放事的胜利，中人民共和的造和我社主事的展，建立了永不可磨的功。他世界被迫民族的解放和人类步事作出了重大的贡献。

(28) 以毛 同志主要代表的中共党人，根据克思列宁主义的基本原理，把中期革命中的一系列性质作了理论概括，形成了适合中情的科的指导思想，就是克思列宁主义普理原理和中革命具体相合的物——毛 思想。在一半殖民地、半封建的方大里行革命，必然遇到多特殊的复。靠背克思列宁主义

般原理和照搬外，不可能解决一些。主要在本世纪二十年代后期和三十年代前期在中共党内和我党盛行的把马克思主义教条化、把共产国际神圣化的倾向，曾使中国革命几乎陷于绝境。毛思想是在同这种倾向作斗争并深刻反思的过程中逐步形成和发展起来的。它在土地革命后期和抗日战争时期得到系统和多方面发展而达到成熟，在解放战争时期和中华人民共和国成立以后得到发展。毛思想是马克思列宁主义在中国的应用和发展，是被实践证明了的关于中国革命的正确理论原则和经验总结，是中国共产党集体智慧的结晶。我党许多卓越人物它的形成和发展都作出了重要贡献，毛泽东同志的著作是它的集中概括。

(29) 毛思想具有多方面的内容。在以下几方面，它以创造性的理论丰富和发展了马克思列宁主义。

一、关于新民主主义革命。毛泽东同志在《新民主主义论》中深刻研究中国革命的特点和中国革命的规律，发展了马克思列宁主义关于无产阶级在民主革命中的领导权的思想，创立了无产阶级领导的，工农联盟为基础的，人民大众的，反帝反封建的新民主主义革命的总路线。这方面的主要著作有：《中国社会各阶级的分析》、《湖南农民运动考察报告》、《星星之火，可以燎原》、《〈共产党人〉的宣言》、《新民主主义论》、《论联合政府》、《目前形势和我们的任务》。其基本点，一是中国有半殖民地半封建社会，一部分是依附于帝国主义的大资产阶级（即官僚资产阶级），另一部分是既有革命要求又有反革命性的民族资产阶级。无产阶级要取得民族解放，并且在特殊条件下把一部分大资产阶级也包括在内，以求最大限度地孤立最主要的人。在同资产阶级合作中，要保持无产阶级的独立性，实行又联合又斗争、以斗争求团结的政策；在被迫同资产阶级合作时，主要是同资产阶级分裂，要敢于并善于同资产阶级进行针锋相对的斗争，同时要取得民族资产阶级的同情或中立。二是由于中国有民主主义和反帝反封建的斗争，革命只能以长期的武装斗争为主要形式。中国的武装斗争，是无产阶级领导的以农民为主体的革命战争。农民是无产阶级最可靠的同盟军。无产阶级有可能和有必要通过自己的先锋队——共产党，提高人民群众的觉悟水平，建立农村根据地，进行革命战争，发展和壮大革命力量。毛泽东同志指出，“一和武装斗争，是战胜敌人的基本武器”，加上党本身的建设，就成为革命的“三法宝”。以上这些，就是中国共产党所以能成全民族解放的核心，并且造出以农村包围城市，最后夺取全国胜利的道路的基本依据。

二、关于社会主义革命和社会主义建设。毛泽东同志和中国共产党，依据新民主主义革命胜利所创造的向社会主义过渡的政治条件，采取社会主义工业化和社会主义改造同时并举的方针，逐步改造生产资料私有制的具体政策，理论和实践上解决了在中国这样一个占世界人口近四分之一的、文化落后的大国建立社会主义制度的任务。毛泽东同志提出的人民民主专政的理论和反帝反封建的专政方面互相结合就是人民民主专政的理论，丰富了马克思列宁主义关于无产阶级专政的学说。在社会主义制度建立以后，毛泽东同志指出，在社会主义制度下，人民的根本利益是一致的，但人民内部存在着各种矛盾，必须严格区分和正确处理人民内部矛盾。他提出人民内部要在政治上实行“百花齐放，百家争鸣”，在党与民主党派的关系上实行“长期共存，互相监督”，在科学文化工作中实行“百花齐放，百家争鸣”，在工作中实行“各尽所能，按劳分配”和“统筹兼顾，适当安排”等一系列正确方针。他多次强调不要机械搬用外国的经验，而要中国化，要“走自己的路”，以毛泽东思想为基础，正确处理重工业和轻工业、农业的关系，充分重视和发展农业，走出一条适合中国国情的中国工业化道路。他强调在社会主义建设中要处理好建设和国防建设，大型企业和中小型企业，汉族和少数民族，沿海和内地，中央和地方，自力更生和争取外援等各种关系，处理好积累和消费的关系，注意综合平衡。他强调工人是企业的主人，要实行干部参加劳动、工人参加管理、改革不合理的规章制度和技术革新、工人、干部“三结合”。他提出了一切从实际出发，化消极因素为积极因素，以便全国各族人民建设社会主义强大国家的战略思想。毛泽东同志关于社会主义革命和社会主义建设的重要思想，集中地体现在《在中国共产党第七次全国代表大会上的报告》、《人民民主专政》、《十大关系》、《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》、《在大的中央工作会议上的讲话》等主要著作中。

三、关于革命的战略和策略。毛泽东同志系统地解决了以农民为主要成分的革命如何建成一支无产阶级的、具有严格纪律的、同人民群众保持密切联系的新型人民军队的思想。他定了全心全意为人民服务是党的唯一宗旨，定了党的纲领是指共产主义而不是指党的原形，制定了三大纪律八项注意，强调行政治、经济、军事三大民主，行官兵一致、军民一致和瓦解的原形，提出和制定了一套政治工作的方针和方法。他在《关于正党的思想》、《中国革命的略》、《抗日游击的略》、《持久》、《论战略》等著作中，定了中期革命的总路线，系统地提出了建立人民军队的思想，提出了以人民为骨干，依靠广大人民群众，建立农村根据地，进行人民战争的思想。他把游击提到了略的地位，指出革命在长期的主要形式是游击和游击性的。他述了要着重我力量比的变化和发展的过程，正确地行事略的。他革命制定了在强我弱的形势下进行略的持久和斗争的速战速决，把略上的劣势、斗争上的优势，集中优势兵力、各个击破等一系列人民的略。他在解放战争中出著名的十大军事原形。些是毛泽东同志克思列宁主义的事理的极杰出的。在建以后，他提出必须加强国防，建设现代化革命武装力量（包括海、空以及其他技术兵种）和发展现代化防务（包括用于自卫的核武器）的重要指导思想。

四、关于政策和策略。毛泽东同志精辟地分析了革命斗争中政策和策略的极端重要性，指出政策和策略是党的生命，是革命政党一切行动的出发点和归宿，必须根据政治形势、阶级关系和具体情况及其变化制定党的政策，把原则性和灵活性结合起来。他在斗争和统一战线等方面，提出了多重要的政策和策略思想。他指出：弱小的革命力量在化着的主客观条件下能最战胜强大的反力量；略上要藐视敌人，上要重视敌人；要掌握斗争的主要方向，不要四面出击；人要团结、分化瓦解，行利用矛盾、争取多数、反对少数、各个击破的策略；在反帝反封建地，把合法斗争和非法斗争结合起来。

，在上采取蔽精干的方；被打倒的反成和反分子，只要他不造反、不，都以生活出路，他在中改造成自食其力的者；无及其政党要自己同盟者的，必须具备：一是率被者向着共同的人作斗争并取得胜利；二是被者以物利益，至少不害其利益，同以政治教育，等等。毛同志的些政策和策略思想，表在他的多著作中，特是集中表在《目前抗日一中的策略》、《政策》、《于打退第二次反共高潮的》、《于目前党的政策中的几重要》、《不要四面出》、《于帝主和一切反派是不是真老虎的》等著作中。

五、于思想政治工作和文化工作。毛同志在《新民主》中指出：“一定的文化（作念形的文化）是一定社的政治和的反映，又予大影和作用于一社的政治和；而是基，政治是的集中表。”他根据基本点，在方面提出多具有意的重要思想。例如：于思想政治工作是工作和其他一切工作的生命，要行政治和的一、政治和技的一、又又的方；于展民族的、科的、大的文化，行百花齐放、推出新、古今用、洋中用的方；于知分子在革命和建中具有重要作用，知分子要同工相合，通克思列宁主、社和工作立无世界的思想，等等。他指出“什么人的，是一根本的，原的”，强要全心全意人民服，革命工作要极端，要苦斗和不怕牲。毛同志于思想政治文化的多著名的著作，例如《青年的方向》、《大量吸收知分子》、《在延安文座上的》、《念白求恩》、《人民服》、《愚公移山》等，至今仍有重要意。

六、于党的建。在无一人很少而斗力很强，民和其他小占人口大多数的家，建一具有大群性的、克思主的无政党，是极其巨的任。毛同志的建党成功地解了。方面的主要著作有：《反自由主》、《中共党在民族中的地位》、《改造我的》、《整党的作》、《反党八股》、《和局》、《于健全党委制》、《党委的工作方法》等。他特着重于思想上建党，提出党不但要在上入党，而且要在思想上入党，常注意以无思想改造和克服各种非无思想。他指出，理和相合的作，和人民群密地系在一起的作，以及自我批的作，是中共党于其他任何政党的著志。他史上党斗中存在的“酷斗、无情打”的左，提出“前毖后、治病救人”的正确方，强在党斗中要到既弄清思想又同志的目的。他造了在全党通批与自我批行克思列宁主思想教育的整形式。建前夕和建以后，于我党成全政的党、毛同志多次提出要 保持 慎、戒戒躁、苦斗的作，警惕思想的侵，反离群的官僚主。

(30) 毛思想的活的魂，是串于上述各成部分的立、点和方法，它有三基本方面，即事求是，群路，立自主。毛同志把唯物主和史唯物主用于无政党的全部工作，在中革命的期苦斗中形成了具有中共党人特色的些立、点和方法，丰富和展了克思列宁主。它不表在《反本本主》、《》、《矛盾》、《村查》的序言和跋》、《于方法的若干》、《人的正确思想是那里的？》等重要著作中，而且表在毛同志的全部科著作中，表在中共党人的革命活中。

一、事求是，就是出，理系，就是要把克思列宁主普遍原理同中革命具体相合。毛同志反离中社和中革命的去研究克思主。早在一九三〇年，他就提出反本本主，强查研究是一切工作的第一步，有查就有言。他在延安整前夕指出，主主是共党的大，是党性不的一种表。些精辟破了教主的束，使人的思想得到一大解放。他的哲著作和其他多包含着丰富哲思想的著作，中革命的教中，深刻地述和丰富了克思主的和法。毛同志着重明唯物主是能革命的反映，特强充分根据和符合客的自的能性。他以社基，全面地系地述了唯物主于的源泉、的展程、的目的、真理的准的理；指出正确的形成和展，往往需要由物到精神，由精神到物，即由到，由到多次的反复；指出真理是同相比而存在、相斗而展的，真理是不可的，的是非即是否符合客，最只能通社解。毛同志述和了克思主法的核心——立一律。他指出不要研究客事物的矛盾的普遍性，尤其重要的是要研究它的特殊性，于不同性的矛盾，要用不同的方法去解。因此，不能把法看作是可以死背硬套的公式，而必把它同、同查研究密切合，加以活用。他使哲真正成无和人民群世界和改造世界的利武器。特是他述中革命的重要著作，提供了在中用和展克思主和法的最光的范例。毛同志的上述的思想路，我党必永持。

二、群路，就是一切了群，一切依靠群，群中，到群中去。把克思列宁主于人民群是史的造者的原理系地用在党的全部活中，形成党在一切工作中的群路，是我党期在我力量殊的境里行革命活的无比的史的。毛同志常强，只要我依靠人民，地相信人民的造力是无无的，因而信任人民，和人民打成一片，那就任何困都有可能克服，任何人最都不倒我，而只能被我所倒。他指出，群行一切工作，要取得正确的意，必群中、到群中去，行和群相合，一般召和指相合。就是，把群的意集中起，化系的意，又到群中持下去，在群的行中考些意是否正确。如此循往复，使的更正确、更生、更丰富。，毛同志就把克思主的同党的群路一起了。党是的先部，党是人民的利益而存在和斗的，但是党永只是人民的一小部分；离人民，党的一切斗和理想不但都落空，而且都要得毫无意。我党要持革命，把社主事推向前，就必持群路。

三、立自主，自力更生，是中 出、依靠群 行革命和建 的必然。无 革命是 性的事，需要各 无 互相支援。但是完成 事，首先需要各 无 立足于本，依靠本 革命力量和人民群 的努力，使 克思列宁主 的普遍原理同本 革命的具体 相合，把本 的革命事 做好。毛 同志一 强，我 的方 要放在自己力量的 基点上，自己找出适合我 情的前 道路。在我 一 大，尤其必 主要依靠自己的力量 展革命和建 事。我 一定要有自己 斗到底的心，要信任和依靠本 万人民的智慧和力量，否，无 革命和建 都不可能取得胜利，胜利了也不可能 固。然，我的革命和建 不是也不可能孤立于世界之外，我 在任何 候都需要 取外援，特 需要 外一切 我有益的先 事物。自守、盲目排外以及任何大 主 的思想行 都是完全 。但是，管我 文化 比落后，我 待世界上任何大、强 和富，都必 持自己的民族自尊心和自信心，不允 有任何奴 婢膝、卑 躬屈 的表。建 以前和建 以后，在党和毛 同志 下，无 遇到什么 的困，我 都有 立自主、自力更生的心，有在任何外 的力面前屈服，表 了中共 党、中 各族人民的大无畏的英雄气概。我 主 各人民和平共 同，平等互助。我 持立自主，也尊重 人民立自主的 利。适合本 特点的革命道路和建 道路，只能由本 人自己 找、造和 定，任何人都无 把自己的意 强加于人。只有 ，才能有真正 的主，否 就只能 是霸 主。在今后的 交往中，我 永 持 的原立。

(3 1) 毛 思想是我 党的 的精神 富，它 期指 我的行。由 克思列宁主、毛 思想培育的党的 者和大批干部，去是我 的事 取得巨大胜利的基本骨干，在和今后仍然是社 主 代化建 事 的中。毛 同志的重要著作，有多 是在新民主 革命期和社 主 改造期的，但仍然是我 必 常 的。不但因 史不能割，如果不了解去，就 妨碍我 前的了解；而且因 些著作中包含的多基本原理、原 和科 方法，是有普遍意 的，在和今后我 都具有重要的指 作用。因此，我 必 持毛 思想，真 和用它的立、点和方法 研究中 出的新情，解 新。毛 思想 克思列宁主 的理 增添了多新的容，我 把毛 同志的科 著作同 克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林的科 著作合起。因 毛 同志晚年犯了 ，就企 否毛 思想的科 价值，否毛 思想我 革命和建 的指 作用，种 度是完全 的。毛 同志的言 采取教 主 度，以凡是毛 同志 的都是不可移易的真理，只能照抄照搬，甚至不愿 事求是地承 毛 同志晚年犯了 ，并且企 在新的 中持些 ，种 度也是完全 的。种 度都是有把 期 史考 形成科 理的毛 思想，同毛 同志晚年所犯的 ，而种 是十分必要的。我 必 珍 半多世以在中 革命和建 程中把 克思列宁主 普遍原理和中 相合的一切 极成果，在新的 中用和 展些成果，以符合 的新原理和新 丰富和 展我 党的理，保 我 的事 沿着 克思列宁主、毛 思想的科 道 前。

起，建社 主 代化强 而斗

(3 2) 我 党在新的 史期的 斗目，就是要把我 的家，逐步建 成具有代 、代工、代防和代科 技的，具有高度民主和高度文明的社 主 强。我 要 台回 祖，完成祖 一 的大。我 建 以三十二年 史的根本目的，就是要在 持社 主 道路，持人民民主 政即无 政，持共 党的，持 克思列宁主、毛 思想 四基本原 的基 上，把全党、全 和全 各族人民的意志和力量 一步集中到建社 主 代化强 大目 上。四基本原，是全 党和全 各族人民 的共同的政治基，也是社 主 代化建 事 利行的根本保。一切偏离四基本原 的言 和行 都是 的，一切否定和破坏四基本原 的言 和行 都是不能容 的。

(3 3) 只有社 主 才能救中。是中 各族人民一百多年的切身体 中得出的不可 的，也是建 三十二年 最基本的 史。管我 的社 主 制度是于初 的段，但是毫无疑，我已建立了社 主 制度，入了社 主 社，任何否 基本事 的点都是 的。我在社 主 件下取得了中 根本不可能 到的成就，初步地但又有力地示了社 主 制度的优越性。我能 依靠自己的力量 胜各种困，同 也是社 主 制度具有强大生命力的表。然，我 的社 主 制度比 不完善到比 完善，必然要 一 久的程。就要求我 在 持社 主 基本制度的前提下，努力改革那些不适 生力 展需要和人民利益的具体制度，并且 地同一切破坏社 主的活 作斗。着我 事的 展，社 主的巨大优越性必 越 越充分地 示出。

(3 4) 有中共 党就有新中，同，有中共 党也就不有代化的社 主 中。中共 党是用 克思列宁主、毛 思想武 起的，以最 共 主 史使命的，有明 律和富于自我批 精神的无 政党。如果有 党的，有 党在 期斗 中同人民群 形成的血肉 系，有 党在人民中所 行的 苦 致的有成效的工作和由此而享有的崇高威信，那么我 的家就必然由于种种 外原因而四分五裂，我 民族和人民的前途就只能被 送。党的 不 有，但是党和人民的 密 必定能 正 种，任何人都不能用党曾犯 作 削弱、甚至破坏党的 的理由。削弱、和破坏党的，只 犯更大的，并且招致 重的。了 持党的，必 改善党的。我 党在思想作、 、制度以及同群 的 系等方面仍然存在着不少缺点，必 加以克服。只要我 真 持和不 改善党的，我 党就一定 能更好地 起 史所 予的巨大的 任。

(3 5) 三中全 以，我 党已 逐步确立了一 适合我 情的社 主 代化建 的正确道路。道路 在中 不 充 和 展，但是它的主要点，已可以 建 以正反方面的、特 是“文化大革命”的教 中得到基本的。

一、在社会主义改造基本完成以后，我所要解决的主要矛盾，是人民日益增长的物质文化需要同落后的社会生产之间的矛盾。党和国家工作的重点必须移到以经济建设为中心的社会主义现代化建设上来，大大发展社会生产力，并在此基础上逐步改善人民的物质文化生活。我去所犯的，根到底，就是坚定不移地“左”倾，而到了“文化大革命”期，竟然提出了反“唯生产力论”一种根本反历史唯物主义的荒谬观点。今后，除了生产大跃进外（那仍然必须进行所需要和容许的），不能再离开重点。党的各项工作都必须服从和服务于经济建设中心，全党干部特别是部队的干部要努力管理、工作和科技。

二、社会主义建设必须从实际出发，量力而行，逐步地实现现代化的目标。我去在工作中中期存在的“左”倾的主要表现，就是离开了客观实际，超越了客观可能性，忽视了生产、管理的效果和各种计划、政策、措施的客观条件，而造成大量的浪费和损失。我必须采取科学态度，深入了解和分析情况，真心听取各方面干部、群众和专家的意见，努力按照客观规律和自然规律办事，努力做到各部门按比例地发展。我必须看到我文化比落后基本事实，同时又必须看到我建设已取得的成就和以及技术交流的大等等的有利条件，并充分利用一些有利条件。既反急于求成，也反消极情绪。

三、社会主义生产关系的变革和完善必须适合于生产力的，有利于生产的发展。生产力和生产关系是我基本的形式，一定范围的公有制是公有制的必要补充。必须进行适合于各种成分的具体管理制度和分配制度。必须在公有制基础上实行计划，同时发挥市场的辅助作用。要大力发展社会主义的商品生产和商品交换。社会主义生产关系的发展并不存在一套固定的模式，我的任务是要根据我生产力发展的要求，在每一阶段上造出与之相适应和便于前进的生产关系的具体形式。

四、在削资灭资以后，斗争已不是主要矛盾。由于国内的因素和国际的影响，斗争在一定范围内存在，在某种条件下有可能激化。既要反对把斗争扩大化的观点，又要反对斗争已熄灭的观点。社会主义的分子在政治上、思想上、文化上、生活上行的各种破坏活动，必须保持高度警惕和进行有效的斗争。必须正确认识我党部大量存在的不同于斗争范围的各种社会矛盾，采取不同于斗争的方法正确地加以解决，否则也危害社会的安定。一定要毫不留情地一切可以调动的力量，固结和扩大。

五、逐步建立高度民主的社会主义政治制度，是社会主义革命的根本任务之一。建设以有重一任，成了“文化大革命”得以产生的一重要条件，是一沉痛教训。必须根据民主集中制的原则加强各国家机关的建设，使各人民代表大及其常机构成为有威力的人民权力机关，在基本政治和基本社会生活中逐步实现人民的直接民主，特别要着重努力发展各城市企业中群众对于企业事务的民主管理。必须巩固人民民主专政，完善国家的宪法和法律并使之成为任何人都必须严格遵守的不可侵犯的力量，使社会主义法制成为人民利益，保障生产秩序、工作秩序、生活秩序，制裁犯罪行为，打击人破坏活动的强大武器。不能使“文化大革命”的混乱局面在任何范围重演。

六、社会主义必须有高度的精神文明。要除期存在而在“文化大革命”期登峰造极的那种教育文化知识和知识分子完全的观念，努力提高教育文化在社会主义现代化建设中的地位和作用，明确肯定知识分子同工人、农民是社会主义事业的依靠力量，有文化和知识分子是不可能建设社会主义的。要在全党大大加强马克思主义的研究，中外历史和现实的研究，各社会科学和自然科学的研究。要加强和改善思想政治工作，用马克思主义世界观和共产主义道德教育人民和青年，坚持德智体全面发展、又红又专、知识分子与工人农民相结合、脑力与体力相结合的教育方针，抵制腐朽没落的思想和封建残余思想的影响，克服小资产阶级的思想影响，祖利益高于一切的主观主义和官僚主义，一切苦精神。

七、改善和发展社会主义的民族关系，加强民族团结，对于我国多民族国家具有重大意义。在民族问题上，去，特别是在“文化大革命”中，我犯把斗争扩大化的严重错误，害了多少民族干部和群众。在工作中，少数民族自治权利尊重不够。教训一定要认真吸取。必须明确，在我的民族关系基本上是各民族人民之间的。必须坚持民族区域自治，加强民族区域自治的法制建设，保障各少数民族地根据本地情况实行党和家政策的自主。要切实帮助少数民族地发展文化，努力培养和提拔少数民族干部。反对一切破坏民族团结和民族平等的言论和行为。要实行宗教信仰自由的政策。坚持四项基本原则并不要求宗教信徒放弃他的宗教信仰，只是要求他不得进行反列主义、毛思想的宣传，要求宗教不得干预政治和干预教育。

八、在危险依然存在的条件下，必须加强现代化的国防建设。国防建设要同国家的建设相适应。人民解放军要加强军事、政治工作、后勤工作和军事科学研究，进一步提高战斗力，逐步把自己建设成为一支强大的现代化的革命军队。要恢复和部队和政之、民之密的优良传统。民兵建设也要进一步加强。

九、在外系上，必须坚持反帝、反霸、反殖、反种族主义，维护世界和平。在和平共处五项原则的基础上，积极发展同世界各国的关系和文化往来。坚持无产阶级国际主义，支持被压迫民族的解放事业、新独立国家的建设和各人民的正义斗争。

十、根据“文化大革命”的教训和党的要求，必须把我党建成具有健全的民主集中制的党。一定要立党必由在群斗中产生的德才兼备的领袖行集体的马克思列宁主义原则，禁止任何形式的人崇拜。一定要党的领袖人物的威信，同保持他的活动于党和人民的监督之下。在高度民主的基础上行高度的集中，坚持少数服从多数、人服从人、下服从上、全党服从中央。政党的党是关系到党的生死存亡的。各党和全体党员干部必须深入群众，深入，谨慎，和群众同甘共苦，克服官僚主义。必须正确使用批评和自我批评的武器，克服离开党的正确原则的各种思想，根除派性，反对无政府主义和极端个人主义，纠正特殊化等不正之风。必须整党的，纯洁党的队伍，清除那些欺压人民的腐化分子。党在家事和各种、文化、社工作中，必须正确处理党同其他的关系，各方面保持国家权力机关、行政机构、司法机构和各种文化有效地行使自己的，保卫工、农、青、学、科、文等群众主动地开展工作。党要加强同党外人士的合作共事，人民政协的作用，在家事的重大问题上同民主党派和无党派人士真诚商榷，尊重他和各方面家的意见。党的各同其他社会一，都必须在法和法律的范围内活动。

(36) 我们正“文化大革命”中所一推翻一的“无产阶级专政下继续革命”口号的，不是革命的任已完成，不需要进行各方面的革命斗争。社会主义不但要消灭一切剥削制度和剥削，而且要大大发展生产力，完善和发展社会主义的生产关系和上层建筑，并在基础上逐步消灭一切差别，逐步消灭一切主要由于生产力发展不足而造成的重大社会差别和社会不平等，直到共产主义的。是人类历史上空前伟大的革命。我们在建设社会主义现代化国家而进行的斗争，正是大革命的一段。这种革命和剥削制度被推翻以前的革命不同，不是通过激烈的反抗和冲突，而是通过社会主义制度本身，有、有步、有秩序地进行。进入和平发展期的革命比过去的革命更深刻，更巨大，不但需要很长的历史时期才能完成，而且仍然需要多代人坚持不懈、守纪律的艰苦奋斗，英勇牺牲。在和平发展的历史期中，革命的道路不是平坦的，仍然有公开的和暗藏的人以及其他破坏分子在伺机，我们必须十分注意提高革命警惕，准备挺身而出，捍卫革命利益。我全体中国共产党和全各族人民，在新的历史期中一定要保持崇高的革命理想和旺盛的革命斗志，把伟大的社会主义革命和社会主义建设行到底。

(37) 建设三十二年成功和失败、正确和的反复比较，特别是近几年的思考和，全党同志和我各族人民的政治觉悟是大大地提高了。我党社会主义革命和建设的程度，虽然超过了建设以任任何一期的水平。我党敢于正和正自己的，有信心有能力防止重犯过去那重的。历史展的看点看，我党的和挫折究只是一的象，而我党和人民由此得到的，我党期斗争形成的骨干队伍的更加成熟，我社会主义制度优越性的更加著，要求祖国盛起的党心、心、民心的更加，是起作用的定性的因素。我的社会主义事业有大的前途，我各族万人民有大的前途。

(38) 党的，党同人民的，是行社会主义现代化建设、取新的胜利的根本保证。只要全党紧密地一致，并且同人民群众紧密地一致，那么，我党和党所行的社会主义事业虽然遇到那的困难，但的必然日益兴旺。

一九四五年党的六中全会一致通过的《关于若干历史问题的决议》，曾一了全党的，加强了全党的，促进了人民革命事业的迅猛前进和大胜利。十一届六中全会相信，这次全会一致通过的《关于建国以来党的若干历史问题的决议》，必起到同等的历史作用。全会号召，在马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想的大旗下，全党、全、全各族人民紧密地在党中央周围，愚公移山的精神，同心同德，排除万难，把我的国家逐步建成现代化的、高度民主的、高度文明的社会主义强国而努力斗争！我的目的就一定要达到！我的目的一定能达到！