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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 18, 16 September 1982

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CHINA REPORT

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No. 18, 16 September 1982

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

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RESOLUTION OF THE 12TH CPC NATIONAL CONGRESS REGARDING THE 11TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT (ADOPTED ON 6 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress approves the report made by Comrade Hu Yaobang on behalf of the party's 11th Central Committee. The congress holds that the lines, principles and policies implemented since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee are correct and that good results have been achieved in the work. The congress holds that the correct program and the series of principles and policies for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization set forth in this report shall be the cardinal guide for the party's work in all fields.

During the 5 years between this and the next congress, the whole party should strive for a basic turn for the better in the state's financial and economic situation, the mood of the society and the party's work style. For this purpose, it is necessary to adopt many important measures, principally reform of structure and economic setup; making cadres revolutionized, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally proficient; building socialist material civilization and at the same time building socialist spiritual civilization, developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system; dealing blows at serious crimes in the economic and other fields; and rectification of the party organization and work style. The congress calls on the comrades of the whole party, under the leadership of the 12th Central Committee, to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country, hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, invigorate themselves; work persistently, dauntlessly and energetically strive to create a new situation in all fields of the socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004/8

RESOLUTION OF THE 12TH CPC NATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE 'CONSTITUTION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY' (ADOPTED ON 6 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress hereby approves the "Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party" submitted by the 11th Central Committee and decides that the new party constitution will come into force on the day of its approval.

The congress decides that party committees at all levels and every party organization must conscientiously organize studies of the new party constitution and strive to make all party members seriously understand the party constitution's general program and all its stipulations. In the course of the study, it is necessary to carry out comradely criticism and self-criticism in the light of the actual conditions to enable all party members, especially all party members who are also cadres, to enhance their understanding so that they can be fully prepared for rectifying the party style and consolidating the party organization in an all-round way and building the party into a strong core of leadership for the cause of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004/8

THE OPENING SPEECH AT THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS (1 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 3-5

[Speech by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping]

[Text] Comrades, I now declare the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China open.

There are three main items on the agenda of our congress: (1) consideration of the report of the 11th Central Committee and decision on the party's program for striving to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization; (2) consideration and adoption of the new constitution of the Communist Party of China; and (3) election of a new Central Committee, a Central Advisory Commission and a new Central Commission for Discipline Inspection in accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution.

With the accomplishment of the tasks of this congress, our party will have a more clear-cut guiding ideology for socialist modernization, the party will be strengthened in a way more suited to the needs of the new historical period, and in the highest leading organs of the party there will be cooperation of old and new cadres and succession of the new to the old, thus making these organs a more vigorous command headquarters.

A review of the party's history will show this congress to be a more important meeting since the seventh national congress.

The seventh congress held in 1945 under the chairmanship of Comrade Mao Zedong was the most important one in the period of democratic revolution since the founding of our party. It summed up the historical experience gained in the tortuous development of China's democratic revolution in the previous 20 years and more, formulated a correct program and correct tactics and overcame the erroneous ideas within the party so that unity in understanding based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought was attained. As a result the party became more united than ever before. The seventh congress laid the foundation for the nationwide victory of the new democratic revolution.

The eighth congress of the party held in 1956 analyzed the situation following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private

ownership of the means of production and put forth the task of all-round socialist construction. The line of the eighth congress was correct. However, because the party was not adequately prepared ideologically for all-round socialist construction at that time, in practice that line and many correct opinions put forward at that congress were not adhered to. After the eighth congress, we suffered serious setbacks, though we also achieved many successes in socialist construction.

The present congress is being held in circumstances vastly different from those at the time of the eighth congress. Just as the 20-odd years of tortuous development of our democratic revolution before the seventh congress taught the whole party how to grasp the laws governing that revolution in China, so the 20-odd years of tortuous development of our socialist revolution and construction after the eighth congress taught the whole party profound lessons. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee (held in December 1978), our party has restored its correct policies in the economic, political, cultural and other fields of work and adopted a series of new and correct policies after studying the new situation and new experience. By comparison our party has, since the eighth congress, gained a much deeper understanding of the laws governing China's socialist construction, acquired much more experience and become much more conscious and determined in carrying through our correct principles. We have every reason to believe that the correct program to be formulated at this congress will create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and bring prosperity to our party, our socialist cause, our country and all our nationalities.

In our modernization program, we must proceed from China's realities. Both in our revolution and construction, we should learn from foreign countries and draw on their experience. But mechanical copying and application of foreign experience and models will get us nowhere. We have had many lessons in this respect. To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience.

China's affairs should be run in our own way and by our own efforts. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will forever be our basic stand. While we Chinese people value our friendship and cooperation with other countries and people, we value even more our hard-won independence and sovereign rights. No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to China's interests. We will unswervingly follow a policy of opening to the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. At the same time, we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country. We Chinese people have our own national self-respect and pride. We deem it the highest honor to love our country and contribute our all to its socialist construction, and we deem it the deepest disgrace to impair the interests, dignity and honor of our socialist motherland.

The 1980's will be an important decade in the historical development of our party and state. To intensify socialist modernization, to strive for reunification and particularly for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and to combat hegemonism and safeguard world peace--these are the three major tasks of our people in the 1980's. Economic construction is at the core of these tasks as it is the basis for the solution of China's external and domestic problems. In a long period to come, at least in the 18 years or more up to the end of this century, we must diligently do the following four things: to restructure the administration and the economic setup and make the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent; to build a socialist spiritual civilization; to strike at criminal activities in the economic and other fields that undermine socialism; and to rectify party style and consolidate the party organization on the basis of a conscientious study of the new party constitution. These will be the most important guarantee for our adherence to the socialist road and the concentration of our efforts on modernization.

Ours is now a big party, with a membership of 39 million, that exercises leadership over the whole state power. However, the members of the Communist Party will always be a minority in the whole population. None of the major tasks set forth by our party can be accomplished without the hard work of the masses of the people. Here, on behalf of our party, I wish to pay high tribute to all Chinese workers, peasants and intellectuals who have worked diligently for our socialist modernization, and to the Chinese People's Liberation Army--the Great Wall of steel safeguarding the security and socialist construction of our motherland.

China's democratic parties fought together with our party in the period of the democratic revolution and have advanced and undergone tests together with us in the period of socialism. In the construction work ahead, our party will continue its long-term cooperation with all patriotic democratic parties and all patriotic democrats. Here, on behalf of our party, I wish to express our sincere gratitude to all democratic parties and all our friends without party affiliations.

The cause of our party has enjoyed the support and assistance of the progressive personages and friendly countries throughout the world. Here, on behalf of our party, I wish to express our sincere gratitude to them.

We must do our work well and carefully, strengthen our unity with the people of all nationalities in the country and with the people of the whole world and struggle hard to make China a modern socialist country that is culturally advanced and highly democratic, and to oppose hegemonism, safeguard world peace and promote human progress.

CSO: 4004/7

CREATE A NEW SITUATION IN ALL FIELDS OF SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION--REPORT TO
THE 12TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (1 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 6-30

[Report by Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Comrades: On behalf of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I will now make a report to the 12th national congress of the party.

I. A Historic Change and Our Great New Task

Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in October 1976 and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee held in December 1978, we have accomplished, through the arduous efforts of the whole party, the whole army and the people of our nationalities, the difficult task of setting the party's guiding ideology to rights and have won major successes in setting right our practical work on all fronts, thereby effecting a great and historic change.

The mission of the present party congress is, through the summing-up of the historic achievements of the past 6 years, to chart a correct course and define correct strategic steps, principles and policies so that we can more thoroughly eliminate the negative consequences of the decade of domestic turmoil, make further progress and create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The Central Committee of the party is confident that our congress can shoulder this momentous historical task.

What are the main indicators of the historic change that has been brought about?

In the sphere of ideology, we have resolutely broken the fetters of dogmatism and the personality cult which existed for a long time, and have reaffirmed the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts, thus infusing a dynamic and creative spirit into all fields of endeavor. We have restored the original features of Mao Zedong Thought and persisted in and developed it under new historical conditions.

We have put an end to years of social turbulence and brought about a political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness. Socialist democracy and the socialist legal system are being gradually perfected, equality and unity among all our nationalities have been strengthened anew, and the patriotic united front has expanded further. Thanks to this political situation, the present period is one of the best since the founding of our People's Republic.

The leading bodies of the party and the state at all levels have been gradually readjusted, improved and strengthened. By and large, the leadership in the party and state organizations at all levels is now in the hands of cadres loyal to the party and the people.

We have resolutely shifted the focus of work of the party and the state to economic construction and, liquidating the "left" mistakes that persisted in our economic work over the years, have conscientiously implemented the correct principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement. Having tided over the most difficult phase, our national economy is now on the sound path of steady growth.

Our endeavors in education, science and culture are on the right track and, with some initial successes, are beginning to thrive. Relations between the party and the intellectuals have improved enormously. Unity among the three main social forces, namely, the workers, peasants and intellectuals is also fairly good now.

We have made tremendous efforts to build a modern regular revolutionary army. The People's Liberation Army has achieved marked successes in improving its military training and its ideological and political work, in bettering its relations with the civil authorities and the people, in defending our frontiers and safeguarding national security and in helping socialist construction. It has further enhanced its military capability and political consciousness in line with new historical conditions.

In the course of leading the people in effecting this historic change, our party has withstood tests and remolded itself. It has done much to rectify party style, gradually revived its fine traditions and become more mature and firmer in the course of struggle.

Looking back at our path of struggle in these 6 years, we see that it has been an uneven one. The decade of domestic turmoil inflicted grievous wounds on the party and the state. Our victory has not been easy. It was won only after the Central Committee led the entire party and people in overcoming enormous difficulties of all kinds.

The "left" mistakes made before and during the "Cultural Revolution" had a deep and extensive influence and caused serious damage. While thoroughly exposing and repudiating the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, we found it necessary to make a clean sweep of all such "left" mistakes. This unavoidably involved the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the Chinese

revolution were great and indelible; that is why over long years he enjoyed enormous prestige in the party and among the people and will continue to do so in the years to come. Whether we had the Marxist courage to conduct self-criticism of our party's mistakes, including those made by Comrade Mao Zedong, and whether we could conduct such self-criticism correctly and in a historical perspective constituted the key issue deciding whether things could be set right. During the 2 years before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the question of rights and wrongs in the party's guiding ideology was not clarified as it should have been and the work of setting things to rights proceeded haltingly; this was because in the early days after the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, our party was not ideologically prepared for an overall liquidation of the "left" mistakes and also because the principal leading comrade in the Central Committee at the time continued to make "left" mistakes on a series of important issues. The 11th party congress announced the end of the "Cultural Revolution" and reaffirmed the task of building a modern and powerful socialist state, thus playing a positive role in mobilizing the masses. However, the political report to the 11th party congress still approved of the erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "Cultural Revolution," thus exerting a negative influence by seriously obstructing our effort to set things right. The historic service of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee was precisely that it thoroughly shattered the heavy chains imposed by the protracted "left" mistakes, set right the guiding ideology of the party and reaffirmed the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines. Subsequently, our party thoroughly summed up its historical experience in all spheres and scientifically explained numerous questions encountered in practical work, which concerned theory and policy in the building of socialism. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted in June 1981 by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee marked the successful conclusion of our work in setting the party's guiding ideology to rights. Drawing on the collective wisdom of the broad sections of cadres and masses, our party subjected the protracted "left" mistakes and Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years to scientific analysis and criticism, while firmly upholding the fine traditions developed by the party during long years of struggle, safeguarding the scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought and affirming Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role. This helped not only to differentiate right from wrong but also to strengthen unity in our ranks, thus providing a basic guarantee for the healthy development of our revolution and construction.

Since the third plenary session, our party has made every effort to conform to objective reality in formulating and implementing a series of principles and policies and to avoid focusing on the criticism of one erroneous tendency to the neglect of another. In times of historic change, people are apt to think one-sidedly because of the profound influence of old ideas and customs and because of lack of experience in dealing with new things, plus the effect of other social and political factors. In recent years, mistaken ideas representing different tendencies have arisen among sections of the party members and cadres with regard to such major questions of principle as the party's policy of mental emancipation, the assessment of

Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought and the appraisal of class struggle at the present stage of socialism. Unable to free themselves completely from the influence of the former "left" mistakes, some comrades wanted to return, wittingly or unwittingly, to the old track of "taking class struggle as the key link." Others, deviating from the Marxist path, went so far as to doubt or even negate the leadership of the party and the socialist road. On such major questions of principle, our party has all along taken a firm stand and waged timely and appropriate ideological struggles on two fronts--against both the "left" and the right deviations. On the one hand, in its effort to prevent the recurrence of mistakes that would lead to the broadening of the scope of class struggle, the Central Committee has systematically liquidated the erroneous theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" put forth during the "Cultural Revolution," a theory that envisaged a continuing "revolution whereby one class overthrows another," and it has vigorously developed socialist democracy and a socialist legal system and restored and expanded our united front work. On the other hand, the party has reiterated the four cardinal principles centering on upholding the leadership of the party (the four cardinal principles are adherence to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the Communist Party and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought), criticized and curbed the tendency toward bourgeois liberalism and resolutely cracked down on all types of criminal activity that disrupt socialist construction. In handling various practical problems, we have done our best to act in the scientific and all-sided way as required by Marxism. This has enabled us to deal fairly successfully and relatively speedily with many complex ideological problems and social and political contradictions.

A jumble of problems accumulated during the 10 years of domestic turmoil. Many things that needed to be done or needed to be reformed claimed our attention. Moreover, the progress of new work inevitably gives rise to new problems. The party therefore had to draw up a list of priorities, do its work systematically and solve problems step by step.

Take economic work for example. The third plenary session first grasped the link of agriculture, laying emphasis on overcoming the longstanding "left" mistakes in the guidelines in this sphere. This involved restoring and expanding the power of decision of the rural people's communes and their production brigades and teams; restoring the private plots, family and collective sideline production and village fairs; and gradually introducing, in various forms, the system of responsibility for production in which payment is linked to output. At the same time, the state purchasing prices of grain and some other agricultural products were raised; then the policies providing for a diversified economy were formulated. As a result marked changes have taken place in agriculture, in which vigorous growth has replaced stagnation. For many years, the peasants have not been so happy as they are today. This has done much to start a turn for the better in the whole economic and indeed the whole political situation.

Following the improvement in agriculture, we began to readjust the structure of industry, laying emphasis on remedying the disproportion between light

and heavy industries and on readjusting the service orientation of heavy industry. The result has been a rapid expansion of light industry. At the same time, we readjusted the ratio between accumulation and consumption and reduced the scale of capital construction which had been overextended. This has resulted in improved living standards for the people as well as better proportions between the various branches of the national economy. In other fields, we have, by and large, used the same method--that of tackling the key problem first to facilitate the solution of the rest.

In the final analysis, our party has been successful in the above efforts because it has adhered to the scientific Marxist principles of combining theory with practice and of recognizing the people as the makers of history. The facts are plain enough. The party firmly trusts the people, relies on them and acts in compliance with their wishes and the trend of historical development. With the crushing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, the people placed high hopes on the party. They demanded that wrongs be set right, that stability and unity be achieved, that efforts be concentrated on socialist modernization and that the level of our country's socialist material and spiritual civilization be raised. It is by crystallizing the will of the people and formulating correct lines, principles and policies that the party has been able to bring the cause of socialism in our country back onto the sound path. The people's trust in the party and their support for it are the key to the continuous success of our cause.

Looking back over the course of struggle we have traversed in the past 6 years, we naturally recall two previous instances of historic change during China's democratic revolution led by the party, namely, the change from the failure of the Northern Expedition (1924-27) to the outbreak of the agrarian revolutionary war (1927-37) and the change from the failure of the struggle against the Kuomintang's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign to the launching of the war of resistance against Japan (1937-45). At both junctures, when the party and the people had suffered heavy losses and the revolution faced grim crises, enemies both at home and abroad concluded that we were doomed to total defeat, and not a few people in our own ranks wavered and grew pessimistic. But the party was not overwhelmed by the enormous difficulties. Under the leadership of a number of outstanding figures of whom Comrade Mao Zedong was representative, the party displayed rare revolutionary courage and fortitude, fought on tenaciously, strove creatively to find a revolutionary path suited to China's specific conditions and finally turned the tide, resuscitating the revolutionary cause and bringing about a new situation of victorious advance.

Compared with the two previous ones, the present change has taken place under vastly different historical conditions. Today, our party is the leading core of nationwide political power and our country has already experienced a long period of socialist revolution and construction. The people are far more powerful than they were in the period of the revolutionary wars. Despite the tremendous damage done to it by the "Cultural Revolution," the cause of socialism retains its great and invincible vitality. Although we have lost Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De and

other veteran proletarian revolutionaries, we still have as the mainstay of our cause many other veteran revolutionaries who fought shoulder to shoulder with them. Moreover, we have as our core force many old comrades who went through the test of revolutionary wars and large numbers of young and middle-aged comrades who have been tempered and have matured since the founding of our People's Republic. Under the leadership of the Central Committee, we have at last succeeded in effecting another historic change, thanks to the arduous efforts of the party organizations at all levels and the concerted struggle of all party comrades and millions upon millions of people throughout the country.

Comrades! The great successes we have achieved in the past 6 years are evident to all. But, instead of resting on our laurels, we must realize that there are still many shortcomings and difficulties and that there is still much to be desired in the work of the party. We must enhance our revolutionary spirit, plunge into work and strive for new and still greater successes.

The general task of the Communist Party of China in this new historical period is to unite the people of all our nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. In the 5 years from the present party congress to the next, we should, as this general task and China's actual conditions require, energetically promote the socialist material and spiritual civilization, continue to strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, earnestly rectify the party style and consolidate the party organization and strive to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the country's financial and economic situation, in the standards of social conduct and in the style of the party. At the same time, together with all the patriotic people, our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hong Kong) and Aomen (Macao) and including Chinese nationals residing abroad, we shall pursue the great aim of reunifying the motherland. We shall also join the people of the rest of the world in carrying on the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism in defense of world peace. These are the lofty tasks of creating a new situation in all fields that lie before us.

II. Bring About an All-Round Upsurge of the Socialist Economy

Of the various tasks for bringing about an all-round new situation, the most important one is to push forward the socialist modernization of China's economy. For this purpose, the party has formulated the strategic objective, priorities and steps of our economic construction as well as a series of correct principles in a spirit of realism.

The general objective of China's economic construction for the two decades between 1981 and the end of this century is, while steadily working for more and better economic results, to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production--from 710 billion yuan in 1980 to 2,800 billion yuan or so in 2000. This will place China in the front ranks

of the countries of the world in terms of gross national income and the output of major industrial and agricultural products; it will represent an important advance in the modernization of its entire national economy; it will increase the income of its urban and rural population several times over; and the Chinese people will be comparatively well-off both materially and culturally. Although China's national income per capita will even then be relatively low, its economic strength and national defense capabilities will have grown considerably, compared with what they are today. Provided that we work hard and in a down-to-earth manner and bring the superiority of the socialist system into fuller play, we can definitely attain our grand strategic objective.

From an overall point of view, what is most important in our effort to realize this objective in economic growth is to properly solve the problems of agriculture, energy and transport and of education and science.

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, and provided it grows, we can handle the other problems more easily. At present, both labor productivity and the percentage of marketable products are rather low in our agriculture; our capacity for resisting natural calamities is still quite limited; and, in particular, the contradiction between the huge population and the insufficiency of arable land is becoming ever more acute. From now on, while firmly controlling the population growth, protecting all agricultural resources and maintaining the ecological balance, we must do better in agricultural capital construction, improve the conditions for agricultural production practice scientific farming, wrest greater yields of grain and cash crops from limited acreage, and secure the all-round development of forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery in order to meet the needs of industrial expansion and of higher living standards for the people.

Energy shortage and the strain on transport are major checks on China's economic development at present. Growth in energy production has slowed down somewhat in the last few years, while waste remains extremely serious. Transport capacity lags far behind the increasing volume of freight, and postal and telecommunications facilities are outmoded. To ensure a fair rate of growth in the national economy, it is imperative to step up the exploitation of energy resources, economize drastically on energy consumption and at the same time strive hard to expand the transport and postal and telecommunications services.

The modernization of science and technology is a key link in our four modernizations. Today, many of our enterprises are backward in production techniques, operation and management; large numbers of workers and staff members lack the necessary scientific knowledge, general education and work skills; and there is an acute shortage of skilled workers, scientists and technicians. In the years to come, we must promote large-scale technical transformation in a planned way, popularize technical measures that have yielded good economic results, and actively introduce new techniques, equipment, technologies and materials. We must step up research in the applied sciences, lay more stress on research in the basic sciences and

organize people from all relevant fields to tackle key problems in scientific research. We must improve our study and application of economics and scientific business management and continuously raise the level of economic planning and administration and of the operation and management of enterprises and institutions. And we must work vigorously to universalize primary education, strengthen secondary vocational education and higher education and develop educational undertakings of all types and at all levels in both urban and rural areas, including training classes for cadres, workers, staff members and peasants and literacy classes in order to train all kinds of specialists and raise the scientific and educational level of the whole nation.

In short, in the next 20 years we must keep a firm hold on agriculture, energy, transport, education and science as the basic links, the strategic priorities in China's economic growth. Effective solution of these problems on the basis of an overall balance in the national economy will lead to a fairly swift rise in the production of consumer goods, stimulate the development of industry as a whole and of production and construction in other fields and ensure a betterment of living standards.

Population has always been an extremely important issue in China's economic and social development. Family planning is a basic policy of our state. We must do our utmost to keep our population within 1.2 billion by the end of this century. The total number of births is now at its peak. Excessive population growth will not only adversely affect the increase of per-capita income but also cause serious difficulties in food supply, housing, education and employment, and it may even disrupt social stability. Consequently, we must never slacken our effort in family planning, especially in the rural areas. We must conduct intensive and meticulous ideological education among the peasants. Provided that we do our work well, we can succeed in bringing our population under control.

In order to realize our objective for the next two decades, we must take the following two steps in our strategic planning: In the first decade, aim mainly at laying a solid foundation, accumulating strength and creating the necessary conditions; and in the second, usher in a new period of vigorous economic development. This is a major policy decision taken by the Central Committee after a comprehensive analysis of the present conditions of China's economy and the trend of its growth.

Our national economy has grown steadily even in the past few years of readjustment, and the achievement is quite impressive. In many fields, however, the economic results have been far from satisfactory, and there has been appalling waste in production, construction and circulation. We have yet to equal our best past records in the materials expended in per unit products, in the profit rate of industrial enterprises, in the construction time for large and medium-sized projects and in the turnover rate of circulating funds in industrial and commercial enterprises. Apart from some objective factors not subject to comparison, the main causes for this are the "left" mistakes of the past, which resulted in blind proliferation of enterprises, an irrational economic structure, defective systems of

economic administration and distribution, chaotic operation and management and backward production techniques. Things started to pick up a little in 1982, with the stress laid on better economic results. Nevertheless, it is impossible in a brief space to solve all such problems which have piled up over a long period. We have to bear this basic fact in mind when drawing up the strategic plan for China's economic development.

In the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85), we must continue unswervingly to carry out the principles of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, practice strict economy, combat waste and focus all economic work on the attainment of better economic results. We must devote our main efforts to readjusting the economic structure in various fields, streamlining, reorganizing and merging the existing enterprises and carrying out technical transformation in selected enterprises. At the same time, we must consolidate and perfect the initial reform in the system of economic administration and work out at an early date the overall plan for reform and the measures for its implementation. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90), we shall carry out the technical transformation of enterprises on an extensive scale and gradually reform the system of economic administration, in addition to completing the rationalization of the organizational structure of enterprises and the economic structure in various fields. We must also undertake a series of necessary capital construction projects in the energy, transport and some other fields, and the concentrated solution of a number of major scientific and technological problems in the 1980's. Therefore, it will not be possible for the national economy to develop very fast in this decade. But if we complete the above tasks, we can solve the problems left over from the past and build a relatively solid basis for economic growth in the decade to follow. The 1990's will witness an all-round upsurge in China's economy which will definitely grow at a much faster rate than in the 1980's. If we publicize and explain this strategic plan adequately to the people, they will see the bright future more clearly and be inspired to work with greater drive to usher in the new period of vigorous economic growth.

In the 5 years between this party congress and the next, we shall complete the Sixth Five-Year Plan and start on the seventh. To strive for a fundamental turn for the better in China's financial and economic situation in this period means that we must, under the strategic plan outlined above, achieve significantly better economic results, a steady basic balance in finance and credit and basic stability in commodity prices. Clearly, it is of paramount importance to China's long-term economic development that we do our economic work well in these 5 years.

To bring about an all-round upsurge of China's socialist economy, we must continue to carry out in all our economic work the 10 principles for economic construction approved by the Fifth National People's Congress at its fourth session, paying special attention to solving the following major questions of principle.

First, concentrating funds on key development projects and continuing to improve the people's living standards.

To attain our strategic objective for the coming 20 years, the state must concentrate needed funds on key development projects in their order of importance and urgency. For this purpose, while endeavoring to overcome undue decentralization in the use of funds, we must bring into play the initiative of all concerned to expand production and achieve better economic results, so that the national income may rise more rapidly. In recent years, state revenues have somewhat decreased and there has been a shortage of funds for urgently needed key projects. On the other hand, funds at the disposal of local authorities and enterprises have grown greatly and have been used for many projects which may seem badly needed from a local point of view; but this inevitably makes it difficult to adequately meet the national needs and to prevent and overcome the tendency toward blindness in construction. We must realize that if key national projects are not guaranteed and if such parts of the infrastructure as energy and transport are not developed, the national economy as a whole will not prosper and the individual sectors are bound to be greatly restricted in their development. Even if there should be some growth in a given locality at a given time, it would not last because of difficulties in striking a balance between supply, production and marketing. We must firmly implant the idea of coordinating all the activities of the nation like moves on a chessboard. While continuing to enforce the present financial system and ensure the decisionmaking powers of enterprises, we must appropriately readjust, in the light of the actual conditions of the different localities and trades, the distribution of national and local revenues and the proportion of profits retained by enterprises, and we must encourage local authorities, departments and enterprises to make their funds available for the key projects most urgently needed by the state. While thus pooling funds, we must of course continue to take into consideration the needs of the localities and enterprises. If appropriate financial reserves are left at the disposal of local authorities and enterprises, it will help give scope to their initiative and enable them to embark on those projects which they are best fitted to undertake, especially as regards the technical transformation of existing enterprises. Our country has abundant resources of labor power, so we must pay close attention to increasing the investment of labor. In the rural areas, we must put their rich manpower to good use in agricultural capital construction according to their local conditions. In mining, transport and other fields, we must also stress the role of the investment of labor.

The fundamental aim of socialist production and construction is to meet continuously the growing material and cultural needs of the people. A basic principle guiding our economic work is "first, feed the people and second, build the country." The party and government have done a great deal to bring about a marked improvement in the people's livelihood in recent years. Yet on the whole the living standards remain fairly low. In some low-yield rural areas, or those hit by natural disasters, the peasants are still impoverished, and we must actively help them increase production and income. Urban people, too, still have many problems which call for solution--such as pay, employment, housing and public utilities. The state has decided to take effective measures to improve, steadily and group by group, the living and working conditions of middle-aged intellectuals, who play a backbone role in production, construction and all the other fields. Whether in town

or country, living standards can rise only by increasing production, and not by cutting into funds indispensable to national construction, a course that would impair the fundamental and long-term interests of the people. Specifically, we can no longer increase peasant incomes mainly through raising the prices of farm produce or through lowering the fixed quotas of state purchases and enlarging the scope of negotiated prices. The increase of the average incomes of the workers and staff must necessarily be less than that of labor productivity. We must put a stop to the indiscriminate handing out of bonuses and subsidies without regard to the actual state of production and profit. As a matter of fact, a constant improvement in the living standards of the people is possible provided the workers and peasants enhance their understanding and make sustained efforts to raise labor productivity, lower consumption and eliminate waste. As for those problems concerning the people's daily life which can be solved by spending very little or even no money, leaders at all levels must take even more energetic measures to solve them. Concern for the well-being of the people is a fine tradition of our party, which we should never neglect.

Second, upholding the leading position of the state economy and developing diverse economic forms.

The socialist state sector occupies the leading position in the entire national economy. The consolidation and growth of the state sector are the decisive factors in ensuring that the collective economy of the working people will advance along the socialist road and that the individual economy will serve socialism. As the level of development of the productive forces in our country is on the whole still fairly low and uneven, it is necessary to maintain different economic forms for a long time to come. In rural areas, the principal economic form is the cooperative economy collectively owned by the working people. At present, the state sector alone cannot and should not run all handicrafts, industries, building industry, transport, commerce and the service trades in the cities and towns; a considerable part should be run by the collective. Cooperatives financed and run by young people and other residents have spread to many urban areas in the past few years and played a useful role. The party and government should support and guide them and forbid discrimination or attacks against them from any quarter. We must also encourage the appropriate development of the individual economy of urban and rural working people as a necessary and useful complement to the public economy, within limits prescribed by the state and under supervision by industrial and commercial administrations. Only through the rational distribution and development of diverse economic forms is it possible to invigorate the urban and rural economy and make life more convenient for the people.

To bring the initiative of enterprises and of the working people into play, we must earnestly implement a responsibility system in the operation and management of both state and collective enterprises. The responsibility system for production set up in various forms in the countryside in recent years has further emancipated the productive forces and it must be adhered to for a long time to come. The thing for us to do is to gradually perfect it on the basis of summing up the practical experience of the masses. In no

case must we make rash changes against the will of the masses, still less must we backtrack. With the growth of agricultural production and the rising management ability of the peasants, demands for new types of combined management are bound to arise. We should promote various forms of inter-unit economic combination strictly in accordance with the principle of stimulating production and of voluntary participation and mutual benefit. It can be predicted that in the not too distant future, there will emerge in our rural areas an improved cooperative economy, with a diversity of forms, which will be able to make full use of the advantages in the light of local conditions and facilitate the large-scale adoption of advanced production measures. Recently, the economic responsibility system has also been initiated in industrial and commercial enterprises with some good results. Although industry and commerce are vastly different from agriculture, the application of the economic responsibility system (including the system of responsibility for profit or loss in some of the state enterprises) similarly helps to implement the Marxist principle of material benefit, to heighten the workers' sense of responsibility as masters of the country and to promote production. We should adopt a positive attitude to this system, earnestly sum up experience and discover and devise a set of specific rules and methods which are suited to the characteristics of industrial and commercial enterprises and which can both ensure unified leadership by the state and bring into full play the initiative of enterprises and their workers and staff members.

It is impermissible to undermine the public ownership of the means of production, which is our basic economic system. Of late, there have been cases in certain rural areas of damage to farm irrigation works, destructive lumbering and doing away with the accumulation and retention of common funds by the collective, while in some state-owned industrial and commercial enterprises, there have been such acts as violation of unified state plans, arbitrary holding back of materials earmarked for unified distribution, withholding of profits that should be turned over to the state, evasion of taxes, willful inflation of prices and blocking the flow of commodities. All such things, though done by only a small number of people, seriously impair the public economy and the interests of the state and the people, and they must be resolutely corrected.

Third, correctly implementing the principle of the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of market regulation.

China has a planned economy based on public ownership. Planned production and circulation cover the main body of our national economy. At the same time, the production and circulation of some products are allowed to be regulated through the market without being planned, that is, by letting the law of value spontaneously play a regulatory role within the limits circumscribed by the state's unified plan and in the light of the specific conditions at different periods. This serves as a supplement to planned production and circulation, subordinate and secondary to it but essential and useful nonetheless. The state ensures proportionate and coordinated growth of the national economy through overall balancing by economic planning and the supplementary role of market regulation. In the past few

years, we have initiated a number of reforms in the economic system by extending the powers of enterprises in planning and by giving scope to the role of market regulation. This orientation is correct and its gains are apparent. However, as some reform measures have not been well coordinated with each other and the corresponding forms of administrative work have lagged behind, cases of weakening and hampering the state's unified planning have been on the increase. This is not good for the normal growth of the national economy. Hereafter, while continuing to give play to the role of market regulation, we must on no account neglect or relax unified leadership through state planning.

In order to make the development of the economy centralized and unified as well as flexible and diversified, planning should take different forms in different circumstances. Plans of a mandatory nature must be enforced in regard to the production and distribution of capital goods and consumer goods in the state sector which are vital to the national economy and the people's livelihood, and especially in key enterprises vital to the whole economy. This is a major manifestation of China's socialist ownership by the whole people in the organization and management of production. For the sector of the economy which is owned by collectives, mandatory targets should also be assigned where necessary, as in the purchase of grain and other important agricultural and sideline products by the state on fixed quota. In addition to plans of a mandatory nature, guidance plans, whose implementation is mainly ensured by means of economic levers, should be used in regard to many products and enterprises. This is because diverse economic forms still exist in China and it is difficult to make precise estimates of the multifold and complex demands of society and of the productive capacity of a vast number of enterprises. But whether in mandatory planning or in guidance planning, we must strive to make it conform to the objective reality, constantly study changes in market supply and demand, consciously make use of the law of value and such economic levers as pricing, taxation and credits to guide the enterprises in fulfilling state plans, and give them varying degrees of powers to make decisions as they see fit. Only in this way can state plans be supplemented and improved as required and in good time in the course of their implementation. As for a number of small commodities which are low in output value, great in variety and produced and supplied only seasonally and locally, it is neither necessary nor possible for the state to control them all by planning. Enterprises may be allowed to arrange their production flexibly in accordance with the changes in market supply and demand. The state, on its part, should exercise control through policies, decrees and administration by industrial and commercial offices and should help those enterprises with the supply of certain important raw and semifinished materials.

Correct application of the principle of ensuring the leading role of planned economy supplemented by market regulation is of fundamental importance to the reform of China's economic systems. We must correctly define the respective scope and limits of mandatory plans, guidance plans and market regulation and, on the premise that basic stability of commodity prices is maintained, gradually reform the pricing system, price control measures and the labor and wage systems, and establish an economic administrative system

suited to China's conditions so as to ensure the healthy growth of the national economy.

Whether commercial work is done well or badly has a direct bearing on industrial and agricultural production and the people's standard of living, and the importance of this truth has become increasingly manifest in China's economic growth. At present, our commercial networks, establishments and facilities are far from adequate, there are too many intermediate links, market forecasting is weak, and many problems related to ideas about business operation and to management remain to be solved. After acquiring all relevant information and earnestly summing up experience, we must effectively improve our commercial work and unclog, broaden and multiply the channels of circulation so that commodities can flow freely, materials are put to good use and commerce can play its full role in stimulating and guiding production and in ensuring supply and invigorating the economy.

Fourth, persevering in self-reliance while expanding economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries.

It is our firm strategic principle to carry out the policy of opening to the outside world and expand economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit. We must speed the entry of Chinese products into the world market and vigorously expand foreign trade. We must as far as possible make more use of foreign funds available for our national construction. To this end, it is necessary to do all the required preparatory work well and make proper arrangements with regard to the necessary domestic funds and supporting measures. We must actively import advanced technologies suited to our national conditions, particularly those helpful to the technical transformation of our own enterprises, and strive to absorb and develop them in order to promote our production and construction.

In our efforts for socialist modernization, we must take a self-reliant stand, relying mainly on our own hard work. There must be no wavering whatsoever in this respect. Our aim in expanding economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries is to enhance our ability to be self-reliant and to promote, and certainly not to impair, the development of our national economy. We must refrain from indiscriminate import of equipment, and particularly of consumer goods that can be manufactured and supplied at home. In our economic relations with foreign countries, on the premise of unified planning and policy and coordinated action, we must stimulate the initiative of various localities, departments and enterprises in their foreign business dealings while at the same time opposing all acts detrimental to the interests of our country and people. In no circumstances must we forget that capitalist countries and enterprises will never change their capitalist nature simply because they have economic and technological exchanges with us. While pursuing the policy of opening to the outside, we must guard against, and firmly resist, the corrosion of capitalist ideas and we must combat any worship of things foreign or fawning on foreigners.

Comrades! Lenin said that living creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves.¹ Beyond all doubt, it would be impossible for the cause of socialist construction to forge ahead without the soaring labor enthusiasm of the masses in their hundreds of millions, without the initiative of thousands of production units and without the hard work of various localities and departments. To yield the best results, all our economic work, principles, policies, plans and measures must be based on overall arrangement, on taking into consideration the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and on fully arousing and scientifically organizing the initiative of the central authorities, the localities, departments, enterprises and the working people. This is the most important way to bring about an all-round upsurge in the socialist economy. We are confident that the people of all our nationalities will surely exert themselves with one heart and one mind for the realization of the great goal of our country's economic development.

III. Strive To Build a High Level of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

From the time that the party shifted the focus of its work to the modernization of China's economy, the Central Committee has proclaimed on many occasions that while working for a high level of material civilization, we must strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. This is a strategic principle for building socialism. The history of socialism and the present situation in China both tell us that the success or failure of socialism depends on whether or not we adhere to this principle.

Spiritual civilization is closely interrelated with material civilization in socialist construction. As Marx put it, in their productive activity to transform the world, "the producers themselves change, they evolve new qualities, by producing they develop and transform themselves, acquire new powers and new conceptions, new modes of intercourse, new needs, and new speech."² Comrade Mao Zedong, too, pointed out that the proletariat and other revolutionary people face a twofold task in their struggle for the transformation of the world: "To change the objective world and, at the same time, their own subjective world."³ The objective world comprises nature and society. The transformation of society results in the establishment and development of new relations of production as well as a new socio-political system. The transformation of nature results in material civilization, as manifested in improved conditions for material production and in a better material life for the people. In the process of transforming the objective world, people also transform their subjective world, and the production of spiritual values and the spiritual life of society also develop. The latter achievement is what we call the spiritual civilization, as manifested in a higher educational, scientific and cultural level and in higher ideological, political and moral standards. The transformation of society or the progress of a social system will ultimately find expression in both material and spiritual civilization. As our socialist society is still in its initial stage, it is not yet highly developed materially. However, the establishment of the socialist system makes it possible for us to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization while striving for a high level of material civilization, just as the development of a modern economy

to a certain level and the appearance of the most advanced class of our time, the working class, and its vanguard, the Communist Party, make it possible to succeed in socialist revolution. Material civilization provides an indispensable foundation for socialist spiritual civilization which, in its turn, gives a tremendous impetus to the former and ensures its correct orientation. Each is the condition and objective of the other.

Socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of its superiority. In the past, when referring to the characteristics of socialism, people laid stress on the elimination of the system of exploitation, public ownership of the means of production, distribution according to work, planned and proportionate development of the national economy, and political power of the working class and other working people. They also laid stress on another characteristic of socialism, the high development of the productive forces and a labor productivity higher than that under capitalism as both a necessity and the end result of the development of socialism. All this is undoubtedly true, but it does not cover all the characteristics. Socialism must possess one more characteristic, that is, socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core. Without this, the building of socialism would be out of the question.

Communism as a social system can be completely realized in our country only through the protracted, arduous struggle of several generations. However, communism is above all a movement. Marx and Engels said: "We call communism the real movement which abolished the present state of things."⁴ The final objective of this movement is the realization of communism as a social system. In our country, the spread of communist ideas and the movement for the ultimate realization of the ideal of communism began long ago when the Communist Party of China was founded, and continued during the new-democratic revolution which it led. This movement has now brought about a socialist society, which is the first phase of communism. As far back as the democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the program of the Chinese Communist Party in regard to China's social system comprised two stages, the present and the future. "For the present period, new democracy, and for the future, socialism; these are two parts of an organic whole guided by one and the same communist ideology." He added: "Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system.... Without communism to guide it, China's democratic revolution cannot possibly succeed, let alone move on to the next stage."⁵ Therefore, communist ideas and actions have long been part of our actual life. The view that communism is but a "dim illusion" and that it "has not been tested in practice" is utterly wrong. There is communism everywhere in our daily life, of which it forms an inseparable part. Inside and outside our party, there are so many heroic and exemplary people, so many who are ready to give their all, including their very lives, for the realization of revolutionary ideals. Do they do all this for material rewards? Does not a lofty communist spirit guide them? Socialism is advancing steadily toward the goal of its higher phase--communism. This advance depends not only on the increase of material wealth but also on the steady growth of peoples' communist consciousness and revolutionary spirit.

True, at the present stage, we must in our economic and social life persist in the system of "to each according to his work" and other socialist systems, and we cannot of course expect every member of our society to be a communist, but we must demand that the party members, the Communist Youth League members and all other advanced elements acquire communist ideology, and we must, through their instrumentality, educate and influence the broad masses. If the great task of building a socialist spiritual civilization guided by communist ideology is overlooked, people will fall into a one-sided understanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gains. In that case, we will not be able to safeguard the socialist orientation of China's modernization, and our socialist society will lose its ideals and objectives, its spiritual motivation and fighting will, lose the ability to resist the inroad of corrupt influences and even develop distortedly and degenerate. Comrades, this is not just alarmist talk but a conclusion drawn from present realities at home and abroad. It is from this high theoretical and political vantage point that we must recognize the significance and role of socialist spiritual civilization and make up our minds to do our utmost to ensure the building of both a material and a spiritual civilization so that our socialist cause will forever retain its revolutionary youth and vigor.

Roughly speaking, socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and the ideological, permeating and promoting each other.

The cultural aspect refers to the development of undertakings such as education, science, art and literature, the press and publication, broadcasting and television, public health and physical culture, and libraries and museums, as well as the raising of the level of general knowledge of the people. It is an important requisite both for the building of a material civilization and for the raising of people's political consciousness and moral standards. Cultural development also includes mass recreational activities which are healthy, pleasant, lively and varied so that, after a spell of hard work, people may refresh themselves with entertainments that are in good taste. All our cultural construction must, of course, be guided by communist ideology. In the past, owing to the influence of "left" ideas and the small-producer mentality, erroneous views such as underestimation of the importance of education, science and culture and discrimination against intellectuals were rife in our party over a fairly long time. They seriously hindered the building of material and spiritual civilization in our country. In recent years, we have made great efforts to eliminate these wrong views. We are determined gradually to step up cultural development so that it will no longer lag behind economic growth. We have worked hard to carry out the party's policy concerning intellectuals and to enable the whole party and all society to realize that, like workers and peasants, intellectuals are a force we must rely on in building socialism. We are determined to do everything possible to create favorable conditions in which the mass of intellectuals can work with ease of mind and in high spirits in the interest of the people. In this regard, there is still a good deal of painstaking ideological and organizational work to do.

Universal education is an important precondition for building material and spiritual civilization. In 1980, the party's Central Committee and the State Council took the decision that universal primary education in various forms must in the main be achieved by 1990 and, in areas where the economy and education are more developed, this should be done earlier. In China's vast rural areas, this is an arduous task, but it can be done through unremitting efforts, and must be done, for the sake of the development of agriculture and of the rural areas. Teachers in schools of all levels, and especially rural primary school teachers, are engaged in extremely arduous but truly noble work. On their efforts depends the moral, intellectual and physical development of the next generation of our citizens. We must make sure that the whole society respects and energetically supports them in their noble endeavors. Development plans and goals for other cultural undertakings covering the next 5 to 10 years should also be worked out.

The socialist character of our spiritual civilization is determined by ideological education. This consists mainly of the following: The working-class world outlook and scientific theory of Marxism; communist ideals, beliefs and moral values; the outlook of being masters of the country and collectivism which correspond with the system of socialist public ownership; a concept of rights and duties and a sense of organization and discipline which correspond with the socialist political system; devoted service to the people and a communist attitude toward work; and socialist patriotism and internationalism. In essence, it consists of, above all, revolutionary ideals, morality and discipline. All party members and other advanced persons in our society must continuously propagate advanced ideas and set an example by their own deeds so as to inspire more and more members of our society to become working people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

We must try not only to help every member of our society to acquire a broader mental outlook but also to establish and develop throughout its ranks the new type of social relations which embody socialist spiritual civilization. These relations find expression in solidarity, friendship and mutual assistance in common struggle and common progress among all our nationalities, between the workers, peasants and intellectuals, the cadres and the masses, the army and the people, the army and the government, and among the people in general. Lenin has pointed out that it will take many decades to create new forms of social ties between people and that this is a most noble work.⁶ We can say with full confidence that, relying on our long revolutionary tradition and proceeding from the foundations already laid for this work, we shall certainly be able to foster and develop such new social ties.

To build a socialist spiritual civilization is a task for the whole party and the common task of our people in all fields of endeavor. Ideological education in the party is the pillar of the building of spiritual civilization in the whole society, and party members should, first of all, play an exemplary role morally and ideologically. Ideological and political workers, workers in culture, in the sciences and in education of all types and levels from kindergartens to graduate schools--all shoulder especially heavy

responsibilities in building a socialist spiritual civilization. In particular, the Communist Party members among them must unite in thought and deed so as to organize a mighty contingent of militant ideological workers able to persuade and act as a magnet for others. It is necessary to do more to educate the masses of the people, and first of all the cadres and youth, in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, in the history of our motherland, and especially its modern history, in the program, history and revolutionary tradition of our party; and in the constitution of our country, the rights and duties of citizens and civic morality. It is necessary to do more to educate people of all trades and lines of work in professional responsibility, ethics and discipline. Education in all the areas enumerated above should be closely related to reality and conducted in vivid and varied ways. In formulating and implementing policies and in all their work, leading cadres in the economic field at various levels should concern themselves not only with the development of production but also with the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. In production and construction, we should try not only to turn out more and better material products, but also train successive generations of socialist-minded people of a new type. We must not allow our policies or work in any field to impede or, still worse, to undermine the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. In the past year or so, mass activities for building such a civilization have been unfolded in the People's Liberation Army and among the people in general. Relevant rules have been formulated for students in schools and for workers and staff members in enterprises, and written pledges have been drawn up by city residents, rural commune members and people in various trades and professions. All these activities have begun to yield gratifying results. We call on every locality and department to promote and persist in them. We must explore all possible ways and adopt all possible effective measures to promote education in ideals, morality and discipline among the entire population, and first of all among the youth, within the next 5 years. This is essential to our endeavor to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in standards of social conduct. From now on, when checking up on the work of any locality, department or unit, the Central Committee and the local party committees at all levels must take into consideration not only its material side, but also its spiritual side. Every citizen should perform his duties and abide by social morality and professional ethics. Every working person should contribute his share to the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

To build it is no easy task, particularly at the present moment. In the years of the revolutionary wars and those immediately following the founding of the People's Republic, our material life was much harder than it is today, but all party members and the people as a whole were full of vigor. The decade of domestic turmoil confounded the criteria of right and wrong, good and evil, and beauty and ugliness. It is much more difficult to undo its grave spiritual consequences than its material ones. For this and other reasons, many serious problems concerning standards of social conduct now exist in our country. The Central Committee of the party is determined to effect a fundamental turn for the better in standards of social conduct in the next 5 years. This includes, in the main, the achievement of markedly better public order, generally improved attitudes toward all types of work

and a marked decline in the crime rate. It also means putting an effective check on, and arousing universal contempt for, such unhealthy tendencies and practices as benefiting oneself at others' expense, pursuing private interests at the expense of public interests, loving ease and despising work, putting money first in everything, unscrupulous pursuit of personal enjoyment, and attempting to isolate and attack advanced elements. It also includes resolutely eliminating all the vile social evils which had been stamped out long ago by new China but have now cropped up again. We must do our utmost to adapt ourselves to the new conditions and developments in the period of construction, do a good job of building socialist spiritual civilization and arouse, with revolutionary ideas and revolutionary spirit, the immense enthusiasm of the broad masses for building socialism.

IV. Strive To Attain a High Level of Socialist Democracy

The steady development of socialist democracy provides the guarantee and support for the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. To attain a high level of socialist democracy is therefore one of our fundamental goals and tasks.

Our state system is the people's democratic dictatorship. On the one hand, it ensures that the working people, the overwhelming majority of the population, are the masters of the state; on the other, it exercises dictatorship over a tiny minority of hostile elements who try to undermine socialism. Socialism is the common cause of the whole people. Only with a high level of socialist democracy will it be possible to develop all our undertakings in accordance with the will, interests and needs of the people, to enhance the people's sense of responsibility as masters and give full play to their initiative and enthusiasm, and to exercise effective dictatorship over the handful of hostile elements, in order to ensure the smooth progress of socialist construction.

Socialist democracy is incomparably superior to bourgeois democracy. Much time and work are needed to establish the system of socialist democracy and foster democratic ways. What we did in this respect was far from adequate and, moreover, was seriously undermined during the "Cultural Revolution." In recent years, socialist democracy has been restored and developed to some extent in our country. We must continue to reform and improve our political institutions and system of leadership in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism so that the people are better able to exercise state power and the state organs can lead and organize the work of socialist construction more effectively. Socialist democracy should be extended to all spheres of life: political, economic, cultural and social; and it is necessary to extend democratic management to all enterprises and institutions and encourage self-management of community affairs by the masses at the grass-roots level. Democracy should serve as a means by which the masses educate themselves. It is necessary to establish a relationship of equality between man and man and a correct relationship between the individual and society in accordance with the principles of socialist democracy. The state and society guarantee legitimate freedom and rights to the citizens, who should in turn perform their duties to the state and society. While exercising

their freedom and rights, citizens must not impair the interests of the state, society and the collective, or the freedom and rights of others. While we strive to develop socialist democracy, all our measures must help to consolidate the socialist system and promote social production and work in other fields. On no account will hostile, antisocialist elements be given any freedom to carry out sabotage.

We must closely link the building of socialist democracy with that of the socialist legal system so that socialist democracy is institutionalized and codified into laws. In the past few years, notable progress has been made in building our legal system. Under the party's leadership, the state has enacted a series of important laws, including the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure, the draft law of civil procedure for trial implementation and the new marriage law. It is especially noteworthy that the draft constitution, soon to be submitted to the National People's Congress for adoption, contains many new and very important stipulations formulated in the light of the achievements scored and the principles worked out in developing socialist democracy since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. The adoption of this constitution will mark a new stage in the development of China's socialist democracy and legal system. The problems facing us today are that not only a sizable number of nonparty people but also many party members, including some leading cadres, do not have an adequate understanding of the importance of building the legal system and that laws already enacted are in some cases not fully observed or enforced. This situation must be resolutely corrected. The party will continue to lead the people in making and improving various laws, strengthen its leadership over the work of public security, the procuratorate and the judiciary and ensure in every way that these departments enforce the laws strictly. Moreover, through our publicity work we should repeatedly educate the whole people in the importance of the legal system and include instructions in the laws in all the teaching programs from primary schools to colleges, so that every citizen may know the laws and abide by them. In particular, party members should be educated and urged to take the lead in observing the constitution and laws. The stipulation in the new party constitution that "the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state" embodies a most important principle. It is impermissible for any party organization or member, from the Central Committee down to the grassroots, to act in contravention of the constitution and laws. The party is part of the people. It leads them in making the constitution and laws which, once adopted by the supreme organ of state power, must be strictly observed by the whole party.

Further promotion of the socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all our nationalities constitutes an important aspect of the building of socialist democracy in our country. The Central Committee has in the past few years made a number of significant decisions on the nationalities question and achieved marked successes in correcting "left" errors committed during and before the "Cultural Revolution" and in restoring good relations among China's nationalities. In the light of conditions in this new historical period and the specific circumstances of various nationalities, the Central Committee has adopted many policies helpful to

economic and cultural development in the minority nationality areas, to the realization of their right to regional autonomy, and to strengthening of unity among all our nationalities. These policies will have to be further improved and developed. Unity, equality and common prosperity among the nationalities are of vital importance to the destiny of China as a multinational country. The whole party must acquire a better understanding of the nationalities question, oppose great-nation chauvinism, primarily Han chauvinism, and at the same time oppose local-nationality chauvinism. We must educate all party members to strive to fulfill the task of the party in regard to the nationalities.

In the period of the democratic revolution, the united front was an important "magic weapon" for winning victory in our revolution. In the period of socialist construction it still plays a major role. With regard to all China's democratic parties, nonparty democrats, national minority personages and patriots in the religious circles, our party will continue to adhere to the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe," and strengthen our cooperation with them. We must do everything possible to strengthen the broadest patriotic united front embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hong Kong) and Aomen (Macao) and Chinese nationals residing abroad.

Correct understanding and handling of the class struggle that still exists in China today is the key to guaranteeing the democratic rights of the overwhelming majority of the people and exercising effective dictatorship over the handful of hostile elements. Hostile elements of different shades are still attempting to undermine or overthrow our socialist system in the economic, political, ideological, cultural and other social spheres. The class struggle at the present stage chiefly takes the form of struggle by the people against these hostile elements. The Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that following the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most contradictions in our society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction. It is wrong, in a socialist society where the system of exploitation has been abolished and the exploiting classes have been eliminated, to declare and act on the principle of "taking class struggle as the key link." We must be very careful in distinguishing and handling contradictions between the enemy and the people and those within the ranks of the people, so as to avoid repeating the past mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle. However, within certain limits, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time and may even sharpen under certain conditions. This is not only because pernicious influences left over by the exploitative systems and classes cannot be eradicated within a short time, but also because we have not yet achieved our goal of reunifying our motherland and still live in a complicated international environment in which the capitalist forces and other forces hostile to our socialist cause will seek to corrupt us and harm our country. Our economy and culture are still quite backward and our young socialist system is imperfect in many ways, so that it is not yet possible to prevent in all cases the degeneration of some

members of our society and party or block the emergence of a few exploiting and hostile elements. Therefore, we must prepare ourselves mentally for a long-term struggle, see to it that the state of the people's democratic dictatorship exercises its function of dictatorship over enemies, and uphold the Marxist class viewpoint in handling the current social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle. This is the basic principle of the Central Committee with regard to the question of the class struggle in China at the present stage.

Our struggle against grave criminal offenses in the economic sphere is now being intensified. Among those guilty of such crimes, apart from law-breakers in society at large, are a tiny number of degenerates in party and government organizations and in the armed forces who have been corrupted by capitalist ideology. They cause tremendous damage to economic construction, upset social stability, debase the standards of social conduct and corrupt people's minds and life. They are termites undermining the edifice of socialism. Similar destructive activities occur in the political and cultural spheres as well. We must on no account rank all these things with the common run of offenses or antisocial acts, because they are important manifestations of class struggle under the new historical conditions in which we are pursuing a policy of opening to the outside and taking flexible measures to invigorate our economy domestically. Such destructive elements must be severely punished by law. We have won some initial successes in this struggle. The whole party must enhance its understanding of this struggle, take a firm stand in it and unswervingly carry it through to the end. This will be an important guarantee for our adherence to the socialist road.

In the new period of the development of our socialist cause, we must attend, both in ideology and in action, to two aspects. On the one hand, we must persist in the policy of opening to the outside as well as in our policies for invigorating the economy domestically and, on the other, we must resolutely strike at the grave criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural spheres that endanger socialism. It would be wrong to attend only to the latter aspect and be skeptical about the former, and it would be dangerous to stress the former aspect to the neglect of the latter. All party comrades must have a clear understanding of this principle without the slightest ambiguity.

Our socialist construction is taking place in a very unstable world in which our national security is under grave threat. In these circumstances, we must never relax our vigilance, but must strengthen our national defense on the basis of vigorous economic development. We must work hard to turn the People's Liberation Army into a regular, modern and powerful revolutionary armed force and enhance its defense capabilities in modern warfare. We must continue to maintain and carry forward the fine traditions of our peoples' armed forces, and strengthen and improve their ideological and political work, so that every member will have a lofty spirit of self-sacrifice, strong sense of discipline and revolutionary style of work and that our army will serve not only as a Great Wall of steel guarding our socialist motherland but also as an important force in building our socialist material and

spiritual civilization. We must continue to strengthen the militia. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's armed force created and led by the Chinese Communist Party. After the new draft constitution is discussed and adopted by the forthcoming National People's Congress, the Central Committee will continue to exercise leadership over our armed forces through the State Central Military Commission which is due to be set up. We must stick to the successful practices which the party has long followed in leading the armed forces. This conforms to the supreme interests of the whole nation. We are convinced that, under the leadership of the Central Committee and through the efforts of all the commanders and fighters and the people of all nationalities, our national defense will become still stronger, thus providing a surer guarantee that the whole nation will be able to devote its full energy to socialist construction.

V. Adhering to an Independent Foreign Policy

China's future is closely bound up with that of the world as a whole. The successes China has achieved in its revolution and construction provide a powerful support to the world's movement for progress and a bright future, and conversely, our successes would have been impossible without the struggles of the people of other countries for a bright future. China has received help from other countries and peoples, and in turn has helped others. In the early years of our People's Republic, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our general task is to unite the whole people and win the support of all our friends abroad in the struggle to build a great socialist country, defend world peace and advance the cause of human progress."⁷ Integration of patriotism with internationalism has always been our basic point of departure in handling our external relations.

Being patriots, we do not tolerate any encroachment on China's national dignity or interests. Being internationalists, we are deeply aware that China's national interests cannot be fully realized in separation from the overall interests of mankind. Our adherence to an independent foreign policy accords with the discharging of our lofty international duty to safeguard world peace and promote human progress. In the 33 years since the founding of our People's Republic, we have shown the world by deeds that China never attaches itself to any big power or group of powers, and never yields to pressure from any big power. China's foreign policy is based on the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and it proceeds from the fundamental interests of the people of China and the rest of the world. It follows an overall long-term strategy, and is definitely not swayed by expediency or by anybody's instigation or provocation. Because we have firmly applied the basic principles of our foreign policy formulated by the late Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, socialist new China has gained prestige, made friends throughout the world and maintained its dignity in its relations with foreign countries.

The five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each others' internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence have consistently guided China in its effort to develop relations with other

countries. Having suffered aggression and oppression for over a century, the Chinese people will never again allow themselves to be humiliated as they were before, nor will they subject other nations to such humiliation. The founding of our People's Republic has removed the social causes both of China's submission to foreign aggression and of any possibility of China committing aggression abroad. Frederick Engels said: "A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations."⁸ This is an incontestable truth. We Marxist-Leninists are convinced that communism will ultimately be realized throughout the world. However, revolution cannot be exported but can occur only by the choice of the people of the country concerned. It is on the basis of this understanding that we have always abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We do not station a single soldier abroad, nor have we occupied a single inch of foreign land. We have never infringed upon the sovereignty of another country, or imposed an unequal relationship upon it. In no circumstances will we seek hegemony.

The five principles of peaceful coexistence are applicable to our relations with all countries, including socialist countries. On the basis of these principles we have in the past 33 years established diplomatic relations with 125 countries. With the friendly socialist countries of Korea, Romania and Yugoslavia, we maintain close cooperation and are steadily strengthening and developing ties of unity and friendship. China and many other developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America sympathize with and support one another, and have enhanced their cooperation in all fields. Many Western countries have social systems different from China's, yet we share a common desire to safeguard world peace and a common interest in developing our economic and cultural cooperation, for which the potentials are great, and we have maintained good relations over the years. The past few years have also seen some development in our relations with East European countries.

Japan is China's neighbor. Since ancient times, there have been frequent exchanges and a profound friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. But, during a hundred years of modern history, the Japanese militarists unleashed one war of aggression after another against China, inflicting colossal calamities on the Chinese people and grievous damage on the Japanese people themselves. Thanks to long years of joint efforts made by the Chinese and Japanese peoples, state relations were eventually normalized 10 years ago. The development of relations of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and prolonged stability between China and Japan is in accord with the long-term interests of the two peoples and conducive to the peace and stability of the Asian-Pacific region. Now some forces in Japan are whitewashing the past Japanese aggressions against China and other east Asian countries and are carrying out activities for the revival of Japanese militarism. These dangerous developments cannot but put the people of China, Japan and other countries sharply on the alert. Together with the Japanese people and with far-sighted Japanese public figures in and out of government, we will work to eliminate all hindrances to the relations between our two countries and make the friendship between our two peoples flourish from generation to generation.

Since the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and the United States of America in 1978, relations between the two countries have developed in the interests of the two peoples. We have always hoped that these relations will continue to grow, and consider this beneficial to our two peoples and to world peace. However, a cloud has all along hung over the relations between the two countries. This is because the United States, despite having recognized that the Government of the People's Republic of China is China's sole legal government and that there is only one China and Taiwan is part of China, has passed the Taiwan Relations Act which contravenes the principles embodied in the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations, and it has continued to sell arms to Taiwan, treating Taiwan as an independent political entity. As the Chinese Government has repeatedly stated, these are acts of infringement on China's sovereignty and of interference in China's internal affairs. Not long ago, after nearly a year of talks, the Chinese and U.S. Governments issued a joint communique providing for a step-by-step solution of the question of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, leading to a final thorough settlement.

We hope that these provisions will be strictly observed. Sino-U.S. relations can continue to develop soundly only if the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and noninterference in each other's internal affairs are truly adhered to.

The relations between China and the Soviet Union were friendly over a fairly long period. They have become what they are today because the Soviet Union has pursued a hegemonist policy. For the past 20 years, the Soviet Union has stationed massive armed forces along the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders. It has supported Vietnam in the latter's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, acts of expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia and constant provocations along China's border. Moreover, it has invaded and occupied Afghanistan, a neighbor of China, by force of arms. All these acts constitute grave threats to the peace of Asia and to China's security. We note that Soviet leaders have expressed more than once the desire to improve relations with China. But deeds, rather than words, are important. If the Soviet authorities really have a sincere desire to improve relations with China and take practical steps to lift their threat to the security of our country, it will be possible for Sino-Soviet relations to move toward normalization. The friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples is of long standing, and we will strive to safeguard and develop this friendship, no matter what Sino-Soviet state relations are like.

The main forces jeopardizing peaceful coexistence among nations today are imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism. True, the old system of colonialism has disintegrated with the successive winning of independence by nearly a hundred former colonial and semicolonial countries. Yet its remnants are far from being eliminated. The superpowers that practice hegemonism pose a new threat to the people of the world. In their pursuit of global domination, the superpowers have been contending on a worldwide scale with military power far exceeding that of any other countries. This is the main source of instability and turmoil in the world. The most important task for the people of the world today is to oppose hegemonism and safeguard

world peace. Due to the rivalry between the superpowers, the danger of a world war is growing ever greater. However, experience shows that the people of the world, by persevering in struggle, can upset the strategic plans of the superpowers. World peace can be safeguarded, provided the people truly unite and fight resolutely against all expressions of hegemonism and expansionism. We have always firmly opposed the arms race between the superpowers, stood for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and for their complete destruction and demanded that the superpowers be the first to cut their nuclear and conventional arsenals drastically. We are against the world war being fomented by the superpowers and also against all the local wars of aggression which they instigate or back. We have always firmly supported all victim countries and peoples in their struggle against aggression. We support the Korean people in their struggle to reunify their fatherland. We support the Kampuchean people led by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression. We support the people of Afghanistan in their struggle against Soviet aggression. We support the African people in their struggle against South Africa's racism and expansionism. We strongly condemn Israel for its heinous aggression and atrocities against the people of Palestine and Lebanon. With support and protection from the U.S. hegemonists, Israel has outrageously occupied Palestine and carried out repeated armed aggression against Arab countries, posing a grave threat to peace in the Middle East and the world as a whole. We continue our resolute support for the Palestinian people in their struggle to return to their homeland and to found their own state and for other Arab peoples in their struggle against Israeli expansionism.

Socialist China belongs to the Third World. China has experienced the same sufferings as most other Third World countries, and it is faced with similar problems and tasks. China regards it as its sacred international duty to struggle resolutely against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism together with the other Third World countries.

The emergence of the Third World on the international arena after World War II is a primary event of our time. It has changed the United Nations from a mere voting machine manipulated by certain big powers into a forum where imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism are often justly condemned. The struggle initiated by Latin American countries against the maritime hegemony of the superpowers and the struggles of the petroleum exporting countries and other raw material producing countries for permanent sovereignty over their own natural resources, the struggle of the non-aligned countries against power politics and bloc politics and the struggles of the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic order--all these struggles have converged into a mighty current of forces upholding justice in our time and greatly changed the situation in which the superpowers could willfully manipulate the fate of the world.

The common task confronting the Third World countries is, first and foremost, to defend their national independence and state sovereignty and actively develop their national economies so that they can back up the

political independence they have already won with economic independence. Here, mutual aid among Third World countries is of particular importance. We Third World countries have vast territories, large populations, immense resources and extensive markets. Some of us have accumulated considerable funds, and many have acquired their own distinctive technologies and gained experience in developing their national economies which the others can learn from. Our mutual economic cooperation, commonly known as "South-South cooperation," is no less effective than our cooperation with developed countries so far as some kinds of our technology and equipment are concerned in meeting mutual needs. Such cooperation is of great strategic significance, as it helps us to break out of the existing unequal international economic relations and establish the new international economic order.

China is still a developing country, but we have always done our best to help other Third World countries, with whom we share a common destiny. The Chinese people have always spurned attitudes and actions of despising the poor and currying favor with the rich, bullying the weak and fearing the strong. Our friendship with other Third World countries is sincere. Whether in providing aid or cooperating for mutual benefit, we have always strictly respected the sovereignty of the other party, attaching no strings and demanding no privileges. As our economy grows, we will steadily expand our friendly cooperation with other countries and peoples of the Third World.

We are deeply disturbed by the discords, going as far as armed conflicts, that have occurred between some Third World countries. They often cause heavy losses to both sides and at times allow the hegemonists to pick up easy gains. We always work for increased unity among the Third World countries in the hope that the parties to such disputes will resolve them through consultations and avoid any results that grieve friends and gladden enemies.

Here I would especially like to discuss the question of relationships between the Communist Party of China and those of other countries. Our party develops its relations with other communist or working-class parties in strict conformity with Marxism and the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

The success of the revolution in any country depends on the ripeness of conditions for it and the people's support for the line and policies of that country's communist party. Communist parties should of course help each other, but it is absolutely impermissible for any of them to issue orders or run things for others from the outside. Any attempt by one party to impose its views on other parties or interfere in their internal affairs can only lead to setbacks or failures in the revolutions of the countries concerned. As for the practice of one party compelling other parties to make their policies serve its own party and state policies, or even resorting to armed intervention in other countries, it can only undermine the very foundation of the international communist movement.

The communist parties of all countries are equal. Whether large or small, long or short in their history, in power or out of power, they cannot be divided into superior and inferior parties. Our party has suffered from the attempt of a self-elevated paternal party to keep us under control. As is commonly known, it is through resisting such control that our independent external policy has won its successes.

We hold that all communist parties should respect each other. Each party has its strong and weak points. Being situated in different circumstances, all parties cannot be expected to hold completely identical views on the assessment of situations and on their own tasks. Their differences of opinion can only be resolved gradually through friendly consultations and patiently giving each other time. We are in favor of all communist parties learning from each other's successes and failures, believing that this will help the international communist movement to grow and flourish.

On the principles mentioned above, our party has maintained friendly relations with many other communist parties. We sincerely appreciate their support and help and are conscientiously learning from their experience whatever can be of help to our revolution and construction. And we wish to establish similar contacts with a greater number of progressive parties and organizations. Setting store by their friendship with the people of other countries, the Chinese people have developed extensive contacts with them. In the final analysis, steadily increasing understanding and cooperation among the people of all countries is the basic guarantee of progress and a bright future for the world.

Being a large country with a population of 1 billion, China ought to make a greater contribution to the world community, and it is only natural that people place hopes on us. Yet what we have accomplished falls far short of what we ought to have done. We will redouble our efforts to step up our construction so as to play our due role in safeguarding world peace and promoting human progress.

VI. Make the Party a Strong Leading Core, the Cause of Socialist Modernization

History has entrusted our party with heavy responsibilities in the great undertaking of China's socialist modernization. In order to step up party building in the new period, we have made many fundamental changes in the party constitution adopted by the 11th national congress. The general principle guiding the revision of the party constitution is to set more exacting demands on party members, enhance the fighting capacity of the party organizations and uphold and improve party leadership, all in conformity with the characteristics and needs of the new historical period. As required by the new constitution, we must strive to build the party and make it a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization.

The draft of the revised party constitution now submitted to this congress for its consideration has discarded the "left" errors in the constitution adopted by the 11th congress, and carries forward the merits of the party

constitutions passed respectively by the 7th and 8th congresses. The general program section in the draft constitution includes Marxist definitions concerning the character and guiding ideology of the party, the principal contradiction in our society at the present stage and the general task of the party, and the correct way for the party to play its leading role in the life of the state. The ideological, political and organizational requirements this draft constitution sets for party members and cadres are stricter than those in all our previous constitutions. In stipulating the duties of party members, the draft absolutely forbids them to use public office for personal gain or to benefit themselves at the expense of the public interests, and requires that they firmly oppose factionalism and be bold in backing good people and good deeds and in opposing bad people and bad deeds. It sets forth as basic requirements for leading cadres at all levels that they correctly implement the party's line, principles and policies, oppose erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party, have the professional knowledge and organizational ability needed for competent leadership, and adhere to party principles in struggling against all abuses of power and pursuit of personal gain. Most of these are additions, not found in the previous constitutions. In the light of our historical experience and lessons, the draft constitution emphasizes that all party organizations from the central down to the primary level must strictly observe the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, and it explicitly stipulates that the party "forbids all forms of personality cult." It makes many new provisions for improving the systems of the central and local organizations, tightening party discipline, reinforcing the discipline inspection organs and strengthening the primary party organizations. According to the draft constitution, the Central Committee is to have no chairman but only a general secretary, who will convene meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and preside over the work of the Secretariat. Advisory committees are to be established at the central and provincial levels to give our many veteran comrades rich in political experience a role of consultants in the service of the party's cause. Commissions for discipline inspection are to be elected by party congresses at the respective levels and, within limits prescribed by the party constitution, they are to supervise party committees and their members at the respective levels below the Central Committee, and they may report to the Central Committee any breach of party discipline by any of its members. Party organizations at all levels must pay great attention to party building and must regularly discuss and check up on the party's work in propaganda, education, organization and discipline inspection, and its mass work and united front work. All these stipulations should help to reinforce the party's collective leadership, enhance its fighting capacity and strengthen its ties with the masses. It should be said that the present draft is an improvement on all the previous constitutions and is fuller in content. Being a precious crystallization of the party's historical experience and collective wisdom, it is an important guarantee for making our party still stronger in the new historical period.

All party members must study and strictly observe the new constitution after its adoption by this congress. Whether or not a party member really meets the requirements set by the constitution and can fully discharge the duties

of membership will be the fundamental criterion for judging whether he or she is qualified to be a party member.

Before the present revision of the constitution, our party worked out the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life, a document which has played a salutary role in that regard.

The Guiding Principles will remain in full effect as an important complement to the constitution. In light of the present conditions in the party and in the spirit of our new party constitution, we must now concentrate on solving the following problems in party building.

First, improve the party's system of democratic centralism and further normalize inner-party political life.

The history of our party shows that, in the period from its founding to the early years after the establishment of the People's Republic, except for a few years when the party fell into grave right or "left" errors, it implemented the principles of democratic centralism relatively well, and inner-party political life was fairly vigorous and lively. But from the late 1950's, the personality cult gradually appeared and developed, and political life in the party and state, and particularly the Central Committee, grew more and more abnormal, leading eventually to the decade of domestic turmoil. The grave twists and turns of history have taught us that whether there is normal political life in the party, and above all in the Central Committee and other leading bodies of the party at different levels, is indeed a fundamental issue bearing on the destiny of the party and state.

Now, the Central Committee is happy to report to the congress that, thanks to efforts made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, political life in the party, and first of all in the Central Committee, after being seriously abnormal for so many years, has now gradually returned to the correct path, the path of Marxism. Generally speaking, the Central Committee, its Political Bureau, the bureau's Standing Committee and the Secretariat have proved able to follow principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership. The practices of "what one person says goes" and of each going his own way are no longer allowed. When important differences of opinion arise, unity in thinking and action can be achieved through full reasoning and criticism and self-criticism. The present Central Committee is a united and harmonious leading body and a strong core able to cope with complicated situations. There has also been marked improvement in the political life of many local party organizations.

While affirming this major progress, we must also realize that in the party as a whole, undemocratic practices and patriarchal ways have still not been eradicated in many organizations, and cases of decentralism and liberalism exist to a serious extent. All this hinders the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and weakens its fighting capacity. In order to carry forward the normalization of political life throughout the party, we must resolutely get rid of such unhealthy phenomena. All party members, and especially the leading cadres at various levels, must bear the

principle of democratic centralism firmly in mind, see to it that collective leadership is established and strengthened first of all in the party committees at various levels, and strive to develop inner-party democracy while ensuring centralism and unity on the basis of democracy.

Party discipline must be strengthened in order to improve the functioning of democratic centralism. A grave problem at present is that in quite a number of organizations party discipline has slackened, right and wrong are confounded, rewards and punishments are misused and there is failure to criticize or punish when necessary. This is a problem of long standing, which has become exacerbated after the decade of domestic turmoil, and no marked improvement has yet occurred in some places. In the last few years the Central Committee, local party committees and party commissions for discipline inspection at all levels have attained notable results in their major efforts to uphold party discipline and correct the style of the party. But they have met considerable, and in some cases shocking, obstruction in their work. If such things are allowed to spread, what will remain of the party's fighting capacity? Party organizations at all levels and all party members must be mobilized to fight resolutely to uphold party discipline. We are confident that after this congress, through concerted efforts by all party organizations and members, we shall certainly be able to fully restore the inviolability of discipline throughout the party before too long and thus win the full trust of the people throughout the country.

Second, reform the leading bodies and the cadre system and ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent.

The main aim of reforming the system of leadership and the leading organs of the party and state is to eliminate such defects as overconcentration of power, proliferation of concurrent and deputy posts, organizational overlapping, lack of clear-cut job responsibility, overstaffing and failure to separate party work from government work, and in these ways overcome bureaucracy and increase work efficiency. The first stage of reform of the party and government organs at the central level has been basically completed, and the reform in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions is scheduled to start in the second half of this year or in the coming year. This reform is of far-reaching significance, being an important political guarantee for the success of China's modernization and adherence to the socialist road.

To solve correctly the question of party leadership over government organs and over enterprises and institutions is a highly important task in the organizational reform. It is necessary to achieve a proper division of labor between the party and the government and between party work and administrative and production work in enterprises and institutions. The party is not an organ of power which issues orders to the people, nor is it an administrative or production organization. The party should, of course, exercise leadership over production, construction and work in all other fields, and for this leadership to be fully effective it must be exercised in close connection with professional work by cadres who are professionally

competent in such work. But party leadership is mainly political and ideological leadership in matters of principle and policy and in the selection, allocation, assessment and supervision of cadres. It should not be equated with administrative work and the direction of production by government organizations and enterprises. The party organizations should not take everything into their own hands. Only in this way can the party ensure that the government organs and enterprises do their work independently and effectively, and can the party itself concentrate its efforts on the study and formulation of major policies, the inspection of their implementation and the strengthening of ideological and political work among cadres and the rank and file both inside and outside the party. For long-standing historical reasons, some members of our party committees think that there will be nothing for them to do if they don't handle concrete administrative work--this is an erroneous idea that impairs party building and weakens the party's leading role. From now on, party committees at all levels should frequently study and discuss the party's major policies and principles regarding socialist construction, matters involving the ideology and education of cadres, party members and the masses, the ideological tendencies of cadres and their observance of discipline, the improvement of the party organization and the recruitment of new members, and so on. Of course, while the division of labor between party and government is emphasized, major policy decisions concerning government and economic work must still be made by the party, and all party members working in government organizations, enterprises and institutions must resolutely submit themselves to party leadership and carry out the party's policies.

To ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent is a long-established principle of the Central Committee of the party. During the organizational reform, we will relieve our many veteran cadres who are advanced in age of their heavy responsibilities in "front line" posts and at the same time enable them to continue their service to the party, the state and society by utilizing their rich experience in leadership work. We will promote large numbers of energetic young and middle-aged cadres who possess both political integrity and ability to various leading posts in good time, so that they can be tempered over a longer period practically and effectively by working with older cadres and taking over responsibilities from them and so that the leading bodies at all levels can continuously absorb new life-blood and talent to maintain their vigor. As for persons who rose to prominence by "rebellion," who are seriously factionalist in their ideas, who have indulged in beating, smashing and looting, who oppose the line followed by the party's Central Committee since its third plenary session, or who have seriously violated the law and discipline, we must remove with a firm hand those among them who are still in leading posts. Persons who have violated criminal law must be investigated and dealt with according to law. Such people, of course, must never be put up as candidates for promotion to leading posts. The cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the new to the old are matters important to the continuation of our socialist cause. We believe that all our party comrades, especially our old comrades, will certainly be able to accomplish this historic task with a high revolutionary sense of responsibility.

We must work strenuously to strengthen the education and training of cadres in order to prepare large numbers of specialized personnel needed for socialist modernization. In the future, in our use and promotion of cadres, we must attach importance to educational background and academic records as well as to experience and achievements in work. Party schools at all levels, cadre schools run by government organizations and enterprises, and especially designated institutions of higher learning and specialized secondary schools should all, as required by socialist modernization and in their different capacities, revise their teaching plans and shoulder the regular training of cadres. All functionaries on the job should be trained in rotation. After such training, appropriate adjustments can be made in their jobs through assessment of their actual performance. The training of all cadres in rotation is an important strategic measure for enhancing their quality. All party members and all cadres should have a full understanding of the needs of our modernization program and be active in study.

Third, strengthen the party's work among the workers, peasants and intellectuals and establish close ties between the party and the masses.

Our party is powerful because it represents the interests of the broadest masses of the people. The party's leading position in the life of the state determines that its activities vitally affect the interests of the masses, and at the same time involves the danger that party members, and party cadres in particular, may become isolated from the masses. This requires that we strive all the more consciously to preserve and carry forward the party's fine tradition of applying the mass line and effectively strengthen the party's close ties with the people of all strata of society.

Our party is a party of the working class, and it must make a point of relying on the masses of workers. The composition of the working class in China has undergone a big change in recent years, with large numbers of new workers replacing old ones. Many old workers who are party members have retired, many young people have joined the ranks of the working class, and group after group of workers who are party members have been transferred to managerial jobs. As a result, there are fewer party members on the production front, and the harder the labor, the smaller the number of party members. This grave situation has weakened the direct link between the party and the industrial workers. From now on, we must greatly strengthen party work on the production front, encourage party members fitted for working there to do so, and at the same time admit into the party outstanding workers who are qualified for membership. The party's work in the trade unions must be greatly strengthened so that they become a strong transmission belt between the party and the masses of workers. The system of congresses of workers and staff must be implemented in earnest so that these congresses and the trade unions can both play an important role in ideological education, enterprise management and the improvement of the workers' living standards.

Effective party work among China's 800 million peasants is a major prerequisite for its modernization. In a number of rural areas at present,

some party members are interested only in their own productive activities and neglect the interests of the party and the masses, and some party branches have relinquished leadership among the masses. Effective measures must be taken to check this unhealthy tendency. Party committees at all levels should face up to such new developments, further strengthen the rural party organizations as well as the economic and administrative units and mass organizations at the grassroots and intensify ideological education among the peasants of different ages and in different localities, so that the political, economic and cultural life in the rural areas may develop soundly in the socialist direction.

In order to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, we must lay special stress on the role of the intellectuals, improve the work of ideological and political education among them to suit their special characteristics, and actively recruit into the party intellectuals who are qualified for membership.

China has now 200 million young people, who form the most active force in every field of work. Although the "Cultural Revolution" did them immense harm during their formative years, the overwhelming majority of them are good politically and they have made marked progress in the past few years; the negative features displayed by a small number of the young people can be changed through education. The problem now is that work among the young people falls short of the needs of real life. Party and youth league organizations at all levels should establish closer ties with the masses of young people, become their close friends, show sincere concern for them and give them help politically, ideologically and in their work, study and personal life. The party should be on the lookout for advanced young people, help them to become qualified for membership and then admit them to its ranks so as to bring new blood into the party organizations. It should further strengthen its leadership over the Communist Youth League, support the league in the efforts to suit its work to the characteristics of the young people and help it play to the full its role as the party's assistant and reserve force, so that the league can truly become a school where large numbers of young people will learn about communism through practice.

Women are not only an important force in national economic construction; they also have a particularly significant role to play in building socialist spiritual civilization. Owing to traditional prejudices, many women often do not receive due attention, protection and education. The party must strengthen its work among women, concern itself with their special interests, pay attention to the training, selection and promotion of women cadres, and guide and support the women's federations at all levels in carrying out their tasks. The women's federation should become a prestigious mass organization, representing the interests of women and protecting and educating women and children.

Fourth, consolidate the party organizations step by step in a planned way so as to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party.

Our party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class; it has been nurtured over the years by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and has matured through repeated tempering by successes and failures. Rallied in its ranks are outstanding elements of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people. The main body of our party remains politically pure and strong despite the serious damage inflicted by the "Cultural Revolution." After recovery and consolidation in the past few years, the situation in our party is now much improved, and its prestige is being restored and is rising. In these years, outstanding communists on all fronts have led the masses in working hard to implement the party's line, principles and policies and in many acts of heroism. Everywhere, in production and other work, in battles in defense of our motherland and against natural and other calamities, and in struggles against unhealthy tendencies and crimes, party members have written soul-stirring paeans to communism through their own exemplary deeds. All the splendid successes of the party and the people have been achieved precisely through the inspiring example given by such a fine core members of the party. This is the principal aspect of our party, and whoever fails to see it, or deliberately denies it, is committing a grave error.

However, the pernicious influences of the 10 years of domestic turmoil have not yet been eradicated, and there has been some increase in the corrosive inroads of exploiting-class ideologies under new conditions. It is true that impurities in ideology, style and organization still exist within the party and that no fundamental turn for the better has as yet been made in our party style. In the leadership work of some party organizations, signs of flabbiness and lack of unity abound. Some primary party organizations lack the necessary fighting capacity, and some are even in a state of paralysis. A small number of party members and cadres have become extremely irresponsible or seriously bureaucratic; or live a privileged life and abuse the powers entrusted to them to seek personal gain; or commit acts of anarchism and ultra-individualism in violation of party discipline; or obdurately indulge in factional activities to the detriment of the party's interests. A few party members and cadres have even sunk to corruption, embezzlement and other malpractices, committing serious economic crimes. In addition, a small remnant of the followers of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques still usurp some leading positions and are waiting for a chance to stir up trouble. All these phenomena have greatly impaired our party's prestige. While we must not allow any exaggeration of this dark aspect of our party, on no account should we be afraid to expose it. For ours is a staunch party; we have ample healthy forces on our side to wage an uncompromising struggle against the dark aspects and are confident of our victory in the struggle.

The style of a political party in power determines its very survival. To achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the style of our party, the Central Committee has decided on an overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations, which will proceed by stages and by groups over a period of 3 years beginning from the latter half of 1983. This task will undoubtedly be of primary importance to the party, and it requires very careful attention and preparation and should be carried out

step by step in a planned way. The key link in accomplishing this work must be thoroughgoing ideological education throughout the party. In conjunction with the study and implementation of the report and the new party constitution to be adopted by this party congress, the whole party should study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life and carry on an education in the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, in the ideal of communism and the party's line, principles and policies and in essential knowledge concerning the party and the requirements for party membership. We must lay stress on getting every member to understand clearly the character, position and role of the party and to realize that all party members have only the duty to serve the people diligently and conscientiously, and no right whatsoever to take advantage of their power and positions to "fatten" on the state and on the masses. In matters of organization and leadership, the consolidation will start with the leading organs and cadres and then proceed, from top to bottom, with the leading bodies at different levels which have already been consolidated leading the consolidation of the subordinate and primary organizations. Bad elements must on no account be permitted to take this as an opportunity to frame and attack good people. We must act in, and develop further, the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement of 1942, follow its principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and its twofold objective of "clarity in ideology and unity among comrades" in unfolding earnest criticism and self-criticism, and take appropriate measures to solicit opinions from the masses outside the party. In the final stage, there will be a re-registration of all party members and, in strict accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution, those who still fail to meet the requirements for membership after education shall be expelled from the party or asked to withdraw from it. At the same time, concrete measures should be worked out to strengthen and improve party leadership so as to effect an improvement in the work of party organizations at all levels.

Through the proposed consolidation of the party, we must further normalize inner-party political life, place an effective check on unhealthy tendencies and greatly strengthen the ties between the party and the masses. In this way, we will certainly achieve a fundamental turn for the better in our party style.

Comrades! Our Central Committee has explained to this congress the fighting tasks that confront the whole party. We have proposed that in the coming 5 years a fundamental turn for the better should be made in the financial and economic situation, in standards of social conduct and in party style. Can these tasks be accomplished? The Central Committee is confident that the unanimous reply by our congress will be: Yes, the tasks can and definitely shall be accomplished!

The principles and tasks to be defined by this congress will enrich and develop the correct line followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the party's 11th Central Committee. Richer in content and closer to reality, they will be even more persuasive in unifying the thinking of the entire

party and the people of all our nationalities and become an even more accurate guide to our action.

At this point, it should be emphasized that our party faces yet another historic task, that of joining hands with all our patriotic fellow-countrymen in a common endeavor to accomplish the sacred task of reunifying our motherland. Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of our motherland, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. The return of Taiwan to the embrace of our great and indivisible motherland with its history of 5,000 years, population of 1 billion and territory of 9.6 million square kilometers is the common desire of all our compatriots; it will be an inevitable outcome of historical development, which no political party or individual can resist. It is China's internal affair with which no foreign country has the right to interfere. We hope that our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hong Kong) and Aomen (Macao) and Chinese nationals residing abroad will urge the Kuomintang authorities to take a realistic view of the situation and put the future of our country and the interests of the nation above all else, instead of persisting in their obdurate stand, so that talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party may be held at an early date and, together, we can bring about the peaceful reunification of our motherland.

Socialist modernization is the common will, and is in the fundamental interests, of the people of all our nationalities. Remember what hardships and miseries the Chinese nation went through in the century or more between the Opium War of 1840 and liberation! Long years of historical experience have inevitably turned the hearts and minds of all members of our party, army and people to the fundamental goal of the prosperity of the country under socialism and of reunification, particularly the return of Taiwan to the motherland. Socialist China's political situation is stable, and the prospect is that our modernization and reunification will definitely succeed. This prospect accords with the desires of the people and the tide of history. So long as we firmly trust and rely on the overwhelming majority of the masses, maintain close ties with the people and work conscientiously for their interests, our cause will be invincible.

We are, of course, soberly aware that we will come upon all kinds of obstacles and difficulties on the path of socialist modernization. At present, the major problems calling for urgent solution are the unhealthy phenomena in our party style and lowered standards of social conduct, which are the aftermath of the "Cultural Revolution"; the continuance of serious criminal activities undermining the socialist economy, politics and culture; and the unwieldiness, overstaffing and inefficiency in leading bodies at various levels, and the failure of our economic systems to fully meet the needs of the expansion of the productive forces. Consequently, as already said above, in the period to come we must systematically complete the organizational reform and reforms in the economic systems, go all out in building socialist spiritual civilization, hit hard at the serious criminal activities undermining our socialist economy and socialist system, and rectify the party style and consolidate the party organizations. Fulfillment of these four tasks will provide an important guarantee that we can adhere

to the socialist system and succeed in socialist modernization. The whole party, particularly party committees at all levels, must lay great stress on these tasks and work unswervingly to accomplish them.

Our comrades should take a correct approach toward difficulties. It is entirely wrong to see only the bright and not the difficult side of the situation, to the point of mistaking one's subjective desires for objective reality and rushing blindly ahead. We suffered greatly from such an approach in the past and should always remember the lessons learned. On the other hand, it is likewise entirely wrong to fear and cower before difficulties, lose faith in the strength of the party and the masses, and waver and procrastinate even after the Central Committee has correctly analyzed the situation and formulated principles and tasks accordingly. Things today are far different from those in past periods when our party encountered tremendous difficulties. When our Red Army was compelled to go on the Long March, it was vastly outnumbered by the enemy, yet we overcame that difficulty. During the "Cultural Revolution" the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques ran rampant and the whole country was thrown into chaos, yet we turned the tide. So can there be any difficulties today which we cannot overcome? The correct attitude for Marxists in the face of difficulties, the revolutionary style for communists striving to create a new situation is to throw themselves enthusiastically into the great work of socialist modernization and, going among the masses and digging into the actual work, forge ahead in the struggle with added vigor, indomitably and indefatigably.

Comrades! The historical experience of the party during the past 60-odd years teaches us that the fundamental reason why the party has been able to lead the Chinese people in winning one great victory after another is its integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The supreme historical contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation is that they succeeded in making such an integration. To turn China with its backward economic and cultural base into a modern and powerful socialist country in this new historical period is one of the most gigantic creative undertakings in human history. Many problems involved in it were not, and would not have been, raised or solved by Marxists in the past. In such an undertaking, ideological and political deviations of one kind or another or deviations in concrete work may occur within our ranks. This is not strange, nor can it be entirely avoided. What is important is that the whole party, party committees at all levels in particular, must uphold the four cardinal principles, adhere to the correct line followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and oppose both the "left" tendency of trying to revert to the erroneous theories and policies which prevailed during and before the "Cultural Revolution" and the right tendency of bourgeois liberalization as reflected in distrust or rejection of the four cardinal principles. We must resolutely take over and learn to use the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, acquire a deeper understanding of the actual work in all fields, make systematic investigations and studies, and be good at conducting appropriate criticism and education and waging necessary struggles against wrong tendencies.

Provided we persist in doing this, we can certainly accumulate new experience, break new ground in theory and carry forward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions and in great new fields of practice.

Comrades! For several decades beginning with the 1920's, China's fore-runners in the communist cause and millions of other glorious revolutionary fighters and martyrs shed their blood and gave their lives in heroic struggles to bring China to its present state of progress. In the new historical period, let us carry out the behest of our martyrs and accomplish, in this vast land of ours, the great undertaking never attempted before.

In terms of experience of struggles, our contingent of party cadres consists of people of four generations: those who joined the revolution in the party's early days, during the agrarian revolutionary war, during the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, and after the founding of the People's Republic. This testifies that our cause is of long standing and is assured of successors. The ranks of our party will advance incessantly like the flowing waters of the Chang Jiang. This congress of ours will go down in the party's history as one which has defined the party's principles and tasks for the new period politically and achieved the cooperation of old and new cadres and the succession of the new to the old organizationally, and one which creates a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Let the whole party rally still more closely under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought! Let our party unite still more closely with the people of all nationalities in the country, with the democratic parties and all patriotic fellow-countrymen at home and abroad, and with all the progressive forces and friendly public figures in other countries who support our cause! Let us march forward dauntlessly and with one heart and one mind! No force on earth can deter us. Our triumph is certain!

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, November 4 (17), 1917," collected works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol 26, p 288.
2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1859," pre-capitalist socioeconomic formations, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p 109.
3. Mao Zedong, "On Practice," selected works, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1967, Vol I, p 308.
4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology," collected works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, Vol 5, p 49.

5. Mao Zedong, "On New Democracy," selected works, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1967, Vol II, p 361.
6. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "From the Destruction of the Old Social System to the Creation of the New," collected works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol 30, p 518.
7. Mao Zedong, "Strive To Build a Great Socialist Country," selected works, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1977, Vol V, p 148.
8. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "On Poland," collected works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, Vol 6, p 389.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (ADOPTED BY THE 12TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ON 6 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 31-43

[Text] General Program

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China, and the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism. The party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action.

Applying dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Marx and Engels analyzed the laws of development of capitalist society and founded the theory of scientific socialism. According to this theory, with the victory of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is inevitably replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and capitalist society is inevitably transformed into socialist society in which the means of production are publicly owned, exploitation is abolished and the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" is applied; with tremendous growth of the productive forces and tremendous progress in the ideological, political and cultural fields, socialist society ultimately and inevitably advances into communist society in which the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" is applied. Early in the 20th century, Lenin pointed out that capitalism had developed to the stage of imperialism, that the liberation struggle of the proletariat was bound to unite with that of the oppressed nations of the world, and that it was possible for socialist revolution to win victory first in countries that were the weak links of imperialist rule. The course of world history during the past half century and more, especially the establishment and development of the socialist system in a number of countries, has borne out the correctness of the theory of scientific socialism.

The development and improvement of the socialist system is a long historical process. Fundamentally speaking, the socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system, having eliminated the contradictions

inherent in the capitalist system, which the latter itself is incapable of overcoming. Socialism enables the people truly to become masters of the country, gradually to shed the old ideas and ways formed under the system of exploitation and private ownership of the means of production, and steadily to raise their communist consciousness and foster common ideals, common ethics and a common discipline in their own ranks. Socialism can give full scope to the initiative and creativeness of the people, develop the productive forces rapidly, proportionately and in a planned way, and meet the growing material and cultural needs of the members of society. The cause of socialism is advancing and is bound gradually to triumph throughout the world along paths that are suited to the specific conditions of each country and are chosen by its people of their own free will.

The Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, created Mao Zedong Thought by integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China; it consists of a body of theoretical principles concerning the revolution and construction in China and a summary of experience therein, both of which have been proved correct by practice; it represents the crystallized, collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of China led the people of all nationalities in waging their prolonged revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning victory in the new democratic revolution and establishing the People's Republic of China--a people's democratic dictatorship. After the founding of the People's Republic, it led them in smoothly carrying out socialist transformation, completing the transition from new democracy to socialism, establishing the socialist system, and developing socialism in its economic, political and cultural aspects.

After the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. However, owing to domestic circumstances and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain conditions. The principal contradiction in Chinese society is that between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backward level of our social production. The other contradictions should be resolved in the course of resolving this principal one. It is essential to strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions--those contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people.

The general task of the Communist Party of China at the present stage is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country.

The focus of the work of the Communist Party of China is to lead the people of all nationalities in accomplishing the socialist modernization of our economy. It is necessary vigorously to expand the productive forces and gradually perfect socialist relations of production, in keeping with the actual level of the productive forces and as required for their expansion. It is necessary to strive for the gradual improvement of the standards of material and cultural life of the urban and rural population, based on the growth of production and social wealth.

The Communist Party of China leads the people, as they work for a high level of material civilization, in building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Major efforts should be made to promote education, science and culture, imbue the party members and the masses of the people with communist ideology, combat and overcome decadent bourgeois ideas, remnant feudal ideas and other nonproletarian ideas, and encourage the Chinese people to have lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

The Communist Party of China leads the people in promoting socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system, and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship. Effective measures should be taken to protect the people's right to run the affairs of the state and of society, and to manage economic and cultural undertakings; and to strike firmly at hostile elements who deliberately sabotage the socialist system, and those who seriously breach or jeopardize public security. Great efforts should be made to strengthen the People's Liberation Army and national defense so that the country is prepared at all times to resist and wipe out any invaders.

The Communist Party of China upholds and promotes relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all nationalities in the country, persists in the policy of regional autonomy of minority nationalities, aids the areas inhabited by minority nationalities, aids the areas inhabited by minority nationalities in their economic and cultural development, and actively trains and promotes cadres from among the minority nationalities.

The Communist Party of China unites with all workers, peasants and intellectuals, and with all the democratic parties, nonparty democrats and the patriotic forces of all the nationalities in China in further expanding and fortifying the broadest possible patriotic united front embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland. We should work together with the people throughout the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hong Kong) and Aomen (Macao) and Chinese nationals residing abroad, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland.

In international affairs, the Communist Party takes the following basic stand: It adheres to proletarian internationalism and firmly unites with the workers of all lands, with the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and with all peace-loving and justice-upholding organizations and personages in the common struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and for the defense of world peace and promotion of human progress. It stands

for the development of state relations between China and other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. It develops relations with communist parties and working-class parties in other countries on the basis of Marxism and the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

In order to lead China's people of all nationalities in attaining the great goal of socialist modernization, the Communist Party of China must strengthen itself, carry forward its fine traditions, enhance its fighting capacity and resolutely achieve the following three essential requirements:

First, a high degree of ideological and political unity. The Communist Party of China makes the realization of communism its maximum program, to which all its members must devote their entire lives. At the present stage, the political basis for the solidarity and unity of the whole party consists in adherence to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the party, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and in the concentration of our efforts on socialist modernization. The party's ideological line is to proceed from reality in all things, to integrate theory with practice, to seek truth from facts, and to verify and develop the truth through practice. In accordance with this ideological line, the whole party must scientifically sum up historical experience, investigate and study actual conditions, solve new problems in domestic and international affairs, and oppose all erroneous deviations, whether "left" or right.

Second, wholehearted service to the people. The party has no special interest of its own apart from the interests of the working class and the broadest masses of the people. The program and policies of the party are precisely the scientific expressions of the fundamental interests of the working class and the broadest masses of the people. Throughout the process of leading the masses in struggle to realize the ideal of communism, the party always shares weal and woe with the people, keeps in closest contact with them, and does not allow any member to become divorced from the masses or place himself above them. The party persists in educating the masses in communist ideas and follows the mass line in its work, doing everything for the masses, relying on them in every task, and turning its correct views into conscious action by the masses.

Third, adherence to democratic centralism. Within the party, democracy is given full play, a high degree of centralism is practiced on the basis of democracy and a sense of organization and discipline is strengthened, so as to ensure unity of action throughout its ranks and the prompt and effective implementation of its decisions. In its internal political life, the party conducts criticism and self-criticism in the correct way, waging ideological struggles over matters of principle, upholding truth and rectifying mistakes. Applying the principle that all members are equally subject to party discipline, the party duly criticizes or punishes those members who violate it and expels those who persist in opposing and harming the party.

Party leadership consists mainly in political, ideological and organizational leadership. The party must formulate and implement correct lines, principles and policies, do its organizational, propaganda and educational work well and make sure that all party members play their exemplary vanguard role in every sphere of work and every aspect of social life. The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state. It must see to it that the legislative, judicial and administrative organs of the state and the economic, cultural and people's organizations work actively and with initiative, independently, responsibly and in harmony. The party must strengthen its leadership over the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the women's federation and other mass organizations, and give full scope to their roles. The party members are a minority in the whole population, and they must work in close cooperation with the masses of nonparty people in the common effort to make our socialist motherland ever stronger and more prosperous, until the ultimate realization of communism.

Chapter I. Membership

Article 1

Any Chinese worker, peasant, member of the armed forces, intellectual or any other revolutionary who has reached the age of 18 and who accepts the party's program and constitution and is willing to join and work actively in one of the party organizations, carry out the party's decisions and pay membership dues regularly may apply for membership of the Communist Party of China.

Article 2

Members of the Communist Party of China are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class imbued with communist consciousness.

Members of the Communist Party of China must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism, and be ready to make any personal sacrifices.

Members of the Communist Party of China are at all times ordinary members of the working people. Communist Party members must not seek personal gain or privileges, although they are allowed personal benefits and job functions and powers as provided for by the relevant regulations and policies.

Article 3

Party members must fulfill the following duties:

(1) To conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, essential knowledge concerning the party, and the party's line, principles, policies and decisions; and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge.

(2) To adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people stand above everything, subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the party and the people; be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public.

(3) To execute the party's decisions perseveringly, accept any job and fulfill actively any task assigned them by the party, conscientiously observe party discipline and the laws of the state, rigorously guard party and state secrets and staunchly defend the interests of the party and the state.

(4) To uphold the party's solidarity and unity, to firmly oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small-group activities, and to oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind.

(5) To be loyal to and honest with the party, to match words with deeds and not to conceal their political views or distort facts; to earnestly practice criticism and self-criticism, to be bold in exposing and correcting shortcomings and mistakes in work, backing good people and good deeds and fighting against bad people and bad deeds.

(6) To maintain close ties with the masses, propagate the party's views among them, consult with them when problems arise, listen to their views and demands with an open mind and keep the party informed of these in good time, help them raise their political consciousness, and defend their legitimate rights and interests.

(7) To play an exemplary vanguard role in production and other work, study all social activities, take the lead in maintaining public order, promote new socialist ways and customs and advocate communist ethics.

(8) As required by the defense of the motherland and the interests of the people, to step forward and fight bravely in times of difficulty and danger, fearing neither hardship nor death.

Article 4

Party members enjoy the following rights:

(1) To attend pertinent party meetings and read pertinent party documents, and to benefit from the party's education and training.

(2) To participate in the discussion, at party meetings and in party newspapers and journals, of questions concerning the party's policies.

(3) To make suggestions and proposals regarding the work of the party.

(4) To make well-grounded criticism of any party organization or member at party meetings; to lay information or charges against any party organization

or member concerning violations of discipline and of the law to the party in a responsible way, and to demand disciplinary measures against such a member, or to demand the dismissal or replacement of any cadre who is incompetent.

(5) To vote, elect and stand for election.

(6) To attend, with the right of self-defense, discussions held by party organizations to decide on disciplinary measures to be taken against themselves or to appraise their work and behavior, while other party members may also bear witness or argue in their behalf.

(7) In case of disagreement with a party decision or policy, to make reservations and present their views to party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

(8) To put forward any request, appeal or complaint to higher party organizations up to and including the Central Committee and ask the organizations concerned for a responsible reply.

No party organization, up to and including the Central Committee, has the right to deprive any party member of the above-mentioned rights.

Article 5

New party members must be admitted through a party branch, and the principle of individual admission must be adhered to. It is impermissible to drag into the party by any means those who are not qualified for membership, or to exclude those who are qualified.

An applicant for party membership must fill in an application form and must be recommended by two full party members. The application must be accepted by a general membership meeting of the party branch concerned and approved by the next higher party organization, and the applicant should undergo observation for a probationary period before being transferred to full membership.

Party members who recommend an applicant must make genuine efforts to acquaint themselves with the latter's ideology, character and personal history, to explain to each applicant the party's program and constitution, qualifications for membership and the duties and rights of members, and must make a responsible report to the party organization on the matter.

The party branch committee must canvass the opinions of persons concerned, inside and outside the party, about an applicant for party membership and, after establishing the latter's qualifications following a rigorous examination, submit the application to a general membership meeting for discussion.

Before approving the admission of applicants for party membership, the next higher party organization concerned must appoint people to talk with them, so as to get to know them better and help deepen their understanding of the party.

In special circumstances, the Central Committee of the party or the party committee of a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the central government has the power to admit new party members directly.

Article 6

A probationary party member must take an admission oath in front of the party flag. The oath reads: "It is my will to join the Communist Party of China, uphold the party's program, observe the provisions of the party constitution, fulfill a party member's duties, carry out the party's decisions, strictly observe party discipline, guard party secrets, be loyal to the party, work hard, fight for communism throughout my life, be ready at all times to sacrifice my all for the party and the people, and never betray the party."

Article 7

The probationary period of a probationary member is 1 year. The party organization should make serious efforts to educate and observe the probationary members.

Probationary members have the same duties as full members. They enjoy the rights of full members except those of voting, electing or standing for election.

When the probationary period of a probationary member has expired, the party branch concerned should promptly discuss whether he is qualified to be transferred to full membership. A probationary member who conscientiously performs his duties and is qualified for membership should be transferred to full membership as scheduled; if continued observation and education are needed, the probationary period may be prolonged, but by no more than 1 year; if a probationary member fails to perform his duties and is found to be really unqualified for membership, his probationary membership shall be annulled. Any decision to transfer a probationary member to full membership, prolong a probationary period, or annul a probationary membership must be made through discussion by the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned and approved by the next higher party organization.

The probationary period of a probationary member begins from the day the general membership meeting of the party branch admits him as a probationary member. The party standing of a member begins from the day he is transferred to full membership on the expiration of the probationary period.

Article 8

Every party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch, cell or other specific unit of the party to participate in the regular activities of the party organization and accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party. There shall be no privileged party members who do not participate in the regular activities of the party

organization and do not accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party.

Article 9

Party members are free to withdraw from the party. When a party member asks to withdraw, the party branch concerned shall, after discussion by its general membership meeting, remove his name from the party rolls, make the removal publicly known and report it to the next higher party organization for the record.

A party member who lacks revolutionary will, fails to fulfill the duties of a party member, is not qualified for membership and remains incorrigible after repeated education should be persuaded to withdraw from the party. The case shall be discussed and decided by the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned and submitted to the next higher party organization for approval. If the party member being persuaded to withdraw refuses to do so, the case shall be submitted to the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned for discussion and decision on a time limit by which the member must correct his mistakes or on the removal of his name from the party rolls, and the decision shall be submitted to the next higher party organization for approval.

A party member who fails to take part in regular party activities, pay membership dues or do work assigned by the party for six successive months without proper reason is regarded as having given up membership. The general membership meeting of the party branch concerned shall decide on the removal of such a person's name from the party rolls and report the removal to the next higher party organization for approval.

Chapter II. Organizational System of the Party

Article 10

The party is an integral body organized under its program and constitution, on the principle of democratic centralism. It practices a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy. The basic principles of democratic centralism as practiced by the party are as follows:

- (1) Individual party members are subordinate to the party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher party organizations, and all the constituent organizations and members of the party are subordinate to the national congress and the Central Committee of the party.
- (2) The party's leading bodies of all levels are elected except for the representative organs dispatched by them and the leading party members' groups in nonparty organizations.
- (3) The highest leading body of the party is the national congress and the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of local party

organizations are the party congresses at their respective levels and the party committees elected by them. Party committees are responsible, and report their work, to the party congresses at their respective levels.

(4) Higher party organizations shall pay constant attention to the views of the lower organizations and the rank-and-file party members, and solve in good time the problems they raise. Lower party organizations shall report on their work to, and request instructions from, higher party organizations; at the same time, they shall handle, independently and in a responsible manner, matters within their jurisdiction. Higher and lower party organizations should exchange information and support and supervise each other.

(5) Party committees at all levels function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on division of labor. All major issues shall be decided upon by the party committees after democratic discussion.

(6) The party forbids all forms of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of the party leaders be subject to supervision by the party and the people, while at the same time to uphold the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people.

Article 11

The election of delegates to party congresses and of members of party committees at all levels should reflect the will of the voters. Elections shall be held by secret ballot. The lists of candidates shall be submitted to the party organizations and voters for full deliberation and discussion. There may be a preliminary election in order to draw up a list of candidates for the formal election. Or there may be no preliminary election, in which case the number of candidates shall be greater than that of the persons to be elected. The voters have the right to inquire into the candidates, demand a change or reject one in favor of another. No organization or individual shall in any way compel voters to elect or not to elect any candidate.

If any violation of the party constitution occurs in the election of delegates to a local party congress, the party committee at the next higher level shall, after investigation and verification, decide to invalidate the election and take appropriate measures. The decision shall be reported to the party committee at the next higher level for checking and approval before it is formally announced and implemented.

Article 12

When necessary, party committees of and above the county level may convene conferences of delegates to discuss and decide on major problems that require timely solution. The number of delegates to such conferences and the procedure governing their election shall be determined by the party committees convening them.

Article 13

The formation of a new party organization or the dissolution of an existing one shall be decided upon by the higher party organizations.

Party committees of and above the county level may send out their representative organs.

When the congress of a local party organization at any level is not in session, the next higher party organization may, when it deems it necessary, transfer or appoint responsible members of that organization.

Article 14

When making decisions on important questions affecting the lower organizations, the leading bodies of the party at all levels should, in ordinary circumstances, solicit the opinions of the lower organizations. Measures should be taken to ensure that the lower organizations can exercise their functions and powers normally. Except in special circumstances, higher leading bodies should not interfere with matters that ought to be handled by lower organizations.

Article 15

Only the Central Committee of the party has the power to make decisions on major policies of a nationwide character. Party organizations of various departments and localities may make suggestions with regard to such policies to the Central Committee, but shall not make any decisions or publicize their views outside the party without authorization.

Lower party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher party organizations. If lower organizations consider that any decisions of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they may request modification. If the higher organizations insist on their original decisions, the lower organizations must carry out such decisions and refrain from publicly voicing their differences, but have the right to report to the next higher party organization.

Newspapers and journals and other means of publicity run by party organizations at all levels must propagate the line, principles, policies and decisions of the party.

Article 16

Party organizations must keep to the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority in discussing and making decisions on any matter. Serious consideration should be given to the differing views of a minority. In case of controversy over major issues in which supporters of the two opposing views are nearly equal in number, except in emergencies where action must be taken in accordance with the majority view, the decision should be put off to allow for further investigation, study and exchange of

opinions followed by another discussion. If still no decision can be made, the controversy should be reported to the next higher party organization for ruling.

When, on behalf of the party organization, an individual party member is to express views on major issues beyond the scope of existing party decisions, the content must be referred to the party organization for prior discussion and decision, or referred to the next higher party organization for instructions. No party member, whatever his position, is allowed to make decisions on major issues on his own. In an emergency, when a decision by an individual is unavoidable, the matter must be reported to the party organization immediately afterwards. No leader is allowed to decide matters arbitrarily on his own or to place himself above the party organization.

Article 17

The central, local and primary organizations of the party must all pay great attention to party building. They shall regularly discuss and check up on the party's work in propaganda, education, organization and discipline inspection, its mass work and united front work. They must carefully study ideological and political developments inside and outside the party.

Chapter III. Central Organizations of the Party

Article 18

The national congress of the party is held once every 5 years and convened by the Central Committee. It may be convened before the due date if the Central Committee deems it necessary or if more than one-third of the organizations at the provincial level so request. Except under extraordinary circumstances, the congress may not be postponed.

The number of delegates to the national congress of the party and the procedure governing their election shall be determined by the Central Committee.

Article 19

The functions and powers of the national congress of the party are as follows:

- (1) To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee;
- (2) To hear and examine the reports of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection;
- (3) To discuss and decide on major questions concerning the party;
- (4) To revise the constitution of the party;
- (5) To elect the Central Committee; and

(6) To elect the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

Article 20

The Central Committee of the party is elected for a term of 5 years. However, when the next national congress is convened before or after its due date, the term shall be correspondingly shortened or extended. Members and alternate members of the Central Committee must have a party standing of 5 years or more. The number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee shall be determined by the national congress. Vacancies on the Central Committee shall be filled by its alternate members in the order of the number of votes by which they were elected.

The Central Committee of the party meets in plenary session at least once a year, and such sessions are convened by its Political Bureau.

When the national congress is not in session, the Central Committee carries out its decisions, directs the entire work of the party and represents the Communist Party of China in its external relations.

Article 21

The Political Bureau, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the general secretary of the Central Committee of the party are elected by the Central Committee in plenary session. The general secretary of the Central Committee must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

When the Central Committee is not in session, the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

The Secretariat attends to the day-to-day work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee.

The general secretary of the Central Committee is responsible for convening the meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and presides over the work of the Secretariat.

The members of the Military Commission of the Central Committee are decided on by the Central Committee. The chairman of the Military Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

The central leading bodies and leaders elected by each Central Committee shall, when the next national congress is in session, continue to preside over the party's day-to-day work until the new central leading bodies and leaders are elected by the next Central Committee.

Article 22

The party's Central Advisory Commission acts as political assistant and consultant to the Central Committee. Members of the Central Advisory Commission must have a party standing of 40 years or more, have rendered considerable service to the party, have fairly rich experience in leadership and enjoy fairly high prestige inside and outside the party.

The Central Advisory Commission is elected for a term of the same duration as that of the Central Committee. It elects, at its plenary meeting, its Standing Committee and its chairman and vice chairmen, and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. The chairman of the Central Advisory Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Members of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary sessions of the Central Committee as nonvoting participants. The vice chairmen of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary meetings of the Political Bureau as nonvoting participants and, when the Political Bureau deems it necessary, other members of the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Commission may do the same.

Working under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party, the Central Advisory Commission puts forward recommendations, on the formulation and implementation of the party's principles and policies and gives advice upon request, assists the Central Committee in investigating and handling certain important questions, propagates the party's major principles and policies inside and outside the party, and undertakes such other tasks as may be entrusted to it by the Central Committee.

Article 23

Party organizations in the Chinese People's Liberation Army carry on their work in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee. The General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the political-work organ of the Military Commission; it directs party and political work in the army. The organizational system and organs of the party in the armed forces will be prescribed by the Military Commission.

Chapter IV. Local Organizations of the Party

Article 24

A party congress of a province, autonomous region, municipality directly under the autonomous region, municipality directly under the central government, city divided into districts, or autonomous prefecture is held once every 5 years.

A party congress of a county (banner), autonomous county, city not divided into districts, or municipal district is held once every 3 years.

Local party congresses are convened by the party committees at the corresponding levels. Under extraordinary circumstances, they may be held before or after their due dates upon approval by the next higher party committees.

The number of delegates to the local party congresses at any level and the procedure governing their election are determined by the party committees at the corresponding levels and should be reported to the next higher party committees for approval.

Article 25

The functions and powers of the local party congresses at all levels are as follows:

- (1) To hear and examine the reports of the party committees at the corresponding levels;
- (2) To hear and examine the reports of the commissions for discipline inspection at the corresponding levels;
- (3) To discuss and decide on major issues in the given areas; and
- (4) To elect the party committees and commissions for discipline inspection at the corresponding levels and delegates to the party congresses at their respective next higher levels.

The party congress of a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central government elects the party advisory committee at the corresponding level and hears and examines its reports.

Article 26

The party committee of a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central government, city divided into districts, or autonomous prefecture is elected for a term of 5 years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a party standing of 5 years or more.

The party committee of a county (banner), autonomous county, city not divided into districts, or municipal district is elected for a term of 3 years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a party standing of 3 years or more.

When local party congresses at various levels are convened before or after their due dates, the terms of the committees elected by the previous congresses shall be correspondingly shortened or extended.

The number of members and alternate members of the local party committees at various levels shall be determined by the next higher committees. Vacancies on the local party committees at various levels shall be filled by their alternate members in the order of the number of votes by which they were elected.

The local party committees at various levels meet in plenary session at least once a year.

Local party committees at various levels shall, when the party congresses of the given areas are not in session, carry out the directives of the next higher party organizations and the decisions of the party congresses at the corresponding levels, direct work in their own areas and report on it to the next higher party committees at regular intervals.

Article 27

Local party committees at various levels elect, at their plenary sessions, their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries and report the results to the higher party committees for approval. The standing committees at various levels exercise the powers and functions of local party committees when the latter are not in session. They continue to handle the day-to-day work when the next party congresses at their levels are in session, until the new standing committees are elected.

Article 28

The party advisory committee of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government acts as political assistant and consultant to the party committee at the corresponding level. It works under the leadership of the party at the corresponding level and in the light of the relevant provisions of Article 22 of the present constitution. The qualifications of its members shall be specified by the party committee at the corresponding level in the light of the relevant provisions of Article 22 of the present constitution and the actual conditions in the locality concerned; it serves a term of the same duration as the party committee at the corresponding level.

The advisory committee of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government elects, at its plenary meeting, its standing committee and its chairman and vice chairmen, and the results are subject to endorsement by the party committee at the corresponding level and should be reported to the Central Committee for approval. Its members may attend plenary sessions of the party committee at the corresponding level as nonvoting participants, and its chairman and vice chairmen may attend meetings of the standing committee of the party committee at the corresponding level as nonvoting participants.

Article 29

A prefectural party committee, or an organization analogous to it, is the representative organ dispatched by a provincial or an autonomous regional party committee to a prefecture embracing several counties, autonomous counties or cities. It exercises leadership over the work in the given region as authorized by the provincial or autonomous regional party committee.

Chapter V. Primary Organizations of the Party

Article 30

Primary party organizations are formed in factories, shops, schools, offices, city neighborhoods, people's communes, cooperatives, farms, townships, towns, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other basic units, where there are three or more full party members.

In primary party organizations, the primary party committees, and committees of general party branches or party branches, are set up respectively as the work requires and according to the number of party members, subject to approval by the higher party organizations. A primary party committee is elected by a general membership meeting or a delegate meeting. The committee of a general party branch or a party branch is elected by a general membership meeting.

Article 31

In ordinary circumstances, a primary party organization which has set up its own committee convenes a general membership meeting or delegate meeting once a year; a general party branch holds a general membership meeting twice a year; a party branch holds a general membership meeting once in every 3 months.

A primary party committee is elected for a term of 3 years, while a general party branch committee or a party branch committee is elected for a term of 2 years. Results of the election of a secretary and deputy secretaries by a primary party committee, general branch committee or branch committee shall be reported to the higher party organizations for approval.

Article 32

The primary party organizations are militant bastions of the party in the basic units of society. Their main tasks are:

- (1) To propagate and carry out the party's line, principles and policies, the decisions of the Central Committee of the party and other higher party organizations, and their own decisions; to give full play to the exemplary vanguard role of party members, and to unite and organize the cadres and the rank and file inside and outside the party in fulfilling the tasks of their own units.
- (2) To organize party members to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, study essential knowledge concerning the party, and the party's line, principles and policies, and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge.
- (3) To educate and supervise party members, ensure their regular participation in the activities of the party organization, see that party members truly fulfill their duties and observe discipline, and protect their rights for encroachment.

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly seek their criticisms and opinions regarding party members and the party's work, value the knowledge and rationalization proposals of the masses and experts, safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the masses, show concern for their material and cultural life and help them improve it, do effective ideological and political work among them, and enhance their political consciousness. They must correct, by proper methods, the erroneous ideas and unhealthy ways and customs that may exist among the masses, and properly handle the contradictions in their midst.

(5) To give full scope to the initiative and creativeness of party members and the masses, discover advanced elements and talented people needed for the socialist cause, encourage them to improve their work and come up with innovations and inventions, and support them in these efforts.

(6) To admit new party members, collect membership dues, examine and appraise the work and behavior of party members, commend exemplary deeds performed by them, and maintain and enforce party discipline.

(7) To promote criticism and self-criticism, and expose and overcome shortcomings and mistakes in work. To educate party and nonparty cadres; see to it that they strictly observe the law and administrative discipline and the financial and economic discipline and personnel regulations of the state; see to it that none of them infringe the interests of the state, the collective and the masses; and see to it that the financial workers including accountants and other professionals who are charged with enforcing laws and regulations in their own units do not themselves violate the laws and regulations, while at the same time ensuring and protecting their right to exercise their functions and powers independently in accordance with the law and guarding them against any reprisals for so doing.

(8) To educate party members and the masses to raise their revolutionary vigilance and wage resolute struggles against the criminal activities of counterrevolutionaries and other saboteurs.

Article 33

In an enterprise or institution, the primary party committee or the general branch committee or branch committee, where there is no primary party committee, gives leadership in the work of its own unit. Such a primary party organization discusses and decides on major questions of principle and at the same time ensures that the administrative leaders fully exercise their functions and powers, but refrains from substituting itself for, or trying to take over from, the administrative leaders. Except in special circumstances, the general branch committees and branch committees under the leadership of a primary party committee only play a guarantory and supervisory role to see that the production targets or operational tasks assigned to their own units are properly fulfilled.

In party or government offices at all levels, the primary party organizations shall not lead the work of these offices. Their task here is to

exercise supervision over all party members, including the heads of these offices who are party members, with regard to their implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, their observance of discipline and the law, their contact with the masses, and their ideology, work style and moral character; and to assist the office heads to improve work, raise efficiency and overcome bureaucratic ways, keep them informed of the shortcomings and problems discovered in the work of these offices, or report such shortcomings and problems to the higher party organizations.

Chapter VI. Party Cadres

Article 34

Party cadres are the backbone of the party's cause and public servants of the people. The party selects its cadres according to the principle that they should possess both political integrity and professional competence, persists in the practice of appointing people on their merits and opposes favoritism; it calls for genuine efforts to make the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent.

Party cadres are obliged to accept training by the party as well as examination and assessment of their work by the party.

The party should attach importance to the training and promotion of women cadres and cadres from among the minority nationalities.

Article 35

Leading party cadres at all levels must perform in an exemplary way their duties as party members prescribed in Article 3 of this constitution and must meet the following basic requirements:

- (1) Have a fair grasp of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the policies based on them, and be able to adhere to the socialist road, fight against the hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party.
- (2) In their work as leaders, conduct earnest investigations and study, persistently proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the party.
- (3) Be fervently dedicated to the revolutionary cause and imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility, and be qualified for their leading posts in organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge.
- (4) Have a democratic work style, maintain close ties with the masses, correctly implement the party's mass line, conscientiously accept criticism and supervision by the party and the masses, and combat bureaucratism.

(5) Exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, observe and uphold the rules and regulations of the party and the state, and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain.

(6) Be good at uniting and working with a large number of comrades, including those who hold differing opinions, while upholding the party's principles.

Article 36

Party cadres should be able to cooperate with nonparty cadres, respect them and learn open-mindedly from their strong points.

Party organizations at all levels must be good at discovering and recommending talented and knowledgeable nonparty cadres for leading posts, and ensure that the latter enjoy authority commensurate with their posts and can play their roles to the full.

Article 37

Leading party cadres at all levels, whether elected through democratic procedure or appointed by a leading body, are not entitled to lifelong tenure, and they can be transferred from or relieved of their posts.

Cadres no longer fit to continue working due to old age or poor health should retire according to the regulations of the state.

Chapter VII. Party Discipline

Article 38

A Communist Party member must consciously act within the bounds of party discipline.

Party organizations shall criticize, educate or take disciplinary measures against members who violate party discipline, depending on the nature and seriousness of their mistakes and in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient."

Party members who violate the law and administrative discipline shall be subject to administrative disciplinary action or legal action instituted by administrative or judicial organs. Those who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the party.

Article 39

There are five measures of party discipline: warning, serious warning, removal from party posts and proposals for their removal from nonparty posts to the organizations concerned, placing on probation within the party, and expulsion from the party.

The period for which a party member is placed on probation shall not exceed 2 years. During this period, the party member concerned has no right to vote, elect or stand for election. A party member who during this time proves to have corrected his mistake shall have his rights as a party member restored. Party members who refuse to mend their ways shall be expelled from the party.

Expulsion is the ultimate party disciplinary measure. In deciding on or approving an expulsion, party organizations at all levels should study all the relevant facts and opinions and exercise extreme caution.

It is strictly forbidden, within the party, to take any measures against a member that contravene the party constitution or the laws of the state, or to retaliate against or frame up comrades. Any offending organization or individual must be dealt with according to party discipline or the laws of the state.

Article 40

Any disciplinary measures against a party member must be discussed and decided on at a general membership meeting of the party branch concerned, and reported to the primary party committee concerned for approval. If the case is relatively important or complicated, or involves the expulsion of a member, it shall be reported, on the merit of that case, to a party commission for discipline inspection at or above the county level for examination and approval. Under special circumstances, a party committee or a commission for discipline inspection at or above the county level has the authority to decide directly on disciplinary measures against a party member.

Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of the Central Committee or a local committee at any level from posts within the party, to place such a person on probation within the party or to expel him from the party must be taken by a two-thirds majority vote at a plenary meeting of the party committee to which he belongs. Such a disciplinary measure against a member or alternate member of a local party committee is subject to approval by the higher party committees.

Members and alternate members of the Central Committee who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the party on decision by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; members and alternate members of local party committees who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the party on decision by the standing committees of the party committees at the corresponding levels.

Article 41

When a party organization decides on a disciplinary measure against a party member, it should investigate and verify the facts in an objective way. The party member in question must be informed of the decision to be made and of the facts on which it is based. He must be given a chance to account for

himself and speak in his own defense. If the member does not accept the decision, he can appeal, and the party organization concerned must promptly deal with or forward his appeal, and must not withhold or suppress it. Those who cling to erroneous views and unjustifiable demands shall be educated by criticism.

Article 42

It is an important duty of every party organization to firmly uphold party discipline. Failure of a party organization to uphold party discipline must be investigated.

In case a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistakes on its own, the next higher party committee should, after verifying the facts and considering the seriousness of the case, decide on the reorganization or dissolution of the organization, report the decision to the party committee further above for examination and approval, and then formally announce and carry out the decision.

Chapter VIII. Party Organs for Discipline Inspection

Article 43

The party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection functions under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party. Local commissions for discipline inspection at all levels function under the dual leadership of the party committees at the corresponding levels and the next higher commissions for discipline inspection.

The party's central and local commissions for discipline inspection serve a term of the same duration as the party committees at the corresponding levels.

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection elects, in plenary session, its Standing Committee and secretary and deputy secretaries and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. Local commissions for discipline inspection at all levels elect, at their plenary sessions, their respective standing committees and secretaries and deputy secretaries. The results of the elections are subject to endorsement by the party committees at the corresponding levels and should be reported to the higher party committees for approval. The first secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The question of whether a primary party committee should set up a commission for discipline inspection or simply appoint a discipline inspection commissioner shall be determined by the next higher party organization in the light of the specific circumstances. The committees of general party branches and party branches shall have discipline inspection commissioners.

The party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection shall, when its work so requires, accredit discipline inspection groups or commissioners to

party or state organs at the central level. Leaders of the discipline inspection groups or discipline inspection commissioners may attend relevant meetings of the leading party organizations in the said organs as non-voting participants. The leading party organizations in the organs concerned must give support to their work.

Article 44

The main tasks of the central and local commissions for discipline inspection are as follows: to uphold the constitution and the other important rules and regulations of the party, to assist the respective party committees in rectifying party style, and to check up on the implementation of the line, principles, policies and decisions of the party.

The central and local commissions for discipline inspection shall carry out constant education among party members on their duty to observe party discipline; they shall adopt decisions for the upholding of party discipline, examine and deal with relatively important or complicated cases of violation of the constitution and discipline of the party or the laws and decrees of the state by party organizations or party members; decide on or cancel disciplinary measures against party members involved in such cases; and deal with complaints and appeals made by party members.

The central and local commissions for discipline inspection should report to the party committees at the corresponding levels on the results of their handling of cases of special importance or complexity, as well as on the problems encountered. Local commissions for discipline inspection should also present such reports to the higher commissions.

If the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection discovers any violation of party discipline by any member of the Central Committee, it may report such an offense to the Central Committee, and the Central Committee must deal with the case promptly.

Article 45

Higher commissions for discipline inspection have the power to check up on the work of the lower commissions and to approve or modify their decisions on any case. If decisions so modified have already been ratified by the party committee at the corresponding level, the modification must be approved by the next higher party committee.

If a local commission for discipline inspection does not agree with a decision made by the party committee at the corresponding level in dealing with a case, it may request the commission at the next higher level to reexamine the case; if a local commission discovers cases of violation of party discipline or the laws and decrees of the state by the party committee at the corresponding level or by its members, and if that party committee fails to deal with them properly or at all, it has the right to appeal to the higher commissions for assistance in dealing with such cases.

Chapter IX. Leading Party Members Groups

Article 46

A leading party members group shall be formed in the leading body of a central or local state organ, people's organization, economic or cultural institution or other nonparty unit. The main tasks of such a group are: to see to it that the party's principles and policies are implemented, to unite with the nonparty cadres and masses in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the party and the state, and to guide the work of the party organization of the unit.

Article 47

The members of a leading party members group are appointed by the party committee that approves its establishment. The group shall have a secretary and deputy secretaries.

A leading party members group must accept the leadership of the party committee that approves its establishment.

Article 48

The Central Committee of the party shall determine specifically the functions, powers and tasks of the leading party members groups in those government departments which need to exercise highly centralized and unified leadership over subordinate units; it shall also determine whether such groups should be replaced by party committees.

Chapter X. Relationship Between the Party and the Communist Youth League

Article 49

The Communist Youth League of China is a mass organization of advanced young people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China; it is a school where large numbers of young people will learn about communism through practice; it is the party's assistant and reserve force. The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League functions under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party. The local organizations of the Communist Youth League are under the leadership of the party committees at the corresponding levels and of the higher organizations of the league itself.

Article 50

Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the Communist Youth League organizations and pay attention to the selection and training of league cadres. The party must firmly support the Communist Youth League in the lively and creative performance of its work to suit the characteristics and needs of young people, and give full play to the league's role as a shock force and as a bridge linking the party with the broad masses of young people.

Those secretaries of league committees, at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions, who are party members may attend meetings of party committees at the corresponding levels and of their standing committees as nonvoting participants.

CSO: 4004/7

SPEECH AT THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS (6 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 44, 46, 47

[Speech by Ye Jianying]

[Text] Comrades:

Our present party congress is well prepared, and it is proceeding smoothly. I fully agree with the opening speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Comrade Hu Yaobang has made a very important report on behalf of the Central Committee, and the revision of the party constitution has been well done. I fully agree with both.

Our party is full of vigor and vitality. After this congress, a good number of comrades who are in their prime will take up leading positions in the Central Committee and elsewhere. This is a major sign that our party's cause is flourishing, which pleases us old comrades greatly.

The Tang dynasty poet Li Shangyin wrote the line "The phoenix chick sings sweeter than the older birds" in praise of the poetic talent of a young man. It means that late-comers surpass old-timers, and the young will excel the old. This can be said to be a basic law in the development of history and the progress of society. I hope that the newly promoted young comrades will work in close cooperation with the old comrades, shouldering heavy responsibilities and forging courageously ahead. Man's ability to acquire knowledge is unlimited, but the knowledge of any individual is limited. Hence, one must be good at learning. We believe that, so long as our comrades strive to arm themselves with communist ideology, the party's historical experience and modern science, and so long as they unite with the masses, work hard, know their subordinates well and make good use of them and readily follow good advice, they will certainly be able to do a remarkable job in their leading positions and accomplish glorious feats befitting this great epoch on the march toward China's modernization.

Following this congress, many old comrades will retire from their leading posts, as required by the development of our party's cause. Having worked diligently for scores of years, these old comrades are meritorious contributors to the revolution. The party and the people will never forget their services. The retiring comrades should not retire ideologically.

They should, by their deeds, write the last chapter of their lives well, that is to say, they should always keep the interests of the party and the people at heart and continue to do some work that is within their strength.

I am now 85, failing in health and unable to do as much as I would like. For the sake of our party's cause, I have time and again asked to retire from my leading position. However, until the Central Committee decides to grant this, I will do the best I can and devote my all to the party.

After the 12th national party congress, we shall strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. It will be an arduous task. The new Central Committee must do still better in practicing democratic centralism and upholding the principle of collective leadership. When the wisdom and strength of the masses are pooled, all affairs become easier to deal with, difficulties are overcome, dangers averted and errors minimized--this has been repeatedly borne out by the past experience of the party. The Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee have done fairly well in this respect, and achieved notable results in recent years. All party committees from the central down to the local levels should henceforth do likewise in order to ensure the normal functioning and correct leadership of the party and prolong the political stability in our country. I hope that this fundamental principle in running the affairs of the party and the state will be maintained and passed on from generation to generation.

That is all I want to say today. I wish this congress complete success.

CSO: 4004/7

SPEECH AT THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS (6 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 45, 46, 47

[Speech by Chen Yun]

[Text] Comradês:

I fully agree with the report delivered to this congress by Comrade Hu Yaobang on behalf of the Central Committee, with the draft of the revised party constitution, the opening speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and with the speech made by Comrade Ye Jianying.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," our party set right its course at the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee and then, step by step through the 4th, 5th and 6th plenary sessions, it brought the nation's political life and socialist construction onto the correct path of sound development.

However, we must be soberly aware that for various reasons, the ranks of our party's cadres have long faced the problem of aging to varying degrees, and a gap between the old and the young. Unless this problem is solved now, and satisfactorily, the cause of communism may suffer a setback in China. All comrades, particularly the old comrades, should realize the gravity and urgency of this problem.

Therefore, the satisfactory solution of the problem of the smooth succession from old cadres to younger ones is an important task facing the whole party.

The first step in solving this problem is for the old cadres to retire successively from the leading bodies.

In the recent organizational reform of the party central organs and the State Council, some old comrades vacated their "front line" leading posts. And at the recent 7th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee a large number of other old comrades expressed the wish to leave the Central Committee and other leading posts. This shows that our old cadres have a strong sense of revolutionary responsibility.

When the old cadres withdraw from the "front line," does it mean that they have come to the end of their revolutionary career? No, it does not. Whether they withdraw to the second line to do such work as they have the strength for or completely retire, they should support the young and middle-aged cadres in their work and take upon themselves the task of helping and guiding the latter and passing on experience to them. Only when the old cadres have fulfilled this task can it be said that they have done their bit to the last for the party and the revolutionary cause.

Besides, since the ranks of our cadres now show a gap between the old and the young, the old comrades cannot leave the leading bodies all at once. As dictated by the actual situation, some old comrades will have to remain at "front line" posts for the time being. Even so, they should devote most of their energy not to the heavy day-to-day work as before, but to helping and guiding younger people, passing on experience to them, giving advice and checking to see that major issues are handled correctly.

To effect the smooth succession from old cadres to younger ones, young and middle-aged cadres must be promoted to the leading bodies at all levels.

In connection with this question, I would like to make two points:

One is that not just a few dozen or a few hundred, but thousands and tens of thousands must be promoted. Why? Because only thus will there be enough people to take over the work of the large numbers of old comrades who retire from the leading bodies; only thus will we have a greater choice and find truly reliable successors; and only thus will it be possible to prevent the troublemakers who were promoted to leading posts during the "Cultural Revolution" from stirring up any serious disturbances in the future.

In order to promote thousands and tens of thousands of young and middle-aged cadres, we must take a developmental view in judging them and not just see that they are yet inexperienced. To be sure, the young and middle-aged cadres do not have the high working experience of the old cadres. But we should ask ourselves the question: Where does experience come from? The answer is, only from tempering in practical work. Placed in posts of responsibility and given a heavy load, the young and middle-aged cadres can certainly gain experience and gradually mature through tempering in 3 or 5 years, or at most 8 or 10 years. In addition, we can create more "assistant" posts. This would help to reduce possible resistance to the promotion of young and middle-aged cadres to full leadership. At the same time, it would enable the party organization to judge their actual leading and organizational ability before they are formally appointed as leaders.

The other point I want to make on the question of promoting young and middle-aged cadres is that none of the following three types of people should be promoted: people who rose to prominence during the "Cultural Revolution" by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their like in "rebellion"; people who are seriously factionalist in their ideas; and people who indulged in beating, smashing and looting. Any of them who have already been promoted must be resolutely removed from the leading bodies.

Why should none of these people be promoted? Because if they are recruited into leading bodies, they will surface to make trouble and again harm the nation and the people when after a number of years, the political climate is right for them, when the party faces any storms.

Of course, we should realize that only a minority of the young and middle-aged people who committed mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" belong to these three types, while the majority of them merely drifted along. As regards the latter, so long as they have really acknowledged their mistakes, made a clean break with those three types and given a good account of themselves ever since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party should trust and use them, and continue to observe and help them in the course of work.

We must also note that there are plenty of young and middle-aged people who behaved well or basically well during the "Cultural Revolution." It is mainly from among them that we should select cadres for promotion.

Apart from the three types mentioned above, there are two other types of people whom we should also not promote to leading posts. I mean people who are opposed to the line followed by the Central Committee of the party since its third plenary session, and people who have seriously violated the law and discipline in the economic and other spheres.

In short, we should on the one hand be bold and quick in promoting young and middle-aged cadres and, on the other, we should strictly insist on the political criteria. As between political integrity and professional competence, we should pay more attention to the former. In other words, we should be sure to promote people who have a strong party spirit, are honest and upright, and dare to stick to principle.

I am convinced that so long as we solve well the problem of succession from old cadres to younger ones, there will be no lack of successors to carry on the cause of our party.

CSO: 4004/7

CLOSING SPEECH AT THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS (11 SEPTEMBER 1982)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 48-49

[Speech by Li Xiannian]

[Text] Comrades:

The 12th national congress of our party has now successfully fulfilled its historic mission, thanks to the common effort of all the delegates.

This congress, after fully democratic discussions, has unanimously endorsed the report delivered by Comrade Hu Yaobang on behalf of the 11th Central Committee of the party and adopted a resolution to this effect. Applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the report of the Central Committee sums up the great successes we have achieved in setting things to rights in all fields of endeavor in the past 6 years, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, analyzes the current political and economic situation in our country and puts forth the tasks and principles for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. We believe that, by firmly advancing in the direction indicated by the 12th congress, the Chinese people, led by our party, will certainly win great new victories in the socialist cause.

After careful discussion by all the delegates, this congress has unanimously adopted the new constitution of the party, which has removed the "left" mistakes in the constitution adopted by the 11th congress and which inherits and develops the strong points of the constitutions adopted by the 7th and 8th congresses. The new constitution is a crystallization of the party's historical experience and collective wisdom, and a powerful weapon for building a stronger party, both ideologically and organizationally, in the new historical period. It should be pointed out that, while it has been relatively easy to formulate the new party constitution, it will not be as easy to implement it strictly throughout the party. We must carry on ideological education and organizational work in real earnest, resolutely rectify the party style and consolidate all party organizations as the constitution requires and fight against all words and actions that contravene the constitution, so that members of our party may truly act as good examples to the masses and that our party may truly become a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization.

After full deliberations and democratic election at this congress a new Central Committee and also a Central Advisory Commission and a Central Commission for Discipline Inspection have come into being. Thus a major organizational guarantee is provided for the realization of the principles and tasks set forth by the 12th congress. The new Central Committee consists both of old and long-tested comrades and of a great number of younger comrades. They will assuredly work together in close unity and cooperation and make the new Central Committee an even stronger command headquarters than its predecessor. The newly formed Central Advisory Commission consists of many old comrades of high integrity and prestige. It will assuredly serve as a good political assistant and consultant to the Central Committee and contribute to the cause of the party by helping and guiding younger comrades and passing on experience to them. The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, now elected by the national congress of the party, is entrusted with greater responsibilities than its predecessor. It will play an important role in ensuring implementation of the new party constitution, upholding party discipline and maintaining the communist purity of the party. Here, on behalf of the presidium of this congress, and the old comrades on it in particular, I would like to express our warm welcome to the young and middle-aged comrades who have been elected to the central leading organs. We hope that they will guard against conceit and impetuosity, be modest and prudent, study diligently, shoulder with courage the tasks assigned them by the party and achieve outstanding results in their work.

Comrades! How well our party will do its work in the 5 years between the present congress and the next will be a matter of key importance to the realization of the general task set for the new period. This congress has proposed that we should, in these 5 years, bring about a fundamental turn for the better in three spheres, namely, the financial and economic situation of our country, the standards of social conduct, and the style of our party. At the same time, we must work together with our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hong Kong) and Aomen (Macao) and Chinese nationals residing abroad to promote the reunification of our motherland. And we must wage a common struggle with the people of all countries to safeguard world peace. These are great, solemn and arduous fighting tasks, and we must not in the least slacken our effort. As soon as this congress is over, we must bestir ourselves and intensively propagate the spirit of the congress throughout the party and among the people of all nationalities. We will organize all party members, Communist Youth League members, workers, peasants, intellectuals, Liberation Army commanders and fighters, cadres and all other patriotic citizens to conscientiously study the report of the Central Committee to this congress, the new party constitution, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and the important speeches made by Comrades Yi Jianying and Chen Yun, so that the principles and tasks set forth by the congress will be made known to everybody and will strike root in the hearts of the people. In the meantime, we must, in the light of the specific conditions in different localities and departments, adopt practical and effective measures for the full realization of these principles and tasks.

Comrades! While striving to accomplish the various fighting tasks set by the 12th party congress, we must further strengthen the great unity of the

whole party and of the people of all nationalities in our country. Our great socialist cause is advancing victoriously along the correct path of Marxism. We are convinced that, so long as we rally closely round the Central Committee, rouse ourselves and work assiduously, we shall be able to steer the great ship of our revolution and construction steadily toward our great goal.

Throughout the congress, all the comrades working for it, including the secretarial staff, those in charge of general affairs and those engaged in security, medical care and other daily services, in drafting and translating the documents and covering the congress, in communications and liaison services, and in printing the documents--all these comrades have been working hard day and night to help make the congress a success. People of the Beijing municipality have also made their contributions. Here, on behalf of the presidium of the congress, I would like to convey our heartfelt thanks to them.

Now, I declare the successful conclusion of the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

CSO: 4004/7

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF COMMUNISM, ADVANCE BRAVELY ALONG THE ROAD CHARTED
BY THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 50-54

[Editorial]

[Text] The victorious opening of the 12th CPC National Congress is an important event in the political life of our whole party throughout the country. It has made great achievements by fully realizing its target; this has encouraged the whole party, army and all nationalities and fired them with enthusiasm.

As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his opening speech at the 12th CPC Congress, this is the most important conference since the 7th CPC National Congress. It is a milestone in the history of the socialist revolution and the construction of the country. Its great significance and profound influence is bound to be increasingly displayed in the process of the country's socialist and communist construction.

The great achievements of the congress are as follows:

Having made a scientific summary of historical experiences and a profound analysis of the present situation, the congress has enriched and developed the correct Marxist line reestablished since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Congress, laid down a new fighting program and task and posed a series of more complete and mature principles, policies and measures to continue to eliminate the negative influence caused by the 10 years of internal disorder and to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. It has thus charted the correct road for continuing the advance and has provided a precise guide for action.

It suits the character and needs of this historical period in all fields of socialist construction; it concentrates the knowledge of the whole party; it has summed up the experience of building a proletarian party in power; and it has drawn up a new party constitution which is more substantial and complete than any other in our party's history. Thus, it has provided a brilliant guide and powerful weapon for making our party into a solid core leading the construction of socialist modernization.

After full deliberations and democratic voting, a new Central Committee was elected; at the same time, a Central Advisory Commission and a Central Commission for Discipline Inspection were also elected. In the new central leading organ, there are seasoned proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who act as its mainstay and a great number of younger cadres full of vigor, ability and political integrity acting as its vital force. This has been a great step in the cooperation between the young and old cadres and in the process of handing over responsibility. It has fully demonstrated that the ranks of our party's cadres are of long standing and well established and that there is no lack of successors to carry out the communist cause of our party. This new party Central Committee will undoubtedly become a fighting and vigorous command post trusted by the people of all nationalities of our country.

History is the fairest mirror. If we say that the 7th CPC National Congress, convened and presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1945, summarized the historical experiences of the tortuous, 20-year-long development of the democratic revolution, formulated a correct program, line and strategy and unified party thinking on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and thus laid the foundations for the national victory of the new democratic revolution, then the 12th CPC Congress, by drawing up the correct line, strategy and corresponding general and specific policies for continued advance after that great historical turning point, will lay a solid foundation for making a complete new breakthrough in the socialist modernization drive.

Historical experiences merit our attention. Seven years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, and after the transition from new democracy to socialism in our country, our party convened the eighth national congress in 1956. This congress made a correct analysis of the class, economic and political situations after the completion of socialist transformation, and clearly pointed out that in our country, the exploitative system and the exploiting classes had already been abolished, the principal contradiction in the country being no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie but the contradiction between economic and cultural development and the daily increasing demands of the people. It pointed out that the principal task of the whole people was no longer to conduct class struggle but to concentrate our energy on developing social production forces, to carry out the state's industrialization and to gradually meet the increasing material and cultural demands of the people.

The congress has adopted correct resolutions on building a proletarian party in power, particularly in terms of strengthening the party's democratic centralism and collective leadership and opposing personality cults. It has proved that the line of the Eighth CPC Congress is correct and it has charted the right way to socialist construction and the building of the party in the new era of the country. However, although a series of correct policies was put forward by the Eighth CPC Congress, these policies were not made concrete or profoundly understood by the whole party due to lack of practical experience in, and ideological preparation for, socialist construction. Consequently, they were not properly implemented or developed.

For more than 20 years from the 8th CPC Congress until the 10 years of turmoil, although our people made various important achievements in socialist construction, they suffered distressing setbacks and fell far short of achieving what had previously been hoped for.

Now the situation at the time of the 12th CPC Congress is completely different from that of the 8th CPC Congress. The CPC has learned a profound lesson from the tortuous historic development of the socialist revolution and construction over the 20 years after the 8th CPC Congress, just as it learned a profound lesson from the tortuous historic development of the 20-year-long democratic revolution prior to the 7th CPC Congress. For the past 6 years, after smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, after exposing and criticizing the crimes of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, scientifically criticizing the "Cultural Revolution" and its previous "left" tendency errors, bringing order out of chaos and taking measures for thoroughgoing reform, the party's ideological line has been brought back onto the track of Mao Zedong Thought. Our party has not only resumed various correct policies which had been effectively implemented for many years in the past, but has also formulated a series of new and correct policies in its new practice by conscientiously studying new conditions and summing up fresh experiences. Apart from restoring the true face of Mao Zedong Thought, our party has upheld and developed it under new historical conditions. Although there exist various unsatisfactory aspects in the party's work, style and organization, our party has, in general, reached a higher level than at any time since the founding of the state, in terms of comprehending the objective laws of socialist construction, conscientiously and firmly implementing the Marxist line, policies and principles, grasping the overall situation and strategically and farsightedly creating a new situation in all fields. The current CPC Central Committee is a solid, harmonious, united and militant collective body and is a leading core able to direct a complicated situation. History and reality have fully proved that by taking the precise guide to action provided by the 12th CPC Congress, we will certainly be capable of steering the vessel of Chinese socialism and communism along the correct channel, advancing step by step toward the great goal set for us.

The report made by Comrade Hu Yaobang at this congress demonstrates the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress. Having summarized the great achievements and rich experiences gained by our party through its efforts to bring about a great and historic change over the past 6 years, the report posed the overall task for the CPC in the new historical period, that is, to unite the people of all nationalities, to be self-reliant, to work hard and to gradually realize industrial, agricultural, national defense, scientific and technical modernizations in order to build a highly civilized, democratic socialist country. Precisely according to the requirement of the general task and based on the current situation of the country, the report puts forward to the entire party, army and people of the whole nation both the long-term target for endeavor and the most pressing current demands; stresses the central task to be realized by concentrated forces and the various tasks the execution of which is the guarantee for this central task. Thus, it has

worked out a scientific blueprint for creating a new situation in all fields in line with our country's actual conditions.

The economic construction of socialist modernization is our central task. The outcome of economic work and construction will finally decide the result of other endeavors as well as the future and fate of our nation. Based on the comprehensive analysis of the actual national economic situation and the future trend of its development, the CPC Central Committee has precisely worked out the target for increasing the total annual industrial and agricultural output by 300 [as published] percent over the 20 years from 1981 to the end of this century. This is a magnificent goal and one which can be achieved through hard work. In order to achieve this goal, looking at the overall national economy, during the next 20 years we must tightly grasp the key links of agriculture, energy, transportation, education and science, seeing them as strategic points in our national economic development. In order to achieve this goal, our strategic plan must consist of two steps, first to put stress on laying a solid foundation in the first decade, to accumulate forces and to create conditions, and second, to enter a new period of vigorous economic development in the second decade. During the 5-year period from the current CPC Congress to the next congress, in order to smoothly carry out this strategic plan, economic work in all fields should lay stress on raising economic results, further implementing readjustment, reform and restructuring, improving all policies and measures of the national economy, markedly improving economic results in all national economic departments and steadily maintaining a fundamental balance in the areas of finance, credit and price. This is the basic policy and task for the current and coming economic work determined by the 12th CPC Congress.

Socialist practice over the past several decades has proved that the building of material civilization must go hand in hand with the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. For these two civilizations, in a socialist society, are interdependent, each taking the other as its own aim, and neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. Apart from abolishing exploitation and realizing the system of public ownership, practicing distribution according to work, making the people the masters and implementing a planned economy with the ultimate aim of developing productive forces and labor productivity greater than those in capitalist society, socialist spiritual civilization, which takes communist ideology as its core, also constitutes an important symbol of socialist society. Practice has proved that it is impossible to carry on socialist construction without this spiritual civilization. If we overlook the building of socialist spiritual civilization, people might well have only a one-sided understanding of socialism, the building of material civilization will quite possibly diverge from the socialist road and socialism will be in danger of degenerating. Based on the theoretical and political viewpoints of Marxism, the 12th CPC Congress' report has made a correct exposition and scientific explanation of the relations between socialist material and spiritual civilization and of the importance, purpose, content and requirements of strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization. This is an important characteristic of the 12th CPC Congress' report. In order to develop the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations in a

manner of mutual promotion, we must strive to create a high level of socialist democracy, further improve the socialist legal system and consolidate and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship. We must, on the one hand, guarantee that working people are the true masters and, on the other, guarantee the exercise of dictatorship over all those hostile elements, who sabotage and adopt a hostile attitude toward socialism. As for the first guarantee, socialist democracy should be expanded to political, economic, cultural and social life. Equal relations between people and correct relations between the individual and society are established on the basis of the principles of socialist democracy. As to the second guarantee, at present, we must resolutely and thoroughly carry out the struggle against important criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural fields which endanger socialism. Only in this way can we safeguard the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations.

In addition, we should strive to strengthen national defense and safeguard the security and independence of the motherland; we should strive for the reunification of the motherland with our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao as well as with Chinese residents abroad; we must uphold the foreign policy of independence, oppose imperialism and hegemonism, safeguard world peace and promote the progress of mankind by allying ourselves with the people of the whole world, particularly with Third World countries and people. Only in this way can we nationally complete reunification of the motherland and internationally strive for lasting peace in our environment so that the people of the country can concentrate their attention on the endeavor for socialist modernization.

On no account can all of the above-mentioned aims be easily realized. In order to attain them, it is necessary to persevere to the end with the reform of the party and government organs in which initial achievements have already been made, and to further ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more competent. It is especially important to do our best in building our party in accordance with the new party constitution. The current 12th CPC Congress has decided in the next 3 years to complete the all-round rectification of our party style, the consolidation of its organizations and the reregistration of all its members. This is an important resolution which will win the full trust of the party and people.

The content of the congress' report is very wide-ranging. Its basic content can be summarized as follows: It has one central task which must be grasped from beginning to end and four important jobs which must be grasped at present. The one central task is: socialist economic construction. The four important jobs are: 1) the continuation of reforms of organs and economic systems; 2) great efforts to build socialist spiritual civilization; 3) a resolute attack on all types of important criminal activities which damage socialism; and 4) the rectification of party style, the restructuring of organizations and the support and improvement of party leadership. The proper execution of these four types of work will provide the fundamental political guarantee for smoothly carrying out modernization construction and persevering in the direction of socialism. In order to

effectively concentrate the will and the actions of the whole party and the people of all nationalities of the country, and in accordance with the above-mentioned central task and important work, the 12th CPC Congress has raised the slogan for attaining three fundamental turns for the better. That is to say, in the coming 5 years from the current congress to the next congress, it is essential to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the state's financial economy, in the social mood and in the party style. Having made these three fundamental turns for the better, and in 5 years' time when our party convenes its 13th national congress, an encouraging new situation will emerge before us in the construction of socialist modernization, and the whole party and people of all nationalities will be more confident of winning even greater victory in the cause of socialism and communism.

The ultimate aim of the CPC is to realize its lofty ideal of communism. For the past half century, each victory won by the Chinese people under the party in revolution and construction has been a victory gained under the guidance of the communist ideological system and a practical step toward the long-range goal of communism. Although the complete realization of communism, which is the most rational, complete and perfect social system in the history of mankind, can only come about after a long process of endeavor by several generations, as a means of propagating a scientific ideological and theoretical system and of putting communist ideology into practice in carrying on the revolutionary movement, the system of communist ideology has been in existence since the birth of the Communist Party in China and the new democratic revolution under its leadership. Today, communism not only exists in the daily life of the country but has also been developed through the establishment of socialist society, as an initial stage of communist society. Therefore, it should on no account be considered, as it is by some people, as an "idle dream," within sight but beyond reach, as an abstract ideological concept that has never been tested in practice.

Therefore, whether in periods of democratic revolution or socialist transformation or, needless to say, in the period of comprehensive socialist construction, all lines and general and specific policies of our party, and all its revolutionary struggles and practices, are based on the communist ideological system and take the realization of the lofty ideal of communism as their direction and goal. The scientific proofs and theoretical expositions set forth by the 12th CPC Congress in its report on this question constitute the basic governing ideology of the congress. Of course, it does not mean to lump together the communist system to be realized after a long period of time in our country with the existing socialist system. It does not mean to replace the current socialist policy with the communist policy that is to be realized in the future and it does not mean that we should unrealistically urge every member of society in our country to become communist. We should not rush blindly into communist transition. We have in the past learned a profound lesson in this respect. At the present stage, we must stick to the system of distribution according to labor and to other socialist systems in economic and social life. However, in the new historical period of comprehensive socialist construction, we must further urge all

Communist Party members, Communist Youth League members and progressive elements to be guided in their actions by communist ideals, faith and morality, to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and life-style and always to maintain the communist purity of the party. At the same time, we should also persist in educating and influencing the masses of people with communist ideology and bring up every social member as an idealist, moral, cultured and disciplined laborer so that social relations between members of society in our country are formed and developed with the reflection of socialist spiritual civilization as their principal content. In this regard, all communist members and progressive elements, particularly leading cadres at all levels, must take the lead and set an example to influence and unite the broad masses of people and to unite them under the banner of the 12th CPC Congress. Only in this way will our country's socialist society be able to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois decadent ideology, remaining feudal ideology and other nonproletarian ideologies and always be able to keep its revolutionary spirit young and vigorous. Only by doing so will our party be able to display its new outlook and powerful fighting force, to reflect the desires of the whole people and their fundamental interests. And only by doing so will our whole party, army and people of all nationalities be able to fully carry out the militant program and task put forward by the 12th CPC Congress and promote the cause of socialism and communism.

The opening speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping constitutes the general governing ideology of the spirit of this congress. He said that by summing up our basic experience, "We must proceed from China's realities, integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics." Comrade Deng Xiaoping added that "China's affairs must be handled in the light of China's conditions and based on the Chinese people's strength." The source of the energy resides in the broad masses of Chinese people and Chinese workers, peasants, intellectuals and all other patriotic elements. Today, the CPC is a big party of 39 million members, shouldering the heavy burden of guiding the cause of socialism and communism. However, Communist Party members always constitute a minority among the Chinese people. Just as our party in the past exercised leadership in the democratic revolution but gained final victory only by depending on the hard struggle of the broad masses of people, today, only by depending on the hard struggle of the people will our party be able to achieve the construction of socialist modernization. Now, our party heads the regime and occupies the leading position in state life; this is the difference from the democratic revolution. Comrade Hu Yaobang specially pointed out in his report that the party's leading position "determines that its activities will vitally affect the interests of the masses, but at the same time means that party members, and party cadres in particular, may easily be in danger of becoming isolated from the masses." All party members and leading party cadres must be highly aware of this danger.

We must conscientiously adhere to and carry on the party's fine tradition of the mass line and effectively strengthen the close relations between the party and the masses of people. All party members and cadres must, in light

of the strict demands set forth by the new party constitution, listen to the voice of the masses of people, attach importance to their interests, subject themselves to supervision by the masses and on no account must they take advantage of party and state power as an instrument for seeking their own interests. We have only the duty to serve the people and never the right to "profit" at the expense of the masses and the state. As party members we must be qualified party members, as cadres we must be qualified cadres, and as citizens we must be Chinese people with national dignity and pride. To love the motherland, to work honestly and to devote ourselves to the socialist drive of the motherland is a glorious and lofty cause. And it is shameful and contemptible to harm the dignity and honor of the motherland, the cause of socialism and the interests of the people and state. Only by setting an example in the glorious and lofty undertaking and resolutely resisting and fighting against shameful and contemptible deeds, will all of us, party members and cadres, fulfill our duty.

The successful opening of the 12th CPC Congress and its great achievements have indicated the bright prospect of the socialist and communist undertakings of the country. All party members, army and people of all nationalities, and party cadres in particular, must conscientiously study the congress' documents, deepen our understanding of the congress' spirit, effectively put it into action and resolutely and enthusiastically devote ourselves to creating a new situation in all fields of the socialist drive. Filled with revolutionary pride and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, let us unite around the CPC Central Committee, hold high the banner of communism and boldly and resolutely march forward along the road charted by the 12th CPC Congress with one heart and mind!

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THE CORRECT PROGRAM FOR CREATING A NEW SITUATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 55-60

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] The party's historical experience shows us that it is not an easy job to use Marxism as a weapon, understand the laws governing the development of the Chinese revolution and correctly solve problems in the revolution according to China's specific conditions. It is a long process to go from incomplete knowledge to fairly complete knowledge, from the understanding of things by a few people to understanding by the whole party and from the understanding of principles to the formulation and practical implementation of specific principles and policies. In this long process, setbacks and failures are hard to avoid because of mistakes made. It took more than 20 years for the party to grasp the laws governing the democratic revolution. Following the failure of the great revolution in 1927, the Sixth CPC National Congress, held in 1928, determined the nature and tasks of the Chinese revolution, which were correct in principle but neither complete nor specific. So the Chinese revolution still took a difficult, tortuous course after the congress. The whole party did not gradually gain a unified, correct understanding of the basic problems in the Chinese revolution until the war of resistance against Japan. The Seventh CPC National Congress, convened in 1945, summed up the experiences of the democratic revolution and, on the basis of a grasp of the objective law governing the Chinese democratic revolution, formulated a comprehensive, correct program and tactics, thus laying a foundation for the nationwide victory of the new democratic revolution.

Following the nationwide victory of the revolution, our party was faced with new historic tasks. The transition from new democracy to socialism and the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production were made rather smoothly. The party held its eighth national congress in 1956 after the socialist transformation was mainly complete. The analysis of the situation then and the task set by the congress to build socialism in an all-round way were correct. At that time, however, the party was still far from being able to say that it had grasped the laws governing the development of the socialist revolution and construction in China. As the democratic revolution did after the Sixth CPC National Congress, so our socialist cause took a difficult, tortuous course after the Eighth CPC

National Congress. We made many achievements, but the setbacks we met with were extremely serious. The 12th CPC National Congress was held 26 years after the 8th CPC National Congress. The former inherited some correct ideas of the latter and greatly developed and enriched those ideas. Now the party is far more mature and its grasp of the laws governing the socialist cause is far more profound than at the time when the Eighth CPC National Congress was held. In his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping regarded this congress as the most important meeting since the Seventh CPC National Congress. He said: "Just as the 20-odd years of tortuous development of our democratic revolution before the seventh congress taught the whole party how to grasp the laws governing that revolution in China, so the 20-odd years of tortuous development of our socialist revolution and construction after the eighth congress taught the whole party profound lessons."

On behalf of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang made a report on the basis of a summing-up of the rich experiences of the socialist revolution and construction over the past 30 years. These experiences include successful ones as well as lessons in setbacks and failures. It is of particularly great significance to learn from past mistakes and experiences in setbacks and failures. The question here is whether or not we are good at doing so. The practice since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee proves that our party has the courage and ability to engage in such study.

In the past 4 years, the policies implemented by the party in the economic, political, cultural and other fields have made it possible to revive our correct traditions, to correct and prevent both "leftist" and rightist deviations and to make many new creations on the basis of studying new situations and experiences. Without the practical experiences gained in the past 4 years, it would have been impossible to formulate the comprehensive program embodied in this report. This report fully reflects our party's profound knowledge of the laws governing China's socialist construction. It also shows that our party is able to conscientiously and resolutely implement our correct program. We can certainly bring about a new situation in socialist modernization provided the whole party and the people throughout the country make concerted efforts to carry out the program adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress.

What are the important characteristics of the contents of the report to the 12th CPC National Congress?

First, in the light of the actual situation in our country, the report has laid down strategic goals, principles and policies for the development of our socialist economy.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress: "In our modernization program, we must proceed from China's realities. Both in our revolution and construction, we should learn from foreign countries and draw on their experience. But mechanical copying and application of foreign experience and models will get us nowhere. We have

had many lessons in this respect. To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics—this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience." The modernization program is, of course, not limited to economic construction, but first of all we must promote economic construction.

Since the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has firmly shifted the focus of the work of the party and state to economic construction. This is completely necessary and correct. The report to the 12th CPC National Congress pointed out that, in creating a new situation of socialist modernization, the primary task is to bring about an all-round upsurge in the socialist economy.

The Eighth CPC National Congress in 1956 had, in fact, decided to make economic construction the central task of our country. It was a strategic shift, geared to the actual situation of that time, and should have been implemented. However, summing up the mistakes made by our party following the 8th CPC National Congress through the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we can see that, "in the final analysis, the mistake we made in the past was that we failed to persevere in making this strategic shift," as pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It was mainly because we failed in properly handling the relationship between economic and political work and the party did not fully understand the necessity for this strategic shift. In addition, the party implemented some impractical principles running counter to objective law. In reviewing the prolonged "left" mistakes in our past economic work, the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out that they 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." Therefore, although we made some great achievements in economic construction during the 10 years following the 8th CPC National Congress, we acted blindly to a great extent. Our targets could often not be realized and we even suffered setbacks.

After a profound summing-up of past experiences and lessons, our party has now gradually eradicated the prolonged "left" mistakes and has formulated a series of principles and policies in conformity with the actual current conditions of our country. Thus our economy has passed the most difficult period and is now on the healthy track of steady development.

The report to the 12th CPC National Congress has set strategic targets, emphasis and steps for the economic construction of our country in the two decades between 1981 and the end of this century and has explained a number of important, principled questions which should now be meticulously solved. Accordingly, it has formed a relatively complete economic program. This program calls for striving to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial

and agricultural production from 710 billion yuan in 1980 to 2,000 billion yuan or so in 2000 on the basis of constantly raising economic results.

This is a grand goal. However, this program is not purely one of speed. In the first half of the next two decades, it only calls for making attainable progress slowly. During this 10 years, it is necessary to improve operation and management of various enterprises, carry out readjustment and reorganization of various enterprises, renovate equipment and facilities and introduce technical innovation. In addition, it is necessary to make reasonable adjustments in the system of economic management and in the economic structure of various fields.

In the first decade the state, while continuing to improve the people's living standards, should appropriately concentrate funds on key construction projects, such as those in energy and communications. By doing all such work well, we will be able to lay a solid foundation, accumulate strength and create conditions for economic construction in the second decade. Then, our economy will be able to develop faster and enter a period of vigorous development. In the coming 20 years, it is necessary to firmly grasp these basic links--agriculture, energy, communications and science--to bring about a faster development of the production of consumer goods, to promote the development of industry as a whole and all other production undertakings and to ensure improvement in the people's living standards.

In socialist economic construction, there are many new questions, including specific ones concerning the reform of the economic structure, which we should continue to explore. However, it should be recognized that the economic program set out in the report to the 12th party congress is one that reflects, to a considerable extent, the objective laws governing our country's economy. This program makes it possible for us not to repeat past mistakes of losing contact with reality and blindly making a rash advance, or hesitating to make a move in the face of problems and difficulties calling for a solution. Great efforts have to be made to carry out this program, but it can be carried out. With this program ensuring that our party and state lay the stress of their work on economic construction, we will be able to advance steadily toward the grand goal of economic construction in the last two decades of this century.

Second, the report to the 12th party congress correctly handles the relationship between economics and politics, particularly calls for building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization, while striving for a high level of modern material civilization and emphatically points out that socialist material and spiritual civilization must be built with the support and safeguards of socialist politics.

How to correctly handle the relationship between economics and politics, or between economic work on the one hand and ideological and political work on the other, is a matter of great importance in socialist construction. We suffered many losses in the past because we failed to correctly handle this relationship.

Put forward in the "Great Cultural Revolution" was the slogan that politics must overwhelm everything. Those who put forward this slogan actually regarded politics and economics as separate things which categorically oppose each other.

They held that when attention was paid to economic work, politics would be forgotten and that to attach importance to politics, it was necessary to oppose the so-called "theory of productive forces." This actually means opposing the development of production and the economy. Of course, putting economics in the wrong relationship with politics was not the only mistake made in the "Great Cultural Revolution" (here we are not dealing with the counterrevolutionary activities by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques during the "Great Cultural Revolution"). The ideological and political guiding principle for the "Great Cultural Revolution"--"taking class struggle as the key link" and "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"--are fundamentally wrong. This was clearly explained in the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The wrong ideological and political guiding principles naturally can only bring damage to the socialist economy and even play a disruptive role in this regard.

The report to the 12th party congress calls for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in three aspects--in the country's financial and economic situation, in the general mood of society and in the party's work style. The three aspects are related, and the latter two fall into the ideological category. A fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation depends on one in the party's work style and the general mood of society.

Carrying out economic construction as the central task of the party and the state, of course, does not mean doing away with or weakening ideological and political work. What is important is that all our political and ideological work, in the final analysis, is conducive to bringing the people's enthusiasm and initiative into full play in socialist construction and to carrying out socialist construction by them in an organized way.

The socialist system has not emerged and developed spontaneously. The factors which have promoted the development of the capitalist economy and society are the capitalists' profit-seeking and the laboring people's desire to earn a living. The contradiction and contention between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat cannot be solved by the capitalist system itself.

The socialist system has liberated the laboring people from the exploiting system and has also liberated them spiritually. It has formed a society in which the interests and will of the overwhelming majority of people are the same. The report to the 12th CPC National Congress cited Lenin's words: "The vigorous and creative socialism is created by the people themselves."

Ideological and political work cannot replace economic work of course and socialist construction must rely on hundreds of millions of people with political consciousness. Socialism can develop gradually and successfully only when the masses willingly work for the public interest of the collective, make efforts to master professional skills, take part in various socialist reforms and consciously fight against the remnant forces and ideology of the old society and against all factors which are harmful to socialism.

When we talk about the political life of our country, we must first see that we have already established the socialist system, that the laboring people are now the masters of the country and that the exploiting class has already been wiped out as a class. Our society is now different from the historical class society in principle. In a class society ruled by the exploiting class, social contradictions were mainly expressed in terms of struggle between the opponent classes and most social contradictions had a class nature. The laboring people must overthrow the rule of the exploiting class and reject and destroy the legal system of a country ruled by the exploiting class in order to win liberation. In our country at present, however, class struggle is no longer the main contradiction in society and most of the social contradictions do not have a class nature. Fundamentally speaking, most social contradictions can be solved in accordance with democratic principles. Therefore, the main task of political construction in our society is to develop the established socialist democracy step by step and in an orderly manner, and to closely integrate the building of democracy with the building of socialist legal system.

It is completely wrong for us not to see the difference between our country's society and the past class society and carry on the so-called "revolution of one class overthrowing another." It is also totally wrong for us not to see that the masses of people are the builders of socialism and masters of the country and that they overlook the building of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

On the other hand, we must see that in the life of our country we still cannot eliminate dictatorship and have democracy alone. The hostile elements that want to undermine our socialist system are still in existence and may emerge in the future. The report to the 12th CPC National Congress pointed out: "The class struggle at the present stage chiefly takes the form of struggle by the people against these hostile elements." Class struggle will continue to exist within a certain scope for a long time and may even sharpen under certain conditions. Therefore, our society at present is different from the future socialist-communist society in which class struggle will cease completely. It is also completely wrong for us not to see this difference and to discard the function of dictatorship of the state and lower our guard in fighting against class enemies.

The report to the 12th CPC National Congress has indicated the principles for building a high level of socialist democracy and handling class struggle in accordance with our country's system of people's democratic

dictatorship. The proper solution of these kinds of problems has a significant bearing on our socialist construction.

The report to the 12th CPC National Congress has theoretically discussed the question concerning the building of socialist spiritual civilization as a strategic matter. In a socialist society, material civilization is an indispensable foundation for socialist spiritual civilization. The building of socialist spiritual civilization will become empty talk if we do not strive for progress in material production and for improvement in people's material life in society. Under the socialist system, socialist spiritual civilization does not automatically develop with the development of material civilization, nor does a high level of spiritual civilization occur only after material civilization becomes highly developed. We should strive to build a high level of spiritual civilization while building material civilization. The report pointed out: "Socialist spiritual civilization gives tremendous impetus to material civilization and ensures its correct orientation." Therefore, we should never overlook the building of spiritual civilization and pay attention only to material civilization. Socialist spiritual civilization, with communist ideology at its core, is a characteristic that socialism must possess. Without such spiritual civilization, the building of socialism would be out of the question and material civilization would go astray even if it were developed. This is a very important conclusion we have reached by summing up historical experience.

According to Marxist-Leninist theory, a socialist cultural revolution is a revolution to criticize all old thinking, which is the product of the exploitation system and is incompatible with socialism, and to enable the broad masses of working people to grasp culture which is monopolized by the minority of people in the exploiting classes. After the October Revolution, Lenin often pointed out the tasks of the cultural revolution in this sense. He attached great importance to educating the masses in communist ideology and to cultural popularization work, beginning with the elimination of illiteracy. He also emphatically pointed out that socialism must absorb and transform all valuable things yielded in the development of thinking and culture of mankind in the past 2,000 or 3,000 years. The 10 years of internal strife confused the meaning of cultural revolution. The "Great Cultural Revolution" even became anticultural. It, of course, had nothing at all in common with the cultural revolution mentioned by Lenin. The building of socialist spiritual civilization, which we are talking about, includes communist ideological building and cultural establishment under the guidance of communist ideology. It, of course, also includes the contents of Marxist-Leninist cultural revolution and cultural establishment. The report says: "All party members and other advanced persons in our society must continuously propagate advanced ideas and set an example by their own deeds to inspire more and more members of our society to become working people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline." This is an important component part of our socialist construction program.

Third, the report to the 12th party congress suits the character and demands of the new historical period and puts forward the principles for strengthening party building and improving party leadership.

The 12th CPC National Congress adopted the new party constitution. The report to the congress has raised the important question of party building. In a speech delivered in January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called for "upholding and improving party leadership." He pointed out: "We uphold the four basic principles--that is, to uphold socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the party leadership. The core of the four upholds is to uphold the party leadership." He also said: "In order to uphold the party leadership, we must strive to improve the party leadership." Both the new party constitution and the report to the 12th party national congress are permeated with the spirit of striving to improve the party leadership.

The leadership exercised by the CPC has been established through a long period of revolutionary struggle. Without the Communist Party's leadership, there would have been no victory in the Chinese revolution, no unity among the people of the country and no socialist new China, and it would be impossible to achieve the four modernizations and lead the country onto the path of prosperity. It is certainly wrong to think that the Communist Party's leadership is of no importance and can be dispensed with. But on the other hand, it is one-sided to think that, as far as our party is concerned, there is no problem in upholding the party's leadership and that the question lies merely in asking the masses outside our party to recognize our party's leadership. It is true that upholding the party's leadership is a principle commonly recognized by the people of our country, but the principle itself is, above all, a strict demand placed on our party.

How to uphold party leadership is not a simple question. If our party's stand is not correct and if our party cannot pool together the correct views of the masses, reflect their fundamental interests and make the correct stand acceptable to the masses through propaganda, education and practice and transform it into their conscious actions, how can we uphold the party's leadership? If our party itself has no high degree of ideological and political consensus and no strict organization and discipline, how can we unite and lead our 1 billion people to take common action? If the Communist Party members themselves lack the spirit of dedicating their whole lives to the communist ideal, if they cannot serve the people wholeheartedly and if they think only of their personal interest, how can we talk about leading the people in building socialist spiritual civilization? If our party is amateurish in its various undertakings and is not good at asking professionals concerned for advice and at rallying them to work together, how can we lead socialist construction?

It is true that the party made mistakes in the past and that it is possible to make mistakes in everything it does in the future. However, the party should be able to correct whatever mistakes it makes. History shows that the party has the courage and the ability to correct its own mistakes. The reason why the party has been able to uphold its leadership lies, first of all, in the fact that it exercises correct leadership, is able to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice, to present a correct program, principles and policies and to lead the broad masses in carrying out the program, principles and policies. A leadership

can be upheld only if it is exercised well. The new historical period of socialist construction has set a higher demand on our party. Therefore, we must take a serious attitude toward the trauma inflicted on our party during the 10 years of turmoil, earnestly improve party leadership and strengthen party building. If we do so, we can certainly shoulder our heavy historical responsibility.

This is why the new party constitution establishes the general principle of setting strict demands on party members and cadres and calling for raising the fighting capacity of the party's organizations. This is why the report to the 12th CPC Congress regards efforts to strive for a fundamental improvement of party style as a most pressing task. The report points out the several questions that must be resolved, in particular, in party building.

It also puts forward the significant measure of conducting overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations in stages and group by group over a period of 3 years beginning from the latter half of 1983.

In addition to rectification of party style, the congress also raised in particular the resolution of the question of cooperation between the old and the young among the cadre ranks and the succession of the young from the old. Comrade Chen Yun said: "The style of a party in power determines its very survival." He again said in his speech to the congress: "The satisfactory solution of the problem of the smooth succession of the younger cadres from the old ones is an important task facing the whole party." The continuous satisfactory solution of the question of party style and that of cadres in accordance with the spirit of the congress in order to build our party better is a major task that is of decisive significance in promoting socialist construction.

Fourth, the report to the 12th party congress deals with all external relations from the standpoint of independence and self-reliance.

In the section "Adhering to an Independent Foreign Policy," the report to the 12th party congress points out: "Integration of patriotism with internationalism has always been our basic point of departure in handling our external relations," and "our adherence to an independent foreign policy accords with the discharging of our lofty international duty to safeguard world peace and promote human progress."

The report also discusses in another section the question of persevering in self-reliance while expanding economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries. The report points out: "It is our firm strategic principle to carry out the policy of opening to the outside world and expand economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit," and "our aim in expanding economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries is to enhance our ability to be self-reliant and to promote, and certainly not to impair, the development of our national economy."

China was once a semicolony, or a semi-independent country. During that time, China's affairs were admittedly not run by the oppressed and exploited Chinese people, but neither were they run by the reactionary forces. They were run rather by the imperialist powers. From the late Qing dynasty to the Kuomintang period, the government was not only slavishly dependent on imperialism in foreign policy, but it also adjusted its domestic policies according to the wishes of imperialism. The opening of China's "door" then was forced by imperialism, and the result of the opening was the enslavement of the Chinese people and the destruction of China's national economy. It was only after the Chinese people became the masters of their country that China was turned into a truly independent and sovereign state standing magnificently in the East and has been able to implement an independent foreign policy, control its own "door" and adopt an open-door policy on the basis of safeguarding national interest.

We must bear firmly in mind the following words in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech to the 12th party congress: "Independence and self-reliance have always been and will forever be our basic stand. While we Chinese people value our friendship and cooperation with other countries and people, we value even more our hard-won independence and sovereign rights. No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, or expect China to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to China's interests. We will unservingly follow a policy of opening to the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. At the same time, we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country. We Chinese people have our own national self-respect and pride. We deem it the highest honor to love our country and contribute our all to its socialist construction, and we deem it the deepest disgrace to impair the interests, dignity and honor of our socialist motherland." All Chinese with high aspirations should take such an attitude and possess such a spirit. We must unite together, work hard and successfully build our country under the guidance of the program of the 12th CPC National Congress in order to make our due contribution to the world, as expected of a large country with a population of 1 billion.

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A GREAT HISTORICAL CHANGE AND ITS BASIC EXPERIENCE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 61-66

[Article by Yuan Mu [5913 2606]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The convening of the 12th CPC National Congress marks the fact that our party has led the people in successfully realizing another great historical change. It has opened a brilliant chapter in initiating our socialist modernization in an all-round way. Correct appraisal and full understanding of the far-reaching significance and basic experience of this historical change and unifying the ideology of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country on this basis are quite imperative and important for forging ahead courageously and in solidarity along the road of the 12th national congress of the party and for energetically seizing new and greater victories.

I

It was just 1 month short of 6 years from the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in October 1976 to the convening of this congress. In the ordinary conception of the people, a period of 6 years is not a short time, but in the long river of human history, it is short and only an instant. However, in those 6 years, our party has corrected the course through the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and finally brought our country's political life and socialist cause onto a correct and healthy road of development through the 4th, 5th and 6th plenary sessions. No matter how many difficulties we may have before us, and no matter how many shortcomings there may be in our work, this historical change has shown and will show more and more fully its great significance and far-reaching influence.

At the very beginning of his report made on behalf of the party Central Committee at the 12th national congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang briefly pointed out the sign for realizing this historical change from the seven aspects of ideology, politics, organization, economy, culture, military and the party, that is from the various major aspects of our country's political life and socialist construction. Through our efforts made to bring order out of chaos in the past 6 years, particularly in the past 4 years since the third

plenary session, we have, in our new practice, adhered to and developed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. This has dispelled the apathetic atmosphere on various fronts in which "10,000 horses were all muted" and enabled these fronts to obtain vigorous creative strength. The political situation of stability and unity we have rapidly realized and gradually consolidated has enabled the lively scene of the best historical period since the founding of the PRC to appear. The gradual readjustment, reorganization and consolidation of the leading groups have enabled the leading power of the party and state organizations at all levels to be basically controlled by the cadres who are loyal to the party and the people. The gradual correction of the "leftist" erroneous tendency which affected the guiding principle in our economic construction for a long time has enabled our country's economy to tide over the most difficult period and take the healthy road of steady development. The gradual elimination of the erroneous concept of despising cultural construction and of discriminating against intellectuals has enabled our educational, scientific and cultural cause to undergo a new course of development and obtain preliminary prosperity. The military and political quality of the PLA has been enhanced under new historical conditions. The tests and remolding which the party has undergone in leading the various fronts in bringing order out of chaos have made the party stronger and more matured in the course of struggle. All this shows that the political situation in socialist China is stable, the revolutionary and construction causes are continuously developing and the leadership of the CPC is firm and strong. In various aspects, we have sufficient conditions for ushering in an all-round way a new situation for socialist modernization. This is the base and starting point of the new and great tasks put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress, as well as the base and starting point for confidently achieving new victories. Before such objective facts which are obvious to all, all pessimistic and apathetic ideas and feelings must be eliminated.

Looking back on the momentous course of the struggle over the past years, we can see the profound changes that have taken place in our country. It should be said that of all these changes, the most fundamental and far-reaching one is that the party's understanding of the law governing our socialist construction has greatly increased. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his opening speech at the 12th national congress: "Our party now has a much deeper understanding of the law governing our socialist construction. Our experience is much richer. Our consciousness and firmness in implementing correct principles have been greatly strengthened."

As everyone knows, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC, our party completely abandoned the erroneous slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link," and began to put the stress of our work on the socialist modernization of economic construction. This is a strategic decision adopted after drawing on past historical lessons and scientifically reanalyzing the principal contradictions of our society. In the meantime, the party pointed out that China's modernization must conform with the national condition of China and take the road of the Chinese type of socialist modernization. This is an important manifestation of the party's realistic ideological line in guiding economic construction. Under the guidance of the spirit of the

third plenary session, the party correctly put forward the principle of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading the national economy according to the profound analysis of the serious imbalance of the major ratio of the national economy caused by the 10 years of internal disorder. The proposition and implementation of this principle was the fundamental change in the guiding principles of our country's economic work. They have enabled our economic front to witness a good situation which has rarely been seen since the founding of the PRC. During the large-scale economic readjustment in the past 3 years, we have not only maintained a certain speed of development in our economy, but also changed the imbalance in the major ratio. Our economic structure is becoming more and more rational. Such a level of enhancement of the livelihood of the people in the cities and the countryside, particularly of the livelihood of the peasants, has not been seen since the 1960's. What is encouraging is that, when adhering to the public ownership system, the rural areas throughout the country have gradually exercised various forms of the responsibility system in production and that they have basically realized a major reform in the management system. This major reform has fundamentally corrected the serious "leftist" erroneous tendency which existed since the cooperative movement in the rural areas throughout the country. It has enabled our country's agriculture, which was stagnant for a very long time, to prosper and flourish. The great vitality of this major change is understood by more and more people. By the end of last year, through summing up the experience in readjusting the economy since the third plenary session, the party further proposed that the whole economic work should be shifted to the orbit which centered on raising the economic results. According to this fundamental purpose, the party also put forward 10 principles for economic construction. These 10 principles are the crystallization of the combination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with China's new situation and new practice. They show that our party's understanding and mastery of the laws governing socialist economic construction have reached a new scientific level. The proposition and gradual implementation of the 10 principles began to make their mark in China's economic development this year. Because of all this, at the 12th national congress, our party was able to put forward the strategic aim, strategic key points and strategic measures for China's economic construction for the coming 20 years. In this case, we are provided with a blueprint for construction which is suited to the national condition of China.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has profoundly studied the problems emerging in practice according to the basic principles of Marxism. It has gradually understood that the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and of a high level of socialist democracy should be regarded as a strategic problem. This is an important development for scientific socialist theory. In socialist society, when building material civilization, we must work hard to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. When restructuring and perfecting our socialist economic system and socialist political system, we must work hard to build a high level of socialist democracy. The building of socialist material civilization and the building of socialist spiritual civilization are mutually dependent on one taking the other as its purpose. If we only pay attention to the building of material civilization but neglect the

building of socialist spiritual civilization, which is based on communist ideology, then, socialist society will go astray and become morally degenerate. This is, as pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, seeing only material factors to the neglect of human ones. In the final analysis, developing the socialist economy must rely on human factors, and its purpose is to improve the livelihood of the people. If the people are morally degenerate, what is the point of having material wealth? Material wealth can enable people to live a happy life. It can also make people degenerate. The crux is that it is imperative to enable the members of a socialist society to correctly handle the relations between individuals and society and the relations between immediate and long-term interests. We must energetically strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization so that our people can have aspirations, morality, culture and discipline. In building material civilization or socialist spiritual civilization, we must bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the people. Here we must energetically build a high level of socialist democracy so as to fully protect the rights of the people to being the masters of their own country, to effectively exercise dictatorship over a small number of hostile elements who undermine socialist society and to consolidate and strengthen the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship. On the basis of these fundamental viewpoints, our party has simultaneously made the realization of the four modernizations, the realization of a high level of civilization and the realization of a high level of democracy the three fundamental objectives for building a socialist modernized country, and has entered them in the new party constitution. These are obviously the application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in China's new socialist practice. They will effectively guide and bring forward the socialist practice of the Chinese people, and will continue to enrich and develop themselves in practice.

It is obvious that in this historical change, our party's understanding of socialism and of the law governing socialist construction is becoming deeper and deeper. Although this understanding is not yet perfect, it is quite different from and much higher than that existing during the 8th national congress of the party. Now, our party has not only restored the correct policies which were effectively carried out before the "Cultural Revolution," and has not only restored the original features of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but has also solved new problems and bravely carried out investigations and innovations through conscientiously studying the new situation. Our party has firmly established a correct line, worked out a series of new and correct principles and policies and developed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in various aspects. We can say that this is the greatest achievement of the historical change. It is also the most precious spiritual wealth created by the whole party and people of the whole country. Engels put it well: "No great historical disaster is not supplemented by historical progress." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 149) Our practice in the past years has proved the correctness of Engels' revelation of this historical law. Under the guidance of the party's correct line and policies, we are carrying out new practice to usher in a new situation in an all-round way. We will certainly prove more fully the correctness of this historical law.

II

When explaining the basic reason for having realized this historical change, the 12th national congress of the party clearly pointed out: "Our victory was hard-won. It was won by the whole party and the people of all nationalities all over the country under the leadership of the party Central Committee after overcoming all kinds of great difficulties." This is a historical conclusion that is in conformity with objective reality. Practice has irrefutably proved that our present party Central Committee is resolutely implementing a correct Marxist line. It is a united, harmonious and militant leading collective. It is also a firm nucleus that can tackle any complicated situation.

In the course of leading the whole party and the people of all nationalities in the country in realizing this historical change, in order to guarantee that the party's correct line and various basic principles can be implemented, the party Central Committee correctly and in a timely manner launched a two-way ideological attack against the "leftist" and rightist erroneous tendencies. As a result, the party Central Committee could politically and ideologically maintain the unity of the party. This was an important guarantee for achieving historical success. It will also be an important guarantee for ushering in a new situation. In order to have a deeper understanding of this point, it may possibly be beneficial for the party to briefly expound the general situation and correct conclusions for combating these two erroneous tendencies in several principle problems.

/The problem of ideological line./ The guiding principle of "emancipating the mind, using the brain, seeking truth from facts and adopting a united, forward-looking attitude" which was issued at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was, under new historical conditions, the application and development of the party's and Comrade Mao Zedong's consistent propagation of the ideological line of combining theory with practice. If we do not emancipate our minds, nor break away from the personality cult and the trammels of dogmatism, we will not be able to bring order out of chaos, nor will we be able to usher in a new situation. Distorting the principle of emancipating the mind to saying what one likes and advocating bourgeois liberalization, will also have negative effects on our cause. These two tendencies must be opposed. In emancipating the mind, we must follow Marxist guidance, adhere to the party's ideological line and base ourselves on studying the new situation and solving new problems. Emancipating the mind must be beneficial to maintaining unity and to adopting a forward-looking attitude. In short, emancipating the mind must be in conformity with the four basic principles. It must not violate these four basic principles.

/The problem of adhering to the four basic principles./ Persisting on the socialist road, persisting in the people's democratic dictatorship, persisting in the leadership of the Communist Party and adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought have been our consistent basic principles since the founding of the PRC. In further exposing and denouncing the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, our party pointed out that in the

final analysis, our struggle against them was the struggle between our adhering to and their undermining the four basic principles. We wanted to adhere to the four basic principles, so we had to wipe out the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' pernicious influence in distorting and altering the four basic principles. Following the correction of the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" and the "leftist" tendency, the rightist tendency which deviated from the four basic principles emerged. Now if we want to unswervingly adhere to the four basic principles, we must continue to prevent and oppose the above two erroneous tendencies.

/The problem of correctly appraising Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought./ Comrade Mao Zedong was the great leader and teacher of our party and the people of all nationalities of our country. He made immortal and great contributions to the Chinese revolution. He committed serious mistakes in his later years, but his merits far outweighed his errors. If we lack the Marxist courage to make self-criticism of the party's mistakes which include Comrade Mao Zedong's past mistakes, and if we do not conscientiously correct these mistakes in practice, we cannot bring order out of chaos, nor can we realize a historical change. If we negate Comrade Mao Zedong's whole life because he committed serious mistakes in his later years, then the whole of the revolutionary history of the Chinese people will be negated, and we will make even greater mistakes. Mao Zedong Thought is the correct summation, proved in practice, of theoretical principles and experience with regard to the Chinese revolution. It is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CPC. We must strictly distinguish between Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years, and continue to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. If we do not make such a distinction, or if we think that whatever Comrade Mao Zedong said is an unalterable truth, or if we try to negate the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought in China's revolution and construction and abandon the banner of Mao Zedong Thought because Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years, this is an erroneous tendency that seriously violates the objective truth and is detrimental to the interests of the party and the people.

/The problem of class struggle in the socialist period./ The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "When the exploiting class is eliminated as a class, class struggle will no longer be the principal contradiction. Due to domestic factors and international influence, class struggle will exist for a long time in certain spheres and become acute under certain circumstances." This was a scientific conclusion the party drew with regard to the question of China's current class struggle after bringing order out of chaos since the third plenary session and after profoundly analyzing the real conditions of China's society. This tells us the following: We must not only resolutely oppose returning to the erroneous idea and concrete manifestation of "taking class struggle as the key link," but also prevent the loss of revolutionary vigilance concerning class struggle under new historical conditions.

/The problem of socialist democracy./ Building a high level of socialist democracy is one of our fundamental aims and tasks. We must energetically develop socialist democracy so as to protect the people's right of fully running the state and various economic and cultural undertakings and to guarantee the smooth carrying out of the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. In addition, we must draw a line of demarcation between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy so that the building and perfecting of China's democratic system and democratic life can be beneficial to the consolidation of our socialist system and to resolutely and effectively exercising dictatorship over a small number of hostile elements who undermine our socialist system.

/The problem of economic results and speed in development./ This is a major problem that is concerned with the guiding principles of economic construction. According to our experience of building during the past 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC, we must center our economic work on improving economic results. Under this prerequisite, we must try to acquire a speed of development that can be obtained through hard work. If we do not try to obtain such a speed, it will be detrimental to strengthening national power, to improving the people's livelihood and to the four modernizations. If we try to obtain an exaggerated speed through high consumption, regardless of economic results and the material benefit of the people and without taking into account raising the quality of the products, this would be merely bringing disaster through seeking an undeserved reputation. These two tendencies must be prevented and avoided.

/The problem of dual tactics for developing the socialist cause./ In the new historical period, in order to develop the socialist cause, we must persist in using dual tactics ideologically and in action. On the one hand, we must persist in carrying out an open-door foreign policy and an internal policy of stimulating the economy. On the other hand, we must deal resolute blows to the serious criminal activities that undermine socialist society in the economic, political and cultural spheres. It is dangerous just to pay attention to the latter and doubt the former, or just to emphasize the former to the neglect of the latter.

Historical experience tells us that fundamentally speaking, in order to adhere to the party's correct Marxist line, we must oppose not only the "leftist" tendency of erroneous theory and policies advocated during and before the "Cultural Revolution," but also the rightist tendency of bourgeois liberalization which doubts and negates the four basic principles. When and where to oppose an erroneous tendency depends on the specific conditions concerned. When opposing a tendency, we must guard against forming another tendency. Since the third plenary session, in waging the two front ideological struggle against the "leftist" and rightist erroneous tendencies, the party has persistently held firm to its principles and stand, and tried to handle matters comprehensively according to their scientific law. In this way, the party's past correct principles for waging ideological struggles have been further applied and developed under new historical conditions to achieve the aim of "thrashing out the rights and wrongs and uniting our comrades." As a result, many complicated ideological problems

and social and political contradictions have been handled in a comparatively proper manner. Of course, here we are referring to the general situation in the whole party, particularly the leadership of the party Central Committee. It will require a great effort by party organizations at all levels, by all party members and all cadres of the party to materialize the above points.

The general program of the new party constitution adopted at the 12th congress of the party, points out that if the party wants to lead the people of all nationalities in realizing the magnificent goal of socialist modernization, it must fulfill three basic requirements, of which the first one is that the party must maintain "a high level of unanimity in ideology and politics." This is the summary of the party's experience in its past protracted struggles. We must emphasize that conscientiously maintaining unanimity with the party Central Committee in politics and ideology should become a political disciplinary principle all party members must strictly observe. Energetically and conscientiously propagating the party's ideology, theory, line, policies and propositions to the masses of the people should be the duty of every party member to the party and the people. But some party members do not act in such a way. They even do something different or act on their own with regard to important principles and policies which have been decided on by the party. Honest and loyal party members do not adopt such an attitude, and this phenomenon must resolutely be stopped and corrected. We believe that under the banner of the party's 12th national congress, the whole party will certainly reach a high level of unanimity in ideology and politics, and the victory of the struggle for ushering in a new situation will be most reliably guaranteed.

III

Marxism has always maintained that history is created by the masses of the people. In the final analysis, the reason why the party could achieve such a great success in the historical change was that it had firm faith in the people, relied on them and followed their demands and the trends of historical development. As pointed out in the report of the party's 12th national congress: "It is because the party has centralized the will of the people and worked out a correct line, principles and policies that the socialist cause of our motherland has embarked on a broad road. The people's confidence in and support for the party are the key points by which we can constantly achieve success in our cause." We must always bear in mind this fundamental experience.

The CPC is the loyal representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities of our country. The party has no special interests of its own beyond the interests of the working class and the broad masses of the people. Wholeheartedly serving the people has been the fundamental purpose of our party. Since the Communist Party seized political power throughout the country and became the governing party, its position has changed. But this change should not in the least alter the purpose of the party, nor should it change the position of party members as ordinary working people. After the party became the governing party, some people became cadres and had power in their hands. But facts have shown that they failed to use their

power to serve the people. On the contrary, they have used it to seek personal gain at the "expense" of the people, of the collective and of the state. As a result, from being the public servants of the people, they became the "masters" of the people. All kinds of unhealthy tendencies have emerged from this. If we want to have faith in and rely on the masses and to win the masses' confidence and support in a better way, we must resolutely correct this unhealthy phenomenon. We believe that under the guidance of the spirit of the party's 12th national congress and the new party constitution, this phenomenon will be corrected rapidly.

Comrade Chen Yun has emphasized that party style is a life and death matter for the governing party. We can understand Comrade Chen Yun's important thesis as follows: The party style affects the relations between the party and the masses. It affects the will of the people, and the will of the people is the crux that determines the future and destiny of the party. We must answer the call of the 12th national congress, conscientiously rectify party style and party organizations, strive to realize a fundamental change for the better with regard to the party style, better serve the people and wholeheartedly work for the interests of the majority. In this way, we will carry out our cause victoriously.

If we want to work for the interests of the people in a better and more effective way, we must make a great change in our methods of thinking and style of thinking, strive to submerge ourselves in the masses and go deeply into the realities of life, carry out systematic and scientific investigations, correctly feel the pulse of the masses and understand well what they think. In this historical change, a great deal of facts have proved that this question is of great importance. The party's great achievements in readjusting the rural policies in the past years are a most convincing example. It is because the party firmly believes that the peasants in our country have the initiative of resolutely taking the socialist road, and it is because the party, by basing itself on a great deal of investigation and study, knows well what the peasants are for and what they are against, that it has been able to grasp the two major links of implementing various kinds of production responsibility system and of energetically developing a diversified economy under the prerequisite of paying close attention to grain production. It is because of this also that we have the guidance of the party's policies from above and the warm support of the peasant masses from below. In this way, the situation in the countryside has rapidly changed for the better, and an encouraging excellent situation has emerged. If we do not go deep into the realities of life, if we do not submerge ourselves in the masses, if we are not bold in and good at carrying out practice, if we cannot master the scientific working method of grasping the major links to bring forward other work, even if we have the enthusiasm to serve the people, it will be very difficult to turn it into a hard reality of working for the interests of the people. In order to open up a new situation in an all-round way and in order to boldly carry out creative work for the people, we are required to make greater efforts in submerging ourselves in the masses, in going deep into the realities of life, in carrying out scientific and systematic investigation and study and in continuing to improve our methods of thinking and work style.

In short, fully understanding the great significance and far-reaching influence of this historical change so as to be more confident in our advance, having firm faith in the party and the party Central Committee and conscientiously maintaining unanimity with the party Central Committee in politics and ideology, having firm faith in the people, relying on the people and improving our methods of thinking and work style for the interests of the people are our major experience drawn from this historical change. In initiating a new situation for socialist construction in an all-round way, we should continue to apply and develop this major experience to achieve new and greater success.

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LAY A GOOD FOUNDATION TO USHER IN NEW VIGOROUS ECONOMIC GROWTH

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[Article by Wang Renzhi [3769 1804 0037]]

[Text] In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang solemnly announced: In the 20 years from 1981 to the end of this century, our country's fighting target in economic construction, under the logical premise of improving the economic effect, is to strive for quadrupling the annual value of the national industrial and agricultural output by the year 2000. Realization of this target will be in two stages: In the first 10 years, a good foundation will be laid and our strength will be accumulated; and in the remaining 10 years, a new period to usher in new vigorous economic growth will be created. This economic construction strategy has been gradually formulated by our party in the course of the implementation of the eight-character policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading, following the summing up of historical experiences and a thorough investigation and research of the actual conditions. It has thoroughly combined together reality with farsightedness and a rigid scientific attitude with a high degree of revolutionary spirit and has thus pointed out the direction and correct road for our country's economic construction in socialist modernization.

The general plan for economic construction in our country in the next 20 years embodies the following special features:

Concurrently with determining the speed of economic development, it stresses uplifting the economic effect. In the past, the theme envisioned for a long time under the guidance of "leftist" thought was frequently and solely striving for a rapid growth rate in the volume and value of output. As a consequence, a high price was paid for the production of commodities which did not conform to actual social needs, and while production was increased in name, stockpiling and waste were the actual damages resulting. Of course, we must strenuously strive for a relatively high growth rate in the national economy. In the next 20 years, we must, through extensively adopting advanced production technology and reforming the economic system and management methods of the enterprises, uplift the economic effect or, otherwise, it will not be possible to achieve the anticipated growth rate in economic development. This is precisely the reason why the "report"

demanding that all economic work be oriented toward the central track of uplifting the economic effect and pointed out that uplifting the economic effect constituted the logical premise to achieve the objective of quadrupling the annual value of the national industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century.

It clearly stipulated that the people's standard of living must be improved on the basis of developing production. Improving the living conditions of the entire populace is the fundamental aim of socialist production and should constitute the starting point as well as the ultimate objective in the long-term planning for industrial development. However, in the past, the long-term planning that was indulged in frequently stressed production and construction, neglected the development of social enterprises and also neglected the improvement of the people's standard of living. As a result, although a relatively high economic growth rate was achieved, the people's standard of living was not correspondingly improved. Under such circumstances, the "report," when announcing the fighting target for economic construction in the next 20 years, emphatically pointed out that the realization of this target would double the people's income in the urban and rural areas and enable the people's material and cultural life to reach a prosperous level.

The "report" not only brought up the target for economic construction but also pointed out the key strategic points which must be grasped and the strategic steps which must be taken. The national economy is an organic whole. Its component parts are mutually related and keep each other in check. The problems arising in the course of economic and social development are many and extremely complicated. From this chaotic array of baffling problems, we must sort out the leading ones, determine which are more important and which less important, which are more urgent and which less urgent and then take them up in a gradual and progressive manner. This indeed constitutes an important lesson which we must do well when contemplating, on a long-term basis, planned economic development. After making a thorough analysis and study of the entire situation of the national economy, the "report" pointed out the importance and urgency of solving the problems concerning agriculture, energy and communications, education and science and added that these problems should be considered as the strategic and key problems in economic development hereafter. It then proceeded to analyze many of the existing deterrent factors to economic development and stated that we must take 10 years' time to lay a good foundation to usher in an overall upsurge of our country's economy in the next 10 years. Having a clear understanding now of the strategic and important points and the strategic procedure in economic construction, we can systematically and without confusion solve one by one the various problems and proceed in the direction of the fixed targets.

The strategic targets in capital construction in our country are gigantic ones. Turning first to the economic growth rate, to quadruple, in 20 years' time, the annual value of industrial and agricultural output requires an average annual growth rate of over 7 percent. Of this, the annual growth rate in the first 10 years will be slightly lower than this average, while

in the second 10 years it will be higher. This average, when compared with other countries in the world, is rather on the high side. Thus, for the 20 years between 1960 and 1980, the annual growth rate in the gross national product of the major countries of the world was as follows: United States, 3.5 percent; Soviet Union, 6.3 percent; Japan, 8 percent; West Germany, 3.8 percent; France, 4.6 percent; Britain, 2.4 percent; and India, 3.8 percent. Judging from the development trend in the world's economy from now on, for these nations to again achieve in the last 20 years of this century their respective economic growth rate of the past 20 years, it will be a rather difficult task for some and a basically impossible task for others. However, our case is different. We have a superior socialist system. Our economic growth cannot be interrupted by economic crises which are unavoidable in the capitalist system. We should be able, after efforts made in 20 years' time, to make our gross national product and the output volume of the principal industrial and agricultural commodities be placed in the world's front ranks. We should be able to achieve great development in the course of the modernization of our entire national economy and thereby shorten the disparity in economic technology between our country and the economically developed countries.

Realization of the gigantic tasks in economic construction involves extremely difficult tasks. However, seen from the vast political power in our various quarters, the targets are by no means unattainable. Countless facts in actual life have demonstrated that if we can fully arouse the enthusiasm of the laborers and fully tap the hidden potentials of the communes and the production brigades in the countryside and other production units, then our socialist economic construction can surely achieve surprisingly good results. Moreover, in the next 20 years, we shall be favored with some even better conditions for developing the economy. The many years of disturbance in our country have now been terminated. Peace and unity have been realized in the country. As a result, there is now a better social and political environment for economic construction. The pivotal work of our party and government has been shifted to socialist modernization construction centering on economic construction. We have earnestly liquidated past "leftist" errors in economic work and a basic change has taken place in the guiding thought and guiding policy concerning economic work. Our closed door policy has come to an end. By means of intercourse in economic technology with the outside world, we can make use of the world's strong points to compensate our weak points. In general, the factual conditions and objective feasibility for realizing the gigantic economic construction targets are undoubtedly in existence. To make full use of these conditions so that they can become realities depends on the party's superior and effective leadership and also on the workers, peasants, intelligent elements and all patriotic citizens exerting their common efforts. The strategic targets for economic construction in the next 20 years can surely be accomplished if only we can firmly and irrevocably carry out the series of correct guidelines and policies set by the party, further display the superiority of the socialist system, fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the various quarters and rationally utilize our plentiful natural resources as well as the material and technical foundation already laid by our enormous labor force.

In the course of realizing the 20 years' fighting targets, the key lies in doing a good job of the work in the first 10 years. Whether or not new and vigorous growth can emerge in the 1990's depends on whether or not a good foundation has been laid in preparation work in the 1980's. The "report" offered a convincing expostulation on why 10 years' time must be required to prepare the conditions for economic growth. It fully demonstrated the scientific attitude of studying and handling problems in a practical and realistic way.

Following several years' readjustment, our national economy has begun to step on the road to healthy development, but there are still many existing problems and difficulties. The country's fiscal receipts and expenses have been basically balanced, but this has been realized by means of a large-scale curtailment of expenditures. The foundation thus laid is still not a solid one. Due to the tense situation in energy supply, communications and transportation capacity is not consistent with the increase in the volume of transport. In particular, frightful waste and extravagance in manpower, material resources and finances in the production, construction and circulation sectors have intensified the unbalanced state in energy supply and demand, impeded improvement in financial conditions and restricted the rapid growth of the economy. According to statistics, the amount of national income derived from each ton of energy consumed was 1,167 yuan at the time of the first 5-year plan period but was reduced to 576 yuan in 1981; the amount of profits and taxes realized from each 100 yuan of capital invested in industrial enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people was 31.9 yuan during the first 5-year plan period but went down to 23.8 yuan in 1981; the construction time required for large and medium-sized projects was 6.5 years during the first 5-year plan period but was extended to 9.4 years in 1981; and the amount of circulation funds required for the production of each 100 yuan in the value of output in industrial enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people was 19.5 yuan in 1957 but was increased to 30.2 yuan in 1981. It is true that herein certain incomparable objective factors may be found but, generally speaking, these conditions denote the downward trend of the economic effect, and this is a serious and an undeniable fact. In the face of these circumstances, our Communist Party members and the vast masses of cadres and people certainly cannot remain motionless or fear to step forward. Rather, they should devote their utmost efforts to effect changes and to tap the enormous potentialities of increasing production and practicing economy.

The "report" pointed out the reasons for the poor showing in economic effect as follows: "Principally, factors caused by past 'leftist' errors such as blind development, irrational economic structure, defects in the economic management system and distribution system, confusion in management and control and backward technology." Of these many problems pointed out in the "report," some had already emerged during the last period of the 1950's but had remained unsolved for a prolonged period of time; some had appeared during the 10 years of disturbance and since then had spread and extended. We must, of course, note that in more recent years, we have done much work in the solution of these problems and have achieved certain results. At the

same time, the experience gained from actual practice in these few years has shown that the full solution of these complicated problems of so many years' standing will take a rather lengthy period of time. The party has decided to continue to firmly and irrevocably implement the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading and not to seek too high a growth rate during the entire 1980's but, rather, to devote efforts to solving the problems left over from history and to laying a good foundation. This is truly correct and important policymaking. Instead of looking at the matter as being only a simple one or being anxious for results despite the obvious infeasibility, we should rather make a sufficient estimation of the existing difficulties, take firm steps forward and proceed in an orderly manner and according to rules. At the early stage of national construction, Comrade Chen Yun already said: "Between making haste but committing errors and playing safe but being slow, I prefer the latter. In particular, in tackling economic problems concerning the country as a whole, we should bear this point in mind." The party's policy on the strategic procedure in economic construction from now on reflects well this important guiding principle pointed out by Comrade Chen Yun.

On the basis of our country's current economic conditions and the existing problems, the "report" pointed out the various kinds of economic work that emphatically must be done well during the 1980's. They comprise mainly the following six sectors:

I. Continued readjustment of the production structure and the product structure.

Since implementing in 1979 the policy of readjusting the national economy, the serious state of imbalance in the proportional relationships between agriculture and industry and between light industry and heavy industry have greatly changed and the readjustment task in this sector may be said to have been basically completed. However, many irrationalities may still be found in the internal structure and in the structure of products of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Readjustment must therefore be continued in this regard.

In agriculture, internally the major task is to stabilize the grain sowing area and to ensure a sustained growth rate in grain production. Under this logical premise, the next step is to actively promote the development of economic crops and diversified operations. All the areas fit for grain planting must be devoted to the development of grain production. Only in this way can the state acquire the needed quantity of grain to support areas which are not suited to grain production and enable the localities to develop economic crops, forestry, animal husbandry or other lines of business or operation in accordance with their respective superior conditions. At present, the gross output value of forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary production and fisheries occupies only a small proportion of the gross value of agricultural output, being, say, around one-third. Simultaneously with grasping grain production, we should utilize all barren hills, grassland, waterways and reservoirs that are available for use to develop in an overall manner various kinds of agricultural sideline

production and should never be lax the slightest bit. Only in so doing can we meet the demand for industrial development and for meeting the people's livelihood needs.

In the industrial sector, certain products have not conformed to actual social needs and, hence, a large quantity of them has to be stockpiled. In the case of some commodities, they are urgently needed by society but their supply lags behind demand. Some products have a high rate of consumption of energy and raw materials in production but are extremely poor in quality and in function. In regard to both light industry and heavy industry, we must, following the principles of conforming to social demand and upgrading economic effect, strictly control the output of the so-called "longline" products and actively increase the output of the "shortline" products. In addition, we should step up the replacement of old products with new products and make use of those products which consume less energy and less raw materials in production to replace the backward products. If we follow this direction in improving the structure of the industries and trades and the structure of the products, then we can effectively utilize our various material resources and create more wealth for the state.

II. Overall reorganizing and rebuilding existing enterprises.

The number of industrial enterprises in our country increased from 195,000 units to 382,000 units between the years 1970 and 1981. The increase was nearly 100 percent. While this has promoted the development of production, the element of blind development has existed to a great extent. Many of the enterprises have suffered from an insufficient rate of operation, while some have not been able to start operations altogether. In the case of many enterprises, the operation procedure in production is irrational, consumption of materials is much too high and the quality of the products is poor. In the case of many enterprises, a confused state is found in management and control, and even the rudiments of business accounting are lacking. One of the basic measures of tapping hidden potentials and upgrading economic effect is to differentiate between different conditions and effect an overall reorganization and rebuilding of the enterprises.

In reorganizing the enterprises, we must boldly solve the major contradictions within the enterprises and must not allow the work to be half done. The prevalent defects of many enterprises are: a weak and loosely organized leadership group, overstaffing and not enough work to go around, lax observance of labor discipline and financial regulations, and so on. Reorganization will be hardly worth its name if we do not dare to solve these problems or do not dare to promote to leadership posts intelligent, young or middle-aged cadres who are vigorous and capable of tackling issues at hand or do not dare to sort out the surplus personnel from the enterprises and give them renewed training or do not dare to require the strict observance of rules and discipline and implementation of the organizational rules. If the leadership can make a firm resolution and, relying on the masses, earnestly and quickly solve certain delicate problems, then reorganization can easily pursue its course and production, management and control will be on the right track.

Simultaneously with reorganizing the enterprises, we must firmly and steadily readjust and rebuild the existing enterprises and should never be indecisive or hesitant in taking the necessary steps. First of all, we must close or merge a number of backward enterprises which have a high consumption rate of raw materials, whose products are poor in quality and which have suffered losses for a protracted period. This will save a certain quantity of energy and raw materials for use by the advanced units to operate in full capacity. Afterward, we should, conforming with the practice of coordination and division of work in specialization and with rational economic principles, perform a good job of gradually organizing together the remaining enterprises and rationalizing their organizational structure. Our socialist economic system and economic policy will never permit us to give way to or protect backward enterprises or curtail or harm advanced enterprises. On the contrary, we must encourage and promote the progressive enterprises and spur on or even liquidate the backward ones. It is clear that following changes in social demand, progress in production technology and development of division of labor and coordination, naturally new enterprises will gradually replace the old and dilapidated enterprises. In this connection, the socialist system is superior to the capitalist system in that it can afford to follow the unified plan of the state and spontaneously carry out the readjustment and rebuilding of the enterprises. We should never consider the readjustment and rebuilding of enterprises as measures that are only temporary in nature or passive ones. On the contrary, we should treat them as regular features in the course of the development of social production. They should be treated as positive measures for upgrading the economic effect of all of society.

III. Developing technical rebuilding in a planned and systematic manner.

A very small proportion of the production technology of our existing enterprises has reached the world's present advanced level. By far, the greater part subsists at the level at which the advanced countries used to be in the 1950's and the early 1960's. Thus, in order to gradually realize the modernization of the national economy, we must pass through a necessary stage of extensive technical rebuilding. Naturally, we should continue to establish a number of new enterprises but the principal road to expanded reproduction is the technical rebuilding and renewal of equipment of existing enterprises.

The various industries and trades should study and formulate their own technological policy and plan for technical rebuilding and gradually carry them out after having laid a good foundation of reorganization and rebuilding. Due to insufficiency in technological power and funds, in the next few years technical rebuilding will be confined to only the key projects. As for the area to be covered in technical rebuilding, first of all we should tightly grasp the backbone enterprises and the central cities and towns and then follow up on a much larger scale. Technical rebuilding of the machine-building industry should come first so as to manufacture advanced technical equipment to arm the various departments of the national economy. As for the contents in technical rebuilding, first of all we should tightly grasp the promotion of those production techniques which have already produced

good economic benefits. Good technological results must be organized for transfer from the coastal areas to the interior, from being purely for military use to joint military-civilian use and from outside the country to within the country. Finally, we should adopt even more new and advanced technology and artcraft. The various kinds of technical rebuilding should not be confined merely to increasing the quantity of output or to one-sidedly striving for a rise in the degree of automation. Rather, they should revolve around such concepts as practicing economy in energy consumption and use of raw materials, raising the quality and function of products and reducing the cost of production. An extensive development of technical rebuilding requires an enormous amount of work. We do not have sufficient experience and fall short in methodology. Hence, first, we must exert great efforts to formulate a policy, a plan and some concrete measures to promote technical rebuilding and, second, we must pay due attention to the study and solution of new problems that have arisen during the course of technical rebuilding in order to ensure that technical rebuilding can progress smoothly.

IV. Concentration of funds and strengthening construction of key projects.

Readjusting the economic structure, reorganizing existing enterprises and undertaking technical rebuilding work can play an exceedingly important role in lowering energy consumption and facilitating transport. However, taking a long view of the development of the national economy, we still need to step up the opening up of energy resources and the construction of communication and transportation facilities in order to ease the tense situation in energy supply and in communications and transport. The building of large coal mines, oilfields and power stations and the construction of railroads and seaports generally require a rather protracted period of time. The scale of the development of energy resources and of the construction of communication and transportation facilities in the 1980's will, to a very large extent, determine the growth rate in energy production and in communications and transportation capacity in the 1990's. Opening up energy resources and developing communication facilities requires large capital outlays and will be principally taken care of by the state. Therefore, in order to prepare for vigorous economic growth in the 1990's, the state must, beginning now, concentrate the necessary funds and speed up construction in the energy and communications sectors.

One of the principal demonstrations of the superiority of the socialist system is that the state can concentrate its financial and material resources for use in those sectors which are the most urgently needed and can produce high economic benefits. In our country, which is economically backward and has limited national power, appropriately concentrating capital funds for undertaking key construction projects is particularly necessary. Comrade Chen Yun once said: "In order to progress on a poor economic foundation, we must do the utmost to concentrate material and financial resources and make use of them in a unified way...." "If only we can concentrate our forces and use them on the necessary projects, it will be entirely possible to accomplish several big ones. We should never be so shortsighted as to engage in confusion in a number of projects without any

plan." During the first 5-year plan period, we concentrated our main forces on undertaking the construction of 156 backbone and key projects, and very speedily the initial foundation for industrialization was laid. Subsequently, due to the concentration of too much financial power on the part of the state, the enthusiasm of the localities, enterprises and workers was restricted. Following the readjustment and restructuring work done in the last few years, in the distribution of national revenue a large proportion was devoted to improving the standard of living of people in the urban and rural areas while, at the same time, the mobile financial power owned by the enterprises increased rather rapidly. Generally speaking, this procedure is necessary and correct and has contributed much to promoting the development of production. Nevertheless, in the course of this procedure, distribution of capital funds appeared to be much too wide. This is seen in an increase in the absolute amount of national spending and in a decrease in the absolute amount of the state's financial receipts. Concurrently, fiscal deficit appeared and there was no guarantee that funds would be available for key construction projects. From now on, we should appropriately readjust the distribution of the national revenue so that the financial receipts of the state can have a relatively larger annual increase, but this must be done on a foundation of developing production and vigorously increasing social wealth as well as observing the conditions of protecting the rational interests of the workers, enterprises and localities. In so doing, we can reduce and overcome the character of blindness in construction work undertaken by certain localities and enterprises. We can also enable the state to control the absolutely necessary funds for strengthening key construction and thus realize a proportionate and stable development of the national economy. This is in conformity with the basic and long-term interests of people of the whole country.

V. Energetically training qualified personnel and promoting scientific and technological research and studies.

Workers in our country have a low cultural level; trained and experienced workers, scientific and technical personnel and people versed in management and administration are extremely scarce. Moreover, of the available qualified personnel at present, many are unable to fully display their talents. These conditions have seriously impeded development of the economy. Man is the main factor in the creation, handling and utilization of advanced production methods and production technique. Progress in science and technology and a rise of the management and administration level are based on the training of talented personnel. Statistics from abroad and our own experiences have amply shown that the higher the cultural and scientific level of the workers, the higher the labor productivity rate and the more rational proposals, creations and inventions they can produce. Actually, the training of qualified personnel cannot be done in a single day's time. Only through tightly grasping the training of personnel in the 1980's can we expect a general rise in the scientific and cultural level of the entire body of workers in the 1990's and expect a sizable increase in the ranks of various kinds of specialized personnel. Hence, we must do our best to increase the expenditures allocated to education, vigorously develop various grades and categories of educational enterprises and adopt various

measures to raise the workers' degree of competence and their level of knowledge and also train a sufficient number of various kinds of specialized personnel who can meet the quality requirements. We must organize our existing scientific and technical forces to tackle key scientific and research topics and strive for early and quick results. We should make good use of the existing intelligent elements and select and place the better ones in important posts on the various front lines and in various enterprise units. As for those young people and intelligent elements who play a backbone role in production and construction, we should adopt concrete measures to gradually improve their treatment and work conditions so that they can render even better services.

VI. Gradually implement the restructuring of the economic system.

In doing various kinds of economic work and solving various economic problems, what is most fundamental is to arouse the positivism and enthusiasm of the vast masses of people, of the production units and of the localities and departments and to scientifically organize them together with due consideration of the interests of all of society and the requirements of specialized large-scale production. In order to realize this objective, we must restructure the economic system. For a prolonged period of time, our economic system has suffered from the defect of an overconcentration of power and of having exercised a too vast and too rigid control. In consequence, the power, responsibility and interests of the various quarters have not been joined together well and this, in turn, has affected the display of their positivism and enthusiasm. In the last few years, the economic system has been restructured to a certain extent. The decision-making power of the enterprises has been enlarged and due attention has been paid to linking together the production and operation results of the workers with the material benefits accorded to them. As a result, there have been obvious signs of an enlivening of the economy. Naturally, this restructuring is still in its initial stage. Much important restructuring work still needs to be done in order to set up, with due consideration of our country's actual conditions and based on socialist principles, an economic system which can, under a centralized and united leadership, fully arouse the positivism of the various quarters.

The "report" specified a series of important principles covering the future restructuring of the economic system and further pointed out the basic direction of the restructuring work. These principles are: Under the logical premise of firmly insisting on the state-run economy occupying the leadership position, developing the cooperative economy of the collective ownership system and the individual economy of the workers and making the various economic forms rationally fit in with each other and promote each other's development; within the state-run enterprises and the collective enterprises, earnestly implementing the responsibility system in management and control and carrying out, in an even better way, the Marxist principle of material interests; firmly insisting on planned economy as the main body and regulation by market mechanism as the supplementary part and, in the control of economic activities, adopting the three different forms of planning of the directive type, planning of a guidance nature and regulation by

market mechanism so that while employing administrative measures, attention will be simultaneously paid to letting economic levers fully play their role. Overall realization of these principles will make it possible to join together in a satisfactory manner the enthusiasm and positivism of the various quarters with the united and planned nature of the country's economic activities. This will propel the national economy to proceed along the socialist road in a lively and proportionate manner and achieve the best economic benefits. We must, following this direction and based on investigation, research and the summing up of experiences, tightly grasp the formulation of the general plan for restructuring and the procedure of implementation, actively carry out the preparatory work for restructuring and push the restructuring work forward step by step.

In the 1980's, the tasks facing the economic front are enormous. Of the six categories of tasks mentioned above, each and every one of them requires us to exert great efforts and to perform a large amount of difficult and tedious work. In mentioning that in the 1980's we cannot seek too high a growth rate, we do not mean that we can afford to be lax or dilatory in our work. On the contrary, we must firm up our spirit, actively press forward and strenuously but tenaciously engage in the struggle. Only in this way will it be possible for us to solve one by one the various problems left over by history, raise the economic effect on various sides, effect in the near future a basic improvement in the financial and economic situation and then proceed forthwith to lay a firm foundation for the subsequent vigorous economic growth. By the 1990's, as a result of the readjustment of our economic structure--including the production structure--product structure and organizational structure of the enterprises having been completed, the economic control system having become in the main rationalized, the management level and level in production technique of the enterprises having been generally raised, and the fundamental sectors such as agriculture, energy, communications, education and science having been strengthened, an overall new state of upsurge will assuredly appear in the economic construction in socialist modernization of our country. The growth rate will be definitely much higher than in the 1980's. Pressing forward along the correct road designated by the 12th party congress, the time for new vigorous economic growth in our country will surely be ushered in. This is definite and there is no doubt about it.

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STUDY THE REPORT TO THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS FROM THE HIGH PLANE OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

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[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] In his report delivered at the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang took the communist ideological system as a guide to make an analysis of the present reality in our country and put forth the great task of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and formulated a series of guiding principles and policies in order to accomplish this great task after summing up the experience which brought about a historical change through the practice of bringing order out of chaos. In other words, the 12th CPC Congress has definitely assigned to the whole party, the entire army and people of various nationalities throughout the country a new combat task and program in the new historical period. How should we study the report and implement it well in practice? This is the first thing which we should pay attention to when studying the report to the 12th CPC Congress.

We all know that the present struggle which we are carrying out for building China into a socialist and modernized country is a practice of the communist movement in China characterized by the development of socialism and an inevitable stage in the great historical process for the realization of communism in China. The program for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization put forth by the report to the 12th CPC Congress is actually our party's program for profoundly and extensively developing step by step the Chinese communist movement in the socialist society, the first phase of communism. This is the basic spirit of the report to the 12th CPC Congress, or its general spirit.

Comrade Mao Zedong said that people need a bit of spirit. Leading comrades of the central authorities have also told us repeatedly that we should inspire our spirit. To our Communist Party members and party cadres, this spirit means communist spirit. Only by using communist ideology to inspire our spirit can we effectively study the report to the 12th CPC Congress and implement it well.

When we talk about communism, it seems that all of us understand it because when we joined the party, we pledged to struggle for communism all our lives.

Do we really understand communism? Perhaps the answer is not in the affirmative. When all of our party members and cadres think over this matter deeply, they will find that a number of our comrades, including ourselves, have a vague understanding, or even a muddled idea, on communism, not to mention those who have degenerated into and become the captives of the capitalist ideology and shameful renegades of the communist cause. Some people regard communism as a visionary fantasy or an abstract concept which has not been tested by practice. Some people think that all revolutionary struggles carried out in the past had nothing to do with communism. Some people do not acknowledge that communist factors have existed and are developing in our socialist society. Some people even deny that we have entered the stage of socialist society--the first phase of communism. Through the study of the report to the 12th CPC Congress, we should, first of all, clean the dust and remove the dirt stains on the great banner of communism in our minds so that it will become brighter and more splendid. In so doing, we will strengthen our belief in communism, raise our communist consciousness, purify our communist values and consciously use the communist ideological system to guide and standardize our actions so that we will become qualified communist fighters.

Comrade Mao Zedong said a long time ago: Communism in which we believe refers to the communist social system and the communist ideological system. Now articles published in our newspapers and periodicals stress the two implications of communism: the communist social system and the communist movement. This idea is actually identical with that of Comrade Mao Zedong. The so-called communist social system means the brightest and most beautiful future social system discovered and delineated by the communist ideological system. The society of mankind will inexorably evolve into this social system. The name and Marxist world outlook of our party have explicitly pointed out that we should struggle hard to realize this lofty ideal. The so-called communist movement means the practical activities and process carried out under the guidance of the communist ideological system with the lofty ideal of realizing communism as their ultimate aim. Since the founding of the CPC, all revolutionary struggles and practices carried out by our party have been the communist movement guided by the communist ideological system. During the period of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong already explicitly pointed out: "The Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party embraces the two stages, that is, the democratic and the socialist revolutions, which are two essentially different revolutionary processes." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 330) He also said: "For the present period, new democracy, and for the future, socialism; these are two parts of an organic whole, guided by one and the same communist ideology." (Ibid., p 361) Comrade Mao Zedong went on to say: "When every Communist Party member joins the party, he has two definite aims in mind: to strive for the new democratic revolution and for the future socialism and communism." (Ibid., Vol 3, p 232) At that time, our party program explicitly stipulated that the realization of new democracy was the party's minimum program whereas the realization of socialism and communism was the maximum program. It also stressed that the party's ultimate aim was to realize communism. Since we have joined the party's ranks, we should accept the party program. In other words, all Communist Party members and advanced

elements should stick to the ultimate aim of realizing communism and should be willing to struggle all their lives or even shed their blood and lay down their lives for the realization of this great aim.

The ultimate aim of communism cannot be successfully attained immediately after the outbreak of revolution. It has to undergo various stages of development. This has been proved by practice in China and all countries in the world. Although the starting points in various countries might be different and the stages of development might not be the same, they belong to the general historical process marching toward communism. Our starting point began with the semicolonial and semifeudal China. However, from the very beginning, the revolutionary struggle and practice carried out by our party have been a part of the historical process of the development of communism. As early as in the period of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong had already pointed out: "If any communist or communist sympathizer talks about socialism and communism but fails to fight for this objective, if he belittles this bourgeois-democratic revolution, relaxes or slows down even so slightly and shows the least disloyalty and coolness or is reluctant to shed his blood or give his life for it, then wittingly or unwittingly, such a person is betraying socialism and communism to a greater or lesser extent and is certainly not a politically conscious and staunch fighter for communism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 232) Here, what Comrade Mao Zedong meant was that to realize communism, we should attach importance to the present revolutionary struggle and practice, otherwise socialism and communism would merely become "empty talk." In other words, to realize communism, we should undergo revolutionary struggle and practice representing various stages of development. Revolutionary struggle and practice at each stage always regards the realization of communism as the ultimate goal. They are an inevitable flight of stairs getting nearer and nearer to and marching toward the goal of communism. In a word, they are the practice and development of the communist movement under the guidance of the communist ideological system. Only by passing through and relying on the practice and development of the communist movement under different historical conditions can the communist system be eventually established.

At present, the Chinese communist movement led by our party is at a very important stage of development. We have not only won a complete victory in the new democratic revolution and successfully brought about a transition from new democracy to socialism in our country's society, but have also established the socialist social system which is the first phase of communism. In spite of the fact that we suffered great setbacks in the process of carrying out socialist construction, we have, after all, established a powerful, independent and comparatively complete material base for this brandnew social system. We now have entered a new historical period of extensively carrying out socialist modernization and the 12th CPC Congress has formulated a program for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. In other words, the communist movement in our country has developed into a socialist society which is the first phase of communism and a communist movement with socialist construction as its content and form. Although the ultimate realization of the communist social system in our country is in the distant future, we are getting closer and

closer to the lofty ideal of communism because our communist movement under socialist conditions has fully developed and matured. It might well be said that each and every Communist Party member and advanced element is not allowed to relax and slow down even so slightly or show the least disloyalty and coolness for the communist movement at the present stage. We have no right to do so. It is our sacred duty and responsibility to fight bravely and wholeheartedly or even shed our blood or give our lives for the realization of the loftiest ideal of communism. During the period of the new democratic revolution, tens of thousands of martyrs died a heroic death for the communist cause. They proved themselves to be great communist fighters. We, Communist Party members and advanced elements, should learn from them forever. At present, in our ranks of Communist Party members and cadres, there are tens of thousands of advanced figures who are fighting untiringly for the defense and construction of our socialist motherland. A number of comrades have even shed their blood and given their lives. We, Communist Party members and advanced elements, should also learn from them. We should bear in mind the teaching of Marx and Engels: "Communists are fighting for the immediate goals and interests of the working class. But in the present movement, they also represent the future of the movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 284) In other words, we should fight to attain the aim and accomplish the task of the present stage. At the same time, we should further promote this struggle in order to attain the eventual goal. This means we should continue to carry out revolutionary struggle under socialist conditions, vigorously expand social productive forces and continuously improve and develop socialist production relations and the superstructure and, on such basis, gradually eliminate all class differences and all social differences and social inequality resulting mainly from the inadequate development of social productive forces. Hence, we will be able to make preparations with respect to material and spiritual conditions for the transition to and eventual realization of communism. To accomplish this great historical task, people of many generations should carry out unswerving, heroic and arduous struggle and strictly observe discipline. Therefore, all Communist Party members and advanced elements should continue to maintain their communist purity and preserve revolutionary ideals and a vigorous revolutionary fighting will to carry through to the end this great revolution unprecedented in the history of mankind.

In this struggle, we should pay attention to making a distinction between communism and socialism, the two stages of development which are both inter-related and distinctive. In other words, we should adopt different programs for action and policies. It is, of course, wrong not to acknowledge socialism as the first phase of communism. However, it is equally wrong to confuse these two stages and implement the program of action suitable for the higher stage at the present socialist stage. With regard to this problem, the most important thing which we should do is to correctly understand and handle the relations between the communist ideological system and present policies. In his "On New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Beyond all doubt, now is the time to spread communist ideas more widely and put more energy into the study of Marxism-Leninism, otherwise, we shall not only be unable to lead the Chinese revolution forward to the future stage of socialism, but also unable to guide the present democratic revolution to

victory." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 379) Equally, we can say that without the guidance of the communist ideological system, we will neither be able to attain the goal of communism in the future nor guarantee the victory of socialism and the implementation of the program of the 12th CPC Congress aimed at creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. With regard to relations between the communist ideological system and present policies, Comrade Mao Zedong was right in saying: "We must keep the spreading of communist ideas and propaganda about the communist social system distinct from the practical application of the new-democratic program of action; we must also keep communist theory and method of investigating problems, undertaking research, handling work and training cadres distinct from the new-democratic line for national culture as a whole. It is undoubtedly inappropriate to intermix the two." (Ibid., p 380) What Comrade Mao Zedong meant here was the relationship between the communist ideological system and the revolutionary practice of the new democracy in history and revolutionary policies. The spirit and principle of his idea is equally applicable to our correct understanding and handling of the relations between the communist ideological system and the revolutionary practice of socialist modernization in the present stage and revolutionary policies. The differences are: Due to the fact that ours is now a ruling party and communist factors have constantly occurred and developed under socialist system, that material and spiritual preparation for the transition to communism is a basic content of the socialist period; and that we have resisted and defeated the rotten capitalist ideology and the corrosion and corruption of the remnant feudal ideology are still characterized by the nature of class struggle; it is absolutely necessary to expand and strengthen the study and propaganda of communist ideological system.

With regard to the program of action and present policies, it is beyond any doubt that we should implement the practice of distribution according to work and other socialist policies. However, we should also realize that to build and develop socialist spiritual civilization, with communist ideology as its nucleus, has been put on the agenda. This is a significant matter of preserving the socialist nature and orientation of the development of our social system. This is because a great number of persons holding a private ownership mentality and the ideas of the exploiting class left over from the old society will not disappear of their own accord, although material civilization continues to develop. The development of material productive conditions and material living conditions will not automatically give rise to communist ideology, morals and values, let alone establishing and developing new social relations between people characterized by socialist spiritual civilization. It is just as the report pointed out: If we neglect the building of socialist spiritual civilization, we will not be able to maintain the socialist orientation of our modernization. As a result, our socialist society will lose its ideals and goals, spiritual motive force and combat effectiveness. If this is the case, we will not be able to resist the corrosion of various corruptive factors, or will even embark on the reckless course of abnormal development and degeneration. Of course, we once committed "leftist" mistakes when we implemented our program of action and policies. We once pursued the practice of the so-called "poor transition" and "communist wind" characterized by equalitarianism and

indiscriminate transfer of resources. The nature of these mistakes was that production relations were divorced from or even exceeded the development of productive force. We should bear this lesson in mind and avoid committing similar mistakes. At the present stage, we should stick to the system of distribution according to work and other socialist systems. However, we should not, for this reason, think that it is no longer necessary to take the communist ideological system as the guide of our action and advocate communist revolutionary spirit of the years of revolutionary wars and that communist morals, value and work attitude are "supraclass" things. All these viewpoints and thinking are obviously wrong and harmful. We should realize that at the present stage of social development in our country, that is, the first phase of communist society, the objective conditions and social basis for advocating and promoting communist spirit already exist. In a socialist society, socialist spiritual civilization is the ideological basis for relations among all members of society. In addition, communist ideology is a powerful pillar for socialist spiritual civilization. We should not demand that all members of society be communists. However, our Communist Party members and party cadres should be communists. Our Communist Party members and advanced elements should, first of all, set an example in both their thinking and acts and use the communist ideological system to guide and standardize their actions and become people with ideals and morals and who observe discipline. Only in so doing can they use their own exemplary behavior to influence the masses, unite with and educate them and train all members of society to be laborers with ideals and morals and who observe discipline. Only thus can they establish and develop new social relations among all members of society which embody socialist spiritual civilization. This is the most glorious, sacred and loftiest mission of all Communist Party members and advanced elements.

The 12th CPC Congress has shown that our party has become even more mature politically and ideologically and that it is able to have the complicated situation well in hand and continue to push forward our communist cause. All our Communist Party members and party cadres should become more mature politically and ideologically so that we will be able to consciously master the orientation of communism and make due contributions to the accomplishment of the great tasks put forth by the 12th CPC Congress. This is the ideological preparation, ideological level and level of political consciousness which we should attain in order to study well the report to the 12th CPC Congress and effectively implement its spirit.

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HOW TO STUDY THE FIRST PART OF THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS REPORT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 pp 77-80

[Article by the Editorial Office for Theoretical Education]

[Text] The first part of the report delivered by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the 12th CPC Congress scientifically summed up the victorious experiences in effecting a great and historic change since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It clearly pointed out the party's general task of pushing forward the socialist cause in the new historical period. The contents comprise the following four main points:

1. The main indicators of the great and historic change that has been brought about.
2. The basic experiences in effecting the great and historic change.
3. The far-reaching significance of this historic change in the light of historical experience.
4. The party's general task in the new historical period.

All these four points have rich contents which should be conscientiously mastered and profoundly comprehended in the light of actual conditions while studying them.

While studying the first main point, namely, the main indicators of the great and historic change that has been brought about, it is advisable to deepen our understanding in two aspects. One is to fully understand the tremendous achievements gained in the seven fields, namely, ideology, politics, organization, economy, culture and the work of the army and party in the last 6 years and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; the other is correctly to understand the present exceptionally good situation with a scientific method of thinking.

The report deals with our great achievements in the last 6 years and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in broad outline. In our study, we must acquire a full understanding of

the rich and concrete contents in the seven fields, in accordance with actual conditions, through reviewing the past and contrasting it with the present and we must realize that these successes were won only after we made arduous efforts and overcame obstacles of all kinds. They were indeed hard-won.

In looking back at the past, we see that during the decade of domestic turmoil, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was seriously distorted and like the "incarnation of the golden hoop," "leftist" ideology fettered peoples' minds. Society was for a long time in a state of turmoil and the socialist democracy and socialist legal system were sabotaged. The leadership of quite a few party and government organizations was usurped by scoundrels. These scoundrels waged ruthless struggle against and struck merciless blows at the vast numbers of cadres and the masses and fabricated a heap of unjust, false and wrong cases. Socialist construction was obstructed and sabotaged and as a result, a large batch of industrial and mining enterprises had to stop work and production and the national economy suffered enormous losses. Educational, scientific and cultural undertakings were trampled underfoot and vast numbers of intellectuals were discriminated against and attacked. Our endeavors to build a modern and regular army were interfered with and the army's political work was undermined. The party organizations and the principles of democratic centralism and the fine traditions and style of the party were seriously damaged.

In contrasting the past with the present, we can more clearly see that the successes we have scored are tremendous and that an exceedingly favorable situation full of vitality and prosperity has emerged on all fronts of endeavors since order was brought out of chaos and the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines reaffirmed.

In the spheres of ideology, politics and organization, large numbers of cadres and other people have freed themselves from the spiritual shackles of personality cult and dogmatism that prevailed in the past. This has stimulated thinking and ensured ease of mind 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 in the light of actual conditions. The principle of correctly distinguishing and handling the contradictions, which fall into two different categories, and the "double hundred" principle and the principle of "three don'ts" which were encouraged by Comrade Mao Zedong have been correctly implemented. The democratic system of the party and the state has become more and more perfect, the democratic life has been increasingly extended and the building of the legal system has been intensified in successive years. For example, the system of voters directly electing the people's representatives at the county level or below has been widely practiced. At present, about 300 new laws, decrees and administrative rules and regulations have been promulgated, including the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure which were never previously enacted after the founding of the PRC. The party's policies concerning the nationalities, religion, the united front, the intellectuals and others have been gradually implemented and the unity of the people throughout the country has been unprecedentedly strengthened. The unjust, false and wrong

cases which occurred during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the historical mishandled cases before it, have been basically redressed and righted, and large numbers of contradictions within the party and among the people have been properly handled. The merits and demerits, the rights and wrongs of some prominent leaders of the party and the state have been fairly evaluated, they have been rehabilitated and the contributions they made in history have been reaffirmed. On the basis of exposing and criticizing the factionalist setups of the "gang of four," the leading bodies of organizations at various levels throughout the country have been readjusted, reorganized and strengthened. Large numbers of outstanding young and middle-aged cadres are being promoted to leading posts and the leading comrades at all levels have, step by step, become more revolutionary, younger and more knowledgeable and specialized.

Take economic work for example. First, we have realized the shift of the focus of work and brought about a turn for the better in the major proportions in the national economy through the implementation of the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading. We have tried our best to make our economic construction suit China's national condition and tally with economic and natural laws and have enthusiastically carried out economic cooperation and technical exchanges with other countries, while maintaining independence and achieving self-reliance through rejuvenation. Guided by these principles, fairly rapid advances have been scored in industry and agriculture. From 1979-1981 the average annual increase in light industrial output value was 14 percent. The structure of industry is becoming more rational and coordinated. Agriculture has quickened its rate of growth, the annual average increase in the total agricultural output value between 1979 and 1981 was 5.6 percent. Export trade has grown at a rapid pace and the total volume of import and export trade in 1981 was 100 percent more than the 1978 figure. Remarkable improvements have been achieved in the living standards of urban and rural people. The net income of peasant families from 1979-1981 showed an average yearly increase of 18 percent, compared with 1978. In 1981 the average income of staff members and workers throughout the nation increased by 25.7 percent, and the average per capita increase in the real disposable income of staff and worker families was 30.8 percent. A total floor space of 220 million square meters of housing for staff members and workers was completed all over the country between 1979 and 1981, which was equivalent to the total sum of the 12 years from 1966 to 1977. More than 26 million people were given jobs between 1979 and 1981. What we have stated above is some instances of the general situation throughout the country. In our study, it is advisable to acquire a more detailed comprehension of the tremendous changes which have taken place since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in the light of the actual conditions on all fronts and in various localities so as to deepen our understanding of the great and historic change.

This great and historic change can be synthesized into one point, which is, that we have accomplished the task of setting the party's guiding ideology and practical work in various fields to rights. Through setting things right this time, we have, first of all, eradicated the evil influence of

the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, corrected the "leftist" mistakes made before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution," including the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, corrected the erroneous "two-whatevers" policy pursued during the 2 years after the smashing of the "gang of four" and criticized the tendency toward bourgeois liberalism over the last few years. We have thus enabled the party's ideological, political and organizational lines and various tasks to embark on the correct course of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Nevertheless, it is a scientific summary of the 30 years of both positive and negative historical experiences of the party, a more profound understanding of the laws governing socialist construction and a further integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the ongoing revolution and construction, rather than a simple restoration. While studying new things and seeking solutions to new problems, that is, in the practice under socialism, we have issued a series of correct theoretical and political principles and formulated a series of correct principles and policies, thus enriching and developing Mao Zedong Thought. Facts have proved that the party's line, principles and policies worked out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are entirely correct and in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people and the laws governing the development of our socialist society. They have played a tremendous guiding role in the development of our socialist cause, in the practice of the communist movement at the present stage and in the completion of this great and historic change.

In approaching our victories and analyzing the situation, there is the question of method. Some people have an insufficient understanding of the great victory of the historic change and even take a skeptical attitude toward the exceptionally good situation. One of the important reasons for this is that the way they look at things is not on the right track. This state of affairs calls for solution in the course of our study.

It must be acknowledged that many problems accumulated during the 10 years of domestic turmoil and they cannot possibly be solved once and for all within a short time. There are still shortcomings and difficulties in our work. However, compared with the great successes we have achieved, they are after all secondary, partial and temporary. Marxism tells us that in approaching things, we should see their main aspects and the overall situation, and look at a thing with an eye to its course of development to avoid the subjective one-sidedness of not seeing the woods for the trees, or of a leaf obstructing the view of Mount Taishan. Take the living standards of the people for example. Some increases in commodity prices have indeed interfered with improvements in the people's livelihood, but so long as we settle detailed accounts in an overall manner, we will see that remarkable improvements in the living standards of the people have indeed been achieved. Although there still exist unhealthy tendencies of all kinds in the party style, taken as a whole, all these are not the essential and principal aspects. Moreover, we are already most firmly determined and are taking strong measures to solve these problems. We have struck resolute blows at the serious criminal activities in economic and other fields. This is an eloquent proof. Of course, we must not rest on

our laurels, and even less must we make an attempt to conceal our shortcomings and problems. However, we must not doubt that there is an exceptionally good situation in the face of the shortcomings and problems and never let them interfere with our confidence in forging ahead.

While studying the second main point, namely, the basic experiences in effecting the great and historic change, we must not only have a serious comprehension and acquire a better understanding of these experiences, but we must also emphatically ponder how to apply these experiences to our work and actions in the light of actual conditions.

The basic experiences gained by the CPC Central Committee in leading the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the nation in effecting the great and historic change in the last 6 years are: 1) To be bold in making self-criticism and correcting mistakes in the spirit of seeking truth from facts; 2) to wage timely and appropriate struggles on two fronts--against both the "leftist" and rightist deviations; 3) to adopt the scientific work method of first tackling the key problem so as to facilitate the solution of the rest; and 4) to trust the people and rely on them, and act in compliance with the requirements of the people and historical trends. These four experiences are the concrete application of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in new historical conditions.

It is a manifestation of thoroughgoing materialism to be bold in making self-criticism. Marx said that one different aspect between proletarian revolution and other revolutions is that the proletariat criticizes itself and expands itself by depending on criticizing itself. Lenin said: "The attitude a party takes toward its mistakes is the most important and reliable yardstick for measuring whether or not this party is serious and whether or not it genuinely makes great efforts to carry out its commitments to its own class and to the masses of the working people." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 213) Criticism and self-criticism are the fine tradition of our party, but because of personality cult prevailing for years in the past, the party democratic life was damaged and as a result, our party lost, to a certain extent, its courage to make self-criticism and timely correction of its mistakes. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" even went so far as to push this abnormal state of affairs to extremes. It is because we have restored the fine tradition of the thoroughgoing materialist principle of seeking truth from facts and of being bold in making self-criticism, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, that we can bring order out of chaos, correct the "leftist" mistakes which have for long years held a leading position, correctly appraise the merits and demerits, the rights and wrongs of Comrade Mao Zedong and scientifically sum up the historical experience since the founding of the PRC.

Waging timely and appropriate ideological struggles on two fronts--against both the "leftist" and "rightist" deviations and avoiding focusing on criticism of one erroneous tendency to the neglect of another are the objective requirements of the course of revolutionary struggles and the concrete application of materialist dialectics in the practice of

revolution. Our party has paid a high price many times and has learned grievous lessons in this respect. Although it has also gained successful experiences, the problems in this respect have not been all along solved satisfactorily. After the founding of the PRC and beginning from the end of the 1950's, with the development of "leftist" guiding ideology, there emerged in our party erroneous tendencies of "leaning to the 'left' is preferable to leaning to the right" and "inclining to the 'left' and not to the right." For a considerable period of time, we have acted contrary to the basic principle that we should wage a struggle on two fronts. People were allowed only to oppose the rightist deviation and forbidden to oppose "leftism" and all this resulted in the serious consequence of the "leftist" things growing in number and the "leftist" mistakes becoming harder and harder to correct. This problem remained unsolved for a period of time after the smashing of the "gang of four." The tremendous service of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was that we set right the guiding ideology of the party and began to correct the "leftist" mistakes made before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution" in a comprehensive and earnest way. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has adhered to the principle of waging a struggle on two fronts and in handling various practical problems, it has done its best to establish the scientific and comprehensive way required by Marxism. In the course of making a clean sweep of the "leftist" mistakes and, when they emerged, the tendencies toward bourgeois liberalism in society, our party conducted criticisms and struggles in good time and reiterated the four basic principles. On various fronts and in every type of work, our party implemented the spirit of opposing "leftism" if there are any "leftist" things and opposing rightism if the rightist deviation emerges. This is indeed the key for us to correctly handle various social contradictions.

The method of tackling the key problem first to facilitate the solution of the rest is also the concrete application of materialist dialectics in practical work. Lenin said: "It is far from sufficient to be only an ordinary revolutionary and a supporter of socialism or a communist. It is necessary to be good at seeking a specific link in a chain at every opportunity and it is necessary to spare no efforts to grasp this link in order to have a firm hold of the whole chain and make steady preparations for the transition to the next link." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 526) Comrade Mao Zedong also often taught us to be good at first grasping the principal contradiction to facilitate the solution of the other contradictions. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the reason why our party, in a situation in which the contradictions are complicated and the problems are in heaps, can continually open up new prospects in its work, is inseparable from its adherence to using this scientific work method.

Trusting the people and relying on them is a historical materialist basic principle widely known to all. In the protracted practical revolutionary practice, our party has all along upheld this basic principle and listened attentively to the voice of the people, reflected their demands and adhered to the mass line of everything for the masses, reliance on the masses in

everything and from the masses to the masses. However, after we had seized political power throughout the country, arrogance, bureaucracy and commandism emerged among a section of cadres to a certain extent with their sense of the masses getting blunted, their ties with the masses being not so close. They turned a deaf ear to the voice of the masses. This is an important reason why we failed to do our work well in many fields and why we failed to correct our mistakes for years. The factors for the fact that our party has won victory since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are many, but in the final analysis, it is because the party's line, principles and policies are indeed in compliance with the inspirations of the people and in conformity with the trends of historical development.

These basic experiences summed up by the report are most valuable and they were gained only after the party paid a high price for them. We must cherish them the most. In the course of our study, we must not only master the spirit and essence of these experiences in terms of the integration of theory and practice, but what is more important, we must also really apply these experiences to our work and actions. These experiences seem to be quite familiar and not hard to understand, but it is not very easy to genuinely put them into practice. Take the matter of being bold in making criticism and self-criticism and correcting mistakes, for example. Some comrades have various kinds of ideological obstacles in this respect. At present, the phenomena of not daring to make criticism and self-criticism, of not daring to conduct education and enforce discipline and in particular, the phenomenon in which comrades who have been proved in practice to make mistakes have not yet made any self-criticism, are considerably serious among quite a few comrades. Similarly, some comrades are very often insufficiently firm in opposing both "leftist" and rightist deviations. For example, in a period of time after the smashing of the "gang of four," they were afraid of correcting "leftism" and later when bourgeois liberalism emerged, they were afraid of correcting rightist deviation. All these comrades should enhance self-consciousness in applying these experiences in the light of their ideological reality in the course of study.

While studying the third main point, namely, the understanding of the far-reaching significance of this great and historic change, it is advisable to have a better understanding in two aspects. One is the question of what enlightenment the previous instances of historic change in the history of our party gave us. The other is to understand the important position of the 12th CPC Congress in the history of our party through contrasting what happened in history with what is going on today.

There are two previous instances of historic change that took place in our party during China's democratic revolution, namely, the change from the failure of the Northern Expedition to the outbreak of the agrarian revolutionary war and the change from the failure of the struggle against the KMT's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign to the launching of the war of resistance against Japan. These two instances of historic change show a truth: The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat have never developed in a straight course and followed a straight line, and they will unavoidably suffer setbacks and even failures. However, so long as we

conscientiously sum up experience and correct the line, principles and policies, we will be able to open up a new path for advance, turn setbacks into smoothness and advance from defeats toward victory. The people often say that failure is the mother of success. Of course, with regard to the reactionary classes, because they act contrary to the laws of historical development, their failures can be nothing but failures and definitely not the "mother of success." The revolutionary cause of the proletariat is a just cause and in conformity with historical trends, so for the proletariat, setbacks and failures are always temporary while advances and victories are inevitable. With this understanding, even in a desperate situation which is "as if the hovering dark clouds want to flatten the city," we can still remain calm and at ease and full of confidence and we can continue to struggle, rather than becoming passive and wavering and growing pessimistic and disheartened. Compared with the two instances of historic change, this change has taken place under vastly different historical conditions. Although we are still confronted with a great deal of difficulties and problems, we must however realize that our party has become more mature and experienced with greater strength. Under these circumstances, we must be more confident that our party can lead the people in overcoming the various kinds of difficulties lying on the road for advance and creating a new situation in socialist modernization.

The 12th CPC Congress was convened at a time when the party had brought about another great and historic change. This congress was similar to the Seventh CPC Congress in systematically summing up experiences and lessons and defining the correct path for continuing to advance through historical twists and turns. Before the Seventh CPC Congress, our party had carried out more than two decades of democratic revolutionary struggles. The stipulations of the Sixth CPC Congress, in 1928, concerning the nature and tasks of the democratic revolution were basically correct, but they failed to become a unified understanding in the whole party and to be objectivized in various kinds of work. Therefore, after the Sixth CPC Congress there emerged the adventurist "leftist" mistakes and then Wang Ming's adventurist line which ruled the party for 4 years, thus bringing grievous losses to the revolution. Later on, it was only through the Zunyi meeting and the Yanan rectification movement and till the Seventh CPC Congress in 1945 that the experiences gained during the period of the new democratic revolution were summed up in an overall manner. The thinking of the whole party was unified and the correct program and tactics were formulated, thus laying a foundation for the national victory of the new democratic revolution. During the period of socialism, from the 8th CPC Congress in 1956 to the 12th party congress, revolution and construction also experienced more than two decades of tortuous development. The line of the Eighth CPC Congress was correct but at that time, because the party lacked mental preparations for striving for all-round socialist construction, it failed to keep the line and many correct ideas drawn up by the eighth party congress going in practice. After the Eighth CPC Congress, we achieved numerous successes in socialist construction but at the same time we also suffered serious reverses, and in particular, we faced the occurrence of the "Great Cultural Revolution"—a decade of domestic turmoil. It was only after the smashing of the "gang of four," and through the party's 3d and 6th plenary sessions

and till the 12th party congress that the historical experiences both positive and negative were summed up in an overall manner, the correct line, principles and policies were formulated, and another historic change was effected, thus laying a solid foundation for creating a new situation in socialist modernization. Like the 7th CPC Congress during the period of the democratic revolution, the 12th CPC Congress will be a most important meeting during the period of socialism.

While studying the fourth main point, namely, the party's general task in the new historical period, it is advisable to ponder over two questions: one is to acquire an all-round and comprehensive understanding of the general tasks; and the other is to have a correct understanding of the relationship between the long-range goals of struggle for the two decades up to the end of this century and the goals of struggle within the coming 5 years on the one hand, and the party's general task on the other.

The party's general task in this new historical period is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology, and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. The realization of the four modernizations holds a key position in the general task. Only when the four modernizations are accomplished, can we lay a solid material and technical foundation for building a powerful socialist country. However, we must not confine our understanding of the general task exclusively to striving for the four modernizations. We must see that highly advanced civilization and highly developed democracy are similarly the component parts of our general goal of struggle and the important indicators of a powerful socialist country. Furthermore, to realize the above-mentioned goals, the most fundamental thing is to rely on the spirit of the people throughout the country, a spirit of achieving self-reliance through rejuvenation and of working hard. These contents of the general task are closely related and not a single one of them can be dispensed with. While studying it, we must acquire an all-round and comprehensive understanding of the general task.

The party's general task means its general line. Its program and requirements are applicable in the whole historical period of all-round socialist construction, while the program and requirements of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization refer to the total goals which should be attained in two steps from now until the end of this century. This includes a central task, namely, economic construction. The four tasks which need to be carried out in earnest are as follows: Carrying out structural reforms and reforms of the economic system and ensuring that the cadres become more revolutionary, younger, more knowledgeable and specialized; building socialist spiritual civilization, developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system; striking blows at all serious criminal activities in the economic and other fields; and rectifying the party's work style and organization. The task of striving to realize a fundamental turn for the better in three spheres within 5 years is surely included in these tasks. In order to fulfill the party's general task in the new historical period, it is first necessary to fulfill the

task in the 5 years from the present party congress to the next, strive to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the country's financial and economic situation, in the standards of social conduct and in the party's work style. Only when these short-term tasks are fulfilled, can we create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and similarly only when the long-range goals of struggle from now until the end of this century are attained, can we pave the way for fulfilling the general task. If we are not loyal, enthusiastic and keen in realizing a fundamental turn for the better in the three spheres and fail to fulfill the scheduled requirements, and if we are not loyal, enthusiastic and keen in creating a new situation in socialist construction and fail to fulfill the scheduled requirements, the fulfillment of the general task will come to nothing. Similarly, if we do not have the general task--this grand task--at heart, we will lose our bearings at every stage of development and in the various practical work in the near future and lack motivation. At the closing ceremony of the Seventh CPC Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party to fulfill the tasks of the seventh party congress in the spirit of the foolish old man moving the mountains. While struggling to fulfill the party's general task in the new historical period, we similarly need to learn from this spirit. Now in the face of difficulties, some comrades hesitate to press ahead, and the way of thinking of the coward and the sluggard characterized by attempting nothing and accomplishing nothing prevails among them. This state of affairs is extremely unsuited to the current situation and the party's tasks and thus has to be resolutely sorted out and eliminated in the course of our study.

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WITHOUT THE COMMUNIST PARTY THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO NEW CHINA

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 82 p 81

[A song (lyrics and music) by Huo Xing [3499 2502]]

[Text] (Moderato, Piu Mosso)

Without the Communist Party there would have been no new China.
Without the Communist Party there would have been no new China.
The Communist Party toils for the nation.
The Communist Party devotes itself wholeheartedly to saving China.
It pointed out to the people the way to liberation.
It led China to the light.
It kept up the war of resistance against Japan for 8-odd years.
It improved the people's livelihood.
It established base areas behind enemy lines.
It practiced democracy, which had many advantages.
Without the Communist Party there would have been no new China.
Without the Communist Party there would have been no new China.

CSO: 4004/3

END