

**EIGHTH NATIONAL CONGRESS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

**VOLUME II**

**SPEECHES**

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## *PUBLISHER'S NOTE*

*Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China* is in three volumes. Volume one contains seven documents of the Congress. Volume two contains a selection of 24 speeches made by delegates, a message of greetings from China's democratic parties and groups and democrats without party affiliations and the speech delivered by Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Volume three contains speeches made by representatives of the fraternal parties, telegrams and messages of greetings read at the Congress, which total 61. The contents of the three volumes are arranged roughly according to the sequence in which the reports and speeches were made at the Congress,

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## **SPEECH BY COMRADE CHU TEH**

Comrades:

I fully endorse the political report of the Central Committee made by Comrade Liu Shao-chi, the report on the Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy made by Comrade Chou En-lai, and the report on the revision of the Party Constitution made by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping.

The summing up of our Party's work during the eleven years since the Seventh Congress is a summary of the victories of the Chinese people. During this period the people of our country, united under the leadership of our Party, won the victory in the great democratic revolution after arduous and complex struggles; and, following this, they gained, in the main, the victory in the great socialist revolution and made tremendous achievements in the First Five-Year Plan for socialist construction.

As a result of these victories and achievements, the trend of development of the history of our country and the appearance of our society have fundamentally changed. On the basis of what has already been achieved — namely, complete national liberation, unity and people's democracy together with equality, solidarity, fraternity and mutual aid among the various nationalities in our country — we are forging ahead energetically on the road to socialism. Our economic and cultural affairs have made new achievements with each passing day; our people are shaking off their extreme poverty and cultural backwardness, and their material and cultural well-being have markedly improved from year to year.

I am therefore convinced that our Congress, all comrades of our Party, and the people of the whole country will appraise the work of the Seventh Central Committee over the past eleven years with satisfaction.

It is pointed out in the political report of the Central Committee that the basic task confronting our whole Party and the entire people is to build China into a great socialist land.

To this end, we have, on the one hand, to continue to work for the completion of our socialist transformation. This remains a tremendous undertaking. Except for certain regions inhabited by national minorities, with a population of several millions, which will need a longer period for the transformation, it will probably take a few years more to complete the change-over from individual ownership by the working people to socialist collective ownership, and complete the change-over from ownership by capitalists to socialist, state ownership. In these fields much work remains to be done, and it must be done earnestly and prudently. On the other hand, we must go on with our construction for socialist industrialization. This is a still more stupendous and arduous undertaking. It means that we must strive to overfulfil the First Five-Year Plan and proceed to fulfil the Second Five-Year Plan, which is of still greater proportions. The Central Committee has also laid it down that the socialist industrialization of the country should be accomplished in the main during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan, and that the level of our industrial production should catch up with the most industrially developed capitalist countries in a few decades. To attain these great aims, we must exert our utmost efforts and overcome all sorts of difficulties.

What are the difficulties in our socialist construction? The fundamental ones arise from our economic and cultural backwardness. Our country was thoroughly impoverished

by imperialist exploitation. We have therefore taken on the task of building socialism with only a meagre heritage.

But can we accomplish our task? Yes, we can. Because we have all the necessary conditions for the successful building of a great socialist country.

## I

Internally, the most important factor in our favour is the great unity of the people of the whole country under the leadership of our Party. This unity has as its foundation the close-knit alliance of the workers and peasants, and it embraces the national bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, all democratic parties and groups and patriotic personages without party affiliations, all the nationalities in the country and the overseas Chinese. The unity of six hundred million people is a mighty force. Relying on this unity, we won the great victory in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Relying again on this unity, we have won the great victory in the socialist revolution.

The solid worker-peasant alliance, the correct political leadership exercised by the working class through our Party, and the boundless faith placed by the broad masses of peasants in the working class and our Party — these are the most important factors to account for the rapid success of the socialist transformation of agriculture in our country. And this rapid success has consolidated the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis and provided a reliable guarantee for the cause of socialism. At the same time, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has been carried out under conditions of our continued alliance with the national bourgeoisie and through consultation with them. In this way, this revolutionary change has been successfully made by peaceful means. Moreover, our

alliance with the national bourgeoisie enables them to use their knowledge of modern culture and technology for the cause of socialism. Obviously this is very advantageous.

Now that our socialist transformation has been completed in the main, the great unity among the people of all nationalities in our country, which is based on the worker-peasant alliance, has become firmer and more widespread. The six hundred million people of our country, united as one under the leadership of our Party and the People's Government, are developing the productive forces with great initiative and creative ability. This is the most essential factor in our favour in the building of a highly industrialized socialist country at a fairly rapid rate.

Our task is to make full use of this factor and use the superiority of the socialist system to the full, so as to strengthen the great unity of the whole people and bring their initiative and creative ability into play for the building of socialism. To achieve this, we must correctly handle the relations among the people of our country, primarily those between the working class and the peasantry, between the working class and the bourgeoisie who are being transformed into working people, and those between the people of the various nationalities. To achieve this, we must continue to consolidate and extend the people's democratic united front, and closely rally around the Communist Party all the nationalities, all the various strata of the people, all democratic parties and groups, all the democratic personalities without party affiliations and the overseas Chinese; and we must also successfully remould all those who in the past belonged to reactionary classes and transform them from a negative into a positive factor in socialist construction. To achieve this, we must also handle properly the relationships between the interests of the state and co-operatives and those of individuals, between the central and local authorities, between industry and agricul-



ture, between heavy industry and light industry, and between industries in the coastal regions and those in the interior. We must do this because our handling of these relationships will ultimately affect the unity among the people themselves, and will help or hinder the full display of their enthusiasm according to whether it is done correctly or not. Lastly, for the sake of all these things, we must continue to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and take further steps to extend democratic life in our country, because these are the most important guarantees for strengthening the great unity of the people and bringing into full play their initiative and creative ability.

Another important and favourable condition for the successful building of socialism in China is that our country has a vast territory, rich resources and a large population. China is rich in industrial resources. In respect to heavy industry, deposits of coal, iron and various non-ferrous metals are especially rich, raw materials for light industry are either fairly adequate, or their output can be greatly increased, and markets are extensive. Our country has excellent geographical conditions, rarely found in other parts of the world, for the development of a diversified agricultural economy: it grows various kinds of crops, tropical and sub-tropical, and those suitable for the temperate zone, and it produces useful and valuable special local products like silk, tea, medicinal herbs, fruits, etc. But these rich resources and favourable natural conditions are far from being fully utilized as yet. As to our large population, it constitutes our country's greatest productive force and most valuable asset. We do not have to worry at all about any shortage of manpower.

It is our task to make full and rational use of our country's enormous manpower to tap our rich resources. In order to achieve this, the central and local departments in charge of economic construction should make repeated investiga-

tions and studies and constantly improve their comprehensive planning; and the state should adopt the policy of encouraging the expansion of production, and bring into full play the enthusiasm of the various departments of the central authorities, and of the local authorities at all levels, of the agricultural and handicraft producers' co-operatives and the families of their members. In short, one of our basic policies in building socialism should be, on the basis of bringing into full play the superiority of the socialist economic system, to make full use of these favourable conditions—a vast territory, rich resources and a large population—to promote production vigorously, so that gradually “the resources of the land can be fully explored, the abilities of the people fully employed, and the use of goods fully enjoyed.”

## II

We are living in a period when socialism is being built in our country. What should we do in order to make this undertaking a success? We should be hard-working, and we should be frugal. Hard work and frugality are two traditional virtues of the labouring people of our country. “Be industrious and frugal, and you will enjoy a competence”—this should be the principle that all working personnel in state organs and economic departments keep constantly in mind and carry out in practice. The Central Committee of our Party has all along required that all comrades should maintain the fine tradition of working hard and overcoming difficulties. It has time and again led the whole Party in campaigns for the practice of strict economy and the avoidance of waste. Much has been achieved in these campaigns, but it is to be regretted that serious cases of extravagance, showiness and wilful waste of

the people's money still occur now and then. We must mobilize all Party members against these unwholesome tendencies.

It is my belief that we can overcome all our difficulties and reach our goal of building China into a great land of socialism, if our Party proves itself capable of rallying the forces of the six hundred million people of our country, if we turn to account all aspects of the superiority inherent in the socialist economy, if we make use of all other favourable conditions existing in our country, and if we thoroughly apply the principle of managing things in an industrious and economical way.

We are still faced with the task of making a final effort to unify our motherland — the task of liberating our sacred territory Taiwan. As pointed out in the political report of the Central Committee, we shall strive to bring about the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful negotiation and avoid the means of war as far as possible, because this accords with the interests of the Chinese people (the people of Taiwan Province included) and with the interests of the military and political personnel in Taiwan. It is our hope that the military and political personnel in Taiwan will boldly take their stand as patriots and return to the embrace of the motherland. If they act in this way, they can be assured of a bright future. Whatever means we adopt, Taiwan must be liberated. The liberation of Taiwan is a wholly just cause in which the Chinese people exercise their sovereign rights, a cause which is sure to be crowned with victory.

### III

Apart from internal conditions, the present international conditions are also favourable for the socialist construction of our country.

We can all see what immense and profound changes have come about in the international situation since our last Congress. During the intervening eleven years, the people of various countries in the world have won signal victories in their struggle against imperialism. Socialism has gone beyond the confines of a single state. The socialist countries, which embrace more than nine hundred million people, form a contiguous expanse of territory geographically and constitute one great family of friendship and co-operation headed by the Soviet Union. By virtue of the tremendous developments and successes in the movements for national independence, the shackles of imperialist colonial oppression have been burst asunder in vast areas of Asia and Africa. The recent heroic move on the part of Egypt to nationalize the Suez Canal Company has been greeted with strong support by the people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world, a fact which shows that the powerful tides of the widespread struggle against colonialism have continued to mount. On the other hand, because its war policy runs counter to the peaceful aspirations and interests of the people and because it follows a policy of aggression and aggrandizement directed against all countries, the reactionary clique of the United States, which is vainly trying to dominate the world, is exposing itself more and more as the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of the world and has thereby been reduced to a position of more and more isolation. All this has resulted in a relaxation of tension in the international situation. Of course, we must not lose our vigilance against the danger of war. But, if the socialist countries and all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world continue to strengthen their solidarity and wage resolute struggles in defence of world peace and the just cause of humanity, it is possible that the present relaxation in international tension may turn into lasting peace.

#### IV

From what I have said above, we can see that the present internal and international conditions are extremely favourable for our task of socialist construction. The question then, in the final analysis, boils down to one of the leadership of our Party and its unity. If our Party is able to give correct Marxist-Leninist leadership and avoid serious mistakes, and if it can maintain the strong solidarity and unity within its ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, then it can be sure of uniting our six hundred million people for the successful completion of the great task of socialist construction.

With regard to the question of ensuring that our Party will make fewer mistakes and none of a serious character, Comrade Liu Shao-chi has already given detailed explanations in the political report, with which I am in full agreement. We shall be able to settle this question if, drawing lessons from our past mistakes and from the experience gained in correcting them and adopting the methods used in the rectification campaigns, we do the following: consistently observe the principle of linking theory with practice and oppose subjectivism; adhere to the mass line of linking the leadership with the masses and oppose bureaucracy; adhere to the principle of democratic centralism and to the principle by which collective leadership is integrated with personal responsibility, and set our face against all tendencies to departmentalism and ultra-democracy that go against the system of democratic centralism and the taking of arbitrary decisions by individuals which runs counter to the principle of collective leadership; insist on constantly fostering democracy and encouraging criticism and self-criticism in the Party and among the people and oppose any tendency to suppress democracy and curb criticism; adhere in inner-Party struggles to the principles of "taking warning from the past in

order to be more careful in the future; treating the illness in order to save the patient," "clarifying our ideas and at the same time uniting our comrades," and "starting from unity to attain unity through criticism and struggle," and oppose liberalistic attitudes towards mistakes in the Party as well as rigid, crude and excessive inner-Party struggles; resolutely maintain the unity of the Party and the people, and oppose the tendency towards sectarianism. In short, if in the face of our new conditions we can correctly draw upon and apply the rich experience gained in the building of the Party over the last thirty-five years, we shall be able to guard against making serious mistakes, correct mistakes quickly when they are made, prevent minor mistakes from developing into major ones and temporary mistakes from developing into long-lasting ones, and ensure the correct leadership, the solidarity and the unity of the Party.

From now on, in the hard struggle for the building of socialism in China, we must unceasingly strengthen the unity of all Party members. For only by firmly uniting all our Party members on the basis of Marxism-Leninism can we unite the people of the whole country and turn their initiative to full account. Our unity is what our enemies fear most and are constantly trying hard to destroy. This is the reason why all revolutionaries dedicated to the cause of communism must look upon the preservation of the Party's solidarity and unity as one of their most important tasks. It must be pointed out that the maintenance or otherwise of the Party's strong solidarity and unity is a matter of very great importance, which determines the success or failure of the revolution. In order to rid ourselves of the negative factors in our march forward, we must call on all comrades to further strengthen unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and to struggle against all factors which tend to work against the Party's solidarity and unity. In the draft of the new Party Constitution, the

safeguarding of the Party's solidarity and the strengthening of its unity have been laid down as a sacred duty and obligation for all Party members. This is entirely correct. The adoption of the Party's new Constitution will certainly facilitate to a great extent the removal of any phenomenon in the Party which may harm its solidarity and unity.

In all our relationships within the Party we must oppose sectarian sentiments of every kind. Every comrade must learn to unite with other comrades, particularly with those who hold views different from his own. It is by no means difficult to unite with comrades who generally agree with you — this is not the crux of the matter; what is really difficult and important is to unite with those who frequently differ from you. Communists should be free from selfish motives, and there is nothing we cannot sacrifice for the maximum interests of the people. Communists are armed with Marxism-Leninism, and there is nothing whose right and wrong cannot be ascertained in the light of principle. If we all champion the spirit of abiding by the truth, a reasonable conclusion can be arrived at in any dispute. What, then, can prevent us from uniting together? Disputes will arise in our work, but there is nothing wrong about that, for it is inevitable that disputes will constantly arise in the progress of our work. Moreover, there can be no reason why the clash of different opinions should affect our unity.

Comrades! Ours is a great, correct and glorious party. In thirty-five years we have finally succeeded in bringing unity to the great Chinese nation, hitherto divided and oppressed, but now taking its destiny into its own hands. The eyes of the people of the whole country are upon us; the hearts of all working people the world over go out to us; ours is a very great responsibility. We must be earnest and industrious, we must guard against conceit and impatience. Great though our task may be, if only we can

strengthen the unity within the Party and our ties with the people of the whole country, we shall certainly be able to fulfil the basic tasks which this Congress will set for the Party, to unite with all forces at home and abroad that can possibly be united with, and to turn to full account all conditions in our favour, so as to build China into a great land of socialism.



## **SPEECH BY COMRADE PENG TEH-HUAI**

Comrades:

I am in full agreement with Comrade Liu Shao-chi's political report, Comrade Chou En-lai's report on the Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping's report on the revision of the Party Constitution. On behalf of the Military Affairs Commission of the Party's Central Committee, I shall now speak briefly on military work.

### **I. THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY**

The road traversed by the Chinese People's Liberation Army was a long and tortuous one. Our army started from scratch, grew from a small force into a big force, and attained final victory after many successes and reverses.

The Communist Party of China, immediately after it was founded, actively promoted and brought about Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, and led and took part in our country's great revolution of 1924-1927. When the revolutionary forces penetrated into the Yangtse valley and there was a great broadening of the workers' and peasants' movements, the Kuomintang reactionaries who represented the imperialist and feudal forces at once dropped their mask and became openly counter-revolutionary. Between the spring and summer of 1927 they started their counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* and with a white terror unprecedented in history launched an onslaught on the