

# TEN GLORIOUS YEARS

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### *PUBLISHER'S NOTE*

This edition of "Ten Glorious Years" contains 19 articles written by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and other leaders of the Party and Government in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. These articles give a thorough, systematic and profound elucidation of the brilliant achievements that the Chinese people have made, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all the nationalities in China, in the socialist revolution and on all fronts of socialist construction during these ten years. These articles were selected from the book "The Tenth Anniversary of the People's Republic of China" published in Chinese by the Peking People's Publishing House, in December 1959.

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## The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China

*Written for the journal World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism) in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China*

**Liu Shao-chi**

Ten years have passed since the founding of the great People's Republic of China.

The Chinese revolution is the continuation of the great October Revolution. The great October Revolution opened up a new era in human history and began to change the face of the world. The success of the Soviet Union in building socialism, the victory of the anti-fascist world war in which the Soviet Union was the main force, and the founding of many socialist states in Europe and Asia, all demonstrate the irresistible historical law of the rise of socialism and the decline of capitalism. The victory of the Chinese revolution further changed the face of the world. The Chinese revolution made a very big breach on the imperialist front in the East and dealt a fatal blow to the imperialist colonial system. New China joined the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries form the big socialist family of unity and friendship which embraces one-third of the world's population and extends over a vast, compact land-mass in Europe and Asia. The Chinese revolution has a great attraction for peoples in all the backward countries that have suffered, or are suffering, from imperialist oppression. They feel that they should also be able to do what the Chinese have done. All this

clearly shows that there has been a new change in the relative strengths of capitalism and socialism in the world.

The victory of the Chinese revolution has brought about the thorough liberation of China's social productive forces and has enabled China's socialist construction to advance at top speed, thus effecting rapid changes in the poverty and backwardness of China.

In the first three years following the liberation of the whole country, from 1950 to 1952, China successfully completed the task of rehabilitating the national economy and raised its industrial and agricultural production generally up to and beyond the highest levels ever achieved in old China. From 1953 to 1957 the Chinese people carried out the First Five-Year Plan, which increased the total value of industrial output by 141 per cent, of agricultural output by 25 per cent, and raised the proportion of modern industry in the national economy from 26.7 per cent in 1952 to 40 per cent in 1957. The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan laid the preliminary foundation of China's industrialization. In 1958 we began to implement the Second Five-Year Plan. The big leap in the national economy took place in this year. The total value of industrial output rose by 66 per cent and the total value of agricultural output increased by 25 per cent over 1957. On the basis of last year's big leap forward, this year is witnessing a continued leap forward. Compared with 1958, it is planned that this year the total value of industrial and agricultural production will increase by 20 per cent, the increase in the total value of industrial output being 25.6 per cent and that of agricultural output 10 per cent. The planned output of major industrial and agricultural products such as steel, coal, metallurgical equipment, electric power generating equipment, metal-cutting machine tools, cotton yarn, timber, grain and cotton will all fulfil, overfulfil or nearly fulfil their respective 1962 targets originally set in the Second Five-Year Plan. China's lightning speed in developing its social produc-

tive forces cannot be matched by any capitalist country and it certainly could never be dreamed of in old China.

Marx's saying that "revolutions are the locomotives of history"<sup>1</sup> is absolutely correct. In China, without the democratic revolution that overthrew imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, without the socialist revolution that abolished the capitalist system, there could be no rapid progress of modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture; no situation as the one that prevails today when the people of the whole country are working for the cause of socialism and communism vigorously and resolutely. Revolution has brought the Chinese people boundless hope and an extremely brilliant future.

The victory of the Chinese people in the past ten years is the victory of Marxism-Leninism, the victory of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the victory of the general lines of the Chinese Communist Party for democratic revolution, for socialist revolution and for socialist construction.

During the period of China's democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly expounded the idea that "the whole Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party is a complete revolutionary movement embracing the two revolutionary stages, democratic and socialist. . . . We can give correct leadership to the Chinese revolution only on the basis of a clear understanding of both the differences between the democratic and socialist revolutions and their interconnections."<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, the right opportunists in the Chinese revolution, like the Russian Mensheviks, set up a "Great Wall" between the democratic and socialist revolutions, failed to see the interconnections of the

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<sup>1</sup>K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol. 1, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup>*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1954, Vol. III, p. 101.



two revolutions and the possible prospect, during the democratic revolution, of transforming it into a socialist revolution. On the other hand, the "left" opportunists, like the Russian Trotskyites, confused the distinction between the democratic and socialist revolutions and would eliminate the bourgeoisie and carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution in the stage of the democratic revolution. Both of these two erroneous tendencies cost the Chinese revolution dearly. Contrary to "left" and right opportunism, the correct policy represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in guiding the Chinese revolution was: on the one hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolutionary development by stages, a clear distinction was made between the revolutionary tasks of the two stages, the democratic and socialist revolutions; on the other hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution, the two revolutions were closely linked together and every means was sought during the stage of democratic revolution to create the conditions for the future realization of socialist revolution, so that the struggles of the socialist revolution could be waged without interruption immediately after the nation-wide victory of the democratic revolution.

The firm grasping of the hegemony in the democratic revolution by the proletariat through the Communist Party is the key to ensuring the thorough victory of the democratic revolution and the successful switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. None of the Chinese bourgeois political parties could put forward a thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme, could carry the Chinese democratic revolution to the end. Our Party's general line in leading the democratic revolution was to unite all the forces that could be united and thoroughly carry out the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism under the leadership of the proletariat and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. This general line is summed up and defined by Comrade Mao Tse-tung as

“the revolution of the masses of people, led by the proletariat, to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.”<sup>1</sup>

China was a big, backward country. Over 80 per cent of her people lived in the rural areas; 70 per cent of this rural population were poor peasants and farm labourers. The peasant question was the central question in our democratic revolution. The rule of reaction in old China was extremely barbarous. The masses of the people had no rights whatsoever. Progressive revolutionaries were subject to mass arrests and execution. In the democratic revolutionary period, the Chinese Communist Party, therefore, went deep into the villages and for 22 years led the armed revolutionary struggle which used the villages to encircle the cities. What the Party adopted was the mass line policy of resolutely relying on the peasants' political consciousness and organized strength, mobilizing the peasants to save themselves, to overthrow the landlords, to acquire land and safeguard the land (this policy of the Party was carried out continuously up to the land reform after the founding of the People's Republic of China); not the contrary bourgeois policy of “bestowing” land on the peasants as a favour. This enabled the Party to build powerful and reliable revolutionary bastions in the rural areas, to build up the revolutionary army and revolutionary bases, gradually raise the revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary discipline of the broad masses of impoverished peasants close to the level of the revolutionary proletariat, and receive from them the continuous supply of manpower and material reserves needed by the Party and the people's army led by the Party. By depending on rural revolutionary bases the Chinese Communist Party waged the revolutionary war, and carried out land reform and economic and cultural construction in rural revolutionary bases. Essentially these were great, protracted and recurrent rehearsals in preparation for the nation-wide victory. These rehearsals educated the masses, tempered the

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<sup>1</sup>From *Talk at the Conference of Cadres from Shansi and Suiyuan*.

army, stored up revolutionary strength, trained the cadres and enabled the Party's leadership to acquire rich experience in all fields.

With the establishment of the closest alliance between the proletariat and the peasant masses in the democratic revolution, we were able to solve the question of forming a revolutionary united front with the national bourgeoisie in a correct way. Taking China's specific conditions into consideration, we properly distinguished between the two sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie: One was the bourgeoisie of bureaucrats and compradors who were the tools of imperialism, defenders of feudalism and its allies and the vicious enemy of the national democratic revolution against whom resolute struggles must be waged. The other was the national bourgeoisie, who, oppressed and pushed around by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, desired an independent development of the nation's economy and therefore it was possible for them to join the revolution or stay neutral in the revolution. But they were also weak-kneed, had the dual character of being revolutionary as well as reactionary, and often took a wavering middle-of-the-road position. This made it necessary for us, on the one hand, to unite with them under certain conditions to carry on the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and on the other hand, also to struggle against their proneness to compromises. By putting such a united front policy into practice, we realized our aim of expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolating the reactionary forces; solidly preserved the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and rallied the broadest possible masses of the people.

During the period of democratic revolution in China, neither the right opportunists, who severed the connections between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, nor the "left" opportunists, who mixed the two up, understood how great the significance of the peasant question was for our

revolutionary cause; therefore, they were not able to handle the question of the bourgeoisie correctly. The right opportunists pursued a policy of capitulation towards the bourgeoisie and regarded the democratic revolution mainly as the concern of the bourgeoisie. They did not rely on the worker-peasant alliance, but mainly on the united front with the bourgeoisie, and only united with them without waging the necessary struggles. In doing so they gave up the hegemony of the proletariat, thus causing the defeat of the revolution and serious setbacks to the cause of the proletariat and the broad masses when the bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution. Even when the conditions for the victory of the revolution were ripe and it was necessary to seize the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle, the right opportunists did not have the courage to strive for victory and even tried to prevent victory. The "left" opportunists did not feel like uniting with all sorts of petty-bourgeois masses and the national bourgeoisie; they wrongly regarded the middle-of-the-road forces as the main target of their blows and denied the necessity and possibility of uniting with, or neutralizing, the various middle-of-the-road forces in the democratic revolution. They only waged struggles against the national bourgeoisie, did not properly unite with them and still less were they willing to concentrate the fire against the main enemy by exploiting the concrete contradictions among the enemies. This, too, resulted in abandoning the hegemony of the proletariat, leaving the proletariat to carry on the struggle single-handed and rendering it impossible for the revolution to gain victory. The "left" opportunists and the right opportunists had one thing in common: both of them ignored the revolutionary urge and perseverance of the peasants and, during the reign of reaction, denied that we could hold on in the countryside, establish revolutionary bases there and finally succeed in seizing the cities by encircling them from the countryside. Under certain conditions, therefore, the "left" opportunists and right opportunists could change positions. For instance, Comrade Wang

Ming was the main exponent of the third "leftist" line during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War in our country, but by the time of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, he became the main exponent of right opportunism.

In their struggles against "left" and right opportunism, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have united the whole Party and have thus made the Chinese revolution progress along a correct path and achieve one revolutionary victory after another.

The victory of the people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party thoroughly smashed the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang in old China and the bureaucratic and warlord institutions it employed to oppress the people. This led to the founding of the great People's Republic in 1949 which is essentially a dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus successfully brought about the switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. As far as the main question of the revolution is concerned, i.e., the question of state power, the founding of the People's Republic of China marked the end of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China. While leading the democratic revolution to victory, the Chinese proletariat firmly established its political control of the state; therefore, there was no longer any need to conduct another struggle for the seizure of state power to ensure the victory of socialism. The reason for this is that during the democratic revolution our Party never forgot for a moment that our final goal is to carry out the socialist revolution and throughout the protracted struggles of the democratic revolution it already paid close attention to the establishment and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat.

In March 1949, on the eve of the nation-wide victory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that after the nation-wide victory of the Chinese revolution, the main external contradiction would still

be the contradiction between the Chinese people and imperialism, while at home, the main contradiction between the Chinese people, on the one hand, and the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalists, on the other, would give way to the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, that is, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. He also set forth a series of fundamental policies for the resolution of this contradiction. In the early years following the nation-wide victory, although it was still necessary for the Chinese people to continue to carry out the tasks left over from the period of the democratic revolution, mainly the task of implementing land reform over a large part of the country to eliminate the feudal landlord class, the transition to socialism had actually begun in 1949. With the support of the broad masses of the people and the power of the state, the Chinese proletariat confiscated bureaucrat-capital, kept a firm hold on the essential economic mainsprings of the state, energetically established a powerful socialist state economy and secured its leading position in the entire national economy.

Towards the end of 1952, when the tasks of restoring the national economy and clearing away the survivals of feudalism had been in the main fulfilled, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line for the period of transition, that is, the general line of simultaneous development of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and set forth the task of realizing the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce step by step, throughout the country, and the task of realizing the socialist industrialization of the country step by step. This general line was put forward at the time when the Chinese people were in the thick of the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. We resolutely fought the U.S. imperialists who tried to strangle New China, rallied the entire nation and won great victories in the struggle. At the same time,

on the home front, we carried on socialist transformation and construction without interruption.

This general line of the Chinese Communist Party was a line to lead Chinese society in its transition from the complicated economic structure of that time, which embraced not only socialist economy but also capitalist and individual economies, to a homogeneous socialist economic structure. At that time some people denied the necessity of the transition to socialism. They either attempted to develop capitalism in China and follow the old capitalist road, or tried to halt the revolution and preserve for a long time to come the status quo — with the socialist economy and capitalist economy existing side by side. The Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party affirmed the necessity of the transition from capitalism to socialism and thus rejected the various erroneous rightist viewpoints. At the same time, this Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party also affirmed that the transition to socialism must be gradual and that the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce must also be gradual and thus rejected the erroneous “leftist” viewpoint which hoped to make a clean sweep of capitalism overnight.

In effecting the socialist transformation of agriculture, of capitalist industry and commerce, we took a series of steps characteristic of our national peculiarities, in the light of the specific conditions in our country.

Three successive steps were taken in the socialist transformation of our agriculture. Step one: the land reform was immediately followed by the extensive development of mutual-aid organizations for collective labour on the basis of the individual economy. These mutual-aid organizations which were in the nature of embryonic socialism had already emerged in the revolutionary bases at an earlier period. Step two: this was again immediately followed by the development, on the basis of the mutual-aid movement, of agricultural producers' co-operatives with their special features of pooling the land as shares and unified management. These co-operatives were

semi-socialist in nature, since the land and the principal means of production were still privately owned. We called them agricultural producers' co-operatives of the elementary type. Step three: the collectivization of the land and the principal means of production and the establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives entirely socialist in nature, which were known as agricultural producers' co-operatives of the advanced type.

There were at one time controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the question of agricultural co-operation.

One viewpoint was that the level of our industrialization was still very low and that we were not yet in a position to effect the mechanization of agriculture, so it was impossible and improper to introduce agricultural co-operation too soon. The facts, however, have exploded this viewpoint. We carried out the task of agricultural co-operation in the virtual absence of mechanization.

Another viewpoint was that the rapid realization of co-operation would inevitably lower agricultural production. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. In the course of agricultural co-operation and afterwards, China's agricultural production continued to rise, and at considerable speed at that, rather than decline.

Still another viewpoint was that the realization of agricultural co-operation at such high speed would impair the unity of the peasants, or, in other words, that in addition to the rich peasants, the well-to-do middle peasants would also feel dissatisfied with us or even oppose us while only those peasants who were relatively worse off would support us. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. Thanks to our policy of uniting with the well-to-do middle peasants and the policy of paying compensation in annual instalments to the well-to-do middle peasants who joined the co-operatives with their large farm implements and draught animals, and thanks to



the rise in the production of the co-operatives year by year, the overwhelming majority of the well-to-do middle peasants were satisfied in the main with agricultural co-operation.

In short, the facts have shown that our method of “striking the iron while it is hot,” setting up without delay typical examples for the rest to follow and popularizing them step by step to carry out agricultural co-operation immediately after the land reform, is a good Marxist-Leninist policy. If we had kept the revolution at a standstill after the land reform, let the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside grow, and allowed the polarization of the peasantry into two extremes, we would have faced fairly strong resistance and met with much greater difficulties in carrying out agricultural co-operation at a later date.

How did we realize the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce? We did this mainly by carrying out the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce, and through various forms of state capitalism, achieving the aim of socialist nationalization. Generally speaking, the initial form of state capitalism was to supply private capitalist industries with raw materials, to place orders with them for processing and manufacturing goods and let the state enterprises exclusively purchase and market their goods. As to private capitalist commercial enterprises, they were allowed to serve as retail distributors or commission agents for the state. The higher form of state capitalism was to place private capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management — beginning with the conversion of individual concerns into joint state-private enterprises and going on to the placing of capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management by whole trades, paying the capitalists a fixed rate of interest for a definite number of years.

There were also some controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.