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Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China

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

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Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China

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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 Haileng-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 splitism, 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 guerilla 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 (Yangtse), 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
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 weaved 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
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 Zhihui 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 legitimatized 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’etat. 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-Lang 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
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 con-fronted 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 unwaveringly 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-whatever’s” policy and fully affirmed the need to grasp Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately as a scientific system. It highly evaluated the forum on the criterion of truth and decided on the guiding principle of emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking forward to the future. It firmly discarded the slogan “Take class struggle as the key link,” which had become unsuitable in a socialist society, and made the strategic decision to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization. It declared that attention should be paid to solving the problem of serious imbalances between the major branches of the economy and drafted decisions on the acceleration of agricultural development. It stressed the task of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. It examined and redressed a number of major unjust, false and wrong cases in the history of the Party and settled the controversy on the merits and demerits, the rights and wrongs, of some prominent leaders. The plenary session also elected additional members to the Party’s central leading organs. These momentous changes in the work of leadership 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 corruption 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 he 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 
war. He explained that it would be necessary to effect an appropriate change in military strategy 
simultaneously with the changing balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and with the 
progress of the war. He worked out a set of strategies and tactics for the revolutionary army to 
wage people’s war in conditions when the enemy was strong and we were weak. These strategies 
and tactics 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 or 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 forties, 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 waivered, 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 forties 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 unwaveringly 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全会第六次全体一致通过）

建以前二十八年史的回忆

（1）中共党自一九二二年成立以后，已走六十年的斗争。了党在建以前二十八年的，有必要略地回顾一下建以前二十八年党人民行的新民主主革命斗争。

（2）中共党是马克思列宁主义同中国工人相合的产物，是在俄十月革命和我“五四”运动的口号下，在列宁的指导下生存的。大的革命先行者中山先生一九一一年的辛亥革命，推翻了清王朝，结束了千多年的封建帝制。但是，中山的半殖民地，半封建性并未有，无是的民党，是其他和小政派，都有也不可能找到家和民族的出路。只有中共党人才人民指出了中出路在于推翻帝主、封建主的反帝反封建的斗争，并而入社主。中共党成立只有五十多党，斗争烈的工人和大人民群众的反帝反封建斗争，很快开展中人民前所未有的力量。

（3）中共党在各族人民新民主主而斗争的程中，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惨失的痛苦。期武斗和各方面、各种形式的密切配合，于在一九四九年取得了革命的胜利。

一九二七年，介石和汪精控制的民党，不以宋杰出代表的民党左派的反，背叛了中山所定的共合作政策和反帝反封建政策，起了共主，酷刑共党和人民革命党。比幼稚，又在秀秀投降主的下，致使革命在强大突然下遭到重失，已展到六万多党而只剩下了一万党员。

党仍然强地斗、周思等同志的南昌起打的武反抗民党反派的第一。党的“八七”确定了行土地革命和工起的方向，后行了秋收起、工起和其他多地的起。同志的湖南江西和地的秋收起、建了工。革命第一，在井山建立了第一个革命根据地。德同志的起部不久就到井山，革命斗争，建立了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、湘鄂川黔等地，建立了工第一、第二、第四方面和其他多部，建立了民党和其他革命，展了群革命斗。在土地革命中，民德同志直接的主一方面和中央革命根据地起了最重要的作用。各方面民党的多次“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，同在那里慢斗的北和先期到的二十五相合。第一、第二、第四方面也先后征到北。主力转移后的一些南方根据地，民党苦的游，民党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殆的情下保存下，且在以后能的分裂主，胜利地完成征，打的革命新局，的史上是一生死攸的折点。

在日本帝国主加的侵略、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，推共再组合作、抗日，起了重大的史作用。抗、民党治共反共反民，消抗极，因而在抗日的正面上退。我党持一中立自主的政策，密地依靠大人民群众，展后游，建立了抗日根据地。由改的八路、新四迅速地展成抗的力。北抗日，在十分困的情下慢斗。在和民党处，展了各种形式抗日斗。中人民的抗日才能持八年之久，同和民党处的反法西斯互相支援，抵抗了日本帝国的最后胜利。

抗日期，我国党一九四二年始在全党行整。思想的教育收到的巨大的成效。在此基础上，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。抗日争后，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。党在全各解放盟全的全力支持下，在民党生、工入和各人民的有力配合下，各民主党派和无党派民主人士的合，解放了三年多的解放，沈、平津、淮海三大役和渡江作，介石的八百万，推翻了民党反政府，建立了的中人民共和。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 的展是一极大的。

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。了史 史空前强大的政治。

三、中 革命的胜利，主要是依靠我党所的完全新型的与人民血肉相的人民，通 期人民胜强大人取得的。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、自力更生的原依靠各 各民族人民自有的力量，千辛万苦，胜多 阻才取得的。

五、中 革命的胜利，在我 束了极少 削治立人民的史，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中 革命，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，和和世界人民在的展具有深刻久的影。

（5）新民主主 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的，毛同志就已明指出立 民族的极端重要性以及在上的危。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 革命力量的主要代表。在一九二七年至一九四九的二十二年中，毛同志和党的其他 人一道，克服重重困难，逐步制定和行了使革命由重失胜利的的略和政策。如果他有毛同志多次的总统中革命，果如果有没有他首的党中央，全、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 各族人民的核一毛同志被公 中共党和 各族人民的 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史的展的必然果。

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，形成和展了五六十民族平等互助的社主 民族系。和固了全工人、民、知分子和其他各民族的大，批准和大了中共的，同各 民主派、人民体通力合作的，由全体社主者、社主的和社 的一的者成的，包括社主同胞、港澳同胞和外在的泛一。

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

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，逐步建立了立的完的工体系和民体系。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，增加二十六倍多，到四千一百多 元；棉，量增三倍五，到二百九十三万吨；原煤量增二倍四，到六二十二万吨；量增四十四，到三千多度；原油量到一零五百多万吨；到三千七百多万吨；机械工业量增三十三倍，到一千二百七十多 元。在的 地和少民族地，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三千多万人，江、河、湖、海、江、海、珠江、河、松花江等大江大河的一般洪水害得到初步控制。解放前我村几乎无机械、化肥和力，在用拖拉机，排灌机械和化肥施用量都大大加强，用量等于解放初全容量的七倍。

一九八〇年与一九五二年相比，全粮食增二倍，棉花增一倍多。粮人口增快，已在近十，我仍然依靠自己的力量基本上保了人民吃、穿衣的需要。

七、城商外易都有很大增。一九八〇年与一九五二年相比，全民所有商收商品由一百七十五元增加到二千二百六十三元，增二十一点九倍，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、商的展，人民生活比解放前有了很大的改善。一九八〇年，全城民每人消费水平，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二万四百万人，比一九五二年增二点七倍。三十二年，高等校和中等校毕业近九百万。人才。科技、人造星和火箭等方面的成就，表出我的科技水平有很大提高。文方面作了一大批人民服、社、服的优秀作品，群体育事蓬勃展，不少目取得出色的成。烈性传染病或基本消，城人民的健康水平大大提高，平均寿命大延。

九、人民解放在新的史条件下得到大和提高，由的展包括海、空和其他技兵种在的合成。野、地方和公民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，和持和平共五原，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，支持和援助被压迫民族的解放事、新立家的建事和各人民的正斗，反帝主、霸主、民主和种族主，世界和平，在事中越越重大的极作用。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。

（八）中建立的，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”全据性的，的重。就使得我有取得本取得的更大成就，忽、掩蔽，是不允的，本身是的。而且招致更多更大的。但是，三十二年我取得的成就主要是的，忽或否我的成就，忽或否取得成就的成功，同是重的。我的成就和成功是党和人民性地用克列宁主的果，是社主制度优越性的表，是全党和各族人民前的基。“持真理，修正”，是我党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

（九）一九四九年七十年中，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，迅速恢复了新并展有科的建，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，党确定的指方和基政策是正确的，取得的胜利是煌的。

（十）建后的三年，我清了民反派在大的余武力量和土匪，西藏的和平解放，建立了各地的人民政府，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，反革命，展了反污、反浪、反官僚的“三反”，展了打退攻的反行、反骗漏、反家、反霸工、反家情的“五反”。中教育科文化事，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。

（十一）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，逐步家的社工化，步步家、手工和本主工商的社主改造。路反映了史的必然性。

一、家的社工化，是家立和富强的然要求和必要件。
二、新民主主 革命在全 胜利和土地制度改革在全 完成以后, 的主要矛盾已 工人 和 之, 社 主 道路和 工主 道路之 的矛盾, 家需要有利 民生的 工主 工商 有一定的 展, 但 工主 工商 的 展也必然出 不利于 民生的一面, 就不能不 生限制和反限制的 斗。在 工主 工商 和 家的 各 政策里, 在它 和社 主 之, 在它 和工 主 工 之 各族人民之, 利益 突越 越 明。打 托机倒 把, 整和改 工商, 行“五反”, 工人 监督、粮棉 等一系列必要的措施和步, 必然地把原 落后、混 畸形 展, 唯利是 的 工主 工商 逐步引 上社 改造的道路。

三、我 体 民, 特 是在土地改革中新 得土地而缺少其他生 料的 下中, 了避免重新借高利 甚至 典 出 土地, 生 极化, 了 展生, 修水利, 抗御自然 害, 采用 机械和其他新技, 确有走互助合作道路的要求。着工 化的 展, 一方面 品的需要日益增大, 一方面 技 改造的支援日益增强, 也是促 体 向合作化方向 展的一 力。

史 明, 党提出的 渡 期 路是完全正确的。

（12）在 渡 期中, 我 党 造性地 去了一 适合中 特点的社 主 改造的道路。 本主 工商, 我 造了 委托加工、 杀、 包, 委托 代、公私合、全行 公私合 等一系列 低到高 的 家 本 主的 渡形式, 最后了 克思主列宁曾 想 的 的和平 。体, 我 遵循自原本利, 典型示范和 家 助的原, 造了 互助 和常 年互助, 展到社 主 性的初 生 合作社, 再 展到社 主 性的高 生 合作社的 渡形式。于 体手工 的 改造, 也采取了 似的方法。在改造程 中, 家 本 主 和合作 表 明的优越性。到一九五六年, 全 大部分地 基本上完成了 生 料私有制的社 主 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 和 体工商 的改造要求 急, 工作相, 改 快, 形式也 理, 以致在 期 留了一些 。一九五六年 本 工 改造基本完成以后, 于一部分原工商 者 的 使用和 理也不理。但整 , 在一 几 人口的大 中 比利地 了如此复 国和深刻的社 革, 促 了工 和整 民 的 展, 的确是 大的 史性胜利。

（13）我 第五一 划的 建, 依靠我 自己的努力, 加上 和其他友好 家的支援, 同 取得了重大的 成就。一批 家工 化所必需 而又非常薄弱的基 工 建立了起。一九五三年到一九五六年, 全 工 均每年 增百分之十点六, 均每年 增百分之四点八。 展比 快, 效果比 好, 重要 部 之的比例比。市 纸, 物价 定。人民生活 著改善。一九五六年四月, 毛 同志 (十 大) 的, 初步 了我社主 建 的 , 提出了探索适合我 情的社主 建 道路的任。
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“一致”、又有“一心情舒生活，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，具有的一指意。毛同志在正大”和人民公社化中，民的提出了不能，不能超越段，反平均主，强展商品生、遵守价律和做好合平衡，主以情序安排民划等；少奇同志提出了多生可作商品行流通和社主社有要种制度，种教育制度的点；周恩来同志提出了知分大己是人民的知分，科技在我代化建中具有的性作用等点；毛同志提出了划指必切合，建模必同力相适，人民生和家建必合，制定划必好做物，政、信、平衡等点；小平同志提出了于财工及，改善和加强企管理，行工代表大制等；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值的点，所有些，在和以后都有重的意。党中央在整民程中制定的村人民公社作例草案和工、商、教育，科、文等方面的工作例草案，比系地了社主建的，分定了其情的各具体政策，至今我仍然有重要的借作用。

之，我在以行代化建的物技基，很大一部时是期建起的；全文化建等的骨干力量和他作，大部分也在是期培和起累的。是期作的主方面。

（17）十年中，作的工作在指方上有重失，了曲折的展程。

一九五七年的作，由于真行党的八大正确的方，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，极右派分子乘机鼓吹所大太放，我党生和社主制度放肆地攻，妄取代共党的，种攻行的反是完全正确和必的。但是反右派斗被重地大化了，把知分。人民作和干部划右派分子，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，其正确的映是反映了大人民群迫切要求国我文化落的普遍愿望，其特点是国了的律。在次前后，全党中央和全各民族在生建中，高度的社主极性和造精神，并得了一定的成果。但是，由于社主建不足，展律中基情不足，更由于毛同志、中央和地方不少同志在胜利面前透了傲自情，急于求成，夸大了主义和主努力的作用，有真查研究和，就在路提出后率地”大”和村人民公社化，使得以高指、指、浮和”共”主重要志的重地泛。一九五八年底到一九五九七年中央政治局山前期，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。八中全在所”彭德怀、克、天、周小舟反党集”是完全的。斗在政治上使党中央到基的民主生活受到重害，在上打了正的程，使延了更。主要由于大”和反右的”，加上自然害和政府背信地毁合，我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的中，井且定民行整、固、充、提高”的方，即在少奇、周恩来、小平、云的等同志的主持下，制定和行了一系列正确的政策和果的措施，是史段中的重。一九六二年一月召的有七万人加的的大中央工作，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，左在工作的事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八十中全，毛同志把招主社中一定范存在的斗大化和化，展了他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的矛盾的点。一步言在整社主史段都存在和企夏解，并成党生修正主的根源。一九六三年至一九五六年，在部分村和新城市基展的社主教育，然于解干部作和管理等方的起了一定作用，但由于把些不同性的都斗或者是斗在党在的反映，一在九六四年下半年生使不少干部受到不有的打，在一九六五年初又提出了的动是整所党走本主道路的派。在意形域，但一些文作品、点和文界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，并且在展成”文化大革命”了火。不，些有到支配全局的程度。

由于合和全各民族人民的主要注意力一九六〇年冬以后一直在行整的正确方，社主建逐步地革新出欣欣向的景象。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。

一九六五年底到一九六六年中初的第三全人民代表大会宣布：整民主任已基本完成，整民入一新的展期，要努力把我逐步建成一具有代、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。
“文化大革命”的十年

“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，反革命的修正主义分子，已混 党里，政府里，里和文化 域的各界里，相大的多的位的已不在 党和人民群手 这个。党走本主 道路的，派在中央形成了这一派，它有一修正主 的政治路 和。在，各各，市，自治 和中央各部 都有代理人。去的各种都不解，只行文革的，公 地，全面地，自下而上地 大群 投述的黑暗面，才能把被走派篡的力重新同。上一推翻的一政治大革命，以后 要行多少。有些主要地出在文革的，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 正 革命的理”，而使“无 政革一”有了特定的含。毛 同志“文化大革命”的，同 事，明 混 了作 克思列宁主 普遍和中 革命具体 相的毛 思想的 道，必一它同毛 思想全部。至于毛 同志所用的林彪，江青等人。他 成 最大 力的反革命集，利用毛 同志的，背着他 行了大量 残民的活， 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。

“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，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”否定了以十七年大量 的正方政策和成就，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 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 主的骨干力量。党根本 不存在所以为“少奇，平首”的，司令部。确的事明，硬加 少奇同志的所在“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 所陷于 、半 、党的各干部普遍受到批判和斗，大党 被停止了 生活，党期 依靠的多级分子和基本群受到排斥。“文化大革命”初期被卷入 的多大，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“大天大”到“天下大治”。在我，在人民民主 政建立以后，尤其是社 主改革基本完成， 列 作 已消以后，然社 主 革命的任 要最后完成，但是革命的信和方法已同 去根本不同。于党和家肌体中确存在的某些 暗面，然需要作出给的估 并用合法、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。

（二）“文化大革命”的程 三段。

一，“文化大革命”到一九六九年四月的第九次全 代表大。一九六六年五月中央政治局大和同 为一月八日三中全的 召，是“文化大革命”全的志。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 明反党集”和所“少奇、小平司令部”行了的斗，党中央 机改 行 了 的改，成立了所“中央文革小”并 了掌握的很大部分力。毛 同志的的 人上取代了党中央的集体，毛 同志的人崇拜被吹到了狂的程度。林彪、江青、康生、等 人主要利用所“中央文革小”的名，乘机“打倒一切、全面”一九六七二月前后，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、地方的党政机构几乎都被改、派人民解放行三支（支左、支工、支、管），在的清下是必要的。定局起了极的作用，但也了一些消极的后果。党的九大使“文化大革命”的理和合法化，加强了林彪、江青、康生等人在中央的地位。九大在思想上、政治上和上的指都是的。

二、党的九大到一九七三年八月党的第十次全代表大会。一九七四年至一九七一年生了林彪反革命集团。取最高利益、策动反革命武政的事件。是“文化大革命”推翻党的一系列基本原因的，全党一致宣告了“文化大革命”的理和的失。毛、恩、同志智地粉碎了次批。周恩来同志在毛、同志支持下主持中央日常工作，使各方面的工作有了。一九七三年，在批判林彪的过程中，周恩来同志正确的提出要批判极左思潮的意见，是一九六七年二月以后多次中央同志要求“文化大革命”正确的，毛、同志却地的任仍然是反极右。党的十大九大左，是派王洪文上了中央副主席。在政治局成“四人”，江青反革命集团的力又得到加强。

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。同有的地方和位负责人与林彪反革命集团活的。的和事不同，江青等人的矛是是指向周恩来同志的。毛、同志问是批准展所批林批孔，在江青等人借机行篡活以后，又他做了批，宣布他是“四人”。指出江青有党内主席和操的野心。一九七五年，周恩来同志病重。小平同志在毛、同志支持下主持中央日常工作，召了委、大和解决、交通、科技等方面的一系列，着手各方面的工作行正，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，又所了批。反右翻案，全因此而再度陷入混乱。一九七六年一月周恩来同志逝世。周恩来同志党和人民无限忠，鞠躬尽瘁。他在“文化大革命”中于非常困的地位。他全大局，任、想和家的正常工作，量少“文化大革命”所造成的，保大批的党外干部，作了持之以恒的努力，使人心。他林彪、江青反革命集团的破坏行各种形式的。他的逝世引起了全党和各民族人民的无限悲痛。同年四月，在全范掀起了以天安门事件为代表的悼念周、理、反“四人”的大抗议。上是小平同志代表的党的正确，它后粉碎江青反革命集团奠定了的基。中央政治局和毛、同志天安事件的性作出了的判，并且撤了小平同志的党外一切。一九七六年九月毛同志逝世，江青反革命集团加取党和和家最高的活。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团，结束了全党、全和各民族人民期待取得大胜利。粉碎江青反革命集团的斗中，、先等同志起了重要作用。

（2）于“文化大革命”中全局势的，的左、右、毛、同志有主要任。但是，毛、同志的筑是一个大的无。革命家所犯的。毛、同志常注意要克服我党党和家生活中存在着的缺点的，但他晚年多不能有能加以正确的分析。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，始自己的理和是筑主的。是固无政所必需的，是他的悲所在的。他全大局和处理“文化大革命”中，但也制止和正一些具体，保一些党的干部和党外著名人士，使一些干部重新回重要的位。他了粉碎林彪反革命集团的斗，江青、春等行重要的批和揭露，不他取最高、的野心得逞。都后我党力地粉碎“四人”起了重要作用。他晚年仍然警地注意我的安全，住了我。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偏的重要思想。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工作的有，有各族各界代表人物出席的第四全人民代表大会能召并且确定了以周恩来、小平同志为核心的。我，我社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止重要影。一些事都同志的巨大作用分。因一切，特是因他革命事的主，中人民始把毛、同志看作是自己敬的大和同。

（2）党和人民在“文化大革命”中同。和林彪、江青反革命集团的斗是曲折的，是一直有停止的。“文化大革命”过程的总考表明：的党的中央和它所出的政治局、政治局常委、的成，大多都站在斗的正确的方面。我党的干部，无曾是被地打倒的，或是一直持工作和先后恢复工作的，大多在忠于党和人民的。社、主、共事的信念是定的。遭到打和折磨的知分子、模范、民主人士，以及各民族的干部和群众，大多都有在社和社、社主的立。在“文化大革命”中受迫害而的。少奇、彭德怀、龙、等党和家人的以及其他一切党外同志，永被在各族人民心中。正是由于全党有大工、民、残、知分子和群众的共同斗争，使“文化大革命”破坏受到了一定程度的限制。我民然遭到巨大，仍然取得了事。粮食和保持了成。工、交通、基本建和科技方面取得了一些重要成就，其中包括一些新路和南京江大、建，一些技先的大型企投，和人造星射回的成功的，型交水稻的育成和维等。在同家的下，人民解放仍然英勇地保着家的安全。外工作也打新的局面。然，一切不是“文化大革命”的成果，如果有关于“文化大革命”，我事取得大得多的成就。在“文化大革命”中，我管遭到林彪、江青反革命集团的破坏，于胜了他。党和人民、和整社性都有改。生再次表明，我人民是大人民，我党和社主制度具有大而强的生命力。
（２４）“文化大革命”所以 生且持 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。主要是：

一、社 主 的 史不，社 主 家的 史更短，社 主 社 的 展律有些已 比 清楚，更多的 有待于 探索。我 党 去 于 年和激烈 斗 的 境中，于迅速到 的新生的社 主 社 和全 模的社 主 建 事，缺乏充分的思想 准 和科 研。克恩 恩 格斯、列宁 斯大林的科 著作为我 行 的 指，但是不可能我 党 主 事 中的各种 提供 成首。 想象上 看，由于我 党的 史特点，在社 主 改造基本完成以后，在 察和理 社 主 展 中出 的 政治、 文化等方面的新矛盾新，容易把已 不 斗 的 仍然相看是 斗 ，并且面 新 件下的 斗 ，又 与沿用去而已不能照的 行大 模 暴力群性 斗 的 方法和，而 斗 的 重大化，同， 种 水 生活的主 的思想和做法，由于把 克恩、恩格斯、列宁 斯大林著作中的某些 想和 点加以 解或解化，反而得有“理 根据”，例如： 社 主 在消 料分配中通行的等量 相交的 平等 利，即 克恩所的“ 利”限制和批判，因而分配原和物 利益原 就 限制和批判； 社 主 改造基本完成以后小生 每日每 地大批地 生 本主和，因而形成一系列的城 政策和城 斗政策； 党 的思想分歧都社 斗 的反映，因而形成繁琐的党 斗，等等。 就使我 把 斗 斗化的闷 成保 克恩主的 活性。此外，人起挑 社 主之的原 家，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。在种情的形下，我在 斗反修防修，使 斗 大化的闷日益深入到党，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。 党就很快 抵制不了 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 主 建 一新任 因而需要特 慎的 候，毛 同志的威望到 高峰。他逐 于，逐 社 主群，社 主 和人 作 于 日益 重，日益 清于 党中央之上，使党和 家政治生活中的集体 原和民主集中制受 到削弱以至破坏。种 象是逐 形成的，党的中央 此 一定的 任。 克恩主的 看着， 复象是一定事 史 的物，如果 奚于某人或若干人，就不能使全党得到深刻 效，并找开找有效的改革步。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 主史由于 有正确认 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 史俱 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 主制 在思想政治方面 的毒仍然不是容易 清的，种种 史象原因又使我 有能把民和家政治生的民主加以制度化，法律化，或者然制定了法律，却 有 的威。 使提供了一种 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）一九六七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 批判 江青反革命集 的罪行，清查他 的反革命 洄体系，取得了很大成，党和 家的整，致案的平反，始部分地 行。工 生 得到比 快的恢复，教育科文化工作也 走向正常，党 外同志越 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乱不容易在短期 消除，同 也 由于 任党中央主席的 同志在 政治上 灰了左的。 同志是由毛 同志在一九六七年”批”中 提 任党中央第一副主席 象 院 理的。他在粉碎江青反革命集的 斗 中有功，以后做了有益的工作。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 不谙地遵循）的 方 ；制一九八八 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 连假 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国代表大会，在批捕“四人”和 全党建社主 代化强 方面起了 极作用。但是，由于 史件的限制和 同志的 限， 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 政策的， 同志也 有 任，很明，由他 正主 的 古 特是恢复党的优良， 是不可能的。

（２６）一九七八年十二月召开的十一 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、准确地掌握毛思想的科体系；高度 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 ” 不适用于社主社 口的口，作出了把工作重点 移到社 主 代化建 上 的 策；提出了要注意解好 民重大比例 重 有 的要求，制 于 加快 展的 定；着重提高了健全社 主民主和加强社主 法制的任 ；查和解了党的历史上一批重大假案 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 克恩主的 思想路、政治路 和 路。此，党掌握了 正反的主， 有地 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、在三中全提出的解放思想、事事求是的 召下，大干部和群 去盛行的人崇拜和主的精神枷 中解出，党外思想的 出了努力研究新情 解新 的史象。 了正确地 解放思想的，并及地重申持社 主 道路，持人民民主 政即无 政，持共 党的，持马克思列宁主、毛 思想 四 基本 原，重申民主和集中不可偏的原理，并指出 削 作 已 涩，但 斗仍 在一定范 存在的基 本事。党的四中全 通 的英同志在 四中 三十年大上的，既充分肯定了建 以党和人民所取得的大成就，又 党在去工作的 作了自我批，家的光明前途作了，加强了全党和全 各族人民的。一九八八年的中央政治局，提出反 思想和 源政治思想上的封建余毒的 史性任。同年十一月的中央工作，定加强党的领导工作，加强建社 主 精神文明，批判反四 基本原的 思潮，打破破社 主 事 的反革命活，全 安定、生活 的政治局面 生了重大的良好影。 二、党在一九七九年四月召的中央工作 上提出整 民行整、改革、整、提高的方，正前年 工作中的失，真清理去在 方面 方存的左 影。党指出 建必 适我情，符合律和自然律；必 量力而行，循序前， 求效， dise 的展同人民生活的改善密切合；必在持 自力、自力更生的基 上，极展外 合作和技交流。在某些指下，工的展加快了，工 形正朝着合理的 方展；包括大 事，恢复工代表制度和加强企的民主管理，政分管理等的管理体制的改革，正合 整有步地行，党真 救合作化后期以村工作上的失，提高 副品价格，推行各种形式的 酬任制，恢复并适 大自留地，恢复村集市易，展村和布村，极大力了 民的极性。年的粮食量是建 以最高的，作物和 副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、大量切的研，原中共中央副主席、中人民共和 主席 少奇同志以及感受悲的其他党和 家、各族各界的 袖人物恢复了名，肯定了他在期革命斗中党和人民建的史功。 四、在全 疑和和平反了大量的冤 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 ；已改造成者的 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 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 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。五中全增 政治局常委，成立中央，有力地加强了党中央的 和中央和各 律查委的建立，《于政 政治生活的若干准》和其他有法的制定，各 党的机和律查机正不正 机的工作，提高了党的斗了，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，由于整了院的成行党政改工，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，真统一了的政策，都取有了重要的成就。 之，三中全以，毛思想的科原理和党的正确的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 （2.7）毛 同志是 大的马克思者，是 大的无 革命家、理家和家。他然在文化大革命中犯了重，但是就他的一生看，他 中革命的功 大于他的 失。他的功是第一的，是第二的。他我党和 中人民解放 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 步事 作出了重大的。 （2.8）以毛 同志主要代表的中共党人，根据马克思列宁主的基本原理，把中 期革命 中的一系列性 作了理概括，形成了适合中 情的科的指思想，就是马克思列宁主 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。靠背马克思列宁主
般原理和照搬外，不可能解 些。主要在本世 二十年代后期和三十年代前期在共 主 中和我党 盛行的把 共 有 的 有 神圣化的 向，曾使我 之 革命几乎陷于 境。毛 思想是在同 种 向作斗 并深 方面的 史 的 程中结 成形和 展起的。它对 土地革命、 后期和抗 日期 得到系 和多方面展 而到成 熟。在解放 期中 共 人民局 成立以后 得到 展。毛 思想是 克 释列宁主 在中 的用和 展，是被 明的于中 革命的正确的理 原 和，是 共 有 党集体智慧的 晶。我 党 多卓越 入 它的形成和 展都作出了重要，毛 志同 著作是它的集中概括。

（29）毛 思想具有多方面 的容。它以 性 理 丰富和 展了 克 释列宁主。

一、于新民主主 革命。毛 同志 中的 史 和社 出，深刻研究中 革命的特点和中 革命的律，展了 克 释列宁主 主无 在民主革命中的 的思想，立了无的、工 群 基 的的、人民大的、反帝主、封 海 和官僚主 的新民主主 革命的理。 方面的主要著作有：《中社 各 的分析》、《潮 民 考察告》、《星之火，可以燎原》、《共 党人》刊、《新民主主》、《合政府》、《目前形和我 的任》。其基本点，一是中 有 部分，一部分是依附于帝主 的大（即、官僚），另一部分是既有革命要求又有 性的民族。无 的一要取民族 加，并且在特殊 件下把一部分大 也包括在 包来最高限度地孤立 主要的 人。在同 成 ，要保持无的 立性，行又 又斗、以斗求 的政；在被迫同 、主要是同大分裂。要敢于并善于同大 行的武斗，同 要取民族 的同情或中立。二是 由于中 有 民主，反 挺 借武力 行恐怖治。革命只能以期的武斗 主要形式。中的武斗，是无的 以 民 主体的革命。民是无的最可靠的同盟，无 有可能和必 要使自己的先 用先 思想， 性 和律 提高民群的 理水平，建立村根据地， 期行革命，展和 大革命力量。毛 同志指出，一“一武斗，是 胜人的 基本武器”，加上党本身的建，就成 革命的“三法”。以上 上，就是中 共 想所以能成 全民族的 核心，并且 造出一 以 包 城市，最后 取全 胜利的道路的基本依据。

二、于社 主 革命和社 主 建。毛 同志中和共 想，依据新民主主 革命胜利所 造的向社 主 渡的政 治件，采取社 主 工化和社 主 改造同 方 面，行逐步改革生 科私有的具体政策，理 和 解 了在 中 一 占世界人口近四分之一的、 文化落后的与 中建立社 主 制度的 任。毛 同志提出的 人民部的民主 方面和 反 的政方面互相合起 就是人民民主 政的理，丰富了 克 释列宁主 于无 政的。在社 主 制度建立以后，毛 同志指出，在 社 主 制度下，人民的根本利益是一致的，但人民部 存着各种矛盾，必 格分和正确 理 我矛盾和人民部矛盾。他提出人民部 要在政治上 行“批一 批一”在党民主应民主的 系 上行“期存共”、相等，和民主文化工作 中行“百花齐放、百家”，在 工作中 行 全 城 各 安排和兼 家、集 团、人三者利益等一系列正确方。他多次强 要机械搬用 外的，而要 中 是一 大 种情 出，以基，正确 理工同 工，系 的，分重 展 和 工，走出一 适合我 情的中 工 化道路。他强在 社 主 建 中要 理好 建和防建，大型企和中小型企， 族和少 民族，沿海和 地，中央和地方，自力更生和 外 等各种 系，理好 累和消 的 系，注意 合平衡。他 强 人是企的人，要 行干部 加，工人 加管理，改革不合理的 规章制度和技 人，工人，干部”三 合。他提出了 一 之结，化消极因 极因，以便 全 民族人民建 社 主 强 大家 的。他指出，毛 同志中 社 主 革命和社 主 建 的重要思想，集中地体 在《在中 共 第七 中央委 第二次全体 上的》、《人民主政》、《十 大 系》、《于正确 理人民部矛盾的》、《在 大的中央工作 上的》等主要著作中。

三、于革命 的建和事略。毛 同志系地解 了以 民 主要成分的革命 如何建 成 一 支无 性 的，具有 格 律的、同人民群 保持密 系的新 族的 的。他 定了全心全意 人民服是 人民的 的一种，定是党指 而不是 指 人的原，制定的三部 律。注意，强 行政治、事 三大民主，行 官兵一致，民一致和解 视的原，提出和 了主 政治工作的方 和方法。他在《正 想》、《中 革命 的略》、《抗洪 游 略》、《持 进》、《和 略》等事著作， 了中 期革命 的，地地提出了建人民 的思想，提出 了以 人，骨干，依靠 大人民群，建立村根据地，行人民 的思想，他把游 提出了 的地位，中 革命在 期的主要作 式是游和 游 的。他 述了要 甲 我力量 比的化 和 展，的程，正确地 行 事略 的。他 革命 制定了在强我的形 下 行略的持 和 抵 抗 的 速 ，把略上的劣 优。手上的优，集中 优 力，各 人一系人民的 的略。他 在解放 中 出著名的十大 事原。些是毛 同志 克 释列宁主 的 事理 的刚 杰出的。在建 以后，他提出必 加强 机，建 代 革命军 力量（包括海、空 以及其他技 机）和代 代 防 机（包括用于的 核武器）的重要指 思想。

四、于政策和策略。毛 同志精辟地 了革命中政策和策略的 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 的出点和宿，必 根据政 形， 统和情 及其 化制定党的政策，把原 性和 活性 合 起。他在 斗 和 一 等方面，提出了 多重要的政策和战略思想。他指出：弱小的革命力量在 化着的主 客件下能 机 胜强大的反 力量；略上要 脑，上要重 人；要掌握斗 的主要方向，不要四面出；人 要 待、分化瓦解，行利用矛盾，取多、反 少、各 破的策略；在反 游地，把合法斗 和非法斗 合起
五、于思想政治工作和文化工作。毛同志在《新民主主》中指出：“一定的文化（作概念的文化）是一定的政治和的反映，又予以大政治作用于一定的政治和；而政治是 的集中表。”他根据基本点，在方面提出多具有重要思想，例如：于思想政治工作是工作和其他一切工作的生命，要进行政治和，一、政治和技一、一。一、二、于民族的、科的、大，文化，行百花齐放，推出新、古今杂、洋中用的方。于知分子在革命中中具有重要作用，知分子要同工相合，通、克列宁学、社和工作、立无世界的，等等。他指出“什么人谁，是一根根本的，原的。”要全心全意为人民，革命工作要极端，要奋斗和不怕斗争。毛同志于思想政治文化的著名著作，例如《青年的方向》、《大量收集知分子》、《在延安文座》、《念求求恩》、《人民》、《愚公移山》等，至今仍有重要意。

六、于干部的建。在无产阶级努力、民和民族小、占人口大大的家，干一具大群体性的。克列宁的无，政，是极其巨的任。毛同志的建政，成功的解了。方面的主要著作有：《自由主》、《中共党在民族》、《政治改革》、《整的作》、《反七股》、《和》、《于健全党制度》、《工作方法》等。他着重于思想上建，提出党不要在上入立，而且要在思想上上党，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，和人民群众密切的作在一起，以及自我批的作，是中共党于无他任何政党著著志。他于革命中斗争存在的“斗恶、无情打”的左，提出“前言后，治病救人”的方，强于新中斗争中到既搞清思想又同志的目的。他造了在全党通批与自我批的作，克列宁主思想教育的形，建前夕和建，于我党成，全政的党。毛同志多次提出要保持，情、戒、戒躁，斗，作，警惕，思想的侵，在群的官僚群。

（三）毛思想，思想的魂，是串于上述各成部分的立、点和方法。它有三基本方面，即事事求，群，立自，毛同志把唯物主和史唯物主用于无政党的全部工作，在革命的期斗争中形成了具有中共党入的特色，点和方法，丰富和展了克列宁学。它不表在《反本本》、《和》、《矛盾》、《村查》的序言和序、《于方法的若干》、《人的正确思想是那里？》等重要著作中，而且表在毛同志的全部政著作中，表在中共党人民的革命活中。

一、事事求，是，的出，理，系，就是要把克列宁学普同原则同革命具体相合。毛同志反离中社和中革命的去研究，克列宁。毛在一九三○年，他就提出反本本，强查研究是一切工作的第一步，有查就有言。他在延安整，前指出，主是共党的一员，是性不的一种表。些破彼破了数主的束，把人的思想得到一大解放。他的著作和其他多包含着丰富哲思想的著作，革命的数，深入地述和丰富了克列宁的和方法。毛同志着重明唯物主是能的革命的实际，强充分根据和符合科学的自的。他以社，基，全面地面地述了唯物主和的源泉，的伸展，目的，真理的准，实；研究正确的形成和展，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，而存在，相，而展的，真理是不可的，的是非即，是否符合客，最只能通社，解。毛同志述和了克列宁学的核的——立一。他指出不研究客事物的矛盾的普遍性，尤其重要的研究它具体的矛盾，于非不性的事物，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，同研究密切合，加上活，他使其真真正无和人民群众世界和造世界的利。特是他在述中革命的重要的著作，提供了在中用和展克列宁和法的最光的范例。毛同志的上述的思想之，我党必永持。

二、群路，就是一切群，一切依靠群，群中，到群中。把克列宁学于人民群是史的造者的原理地用地在群的工作中，形成党在一切工作中的群，是我党期在为力量的，境里行革命活的无比的。毛同志常强，只要我依靠人民，地相信人民的造力是无的，而得信任人民，和人民打成一片，那在任何困难中都无法克服，任何人不会到我，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，行和群相合，一般召和指相合，就是，群的意集中起，化系的意，又到群中持下去，在群的中考，意是否正确，如此循往复，使的更正确，更新更丰富，。毛同志就把克列宁的同党的群路一起了。党是的先，党是人民的利息而存在和斗的，但是党永只是人民的一小部分，干在，人民的一切斗和理想都落，而目我都得毫无意。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痛的道。在我一大，尤其主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的智慧和力量，无，革命和建都不能取得胜利，胜利了也不可能固。然，我的革命和建并不是也不可能孤立于世界之外，我在任何时都需要取外援，特需要外一切我有益的事物。表中共产，中各族人民的伟无畏的英雄气概。我主各人民和共平，平等互助。我持独立，也尊重人民立自主的利。适合本特的事革命和建，道路，只能由本人民自己找、造和定，任何人都无自自己的意强加于人。只有，才能有真正的主，否，就只能是霸主。在今后的交往中，我永持的立。

1931毛思想是我党党的精神富，它期指我行。由克列宁主，毛思想培育的党的者和大批干部，去是的我事取得巨大胜利的基本骨干，在和今后仍然是社会主义革命和建的中。毛同志的重要著作，有多是在新民主主革命期和社主改造期的，但仍然是我必常的。不便因史不能割，如果不了解和大批干部，能在新民主主革命和社主改造期间，由阶级和人士所认定的，也是党的思想，它是有普遍意义的，在和今后我都具有重要的指作用。因此，我必持毛思想，真和用它立、点和方法研究出的新情，解新。毛思想克列宁主理。增多了新深的，我把毛同志的科著作同克恩、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林的科著作合起。因毛同志晚年犯了，就企毛思想的科偏，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格的理毛思想，同毛同志晚年所犯的，而种是十分必要的。我必珍于古多世以中革命和建程中把克列宁主普遍原理中相合的一切极成果，在新的中用和展些成果，以符合新原理和新丰富和展我党的理，保我的事沿着克列宁主、毛思想的科道前。

起，社主代化强而斗

23我们党在新的史期的斗目，就是要把我的家，逐步建成立具有代、代工、代防和代科技的，具有高度民主和高度文明的社主强，我要台回潮，完成中一大的。我建以三十二年史的根本目的，就是要在社主道，持人民民主政即无政，持共党的，持克列宁主、毛思想四基本原的基上，把全党、全和各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。四基本原是全党全各族人民的共同的政治基，也是社主代化建事利的行的根本保。一切偏离四基本原的言和行是的，一切否定和破坏四基本原的言和行都是不能容的。

33只有社主才能救中。是中各族人民一百多年地切身体中得出的不可的，也是建三十二年基本的史。管我的社主制度是于初的段，但是无，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。社主在社主件下取得了根本不能到的成就，初步地但又有力地示了社主制度的优越性。我能依靠自己力量在种族同，同也是社主制度具有强大生命力的表。然，我的社主制度由比不完善到比完善，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，并且地一切破坏社主活作斗。着我事的展，社主巨大优越性必越越充分地示出。

44有共党就有新中，同，有共党就必有代化的社主中。共党是用克列宁主、毛思想起的，以最共主史使命的，有明律和富于自我批评精神的无政党，如果无党的，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，那么我的家就必须由种种外原因而分四分裂，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，任何人都不能用党犯作削弱、甚至破坏党的的理由。削弱、和破坏党的，只犯更大，且且招致重的。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，必要用得克。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的任。

55三中全会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、在社主 改造基本完成以后，我 所要解 的主要矛盾，是人民日益增 的物 文化需要同落后的社 生之的矛盾。党和和工作的重要必 移到以 建 中心的社 主 代化建 ，大大 展社 生力，并 在基 上逐步 改善人民的物 文化生活。我 去所犯的 ， 根到底，就是 定不定地 略 移，而到了“文化大革命”期， 竟然提出了反 所 “唯生力 ” 一种根本 反史唯物主 的荒 点。今后，除了 生模外 入侵（那 仍然必 行 所要和容 的 建 ），不能再离 重点。党的各工作都必 服 和 服于 建 中心，全党干部特 是 部的干 部要努力 理、工作和科 技。

二、社主 建 必 我 情，量力而行， 极斗，有步 分段地 代化的目。我 去在工作中 期存在的左 的主要表，就是离 了我 情，超越了 的可能性，忽 了生建、管理的 效果和各 划、政策、措施的科，而造成大量的浪 和失。我必 采取科 度，深入了解和分析情，真听取各方面的干部、群 和家的意，努力按照客、律和自然 科 事，努力做到各 部 按比例地 展。我必 看到我 文化比 落后 基本 事，同 必 看到我 建已 取得的成就和 以及 技交流的 大等 的有利 件，并充分利用些有利 件。既急 急于 求成，也反 消极情。

三、社主 生系的 革和完善必 适于 生力的，有利于生的展。和集体 是我基本的 形式，一 定范的 者 体 是公有制 的必要 充，必 行合适合于各种 成分的具体管理制度和分配制度。必 在公有制基 上行划，同 市的助作用。要大力 展社 主的商品生 和商品交。社主 生系的展并不存在于一套给定的模式，我的任 是要求我生 力展的要求，在每一 段上 出与之相适和便于 前的生系的具体形式。

四、在制 作 消以后， 斗已 不是主要矛盾。由于 的因素和 的影， 斗在一定范 期存在，在某种 件下 有可能激化。既要反 把 斗大化的 点，又要反 斗已 熄的 点。社主 的分子在政治上、上、思想文化上、社生活 上的种种破坏活，必 保持高度警惕和行有效的斗。必 确实 我社部大量存在的不 于 斗范的各种社系，采取不同于 斗的方法 正确的加以解，否 也 危害社的安定，一定要 不 毫地 一切可以 的力量，固和大一。

五、逐步建 高度民主的社主 政治制度，是社主 革命的根本任 一。建 以 有重 一任，成了“文化大革命”得以 生的一重 件， 是一滴 滴。必根据民主集中制的原 加强各 家机的 建，使各 人民代表大及其常机构有 有威的人民 力机，在基 政 和基社 生活中逐 人民的直接民主，特 要着重努力展各 城企 企中群于企 事的民主管理。必 国人民民主政，完美家的法和法律并使之成 任何人都必 格遵守的不可侵犯的力量，使社主 法制社 人民 利，保障生 秩序、工作秩序、生活秩序，制裁犯罪行，打 贫 坏活的强大武装，不能 似“文化大革命”的混局面在任何范 重演。

六、社主 必 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 教育科 文化和贬 如 分子的完全的 念，努力培育教育科 文化在代化建 中的地位和作用，明信心知 分子同工人。民一 是社主 事的依靠力量， 有文化知 分子是不可建社主 的。要在全党大大加强 克恩主 理的研究，中 外史和 的研究，各社科 和自然科学 的研究，要加强和改善思想政治工作，用 克恩主 世界和共主道德教 育人民和青年，持德智体全面 展、又 又 分子与工人民相合、力 与体力相合的教育方，抵制 腐朽的 思想和封建 余思想的影，克服小 思想的影， 祖 利益高于一切的 主精神和 代化建 一切的苦精神。

七、改善和 展社主 的民族系，加强民族 ， 于我 多民族家具有重大意 ，在民族上，去，特 是在“文化大革命”中，我犯 把 斗大化的 重，害了 多民族干部和群。在工作中，少 民族自治 利重不。教 一定要 真取，必明，在我的民族系基本上是各族 人民之 的系。必 持行民族 域自治，加强民族 域自治的法制建，保障各少民族地 根据地 情 行并 和家政策的自主，要切 助少民族地 展文化，努力培 和提拔少民族干部，反 一切破坏民族 和民族平等的言 和行。要 行宗教信仰自由的政策。持四 基本原 并要尊重宗教信徒放 他的宗教信仰，只是要求他 不得 行反 列主、毛 思想的宣，要 求宗教不得干 政治和干 教育。

八、在 危依然存在的 件下，必 加强 代化的防建， 防建 要同家的建 相适。人民解放 要加强事 政治工作、后勤工作和 事科研究，一步提高 斗力，逐步把自己建 成 一支强大的 代化的革命。要恢复和 部和 政之、民之 密 的优良。民兵建 也要 一步加强。

九、在 在外系上，必 持反帝主、霸主、殖 民主 和种族主， 世界和平。在和平共五原的基 上， 极展同世界各 的系和文化往。持无 主，支持被迫迫的解放事、新立家的建事和各人民的正斗。
十、根据“文化大革命”的教训和党的，必须把我党建立成为具有健全的民主集中制的党。一定要立党必由在群斗中生活的德才兼备的领袖来完成统一。禁止任何形式的人崇拜。一定要党的领袖人物的威信，同保他的活于党和人民的监督之下。在高度民主的基础上行得高的集中，事少服从，人民服从，下服从，全党和中央。政党、党的是系到党的生死存亡的。各党、全体党、干部必深入群，深入，慎重。和群同甘共苦，克服官僚主义。必要正确用批和自我批的武器，克服领导的正确原的各种思想。根除派性，反无政府和极端主义，正特殊化等不正之。必整党的，洁党的队伍，清除那些欺人民的腐化分子。党在事业、文化、社会工作的中，必要正确理同党的，各方面遵守家机、行政机、司法机和各种文化，有效地行使自己的，保卫、共青团、科文等群，主行党工作。党要加强同党外人士的合作共事，人民民主的作用，在事业，上同民主党和无党派人士真商，尊重他和各方面家的意见。党的同其他社一，都必在法和法律的规范。 

（36）我正“文化大革命”中所一推翻一的“无产阶级革命”口的，不是革命的任已完，不需要行各方面的革命斗争。社主不但要消灭一切剥削制度和剥削，而且要大大发展生产力，完善和发扬社主的生系和上建筑，并在基础上逐步消灭一切、逐步消灭一切主要由于社生力展不足而造成的重大社会差和不平等，直到社主的。是人史上空前大的革命。我在建社主代化家而行的斗，正是大革命的一段，种革命和剥削制度保持的革命不同，不是通激烈的抗和学，而是通社主制度本身，有、有步、有序地行。入和革命展期的革命比前的革命更深刻，更巨，不但需要像新的史期才能完成，而且仍然需要多代人持不懈、守律和苦斗，英勇性，入和平展的史期中，革命的道路不是平滑的，仍然有公的和暗藏的人以及其他破坏分子在伺机，我必十分注意提高革命警惕，准挺身而出，摔革命利益。我全体中共党、全各族人民，在新的史期中一定要保持崇高的革命思想和旺盛的革命斗志，把大的社主革命和社主建行到底。 

（37）建三十二年成功和幸，正确和的反复比，特是近几年的思考和，全党同志和我各族人民的政治悟是大大的提高了。我党社主革命和建的程度，然超了建以任何一、期的水平。我党敢于正和自己的，有心有能力防止重犯去那重的。社展的点看，我党的和挫折究只是于的象，而我党和人民由此得到的，我党期斗形成的骨干伍的更加成熟，我社主制度优越性的更加著，要求我、盛的党心、民心的更加，是起作用的定性的因素的。我党的社主有大的前途，我各族人民有大的前途。 

（38）党的，党同人民的，是行社主代化建、取新的胜利的根本保。只要全党密地一致，且同人民群、密地一致，那么，我党和党所的社主事然到的，在那的公，但的必然日益旺。 

一九四五年党的六七中全所一致通的《于若干、史的》，成了一光的，加强了全党的，促了人民革命事的迅猛前和大胜利。十一中全相信，次全一致通的《于建以党的若干史的》，必起到同的史作用。全召，于克思列宁主、毛思想的大旗下，全党、全、全各族人民密在党中央，愚公移山的精神，同同德，排万，把我的家逐步建成为代化的、高度民主的、高度文明的社主强而努力斗！我目的一定要到！我的目的一定能到！