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SS: 1064

JPRS 3988

23 September 1960

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COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG'S IDEOLOGY OF BUILDING SOCIALISM AT HIGH SPEED

-COMMUNIST CHINA-

by Su Hsing

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## COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG'S IDEOLOGY OF BUILDING SOCIALISM AT HIGH SPEED

### -COMMUNIST CHINA-

[Following is a translation of an article by Su Hsing in the Chinese-language newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), Peiping, 25 February 1960, page 7.]

Speed is the most important question in building socialism in our country. The high speed development of our national economy is the soul of the general line of building socialism.

On the eve of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a full estimate of the possibility of high speed development of our country's construction enterprises. In March 1949, the resolution adopted by the Seventh Session of the Second Party Congress pointed out, "The speed of economic construction in China will not be slow, and it is possible that it will be quite fast. The prosperity of China can be achieved in the not too distant future." In the winter of 1955, when the socialist revolution of the ownership of productive resources was about to be completed in our country, Comrade Mao further pointed out, "In the future, we shall have all kinds of enterprises that men have never thought of. Agricultural production will increase several times, a dozen times, or even dozens of times, above the present level. The development of industries, communications and exchange enterprises will be beyond anything that our forefathers had imagined. Science, culture, education and health will be the same." The Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao not only scientifically predicted the possibility of high speed growth of socialist construction in our country, but evaluated and analyzed our construction experience in 1958, working out the general party line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving more, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and a set of policies of "walking on two legs", and discovering a road that suits the Chinese realities in high speed construction of socialism. The continuous leaps forward of 1958 and 1959 indicate that socialist construction has entered a new phase in which the national economy will gain a sustained leap forward in higher speed than that during the First Five-Year Plan. This is a great victory of Comrade Mao's ideology concerning high-speed construction of socialism.

High speed construction of socialism is an important part of Comrade Mao's economic thought. Comrade Mao, applying the principles of dialectical materialism creatively, revealed with clarity the relationships between productive relations and productive forces, between the superstructure and the base, between speed and ratio, and between objective possibilities and subjective motivations, discovering the elements that determine high speed development of socialist construction.

The contradictions between productive relations and productive forces form the basic motivating power for the growth and changes of all social phenomena. The development of productive forces precedes changes in productive relations. In turn, changes in productive relations will promote rapid growth in productive forces. This basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is applicable to a socialist as well as to a communist society.

It was suggested that, in a socialist society, productive relations and productive forces having coincided with each other, there would be no contradictions. This type of thought is incorrect. Comrade Mao gave it a critique according to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, pointing out, "In a socialist society, the basic contradictions are still the ones between productive relations and productive forces, contradictions that exist between the superstructure and the economic base." "However," he continued, "these contradictions in a socialist society are fundamentally different in character and condition from the contradictions between productive forces and productive relations, and between the superstructure and economic base, of the old society." Comrade Mao does not deny that socialist productive relations are suitable to the development of productive forces. But he sees much deeper and further by asserting that the development of a socialist society still proceeds in the contradictions between productive relations and productive forces as technological changes and corresponding changes in economic relations will continuously occur. Since Comrade Mao expounded the dialectical relationship between productive relations and productive forces under socialism, men's perspective has been broadened, becoming capable of discovering the basic motivating power of high speed development of the national economy. In dealing with the contradictions between productive relations and productive forces, men are no longer evasive, but looking into them and giving them timely improvements and adjustments. It has been demonstrated by experience that the basic premise of sustained forward leaps in national economy is to make timely improvements and adjustments of productive relations according to the needs of developing productive forces. We all saw the forward leap of socialist construction in 1956 which occurred only after the socialist revolution in the ownership of productive resources was basically completed.

The big leap forward since 1958 is the direct result of the establishment of the people's communes and the adjustments, during the rectification campaigns of the entire people, of the relationship among men in enterprises owned by the entire people and in other enterprises.

In 1956, after the realization of agricultural cooperatives, some people believed that with the establishment of collective ownership in villages no more changes in productive relations were necessary, or, at least, within a considerable length of time, the productive relations should remain stable. But, Comrade Mao did not share this view. During the high tide of the cooperative movement, Comrade Mao had already foreseen the need for adjustments of cooperative type of productive relations when productive forces were developed. Later, in the article, "Concerning Correct Handling of People's Internal Contradictions," he further pointed out, "Completely socialized cooperatives continuously need to solve certain individual problems in regard to ownership." His foresight was completely vindicated by the big leap forward of 1958. Due to the big leap forward in production, the original small scale advanced cooperatives that were engaged purely in agriculture no longer suited the requirements of production growth. Thus, there appeared everywhere a new form of social organization that combines industry, agriculture, exchange, education, and militia that is engaged in the total development of agriculture, forestry, side-line production, livestock and fishery, and that integrates the government with the commune. As the new trends appeared, Comrade Mao summed up the experience of the masses by pointing out that our orientation should be the gradual and systematic development of a large commune comprising industry, agriculture, exchange, culture and education, and militia, which would be the base unit of both the social structure and the political organization of our socialist country. Comrade Mao's thought concerning the people's commune is the theoretical foundation of the commune system in our country. It is a glorious example of creative handling of the contradictions between productive relations and productive forces under socialism for the purpose of promoting rapid growth in our national economy. In 1959, we were faced with the worst natural disasters in many years, and the disaster areas occupied 30% of the total amount of the cultivated land. But, due to the superiority of the commune system, our farmers overcame the effects of the disasters. Production, instead of decreasing, increased. On the basis of the bumper crops in 1958, the total production value of agriculture rose by 16.7%, grain, 8% and cotton, 14.76%. This is the most powerful proof of how the productive relations of the commune system promoted the growth of productive forces.

Comrade Mao has always paid attention to the adjustment of the relationship among men in the enterprises owned by the entire people and in other enterprises. His special discussions of this problem are contained in his report concerning "Ten Relationships" and the article, "Concerning Correct Handling of People's Internal Contradictions." He stated, "The mutual relationship between production and exchange in various economic fields is yet to be gradually developed according to socialist principles. An appropriate form has to be gradually discovered." In 1957, when bureaucratic and fundamentalist thought was given a critique during the rectification campaign, the mutual relations within socialist enterprises and among other enterprises underwent great changes. The thorough implementation of the system of director's responsibility, the participation in productive labor by cadres, the participation in daily administrative work by workers, and the use of the method of "three coordinates" between cadres, workers and technicians, helped to reform various relations created by the unreasonable rules and regulations, greatly elevating workers' enthusiasm and their sense of proletarian responsibility. Among other enterprises, the style of communist cooperation was introduced to wipe out the mutual "squabbles" resulted from fundamentalist thoughts and the remnants of bourgeois behavior. As the relationships among enterprises were changed, those among men were improved, workers' productive positiveness was elevated and production growth was immediately pushed up, resulting in the big leap forward of 1958.

Comrade Mao not only paid timely attention to the improvement and adjustment of productive relations according to the need for developing productive forces, but was able to pick the right time to propose the tasks for developing productive forces following the improvement and adjustment of productive relations. As soon as the agricultural cooperatives were set up, he immediately proposed to the people "a draft proposal for the development of agriculture of the nation between 1956 and 1967." Following the rectification campaigns and anti-right-wing struggles, he quickly issued the fighting call for the people to catch up and surpass England in fifteen years in the production of steel and other major industrial products, setting forth our historical mission of the technological and cultural revolutions. After the people's commune system was introduced, he lost no time in putting the task of modernizing agriculture before the people.

The contradictions between productive relations and productive forces grow as time goes on. In building socialism and going through the transition to communism, as productive forces continue to grow, productive relations will also be continuously improved and adjusted. We must never concentrate on the development of productive forces alone to the neglect of productive relations, nor vice versa. For the failure to handle their relations correctly will make it impossible to sustain the forward leaps in national economy.



The correct handling of the relationship between the superstructure and the base also plays an important role in high speed growth of the national economy.

It was suggested that in a socialist society the superstructure, being created by the base and coinciding with it, is identical with the base, and that there should be no contradictions between them. This type of view is erroneous. Comrade Mao believes that in a socialist society the contradictions between the superstructure and the base are still fundamental contradictions, and that we should make timely adjustments of them in order to promote the development of productive forces.

Under socialism, the contradictions between the superstructure and the base manifest themselves in the following respects:

(1) The socialist revolution does not end with the basic completion of the socialist reform of the ownership of productive resources. As Comrade Mao said, "The class struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between various groups of political forces, and between bourgeois and proletarian ideas and attitudes, will be long lasting, complicated, and, sometimes, even quite acute. The proletariat must change the world according to its world outlook, while the bourgeoisie must also do so according to its world outlook." Therefore, the socialist revolution must not be limited to the economic front, and it must be carried to the political and ideological fronts. Even if socialism should succeed in achieving decisive victories on the political and ideological fronts, so long as the influence of bourgeois ideology is not finally extinguished both at home and abroad, class struggles will continue to exist, here and there, either acutely or moderately. (2) Although in a socialist society, the superstructure and the base fundamentally coincide with each other, there will still be defects in certain aspects of the political system. The solution of such contradictions does not require a change of the basic character of the superstructure. But it is still necessary to make timely adjustments. (3) As productive forces and productive relations continue to develop, new contradictions will occur between the superstructure and the economic base. They have to be continuously overcome. As contradictions rise, they will be overcome, and, as soon as they are overcome, new contradictions will rise again. This is a constant and forever changing dialectical process.

The most vivid examples of the correct handling of the relationship between the superstructure and the base that promoted a big leap forward in national economy are the rectification campaigns of the entire people and the struggles against the bourgeois right-wing in 1957.

The rectification campaigns and the anti-right-wing struggles constitute a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. This revolution greatly stimulated the positiveness and subjective motivation among the masses in building socialism, diminishing the reactionary influence of the exploiting class in the political and ideological fields. On the basis of this experience, Comrade Mao proposed the policy of giving "priority to politics," strengthening party guidance in economic and other types of work and fundamentally settling the question of what measure to take to mobilize men's productive positiveness in a socialist society.

A socialist society, according to Marx, "is a communist society that has just been born from a capitalist society. Therefore, in many respects, namely, in economic, moral and intellectual fields, it still retains the signs of the old society from which it was delivered." In such a phase, it is necessary to practice the principle "to each according to his labor" which takes care of working men's personal material interests while benefiting production growth. But this principle of distribution still carries the sign of the old society. By relying solely upon this principle, men will not be able to understand correctly the relationship between the long range collective interests and the immediate personal interests, nor will they be able to mobilize their positiveness for work. Moreover, one-sided emphasis on material compensation will aid the growth of such venal ideas as "money talks," "work according to compensation," and "hard bargaining," all of which tend to corrode the revolutionary will of the proletariat and laboring masses. Comrade Mao asked the people to give "priority to politics," which is a principle that fundamentally solves the problems between politics and economics under socialism, between communist education and working men's material interests, and between the improvement of collective material interests and that of individual material interests. If politics is to take the first place, material encouragement can only take the second.

After the rectification campaigns, Comrade Mao also proposed to the people of the entire country the slogan, "Destroy superstitions, liberate your thought, and develop the communist style of daring to think, to speak and to do", to encourage the people to discard their blind beliefs, to innovate and to create, to insist upon the truth and to fight for its realization. Under the guidance of Comrade Mao's thought, the spiritual appearance of the Chinese people underwent a great change in 1958. The marks of an oppressed people - superstition, fear and inferiority complex that corroded the people's spirit for the past one hundred years under the influence of foreign aggressors, were completely wiped out. Every person is full of fighting spirit, confidence and ambitions. This is an important factor of the 1958 big leap forward.

It is demonstrated by our experience that, so long as we could handle the relationship between the superstructure and the base correctly, the sustained growth of our national economy will be assured.

Proportionate development of high speed national economy is a special feature of the socialist economy. In the past, people often viewed the question ratio as fixed thing, not subject to change. They even developed opposite positions for projects having a different ratio.

Applying the concept of dialectical materialism and starting from the standpoint of socialist construction in our country, Chairman Mao not only proved the possibility of high speed growth of our socialist economy and concrete measures for realizing it, but further expounded the laws of proportionate development of the national economy and the policy for correct handling of the relationship between speed and ratio. Here, there has evolved a set of policies of "walking on two legs," as well as such concepts as the arrangement of basic ratios in the national economy, the arrangement of specific and general ratios, balance and imbalance, positive balance and negative balance, coordination between hard working spirit and scientific analysis, coordination between sustained leap forward and reserve, coordination between long-range plans and short-range plans, "the whole nation on a chess-board," etc. These concepts of Mao Tse-tung have brought the theory of high speed and proportionate development of the national economy into a new and higher phase both theoretically and realistically.

The ratio in the process of developing the national economy of socialist production includes that between two broad categories, as well as the ratio among other classifications. Comrade Mao selected from all these categories the ratios between industry and agriculture and between heavy industry and light industry to determine the relationships among all other categories of production. In his report of "Ten Relationships," he put the correct handling of the relationships between industry and agriculture, and between heavy industry and light industry at the head of the list. He further proposed in his "Concerning Correct Handling of People's Internal Contradictions" that the development of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture is to determine the road of industrialization of China, believing that "The economic construction of our country is to be centered around heavy industry, and we must be sure of this." "Meanwhile," he continued, "we must pay full attention to the development of agriculture and light industry." These concepts of Comrade Mao were later summed up into the policy of "giving priority to the development of heavy industry while launching simultaneous developments of agriculture and light industry and of heavy industry and light industry." It is included in the basic points of the general party line for the construction of socialism.

Industry and agriculture are the two basic categories of social production. They coordinate with, condition and promote each other, while agriculture serves as a foundation of industrial growth. The significance of agricultural development in the national economy is not only that the development of heavy and light industries will lead to an exchange of consumer goods and productive resources with the agricultural sector, but that, only when agriculture is developed, can there be more funds and labor to speed up the growth of industries and the whole national economy. Marx said, "The less time a society uses to produce wheat and livestock, the more time it will have for other types of production - both material and spiritual." This line of reasoning can be applied completely to socialist construction. By solving theoretically and practically the question of heavy and light industries and of agriculture, Chairman Mao found the correct road for us to realize socialist industrialization in our country, to develop our national economy in high speed and with proportion, to consolidate the alliance between industry and agriculture, and to mobilize the positiveness of our 500,000,000 peasants for socialist construction. The continuous leap forward in our national economy in 1958 and 1959 proves that this road is correct.

Comrade Mao not only settled correctly the relations between industry and agriculture, and between heavy industry and light industry, but the relations between government industries and local industries, between large enterprises and medium and small ones, and between indigenous methods of production and modern methods of production, proposing a set of policies of "walking on two legs." In the arrangement of ratios, he advocated steel as the main product for industries, grain for agriculture, "major projects are to lead general projects," and total leap forward. Our practice demonstrates that all of these policies are correct. With the guidance of such policies, we are able to mobilize fully the positiveness of the 650,000,000 people in building socialism, to make suitable arrangements for proportionate growth of our national economy, and to insure its sustained leap forward.

Comrade Mao also criticized the metaphysical theory of negative balance, pointing out clearly that in the "renewed" production under socialism, balance is relative, but imbalance is absolute. "So-called balance is the temporary unity of opposites among contradictions." Thus, in the process of enlarging the "renewed" production under socialism, imbalance is nothing to be feared. On the contrary, it ought to be viewed as a good thing. So long as we use the method of positive balance, instead of that of negative balance, we shall be able to urge the slow moving departments to catch up with the progressive ones, to establish a new balance, and to speed up the forward leap of the entire national economy.

When Comrade Mao expounded the question of balance and imbalance in a socialist economy, he did not advocate that the more imbalance there is, the better. On the contrary, he paid full attention to the comprehensive balance of the national economy, asking for the coordination between hard working spirit and scientific analysis, between sustained leap forward and reserve, and between long range plans and short range plans, and setting forth the concept of "the whole nation on a chess-board." The plan of national economy belongs to the superstructure. Whether it coincides with the objective process of economic development will have a great influence on man's mind. We must arm ourselves with Comrade Mao's plans and thoughts, so that our planning work will better coincide with the objective development of our economy, and that it will become positive and reliable to insure high speed and proportionate growth of the national economy.

In setting the question of speed of building socialism, Comrade Mao paid attention to objective conditions. He once told us, "We can not do our thinking without a foundation, nor can we plan our actions by going beyond what objective conditions permit. Do not force ourselves to do things which really can not be done." But Chairman Mao is different from those who talk solely about conditions, limitations, and qualifications. He does not view conditions as a fixed matter, nor does he believe that men should submit to them. He believes that conditions determine the possibility of matters and that we should convert possibilities into reality by changing conditions. The determining factor is men's self-generated ability of motivation. In his book On Long and Drawn-out Warfare, he wrote, "Everything has to be done by men. The long-drawn-out war and the final victory can not be achieved without men. But to do these things well, someone has to bring out ideas, reasons and opinions, setting forth plans, policies, directions, strategies and tactics. Ideas and so forth are subjective matters, but actions are objective matters realized through subjective convictions. Both ideas and actions stem from man's ability to motivate, and we call this ability "the self-generated ability of motivation," that marks the difference between men and matter. All the thoughts that are based upon, and parallel with, objective facts are correct thoughts, and all the actions based upon correct thoughts are correct actions. We must develop such thoughts and actions, and we must acquire the self-generated ability of motivation." This line of reasoning is completely applicable to socialist construction.

In socialist construction, men's self-generated ability of motivation manifests itself in two respects: On the one hand, due to the leadership of the Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, men are able to recognize the objective laws of economic development, working out lines, directions, policies, and plans according to objective reality.

On the other hand, men put these lines, directions, policies and plans into action, so that the will of millions of people can be centralized to form an invincible force. This force, strong enough to turn the globe up-side down, will create a new world.

Some people seem to believe that in an attempt to emphasize subjective ability of motivation we are ignoring objective laws. This is erroneous. Actually, what Chairman Mao called the self-generated ability of motivation includes in itself the understanding of objective laws.

To emphasize men's self-generated ability of motivation is the focal point of Chairman Mao's thought in regard to high speed construction of socialism. Chairman Mao stated in April, 1958, "Aside from the party leadership, the 600,000,000 people are a determining factor. The more the people, the more ideas and opinions we have and the greater the enthusiasm and hard working spirit." This is a conclusion based upon dialectical materialism. In the entire process of human history, the people who work, create productive instruments, and use them, are the determining factors of productive forces. But, in a class society, working men are exploited and oppressed, and their wisdom, ability and enthusiasm for labor have long been repressed. Through revolution, their unlimited wisdom and power are liberated, and, for the first time, they can be developed. Under these circumstances, so long as we trust and rely upon the masses, fully utilizing the mass line and mobilizing the positiveness of the masses, the great creative power of the people will create astonishing miracles with gigantic force.

Our experience of the 1958 and 1959 leap forward demonstrates that revolutionary mass movements are the fundamental guarantee of the implementation of the general line. If we should depart from the great power of the masses, it would have been impossible to speak of mustering all of our strength to struggle constantly for progress. Without tumultuous and well organized mass movements, it would have been impossible to build socialism by the principle of quantity, speed, quality and economy. Therefore, in order to fulfill the policies of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, the first thing is to insist upon revolutionary mass movements.

The strong desire of our 650,000,000 liberated people to change rapidly the poor and backward appearance of our country is the determining factor of high speed growth of our national economy. Comrade Mao's thought concerning high speed development of socialism is a concentrated expression of this fervent desire of our millions of people. Let us study Comrade Mao's thought with still more concentration. Under the guidance of his thought, let us work for the sustained and high speed development of our socialist enterprises.