标题：邓小平关于整风运动的报告

时间：1957.9.23

New url: https://banned-historical-archives.github.io/articles/5269ce2c8f/, accessed October 3, 2023

FN 068 – Deng's Report of September 1957 on Anti-Rightist Campaign

邓小平关于整风运动的报告 Deng Xiaoping and the Report on the Rectification Movement

邓小平

(一) 运动的一般情况

从今年五月开始的整风运动和反右派斗争，八月以前主要在省市以上党政机关、大专学校、民主党派、新闻界、科技界、文艺界、卫生界中进行。八月以后逐步向工商界、工人、农民、中小学教职员和其他城乡劳动者展开。军队也同时开展了整风和反右派斗争。现在正扩大成为全民的整风运动。

毛泽东同志七月在青岛召开的一部分省市委书记会议上，对于整风运动和反右派斗争的性质和情况，作出了全面的估计，对于运动的发展，提出了明确的方针。现在全国的运动正按照中央的方针顺利地开展着。

关于这一次运动的意义，毛泽东同志指出：“这一次批判资产阶级右派的意义，不要估计小了。这是一个在政治战线上和思想战线上的社会主义革命。单有 1956 年在经济战线上(在生产资料所有制上)的社会主义革命，是不够的，并且是不巩固的。”“大辩论，全民性的，解决了和正在解决着革命和建设工作是否正确(革命和建设的成绩是不是主要的)，是否应走社会主义道路，要不要共产党领导，要不要无产阶级专政，要不要民主集中制，

以及我国的外交政策是否正确等项重大问题。……我们如果不能在这次辩论中取得完全胜利，我们就不能继续前进。只要我们在辩论中胜利了，就将大大促进我国的社会主义改造与社会主义建设。这是一个伟大的带世界意义的事件。”

这个运动要解决敌我之间和人民内部的两种不同性质的矛盾：“在我国社会主义革命时期，资产阶级反动右派和人民的矛盾是敌我矛盾，是对抗性的不可调和的你死我活的矛盾。”城乡各种反革命分子，农村中还在进行破坏活动的地主富农分子，社会上流氓、阿飞、盗窃犯、凶杀犯、强奸犯、贪污犯、严重破坏社会秩序、严重违法乱纪等严重罪犯以及公众公认为坏人的人，他们同人民的矛盾也是敌我矛盾。除此以外，都是人民内部的矛盾。

人民内部的整风，也包含着性质不同的两个社会范畴的问题：“资产阶级和资产阶级知识分子是使他们接受社会主义改造的问题；小资产阶级(农民和城乡独立劳动者)，特别是富裕中农，也是使他们接受社会主义改造的问题；工人阶级和共产党的基本队伍，则是整顿作风的问题。”

整风运动的目的是：把斗争方向引导到端正政治方向，提高思想水平，改正工作缺点，团结广大群众，孤立和分化资产阶级右派和一切反社会主义的分子。”

对于敌人，要进行坚决的斗争，要用揭露、孤立和分化的方法，有的还要用惩办和镇压的方法。对于人民内部，主要是用教育的方法，“团结——批评——团结”的方法。人民中的犯法分子也要给予法律处分，这种处分也有教育作用。

四个多月运动的发展，完全符合中央和毛主席的分析，完全证明了中央方针的正确性。

运动证明了：对资产阶级右派分子和城乡各种反社会主义分子进行坚决斗争的必要性。他们对于社会主义道路和共产党领导的进攻，是极为猖獗、极为狠毒的，他们是有纲领、有组织、有计划的，他们的目的是搞资本主义和反动统治的复辟。

运动证明了：在资产阶级和资产阶级知识分子中，在小资产阶级、特别是在富裕中农中，继续进行社会主义改造的必要性。他们许多人还是向往资本主义的，不高兴社会主义的，党对他们的领导权是不巩固的。他们是右派分子活动的市场。但他们的绝大多数经过批评和教育，是可以接受社会主义的。我们必须用大力争取中间派，这样才能孤立右派，壮大左派。

运动证明了：在工人阶级中，在农村的贫农下中农中，进行一次大规模的社会主义教育运动，也是非常必要的。他们是维护社会主义的最坚决的力量。但是资产阶级和地富分子的言行，在他们的一部分人中间也有一定的影响，有些大是大非的问题对于这一部分人还不很清楚，但是只要认真地摆事实，讲道理，他们是很容易明白的。

运动证明了：在共产党的基本队伍，各级党、政、人民团体、企业单位的领导机关和领导干部中，进行一次大规模的整风运动，是十分必要的。党在基本上是健康的，绝大多数党员干部是好的。但是从群众的大鸣大放中，也揭露了我们在工作上和作风上的大量缺点，有些是很严重的，触目惊心的，不改正是很危险的。同时，在党员和团员中也有少数的右派分子，并且有一部分人有严重的右倾思想。

运动证明了：必须坚定地信任群众的多数，充分运用群众路线。实行大鸣大放大争，摆事实，讲道理，出大字报、开座谈会和辩论会。这是最广泛的社会主义民主，是资产阶级民主所不能梦想的。这是正确处理人民内部矛盾的方法，也是教育和团结群众对敌人进行斗争的方法。大鸣大放，放一把火烧敌人，也烧自己的缺点，这两者都是我们所要求的。事实证明：不敢鸣放，怕出乱子，不相信多数群众的觉悟程度，不相信群众的智慧和力量，这种右倾观点是非常有害的，并且已经为事实所驳倒了。

运动的发展是健康的，已经得到显著的成效。特别是那些鸣放得充分的单位，和那些注意改正工作缺点的单位，成效更显著。全国第一批参加运动的省市以上机关(包括一些省市的地专机关)、学校、民主党派等的人数共 3，091，000 人，被揭露出来的右派分子共

62，460 人，占全体参加运动人数的 2．02％。右派被孤立被分化，中间派向左靠，左派力量在增加。

但是运动还要继续深入和展开，不能草率收兵，不能前紧后松，必须争取全胜。凡是在反右派斗争已经取得决定性胜利的单位，应该及时转入以整改为主的第三阶段，同时对资产阶级思想进行有系统的批判。运动的全胜，不只决定于反右派阶段，尤其决定于着重整改的第三阶段和每人研究文件、批评反省、提高自己的第四阶段。

(二) 关于资产阶级和知识分子

资产阶级和知识分子，是这次反右派斗争的主要范围。这里面包括工商业者、民主党派、教育界、新闻出版界、文艺界、科技界、卫生界、国家机关的许多工作人员、大学生等。这些人并不都属于资产阶级范畴，其中还包括很多党团员。但大体上这个范围是以资产阶级分子、小资产阶级分子、受过资产阶级教育的知识分子为主。为便利起见，放在一起说。

根据现有统计：⑴全国资产阶级约 130 万人，内拿定息的在职资方人员约 70 万人。⑵各民主党派共 10 万余人。⑶全国区以上政府和党的机关工作人员 193 万余人。⑷全国企业、事业机构(不包括学校)工作人员 402 万余人，内管理人员 320 万余人，工程技术人员 82 万余人。⑸全国大中小学工作人员 244 万余人，内教学人员 205 万余人。⑹全国大学生 40 万余人。上述各类人中间的知识分子估计约在 500 万人左右。

资产阶级的问题是社会主义革命的一个根本问题。资产阶级，特别是它的知识分子，是现在可以同无产阶级较量的主要力量。他们还有政治地位、政治资本和政治影响，而无产阶级也需要他们的知识。但是如果他们不坚决进行社会主义改造，他们同无产阶级的冲突是不可避免的。资产阶级知识分子的唯一出路就是改造自己，为新的基础服务，否则就有变成上不沾天下不着地的“梁上君子”的危险。

党对资产阶级分子和知识分子的政策是一贯的。党对资产阶级工商业者实行赎买政策，并且争取他们继续为社会主义服务。党对各民主党派实行长期共存、互相监督的方针。党在学术文化范围内主张百家争鸣、百花齐放。所有这些方针政策都以社会主义为前提。党始终坚持：资产阶级分子和资产阶级知识分子必须彻底改造，必须逐步工人阶级化。党的领导、无产阶级专政、民主集中制绝对不容动摇。党的各项基本政策，如肃反、合作化、统购统销等，绝对不容动摇。马列主义的宣传和政治教育必须加强，错误思想必须批判，毒草必须锄掉。放毒草是为了从反面教育群众，为了锄掉可以作肥料，为了在斗争中锻炼无产阶级和广大群众。党并且指出，把无产阶级和资产阶级的矛盾作为人民内部矛盾来处理，条件之一是资产阶级接受我们的方针，接受社会主义改造和党的领导，否则就会转化为敌我矛盾。

资产阶级对 1956 年的社会主义改造基本上没有反抗，这是因为：⑴经济上已经没有别的出路；⑵经过三反五反，认识了无产阶级的厉害；⑶政府对他们合营后在经济上和政治上都作了妥善安置。但是所有制的改变并不等于社会主义革命的完成，更不等于阶级斗争的熄灭。资产阶级同无产阶级政治上思想上的斗争并没有结束，而且在一定条件下可以重新尖锐化。最近时期右派向党向社会主义的猖狂进攻就说明了这一点。

资产阶级和资产阶级知识分子在社会主义革命中分成了左中右三派。左派站在拥护社会主义、拥护党的领导的立场。右派坚决反对社会主义，反对党的领导。左右两派在资产阶级和资产阶级知识分子中都是少数，多数是中间派。右派要同左派争夺中间派。右派总想向党和社会主义进攻，但是要等待时机。右派认为对斯大林的批判、匈牙利事件、百花齐放长期共存政策、宣传正确处理人民内部矛盾、党的整风就是他们的“时机”。

右派分子是些什么样的人？据北京师范学院对右派分子 125 人的分析，在家庭出身方面：地主、富农、资本家、军阀、官僚等剥削阶级家庭出身的 71 人，占 57％，职员、中农、自由职业者、手工业者等家庭出身的 42 人，占 33％，工人、贫农、城市贫民出身的 12 人，占 9％。在反党原因方面：本人受过斗争的 23 人，亲属受过斗争的 29 人，对土改⑷和三大改造不满的 18 人，受其他右派影响的 19 人，极端个人主义的 34 人，其他原因 4 人。清华大学对右派分子 584 人的分析，在家庭成份方面，反革命分子 60 人，占 10．3％；地富资产阶级 242 人，占 41．5％；职员 123 人，占 21％；工人农民 56 人，占

9．6％；其他 103 人，占 17．6％。在反党原因方面，因家庭反动被斗的 161 人，占 27．5％；历史上参加过反动党团或有反党活动的 50 人，占 8．6％；本人解放后受过斗争或处分的 87 人，占 14．9％；极端个人主义的 206 人，占 35．2％；受反动思想影响者 62 人，占 10．0％；其他 18 人，占 3．2％。又南京市一级机关对 54 个单位的右派分子 117 人的分析，则有 90％出身于地主资产阶级家庭，本人在历次运动中被斗或亲属被镇压判刑，有 60％参加过反动党团。

从历史上看，有许多右派分子在民主革命时期就是右派(老右派)。但是也有许多老右派在这次并没有活动，其中有一些还变成了中左分子甚至左派。相反，一部分在民主革命时期的中派甚至左派现在却成了右派。这说明在社会主义革命中不可避免地要发生新的政治分化。

右派分子活动的主要场所是知识分子成堆的地方，如高等学校、某些国家机关、新闻出版机关、文艺团体、政法机关、科技界、医药界等。在个别的单位中，右派占了优势。

知识分子经过几次运动，多数人都有了不同程度的进步，有一小部分人已经成为左派。但是很多人浸透了资产阶级世界观。并且仗恃国家少不了他们，无产阶级的知识分子队伍还很薄弱，因而占多数的中间派在某种条件下还是跟随着右派，因而右派知识分子在这次进攻中特别猖狂。

各民主党派中的右派分子在右派进攻中起了骨干的作用，因为人民给了他们一定的政治地位，他们可以利用合法地位发号施令，招兵买马。据统战部九月初不完全统计，各党派已揭发的右派分子 2，077 人(目前估计已达 2，500 余人)中，民盟 762 人，民革 444 人，九三 352 人，农工 176 人，民建 166 人，民进 151 人。民盟、九三、农工的表现特别恶劣。民主党派是民主革命时期的产物，其中也形成了在社会主义革命时期的左派。但大多数成员还没有从资产阶级立场转入无产阶级立场，因而右派一度在民主党派的许多组织占了上风。

各党派在过去一年内加紧发展组织，总数一年内增加了一倍，其中民盟增加了约 80％，民革、民建都增加了 100％以上，九三、民进增加了 200％以上，农工在今年上半年就增加了约 50％。新发展的人不少是坏分子。原来协议的分工范围也被他们冲破了。

资产阶级右派在进攻的时候提出形形色色的反动纲领，其实质就是反对社会主义和党的领导。他们的主要论点：⑴宣扬资产阶级的经济政治制度和资产阶级文化，反对社会主义的经济政治制度和社会主义文化；⑵反对国家的基本政策，如外交政策、统购统销政策、知识分子政策、五大运动等；⑶否认人民民主革命、社会主义革命、社会主义建设的成绩，否认党和工人阶级能够领导国家建设；⑷反对党对国家工作的领导，反对党在各个部门(特别是文教科技部门)的领导，要求取消党在若干基层单位(特别是高等学校和新闻出版机关)的领导。

右派在学术文化方面的主要论点是：外行不能领导内行。马克思主义就是教条主义。社会主义国家没有科学文化，有也不如资本主义国家。要求资产阶级的社会学、经济学、历史学、唯心论哲学复辟。向党和人民政府要求独立和自由：新闻自由、出版自由、文艺自由等。

“共产党在民主党派、知识界和工商界的一部分人(右派)中，当然不可能有领导权，因为他们是敌人；在多数人(中间派)中的领导权不巩固，有些文教单位还根本没有建立党的领导。”“资产阶级和资产阶级知识分子对共产党不心服，他们中的右派分子决心要同我们较量一下。较量了，他们失败了，他才懂得他们的大势已去，没有希望了。只有在这时，他们中的多数人(中间派及一部分右派)才会逐渐老实起来，把自己的资产阶级立场逐渐抛弃，站到无产阶级方面来，下决心依靠无产阶级吃饭。”

经过三个多月的斗争．情况已经发生了极大的变化。

省市以上机关斗争一般已经取得决定性胜利。在高等学校，反右派斗争已基本上胜利结束。教育界的主要战场现在正移向中小学。各地应对中小学教师中的整风加强领导。

在新闻界、文汇、光明、大公、新民都已转变方向，党外主要右派分子已斗倒。各地党报(包括团报、工会报)通讯社、刊物、出版社、广播台都在清查内部的右派。

在科学界，斗了钱伟长、曾昭抡，揭露了章罗联盟的科学纲领，揭露了社会学界、法律学界、经济学界的右派集团。

在文艺界，揭露了丁玲、陈企霞、冯雪峰、江丰、钟惦棐、沙蒙、吕班等人的反党活动和其他右派分子的活动。

在工程技术界、卫生界，斗争也有很大收获。

在各党派：民盟、农工、民建、民革中央的反对章伯钧、罗隆基、章乃器、黄绍竑、陈铭枢等右派分子的斗争已经得到很大的胜利。九三中央在批判了许德珩的错误以后，斗争将继续深入。在教育界的斗争向中学发展以后，民进各地方组织也开始揭发出了许多右派分子。

应该把斗争进行到底。要继续反对右倾情绪，但现在也要防止打击面过宽和简单粗暴的危险。要注意严格掌握划分极右分子、右派分子和中右分子的界限，始终注意审定所属单位的右派分子的名单，对划分不当的必须随时纠正。要十分注意团结中间派的工作，要注意争取右派分子起义，和帮助其中已有悔改表现的人逐步改造。应该看到，有些右派分子是可以改造的，改造以后对人民还是有用的。

在反右斗争已告一段落的单位应该坚决及时地转入整改和思想教育阶段。现在有不少单位对于转入整改缺乏决心，应予纠正。所谓反右斗争告一段落，是说已使所有右派分子受到揭露、批判和孤立，并且使大多数右派分子在群众面前低头认罪，不是说所有右派分子的检讨和交代都达到彻底的程度。总有一小部分右派分子是不会悔改的，他们要把反动观点

带到棺材里去，多数右派分子也不会在短期内真正转变。但是只要他们在群众中孤立了，就是我们的斗争的胜利。

资产阶级知识分子除少数具有右派观点外，还有其他严重错误的观点，特别是个人主义、自由主义、无政府主义、平均主义和民族主义等，有这些观点的不是一小部分人，而是所有资产阶级知识分子。在思想教育和批评反省阶段，必须集中力量对这些错误观点给以系统的打击。这是这次整风运动所必须完成的重大任务之一。

知识分子的思想改造是一个长期性的任务，可能还需要十年以上的时间。但是应该在这次运动中对一般资产阶级知识分子和工商界进行广泛的社会主义教育，摧毁资产阶级思想的阵地，根本改变许多文教单位和民主党派的政治面貌，建立对中间派的巩固的领导权，并且尽可能早日巩固起来。

必须大力加强对文教战线的领导骨干，切实整顿许多文教组织。“为了建成社会主义、工人阶级必须有自己的技术干部的队伍，必须有自己的教授、教员、科学家、新闻记者、文学家、艺术家和马克思主义理论家的队伍。这是一个宏大的队伍，人少了是不成的。”为达此目的，中央和地方都要在最近时期定出分门别类的具体计划，用大力贯彻执行。

必须用革命的精神培养新的知识分子，革新和加强学校中的思想政治教育和劳动教育。加强从工人农民中培养知识分子的工作。有计划地吸收左派知识分子入党。

现有的几百万知识分子多数是中间派，他们仍然是国家的重要的财富，经济文化建设和培养新生力量都需要他们，因此要用大力团结争取教育他们，纠正他们的错误观点，帮助他们实行自我改造。用妥善的而不是粗暴的方法使他们逐步脱离中间状态而站到工人阶级方面来。通过整风和马列主义的学习，帮助他们深入群众接近实际，同他们多谈话、多交朋友，倾听他们对工作的建议，帮助他们解决工作中的困难。过去我们在这些方面的缺点必须克服。知识分子在鸣放期间所提的意见绝大部分是正确的，应该认真研究处理。百家争

鸣百花齐放的方针必须采取一系列具体措施加以贯彻，不可因为反右派而动摇，当然必须按照六条标准，为了繁荣社会主义的而不是资本主义的学术文化。

知识分子中的右派如何处理，各个部门现在即应该具体研究。总的原则是“只要他们不当特务，不再进行破坏活动，也给他们一点事做，也不剥夺他们的公民权。”“另有一种右派，有言论，无行动，对这种人那就更要宽大些了。”凡是确已悔改的，或是确有真才实学的，仍要使用。对社会科学界和自然科学界，思想工作和技术工作要分别处理，对前者要严重些，后者要宽些。湖北省委对右派教师处理意见，其他部门和其他地方可以参考。有些重要岗位(如领导职务、要害部门、涉及外交的部门和政治课教师等)的右派分子必须坚决调动，太坏的分子也必须调动。对右派分子今后仍要继续加以监督，再做右派活动再斗。

右派中的反革命分子，除有现行活动者外，一般不要在运动中追查，可作专案处理。

各民主党派中央最近都开过全国整风工作会议，应该帮助他们在继续深入中央和省市的斗争的同时，把斗争积极地有步骤地深入到一切基层去，然后转入一般整风，破资本主义立场，立社会主义立场。通过反右派和整风，根本改变各党派中央和地方组织的政治面貌，使左派和中左分子切实掌握领导权。右派分子在各党派内要准备清洗一批，撤掉一批，但有些仍要保留。各党派在人大、政协、政府中的人也要由中央和地方即行分别准备处理方案。

在社会主义革命时期，需要一个新的、为社会主义服务的统一战线。认为各党派再无作用的意见是错误的。党派单位仍旧，不合并。在六条标准的基础上仍然贯彻长期共存、互相监督的方针。但各党派活动范围和发展范围应该加以调查和控制。

要考虑成立一个完全接受党领导的外围组织，作为青年团的继续，容纳那些同情共产主义、要求进步、但不够入党、又已超过团龄的人参加。

工商界的整风刚在开始，还没有多少可说。中央已批发了统战部的意见。大体上，工商界骨干分子整风的办法同于各党派；一般资产阶级分子或者参加工商界骨干的整风，或者另外编组整风，视情况而定；小型工商业者则着重进行社会主义教育，可能的时候也可以组织辩论，略如工人、农民的办法。具体作法待工作进展以后再总结经验。总之，一定要使工商界所有的人受到教育，不要象过去的某些运动那样把一部分人(主要是小型工商业者)漏掉了。

(三) 关于农村

农村总的情况是好的：合作社基本上是巩固的，粮食增产了，干部作风有进步。但由于办社时间短、经验少、灾荒大，所以有困难、有缺点。

合作化实现，所有制问题基本上解决了，但这不等于说农村中已没有问题。

广大农民对国家、合作社、家庭三者的关系还有认识不清的地方，存在着不顾国家利益和集体利益的个人主义和本位主义思想。在统购统销问题上，农民(主要是富裕中农)同国家矛盾比较突出，用各种办法多留粮食和其他主要农产品，一部分人甚至进行投机活动，造成了今年上半年的粮食的紧张局势。特别在自由市场开放后，农民中的资本主义自发倾向重新抬头。

富裕中农的绝大部分因大势所趋入了合作社，但他们中间的大部分人思想上仍是动摇的。少数坚持资本主义道路的分子，或者在被迫入社后，带头捣乱闹退社；或者在社外进行破坏合作社的活动。他们总想同合作社较量一下。此外，他们也是农村中抵抗统购统销政策、从事粮食投机的主要势力。

反革命分子、坏分子和一部分地主、富农，看到一部分中农动摇，看到群众认识不清，看到我们工作和干部作风的弱点，乘机活动；制造反动言论，散布谣言，闹迷信，搞赌博，搞倒算，煽动闹事，进行破坏活动，甚至建立反革命组织，制造暴乱。

党内在最近一个时期存在着严重的右倾思想：认为农村中两条道路的斗争已经结束，可以不再强调阶级路线；可以埋头搞生产，放松对于农民的社会主义教育。对反动分子的破坏活动麻痹大意，没有及时地给以有力的打击。在农村干部中，一部分人由于家庭经济地位变化，资本主义思想有了发展。一部分党员干部在统购统销、合作化等基本问题上，实际上站在富裕中农的立场，反对党和国家的政策。值得注意的是，这种情况，在机关、部队、厂矿的一部分人员中间也存在。

“和城市一样，在农村中，仍然有或者是社会主义或者是资本主义这样两条道路的斗争。这个斗争，需要很长时间，才能取得彻底胜利。这是整个过渡时期的任务。”

正在全国农村开展的社会主义教育运动，它的目的是：⑴在大辩论中明辨是非，坚定走社会主义道路的信心和决心；⑵批判富裕中农的资本主义思想和个人主义思想，削弱农村的资本主义影响；⑶揭露和打击地富反革命分子和其他坏分子的破坏活动；⑷在群众性的批评和自我批评的基础上，整社、整党，改进干部作风，改正工作缺点，以达到改善党群关系和干群关系，纯洁党的队伍，巩固合作社，巩固统购统销政策，发展农业生产的目的。

方法，同样必须是大鸣大放大争。同样必须坚定地信任群众的多数。

现在全国采取了几种不同办法，但都是大同小异的。各地情况不一，不必强求一律。但是，不管采取那种办法，都不能影响到大鸣大放。根据已有经验证明，惟有大鸣大放，才能大争，惟有大争，才能明辨是非，提高觉悟；惟有大鸣大放，才能暴露出富裕中农的资本主义思想的原形，惟有大鸣大放，才能把牛鬼蛇神(地、富、反、坏)暴露出来，便于给以有力打击和教育群众。尤其重要的是，惟有大鸣大放，才能使群众畅所欲言，对干部的缺点或错误提出批评，揭露工作缺点，使干部头脑清醒起来，以利于改进工作，提高干部的思想水平和业务能力。同时在运动中，要坚持只动口、不动手的原则，防止和纠正简单粗暴的作法。

各地材料证明，在县区乡干部中有一部分阶级异己分子、严重的违法乱纪分子和具有严重资本主义倾向的分子(湖北一个县为 7%，争辩后仍有 2—3%)。为了加强农村运动的领导，为了把上述这些分子暴露出来，为了批判各种右倾思想，必须开好各县三级干部会议。三级干部会议必须采取大鸣大放大争的办法。

对于农村中的反革命分子和坏分子必须给以坚决的打击，才能发扬正气，压倒邪气。“有反必肃”。“对刑满释放再犯罪者，再捉再判”。对各种“破坏公共秩序、严重违法乱纪等严重罪犯以及公众公认为坏人的人，必须惩办”。“禁止赌博”，“认真贯彻取缔会道门”。这是毛主席在青岛会议上规定的原则。毛主席还指出：“现在政法部门有些工作人员，对于本来应当捕处的人，也放弃职守，不予捕处，这是不对的。轻罪重判不对，重罪轻判也不对，目前时期的危险是在后者”。这种缺点必须在各级党委领导下，加以纠正。

该杀的必须杀，但杀人要少，可杀可不杀的不要杀。该捕的必须捕，但要控制，不可捕得过多，宁可多管制一些。判处要及时，可由各省市规定一些既合乎法律手续又简便易行的办法。

上述原则也同样适用于城市。

对于已摘掉帽子而又从事破坏活动的地富分子，应该把帽子从新戴上。

对于一部分具有严重资本主义思想和行为的富裕中农，必须进行说理的斗争，但是指名批判的人数不要过多，不可与“地、富、反、坏”同等对待。对富裕中农仍是团结、教育、改造的问题。对其中少数坚决闹退社的，可以在批判他们的错误言行和剥夺他们的政治影响之后，允许其退社。合作社中每年有少数人自由进出，这种政治局面没有什么坏处，反而很有好处；但在富裕中农影响之下，成堆的退出，是不好的。

对单干户，不能歧视，不能苛待，要争取教育他们。但不能造成单干户优于合作社的局面。他们要同社员一样承担对国家的各项义务。对他们的某些违法行为和有害活动(如挖墙脚、雇工剥削、买青苗、放高利贷、做投机买卖等)，必须加以限制或制止。

关于如何结合两条道路的辩论，整顿农业生产合作社，做好合作社生产管理工作，贯彻执行互利政府的问题，中央已发出三个专门指示，这里不再多说。这里只着重说明，农村阶级路线仍有决定意义，忘记了农村阶级分析和阶级路线是错误的。在整社中必须保证贫农和下中农的优势，合作社的主要干部必须一般地由贫农和下中农担任。

合作社干部必须坚决参加生产劳动。现在许多社干部这样作了，影响很好，但是还有不少干部对于这一点执行得不积极、不充分，有的甚至拒绝执行，需要继续加以督促。

合作化的巩固基本上决定于农业生产的发展。只有发展生产，增加农民收入，合作化表现出了很大优越性，才是社会主义在两条道路斗争中获得胜利的可靠保障。只有在合作社的单位面积产量赶上或超过当地富裕中农的水平，才能停止富裕中农的动摇，跟着走社会主义道路。我们应争取在第二个五年计划时期内使大多数合作社赶上或超过当地富裕中农的生活水平。

中国是一个六亿多人口的大国，农村人口又占总人口的百分之八十以上，如果不发展农业，不但影响最大多数人的生活，影响工农联盟和人民的团结，而且也不能迅速地发展工业。

为了国家的工业化，必须充分地注意发展农业。我们的奋斗目标是把我国建成为一个现代化的工业国和现代化的农业国。为此，必须在今后国家建设中，增加农业投资的比重，必须注意发展为农业生产服务的工业。

还必须制定发展农业生产的纲要，使全体农民和干部家喻户晓，作为奋斗的目标。前年制定的四十条纲要草案，鼓舞了士气，起了很好的作用。在一个时期中，又有一种似乎四十条不行了的空气，这是右倾思想表现的一种，是错误的。

现在中央根据一年多的经验，对四十条草案作了一些修改，准备经过全会和年底党代表大会讨论之后，提到全国人民代表大会通过，正式公布，作为今后十年内制定农业计划的指针，作为奋斗不懈的目标。

今冬明春，应该象前冬去春一样，掀起一个积肥和兴修农田水利的大运动，并适当地进行其他基本建设。

(四) 关于工人阶级

工人阶级队伍的整风问题，是本阶级整顿思想作风、提高阶级觉悟的问题，同资产阶级、资产阶级知识分子、小资产阶级(特别是富裕中农)接受社会主义改造的问题，有原则的区别，因此，应该着重改进工作和群众中的社会主义教育，而不应该把机关学校中对待资产阶级知识分子的办法，拿来对待一般的工人群众。

目前工人阶级队伍的组织状况和思想状况，总的方面是好的。一千一百几十万产业工人中，85％左右出身于工农和其他劳动人民的家庭，解放前的老工人占 35％左右，共产党员占 13％(加上共青团员占 29％)。

但也有问题。老工人从历次运动证明，都是党和社会主义事业的核心力量，但也有弱点(例如比较保守)。占 65％左右的新工人中，农民、学生、城市贫民出身的占一半以上，小资产阶级的思想作风比较浓厚。新工人中有 3％左右(有些单位超过 5％)是原来的地主、富农、资本家、伪军警和游民分子，剥削阶级意识和坏习气尚未得到应有的改造。

因此，有必要在整风中对工人群众进行一次普遍深入的社会主义教育运动。有必要通过整风更好地树立和培养工人队伍的骨干和核心力量。有必要进一步清查坏人，纯洁工人阶级队伍。特别注意采取措施加强那些成分复杂、工作薄弱的单位(合营企业、矿山)。经过整风和社会主义教育运动，把工人阶级锻炼成为一支有觉悟、有组织、有纪律、有文化技术的战斗队伍。

教育的中心内容，是关于工人阶级在社会主义革命和建设事业中的领导地位和领导责任问题，是无产阶级专政的政权下工人群众的政治任务问题。要使工人群众懂得：必须在共产党领导下，不断提高自己的觉悟，加强组织性和纪律性，增强阶级内部的团结；必须发扬艰苦奋斗的优良传统，保持大公无私的高贵品质，努力生产，克勤克俭，以自己的模范作用，带动全国人民，为完成社会主义建设而斗争。

应该结合工人的切身生活体验和他们提出的主要问题，结合国家政治经济生活和本企业的具体状况，提出讨论题目。一般可以讨论：(1)工人阶级如何负起领导阶级责任的问题；(2)个人和集体、个人和国家的关系问题；(3)生活改善和生产发展的关系问题；(4)自由和纪律、民主和集中的关系问题；(5)工农关系问题(主要是讨论工人生活水平不要过高于农民)。通过这些问题的讨论，作好关于改进工资福利制度的思想准备。

为了使运动健康发展，可采取上海约法三章的办法(不得妨碍生产；遵守劳动纪律；只在厂内，不在厂外，只准动口，不准动手)。

在职工中实行大鸣大放，要充分运用大字报。大字报形式简便，便于发动群众。生动活泼，引人注意。批评领导人员和工人群众中的缺点，提出各种合理化建议，明确尖锐，有声有色。

必须紧紧依靠工人，充分发挥他们的积极作用，用他们的丰富的生产和生活经验，他们的阶级觉悟，他们的组织性、纪律性，去团结和教育新工人，特别是青年工人。几年来不少干部对老工人的作用有些忽视，在某些政策措施上，如晋级、计件工资，工作安排、劳动保险、子女就业等，对老工人的照顾有些不够，需要加以改进。

领导上必须认真整顿作风改进工作，要自始至终贯彻边整边改。

检查和克服三个主义。领导干部(包括党政工团)参加体力劳动要成为一项经常制度。要利用一切可能的机会，钻研技术和业务，逐步地使自己从外行变成内行。深入生产，深入工人，关怀群众疾苦。生活上和工人打成一片，坚决废除脱离群众的特殊待遇。帮助和引导工段一级干部克服命令主义，作到既能勇于负责，又会走群众路线。

大力精简机构，减少党政工团的脱产人员和企业中过多的非生产人员。注意从工人中培养和生长干部，充分发挥不脱产、半脱产的积极分子和干部的作用。强调技职人员和工人结合，组织他们参加实际操作，以便培养出大批既有实际经验、又与群众有密切联系的优秀干部。

对于一些影响生产、影响团结、阻碍工人积极性发挥的各种规章制度，应该坚决修改或废除。同时相应地建立必要的新的管理制度和政治教育工作制度，以便从制度上巩固整风的成果。

党委领导下的职工代表大会，是扩大企业民主、吸引职工群众参加企业管理、克服官僚主义的良好形式，是正确处理人民内部矛盾的有效方法之一，在这次整风中应该充分运用，并在总结试点经验之后，全面推广。职工代表大会的职权，应该遵照中央关于罢工、罢课问题的指示中的规定。

要注意加强领导，掌握政策。

企业中的技术人员和职员，从经济地位上讲，他们是工人阶级的一个组成部分，但从社会出身、意识形态上讲，多数还属于资产阶级知识分子的范畴。整风主要是使他们接受社会主义改造的问题，大体上可以仿照机关整风的做法。但因为他们直接参加生产建设，比较接近工人，和机关学校的高级知识分子有所不同。对他们中某些专心业务、有真才实学而有右派言论的人，不一定戴右派分子帽子；就是曾经有反动活动的右派分子，只要有真才实学，并且愿意悔改，也应该区别情况，慎重对待；而对于工程技术人员的处理又应该比一般职员更宽一些。

在工人中不提反右派斗争的口号，也不戴资产阶级右派分子的帽子。

对工人中的极少数反社会主义分子，和流氓、阿飞、严重违法乱纪等坏分子，应该进行批判和适当斗争。情况特别严重或屡教不改的，应该在运动结束以后开除出厂，并作适当处理，但是对于：(1)一般思想落后、爱说怪话、劳动纪律松弛或因工作、生活问题对领导不满的人；(2)有地域观念、本位主义思想、宗派情绪的人；(3)一般闹事头子等；不要不加区别地都当成政治上的反社会主义分子和坏分子加以斗争和打击。要十分注意防止打击报复，防止形成宗派斗争。

对老工人和转业军人中发生的问题，应该特别慎重处理。

在新合营企业中，要通过这次运动，揭发和孤立资本家中的右派分子，打击资本家抵抗社会主义改造的活动，和他们对于工人群众思想的侵蚀。但是要防止把反右派斗争形成为斗争一般资本家的运动。

手工业、运输业合作社的整风，应该和整社相结合。充分发扬工人和贫苦独立劳动者走社会主义道路的积极性，注意团结比较富裕的有技术的社员，揭露和批判原来的小(14)业主和一部分富裕的独立劳动者的资本主义倾向，制止他们当中某些人的破坏活动，在胜利的大辩论和干部整风的基础上巩固合作社。贯彻勤俭办社、民主办社的方针。

职工家属和城市其他劳动人民，应该在当地党委的统一领导下，普遍开展社会主义教育运动，尽可能地组织鸣放，进行辩论，明确大是大非。并通过运动把隐藏在他们中间的反社会主义分子和坏分子清查出来。但也不要提反右派斗争的口号，不要戴右派分子的帽子。

(五) 关于少数民族

在一切已经基本上实现了生产资料所有制的社会主义改造的少数民族地区和少数民族人口中，应该同样进行社会主义教育，并且适当地进行反右派斗争。

在少数民族中的社会主义教育和反右派斗争，除了同汉族地区相同的内容以外，还应该着重反对民族主义倾向。在广大群众中，应该以新旧对比，宣传各民族团结统一在中国共产党领导下的民族大家庭的利益和必要，揭露坏分子对民族团结的挑拨破坏活动。在少数民族干部和上层人士中，则应该指出，地方民族主义倾向和汉族干部中的大汉族主义倾向，同样是资产阶级的反社会主义的倾向，对于社会主义祖国的各民族的团结统一同样有危险。过去我们强调反对汉族干部中的大汉族主义倾向，这是完全必要的，今后也仍然要继续坚决反对大汉族主义，因为只有这样才能反对地方民族主义。但是目前在少数民族干部中，强调反对地方民族主义倾向的危险，是同样必要的。民族主义是资产阶级思想的一个重要方面，同无产阶级世界观根本不相容，它是一种反马克思列宁主义、反共产主义的思想，共产党内决不能允许这种资产阶级思想存在。一切利用狭隘的民族感情和民族间的隔阂，来分裂民族团结和破坏祖国统一的人，都是民族中的右派分子。对于公然煽动民族分离的特别恶劣的极右分子，应该坚决地和有准备地加以揭露和驳斥，使其完全孤立，借以教育群众和干部。

在少数民族中进行反民族主义的社会主义教育，关键在于少数民族地区的党组织。只有在各民族中形成了真正具有无产阶级觉悟的共产主义核心，才能克服本民族的资产阶级民族主义倾向，巩固民族间的团结统一。因此，在各少数民族地区的共产党组织中，必须定出计划，进行反对资产阶级民族主义的教育，并且按照具体条件，对本民族某些党员中突出的民族主义倾向进行必要的批判。

培养少数民族干部的学校中的政治教育方针应该改变，今后应该着重进行阶级教育和马列主义民族观点的教育，树立学生的共产主义的世界观和人生观。

民族问题的完全解决是一个长期的过程，因此，对于民族主义的批判必须防止急躁，必须慎重地由上而下地有领导地进行，必须注意获得本民族多数党员干部的支持，尽量避免形成只是外来汉族干部同本地民族干部的争论。汉族干部必须着重检查和批判大汉族主义倾

向，本地民族干部则应着重检查和批判地方民族主义。只有经常注意反对资产阶级民族主义(包括大民族主义和地方民族主义)的思想，才能不断提高各民族党员和人民群众的觉悟，巩固和加强各民族的团结统一。

在还没有进行社会主义改造的少数民族地区，在社会上不应该进行反右派斗争。在这些地区是否和如何在适当范围内进行社会主义教育，应该根据不同情况分别考虑。对于这个问题，以及在少数民族地区进行整风和社会主义教育的其他问题，中央将另作专门指示。

(六) 关于军队

在军队方面，经过反右派斗争，军队系统也已经查出一批右派分子。这对军队的巩固是有重大意义的。但是军队一般比较纯洁，因此，在反右派斗争告一结束以后，应该集中力量进行内部整风，并以干部为重点。

在近几年的社会大变革中，军队干部的政治思想状况基本上是稳定的，健康的。但是由于部队处于和平环境，大批新成分参加军队，以及许多部门不适当地强调专业化，忽视政治和思想工作等等原因，几年来，干部的个人主义和无组织无纪律倾向有一定的发展。有的干部以为革命大功告成，自己有功劳，党应该“论功行赏”。他们不是兢兢业业地去完成党的任务，而是追求名誉、地位和待遇，计较个人得失，不愿到艰苦地区去工作。严重者甚至发展到公开和组织对抗，不执行命令，不服从调动。

军队在官兵关系、上下级关系和军民关系等方面，也存在着一些隔阂、疏远和不团结的现象。军队同地方党政联系不够，对社会情况了解较差。

军队在执行党的政策方面，基本上是好的，但是也有一部分干部和士兵不满统购统销政策，怀疑合作化的优越性，认为党对农民不公平。有些干部站在富裕中农的立场讲话，少数地富出身的分子和其他坏分子甚至煽动农民闹事。以上这些问题，因为对有些不利于军

内团结的制度和条令(例如内务条例)作了改变，经过多次的教育和整顿，内外关系有所改善，但是还存在不少问题，需要通过整风加以妥善的解决。

在军队各级机关和学校的整风，可以采取大字报、辩论会、批评和自我批评的方式来进行。在连队主要是进行社会主义教育和组织有领导的辩论。

军队担负着保卫国防和训练等繁重任务，在整风期间，必须注意不要松懈战斗准备和训练工作，特别是第一线部队。整风的目的，必须是为了提高社会主义觉悟，增强军队的团结，增强战斗力，而不是相反。

(七) 关于党和团

目前我们的党已经有 1，272 万党员，其中工人党员 174 万余人，农民党员 850 万余人，知识分子党员 188 万余人，其他成份的党员 60 万余人。

在这次整风反右派斗争中，大多数党员表现是好的。但是也暴露出不少问题。根据 27 个省市和中直机关、中央国家机关和军队截至 9 月上旬的统计，参加第一批整风运动和反右派斗争的党员总数为 100 万余人，共揭发出党内右派分子 5，800 余人，占参加运动的党员总数的 0．58％。根据对中央国家机关和各省市 1，018 名党内右派分子的调查，1945 年以前入党的有 186 人，占 18．21％；如果再加上 1946 年至 1949 年入党的 311 人，则共为 497 人，占总数的 48．76％。在高级党校学习的 800 多个高级干部中，有右派分子十余人。这说明在一、二十年党龄以上的老党员中，右派分子是有一个相当数目的。

这些右派分子都是资产阶级在党内的代言人。从党内发现这些右派分子，是这次整风和反右派斗争的很大成绩。这对我们党的巩固和纯洁具有重大意义。

在反右派斗争中，还揭发出不少党员干部有严重的右倾思想，对党有严重的不满情绪，在一些重大政策问题上同党有分歧，并且在这一次反右派斗争中表现政治动摇、立场不稳。他们类似社会上的中右分子。

根据江苏、河南、广东、广西、贵州五省和中直机关六个单位的统计，在参加运动的76，442 名党员中，共有中右分子 1，780 人，占党员总数的 2．33％。

在这次整风运动和反右派斗争中，暴露出一部分党员和干部的资产阶级个人主义是严重的。也有一部分党员和干部丧失革命意志、违法乱纪，道德败坏，丧失党员和干部的条件。

在这次整风运动和反右派斗争中，暴露出党内的主观主义、官僚主义和宗派主义的现象也是严重的。

党内所以发生这些严重问题是有其社会根源和思想根源的。⑴大部分党员是非无产阶级出身的。⑵党的组织发展较快，注意质量不够，而且思想政治工作也没跟上。⑶更重要的是，大多数党员是在胜利后的环境中入党的，入党时缺乏真正的社会主义觉悟，他们入党后长期处在同资产阶级合作的环境中，没有经过同资产阶级的直接的、尖锐的阶级斗争。在 164 万余知识分子党员中，大部分没有经过生产劳动的锻炼，没有经过严重的阶级斗争的考验。

因此，在党内进行一次严肃的整风运动，是十分必要的。

在反右派斗争中，必须同对待党外右派分子一样，一视同仁地严肃地对待党内的右派分子。但是，现在还有一些同志，在反对党内的右派分子的斗争中，存在着比较严重的温情主义，特别是对一些应该划为右派的老党员更加惋惜、心软、下不了手。这是必须加以克服的。

目前在全国范围内，参加第一批整风运动的单位，一般的都处在整风运动的第二阶段，着重进行反击右派的斗争。有些思想作风不好的党员和干部以为整风这一关已经过去了，这显然是错误的。所有整风的单位，经过第一阶段和第二阶段以后，都必须先后进入第三、

第四阶段。在这后两个阶段内要特别抓紧党内整风，除了着重反对主观主义、官僚主义和宗派主义以外，还要彻底批判右倾思想、个人主义、本位主义、绝对平均主义和自由主义。对于革命意志衰退、消极落后的党员，也必须严加批判，重者还应绳之以纪律。

要加强政治思想教育工作。要在这次整风中，对每个党员在政治上、思想上普遍地进行一次检查。认真改正忽视政治思想教育、组织生活不健全、纪律松懈等缺点。

除了叛徒和严重违法乱纪分子之外，在整风中，必须保护一切党团员，用大力用诚心帮助他们改正错误缺点，改善工作方法，提高工作能力，提高政治水平，提高思想水平。教育党员、干部一定要有朝气，一定要有革命的意志，一定要有大公无私、全心全意为人民服务的精神。

必须结合这次整风运动，对所有党的基层组织认真地进行一次整顿。要通过这次整风运动，达到纯洁党的队伍，巩固党的组织的目的。

对于党内的右派分子一般地应该开除他们的党籍。

对于混入党内的各种坏分子，严重的违法乱纪分子，不可救药的腐化堕落的分子，有严重的资产阶级个人主义思想和行为，屡教不改的分子，必须清除出党。

对于丧失革命意志，消极落后，不起共产党员作用的人，经过批评教育仍不改正(18)的，应该劝他们退党或者清洗出党。

这样做，不仅可以纯洁党的组织，严格党的纪律，教育广大党员和干部，而且可以使被开除出党的人更容易进行改造。不这样做，对于党有很大的害处。

在决定开除一个党员的时候，要将他们的错误事实核对确实，要遵守规定的手续，并且在开除他们以后，仍要在思想上、政治上关怀他们，指定专人与他们保持联系，进行考察教育。

1，270 万党员中有 280 余万预备党员，对于他们要进行严格的审查，防止不够党员条件的人转为正式党员。

为了不断地调整党员的成份，补充党的新鲜血液，在整风运动和反右派斗争的基础上，在确实保证党员质量的条件下，可以有控制地把确实具备党员条件的人，特别是老工人和高级知识分子中的优秀分子，接收为党员。

其次，谈一谈干部问题。

我们党从来就是注意选拔优秀的工农分子和同工农群众有密切联系的知识分子担负各种的领导工作的。这是我们党的干部路线。

我们在过去一个时期内曾经过多地吸收了一批没有经过生产劳动锻炼和实际斗争考验的青年知识分子到各级领导机关工作，这是一个缺点。

今后我们仍然应该从工人、农民的优秀分子中选拔干部，但是，他们应该是具有一定文化水平的工人和农民。同样应该从优秀的知识分子中选拔干部，但是他们应该是经过生产和斗争的锻炼，同工农群众有密切联系的知识分子。

对于党员和干部必须努力引导他们注意政治，注意群众生活和群众斗争中的重大问题，密切联系基本群众。今后除了继续提高现有干部的马列主义水平和业务能力，并且按照中央指示使他们参加一些体力劳动以外，应该有计划地分批地组织现有的没有经过实际斗争锻

炼、没有基层工作经验的知识分子干部到农村、工厂中去劳动几年，或者到基层去做几年实际工作。

凡是党和政府、群众团体的各级领导干部，都必须经过实际斗争的锻炼和取得基层工作的经验，缺少这一课的，必须补上这一课。文学、艺术和新闻工作者也必须这样做。

党、政、群众团体的工作人员，企业单位、事业单位的脱产人员，都必须尽可能地逐步地减少。

对于大学和中等专业学校毕业生，必须研究适当办法，首先分配他们到适合于他们的学科的生产单位中去，从事一年到几年的劳动以后，再根据他们的专长和在劳动中的表现，分配他们的工作。

必须认真创造条件，使生产中的体力劳动者有提高文化科学知识的机会，并且使其中能够深造的一部分人，有升入大专学校的机会。

认真地贯彻执行这样的干部路线，才能使党和国家培养和选拔干部的工作，建立在稳妥的基础之上，才能建立一支为共产主义事业奋斗的经得起风险的干部队伍。

再次，谈一谈青年团的问题。

共产主义青年团是党的有力助手。各级党组织应当密切地关怀青年团的巩固和团员质量的提高。在这次大鸣大放、反右派斗争中，在党员中暴露出来的问题，在团员中更加严重，团的干部政策中的缺点更加迫切需要纠正。根据统计，参加整风运动的团员共 85 万余人，被暴露出来的右派分子 14，000 余人，占参加运动的团员总数的 1．65％。

必须结合这次整风运动，对团的组织认真地进行一次整顿。对于犯有各种严重错误的共青团员，在进行组织处理的时候，基本上可以参照对犯各种错误的党员的处理原则进行处理，但是应该比党松一些，应该更着重于教育。

(八) 改进工作，争取全胜

改进工作和反右派具有同等重要意义，不可忽视任何一方面。

要勇于接受群众的批评，坚决改正错误，才利于孤立右派，争取大多数，才能提高党和政府的威信。

党的领导能否巩固和加强，决定于党的本身，决定于领导是否正确，能否切实改正工作中的缺点和错误。反右派本身并不能消除我们的缺点和错误。

在运动中，党内党外提的批评意见是很多的，这些批评和意见，百分之九十以上是正确的，有的虽较偏激，也很有益处。

从运动中暴露出的问题，比我们想象的要严重得多，正如中央整风指示所说的：“八年以来，在我们党内，脱离群众和脱离实际的官僚主义、宗派主义和主观主义，有了新的滋长”。不坚决地改正这些错误和缺点，是很危险的。

反映得比较突出的毛病是：

许多规章制度不合理，不切实际，相互矛盾。这影响到上下级之间、同级之间、这一部门和那一部门之间、这部分群众和那部分群众之间的关系，影响到生产的发展。这些东西大部是由北京出去的，有的是原来规定就不正确的，有的是原来正确但因条件变化、应该改变而未及时改变的，有的是应该由各地去因地制宜作出规定而不应该由中央统一规定的，有的是中央各部门在各自为政、互不联系的情况下作出的。有的是因为经验不足难于避免

的，有的是完全可以避免的，这里有集中过多的现象，也有分散主义的现象。地方某些规定，也有同样情形。

领导机关和领导干部脱离实际脱离群众的现象严重，负责同志忙于事务，接近群众太少，对群众中的问题不甚了解。许多生活制度，形成特殊，助长了干部脱离群众。不少干部骄傲自满，自以为是，不走群众路线，遇事不同群众商量。不少干部不愿与非党群众和非党人士来往。有一部分党员追求个人享受，计较名誉地位，遇事要求特殊，甚至堕落腐化，欺压群众，违法乱纪。

这些现象，不改不行，必须坚决改。

我们是 6 亿人口的大国，如何把 6 亿人口团结起来，一心一德，建设社会主义，是一件很不容易的事情。为此，各级党委的负责人必须经常注意思想政治的领导，不要陷入事务主义的泥坑，以致忽视了大局，忽视了事情的根本方面。总的任务是坚持群众路线，正确地处理人民内部矛盾。“我们的目标，是想造成一个又有集中又有民主，又有纪律又有自由，又有统一意志、又有个人心情舒畅、生动活泼，那样一种政治局面，以利于社会主义革命和社会主义建设，较易于克服困难，较快地建设我国的现代工业和现代农业，党和国家较为巩固，较为能够经受风险。”

要造成这样的政治局面，一方面必须贯彻进行反右派的斗争，加强对反革命分子的专政，巩固党的和国家的纪律，另一方面必须克服宗派主义、官僚主义、主观主义。为了整顿作风，改进工作，目前应该集中于以下三点：

(1)克服宗派主义和特殊化的倾向。共产党员要大公无私，要同群众打成一片，同甘苦，共呼吸。党员同非党群众、党外人士要有亲密的联系，要多交朋友。干部同群众生活不要相差太多，取消形成干部(主要是共产党员)特殊化的规定和制度，提倡艰苦朴素的风气，领导干部接近下层接近群众，干部参加体力劳动，工农生活、城乡生活不要相差太多，生

活水平的提高必须考虑到全国大多数人的情况，实行合理的低工资制，尽量使大家都有饭吃。

(2)从制度上和组织上改变那些不合理的规定，正确地解决集中统一与分工负责的关系(党政关系，上下关系)，该集中的必须集中，该分散的必须分散，该下放的必须下放。过分集中，分散主义，都要纠正。这些方面解决得好，既可以减少主观主义和官僚主义，又可以减少无政府、无纪律的现象。党政机关脱离生产人员过多，机构庞大臃肿，也助长了主观主义官僚主义的发展，必须大力精简，坚决把多余的人员下放到生产单位和需要加强的基层单位中去。

(3)在人民内部扩大民主生活，继续健全民主制度。处理人民内部的矛盾必须坚持和风细雨的方法“团结——批评——团结”的方法。各级领导人员必须充分尊重人民群众的民主权利，经常倾听人民群众的呼声和要求，认真考虑各种合理的不同意见和反对意见，诚心诚意地接受群众的批评和监督，坚决地改正自己的缺点和错误。“凡属人民内部的争论问题，只能用民主的方法去解决，只能用讨论的方法、批评的方法、说服教育的方法去解决，而不能用强制的、压服的方法去解决。”只有这样，才能鼓舞群众，提高群众觉悟，才能使群众在今后的日常生活中勇于批评和发表意见，敢于争辩和坚持真理。

反右派斗争是为正确处理人民内部矛盾扫清道路的，我们决不能允许任何人用反右派斗争来阻塞人民内部的言路，用强制的压服的方法去解决人民内部的争论问题。为了教育广大群众，特别是为了解除中间分子的顾虑，反右派斗争本身也必须特别注意坚持说道理、摆事实、以理服人的原则，防止简单粗暴，竭力避免夸大和片面性；对于中间分子和工人农民的错误观点，要采取耐心说服教育的方法；对于学术上的争论，尤其要反对轻率和武断。对于右派分子的处理也要恰当。必须使反右派斗争的结果，有利于而不是不利于“百花齐放、百家争鸣”这个方针的贯彻执行，有利于而不是不利于培养使人民群众敢讲话的空气。

我们要争取运动的全胜。所谓全胜，就是要取得反右派斗争的胜利，取得改进工作的胜利，并且使斗争的结果能够造成上面所说的那种政治局面。

现在反右派斗争还需要深入和展开，但已取得决定性的胜利；而改的工作还只是开始。这是必须特别注意的。

对于改进工作，有些地区、有些单位是做得比较好的。凡是注意了改的单位，都得到明显的效果：右派孤立了，中间分子靠拢了，党群关系改善了，党的威信和干部的威信提高了，群众的工作热情和政治积极性提高了。这些注意了改进工作的单位证明，群众的大部分批评和意见，是本单位可以马上接受和改进的(有的单位分析，90——95％可由本单位解决)，只有一小部分是要由上级或中央决定之后才能改进的。

中央和地方的各部门、各单位，要成立由负责人主持的专门小组，广泛收集群众对于改进工作的意见(凡是过去还没有实实鸣放或没有充分鸣放的单位，一定要补课，使群众意见得以充分发表。)经过仔细研究之后，提出改进工作的计划和方案，逐步实行。各部门、各单位必须把改进工作的情况，随时向上级和中央报告。

现在还有不少单位的领导同志，对于改的工作没有重视或者重视不够。有的人唯恐揭露缺点，运动一开始就不敢放鸣；有的人在鸣放之后，又利用反右派把自己的错误掩盖起来，甚至企图逃避整改，蒙混过关；有的人还对提意见的人进行打击和报复。这些是不能允许的。各级党委必须认真地抓第三阶段和第四阶段的领导，以求得运动的全胜。

来源：中共洛阳市委办公室翻印,1957 年 10 月 20 日。

Title: Deng Xiaoping's Report on the Rectification Movement

Author:

Time: 1957.9.23

Tags:

Select source:

Deng Xiaoping's Report on the Rectification Movement

Deng Xiaoping

(I) General Situation of the Movement

The Rectification Movement and the Anti-Rightist Struggle, which began in May of this year, was carried out before August mainly in Party and government organs above the provincial and municipal levels, in universities and colleges, in democratic parties, in the press, in science and technology, in literature and art, and in health. After August, the campaign was gradually extended to industrial and commercial circles, workers, peasants, primary and secondary school teachers and other urban and rural laborers. The army also carried out the Rectification and Anti-Rightist Struggle at the same time. It is now expanding into a nationwide rectification movement.

At a meeting of the secretaries of some provincial and municipal committees held in Qingdao in July, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a comprehensive estimate of the nature and situation of the Rectification Movement and the anti-Rightist struggle, and laid down clear guidelines for the development of the movement. Now the national movement is being carried out smoothly in accordance with the guidelines of the Central Committee.

Concerning the significance of this campaign, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, "The significance of this critique of the bourgeois rightists should not be underestimated. This is a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. The 1956 socialist revolution on the economic front (on the ownership of the means of production) alone is not enough and is not consolidated." "The Great Debate, universal in scope, has resolved and is resolving such major

issues as whether the work of revolution and construction is correct (whether the achievements of revolution and construction are major or not), whether we should follow the socialist road, whether we should be led by the Communist Party or not, whether we should have the dictatorship of the proletariat or not, whether we should have democratic centralism or not, and whether we should have a correct foreign policy or not. ..... We cannot move forward if we cannot achieve total victory in this debate. As long as we are victorious in the debate, it will greatly promote the socialist transformation and socialist construction of our country. This is a great event with world significance."

This movement has to resolve two contradictions of a different nature between the enemy and the people and within the people: "During the period of our socialist revolution, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie reactionary rightists and the people is a contradiction between the enemy and the people, an antagonistic and irreconcilable contradiction between you and me, a contradiction between you and me, a contradiction between you and the people." The contradictions between the various counter-revolutionaries in the cities and villages, the landlords and rich peasants in the countryside who are still carrying out destructive activities, the hooligans, the aficionados, the burglars, the murderers, the rapists, the embezzlers, the serious criminals who have seriously undermined the social order and seriously violated the law and order, as well as those who are recognized by the public as the bad guys, and their contradiction with the people, are also a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. Other than these, they are all conflicts within the people.

The rectification of style within the people also encompasses the problems of two social categories of different natures: "The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals is the problem of subjecting them to socialist transformation; the petty bourgeoisie (the peasants and the independent laborers in town and countryside), and in particular the well-to-do middle peasants, are also the problem of subjecting them to socialist transformation; and the working class and the basic ranks of the Communist Party are the problem of question of rectifying the style of behavior."

The aims of the Rectification Movement are: to direct the struggle towards correcting the political direction, raising the level of thought, correcting shortcomings in work, uniting the masses, isolating and polarizing the bourgeois rightists and all anti-socialist elements."

For the enemy, a resolute struggle is to be waged, using the methods of exposure, isolation and polarization, and in some cases, punishment and suppression. Within the people, the main method is education, "unity-criticism-unity". The law-breakers among the people are also subject to legal punishment, which also has an educational effect.

The development of the movement in the past four months or so has been entirely in accordance with the analysis of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao, and has fully proved the correctness of the Central Committee's policy.

The movement has proved: the necessity of a resolute struggle against the bourgeois rightists and all kinds of anti-socialist elements in the towns and villages. Their attacks on the socialist road and the leadership of the Communist Party are extremely rampant and vicious; they are programmed, organized and planned, and their aim is to carry out the restoration of capitalism and reactionary rule.

The movement has proved: among the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia, among the petty bourgeoisie, and especially among the rich middle peasants, the necessity of continuing socialist transformation. Many of them still aspire to capitalism and are unhappy with socialism, and the Party's leadership over them is not consolidated. They are the market in which the rightists operate. But the great majority of them, after criticism and education, can accept socialism. We must fight for the centrists with vigor so that we can isolate the right and strengthen the left.

The movement has proved that a large-scale socialist education campaign among the working class and among the poor peasants in the countryside is also very necessary. They are the most resolute

force in defense of socialism. But the words and deeds of the bourgeoisie and the landed rich also have a certain influence among some of them, and there are some major questions of right and wrong which are not yet clear to this section of the population, but which they can easily understand if the facts are carefully presented and reasoned with.

The movement proved that it was essential to carry out a large-scale rectification campaign among the basic ranks of the Communist Party, the leading organs and cadres of the Party, the government, the people's organizations, and the enterprises at all levels. The Party is basically healthy, and the vast majority of Party members and cadres are good. But the outcry from the masses has also revealed a large number of shortcomings in our work and style of work, some of which are very serious and alarming, and it is dangerous not to correct them. At the same time, there were a few rightists among Party members and members of the League, and some of them had serious rightist ideas.

The movement proved that it is necessary to place firm trust in the majority of the masses and to make full use of the mass line. Great clamor and controversy are practiced, facts are presented, reason is given, large-print posters are published, symposia and debates are held. This is the broadest form of socialist democracy, which bourgeois democracy cannot dream of. It is the correct way to deal with internal contradictions among the people and to educate and unite the masses in their struggle against the enemy. To sound and release a fire to burn the enemy as well as to burn one's own shortcomings, both of which are what we are asking for. Facts have proved that the rightist view of not daring to sound and release the fire for fear of making a mess, of not believing in the degree of enlightenment of the majority of the masses, and of not believing in the wisdom and strength of the masses, is very harmful and has been refuted by the facts.

The development of the movement is healthy and has already yielded remarkable results. In particular, those units which have sounded the alarm sufficiently and those which have paid attention to correcting shortcomings in their work have achieved even more remarkable results. Of the 3,091,000 people who participated in the first batch of the Movement in provincial and municipal organs (including some provincial and municipal specialized organs), schools, democratic parties, etc., 62,460 rightists, or 2.02 per cent of the total number of people who participated in the

Movement, have been uncovered. The rightists have been isolated and polarized, the centrists have moved to the left, and the leftists are gaining strength.

However, the movement must continue to deepen and expand; it must not be hastily recalled or tightened up, but must strive for total victory. Any unit which has already won a decisive victory in the anti-Rightist struggle should in time move on to the third stage, which is mainly characterized by rectification, and at the same time carry out a systematic criticism of bourgeois thought. The total victory of the movement will be determined not only by the anti-Rightist stage, but especially by the third stage, which focuses on rectification, and the fourth stage, in which each person studies the documents, criticizes and reflects on them, and improves himself.

(ii) On the bourgeoisie and intellectuals

The bourgeoisie and intellectuals are the main scope of this anti-Rightist struggle. This includes industrialists and businessmen, democratic parties, the education sector, the press and publishing sector, the literary and artistic sector, the scientific and technological sector, the health sector, many workers in state organizations, university students and so on. Not all of these people belonged to the bourgeoisie category, which also included many party members. But by and large this scope is dominated by bourgeois elements, petty bourgeois elements, and bourgeois-educated intellectuals. For convenience, they are put together.

According to available statistics: (1) The bourgeoisie in the country numbered about 1.3 million, and there were about 700,000 working capitalists with a fixed rate of interest in the country. (2) The democratic parties total more than 100,000 persons. (3) More than 1,930,000 workers in government and party organs above the district level throughout the country. (4) More than 4.02 million staff members of enterprises and institutions (excluding schools) nationwide, more than 3.2 million internal managers, and more than 820,000 engineers and technicians. (5) More than 2.44 million staff members in schools and colleges nationwide, with more than 2.05 million teaching staff. (6) More than 400,000 university students nationwide. The number of intellectuals among the above categories of people is estimated at about 5 million.

The problem of the bourgeoisie is a fundamental problem of the socialist revolution. The bourgeoisie, especially its intellectuals, is now the main force that can compete with the proletariat. They still have political status, political capital and political influence, and the proletariat needs their knowledge. But if they do not resolutely carry out socialist transformation, their conflict with the proletariat is inevitable. The only way out for the bourgeois intellectuals is to transform themselves to serve the new base, or else they will be in danger of becoming "beam-heads" who do not touch the sky or the ground.

The Party's policy towards the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals has been consistent. The Party pursues a policy of buying out the bourgeois industrialists and businessmen and enlisting them in the continued service of socialism. The Party applies the policy of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision to the democratic parties. The Party advocates the contention of a hundred schools of thought and the blossoming of a hundred flowers in the sphere of academic culture. All these policies presuppose socialism. The Party has always insisted that bourgeois elements and bourgeois intellectuals must be thoroughly reformed and must be gradually working-classized. The Party's leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and democratic centralism are absolutely unshakeable. The Party's basic policies, such as the purges, cooperativization, and unified purchasing and marketing, should never be shaken. Marxist-Leninist propaganda and political education must be strengthened, erroneous ideas must be criticized, and poisonous weeds must be weeded out. The poisonous weeds must be weeded out in order to educate the masses from the opposite side, in order to weed them out so that they can be used as fertilizer, and in order to train the proletariat and the masses in the struggle. The Party also points out that one of the conditions for dealing with the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as an internal contradiction among the people is that the bourgeoisie accepts our policy, socialist transformation and the Party's leadership, or else the contradiction will be transformed into a contradiction between the enemy and us.

The bourgeoisie basically did not resist the socialist transformation of 1956 because: (1) economically there was no other way out; (2) after the Three Anti-five Anti-corruption Campaigns, they realized the proletariat's power; and (3) the government made proper economic and political

settlements for them after the joint venture. But the change of ownership does not equal the completion of the socialist revolution, still less the extinction of the class struggle. The political and ideological struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not over, and can sharpen again under certain conditions. The rampant attacks of the Right on the Party and on socialism in the recent period illustrate this point.

The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia are divided into left, center and right factions in the socialist revolution. The left stood for the support of socialism and the leadership of the Party. The right faction is resolutely opposed to socialism and to the leadership of the Party. Both the left and right factions are in the minority among the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia, and the majority are centrists. The rightists want to compete with the leftists for the centrists. The Right always wants to attack the Party and socialism, but bides its time. The rightists consider the criticism of Stalin, the Hungarian incident, the policy of long-term coexistence, the propaganda for the correct handling of internal contradictions, and the Party's reorganization to be their "moment".

What kind of people are the rightists? According to an analysis of 125 rightists by the Beijing Normal College, in terms of family origin: 71 or 57% came from exploiting class families such as landlords, rich peasants, capitalists, warlords and bureaucrats; 42 or 33% came from the families of clerks, middle-range peasants, freelancers and handicraftsmen; and 12 or 9% came from the families of laborers, poor peasants and urban poor. In terms of the reasons for opposing the Party: 23 people who had suffered a struggle themselves, 29 people whose relatives had suffered a struggle, 18 people who were dissatisfied with the land reform(4) and the three major reforms, 19 people who were influenced by other rightists, 34 people who were extremely individualistic, and 4 people for other reasons. Tsinghua University analyzed 584 rightists, in terms of family composition, 60 counter-revolutionaries, accounting for 10.3%; 242 rich bourgeoisie, accounting for 41.5%; 123 employees, accounting for 21%; 56 workers and peasants, accounting for 9.6%; and 103 others, accounting for 17.6%. In the anti-Party reasons, because of the family reactionary fighting 161 people, accounting for 27.5%; history of participation in the reactionary party groups or anti-Party activities of 50 people, accounting for 8.6%; I have been struggling after liberation or disciplinary action of 87 people, accounting for 14.9%; extreme individualism 206 people, accounting for 35.2%;

by the influence of reactionary ideas of 62 people, accounting for 10.0%; the other 18 people, accounting for 3.2%. The Nanjing municipal authorities analyzed 117 rightists in 54 units, 90% of whom came from landlord-bourgeois families, were themselves fought or had relatives suppressed and sentenced in successive campaigns, and 60% participated in reactionary party groups.

Historically, there are many rightists who were rightists (old rightists) during the democratic revolution. But there are also many old rightists who were not active this time, and some of them have become center-leftists or even leftists. On the contrary, some of the centrists and even leftists during the democratic revolution have now become rightists. This shows that a new political division is inevitable in a socialist revolution.

The main places where rightists are active are places where intellectuals pile up, such as schools of higher learning, certain state organs, press and publishing organs, literary and artistic organizations, political and legal organs, scientific and technological circles, and medical circles. In individual establishments the rightists predominate.

Most of the intellectuals have made progress to varying degrees after several campaigns, and a small number have become leftists. But many are steeped in the bourgeois worldview. The rightist intellectuals were particularly rampant in this attack, on the grounds that the state could not do without them and that the proletarian intelligentsia was still very weak, and therefore the centrists, who were in the majority, were still following the rightists under certain conditions.

The rightists of the democratic parties played a backbone role in the rightist offensive because the people had given them a certain political status, which they could use to give orders and recruit troops. According to the incomplete statistics of the United Front Work Department at the beginning of September, of the 2,077 rightists (now estimated to have reached more than 2,500) who have been uncovered by the various parties, 762 are from the Democratic League, 444 from the Democratic Revolutionary Party (DRP), 352 from the Jiu San, 176 from the Agricultural and Labor Party (ALP), 166 from the Democratic Construction Party (DCP), and 151 from the Democratic

Progressive Party (DPP). The performance of the Democratic League, the Jiu San, and the agricultural workers was particularly bad. The democratic parties are a product of the democratic revolution period, in which the leftists were also formed during the socialist revolution. However, most of its members have not yet shifted from the bourgeois to the proletarian position, and as a result the right wing once prevailed in many organizations of the democratic parties.

The parties have stepped up their organizational development over the past year, doubling their total number in one year, with the Democratic League increasing by about 80 per cent, the Democratic Revolutionary Party and the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong by more than 100 per cent, the Jiu San and the Democratic Progressive Party by more than 200 per cent, and the Agricultural Workers and Industrialists by about 50 per cent in the first half of this year alone. Many of the newly developed people are bad elements. The scope of the original agreed division of labor has also been broken by them.

The bourgeois right puts forward all sorts of reactionary platforms in their attacks, the essence of which is opposition to socialism and the Party leadership. Their main arguments: (1) to promote the economic and political system of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois culture, and to oppose the economic and political system of socialism and socialist culture; (2) to oppose the basic policies of the state, such as the foreign policy, the policy of unification of purchasing and marketing, the policy of the intellectuals, and the Five Great Movements; (3) to deny that the achievements of the people's democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, and the construction of socialism, and to deny that the party and the working class can lead the construction of the country; (4) opposing the Party's leadership of the work of the state, opposing the Party's leadership in various sectors (especially the cultural, educational, and scientific sectors), and calling for the abolition of the Party's leadership in a number of grass-roots units (especially in the institutions of higher learning and the press and publishing organs).

The main argument of the rightists in the area of academic culture is that amateurs cannot lead insiders. Marxism is dogmatism. Socialist countries have no scientific culture and are inferior to capitalist countries even if they do. Demand the restoration of bourgeois sociology, economics,

history, and idealistic philosophy. Demand independence and freedom from the Party and the People's Government: freedom of the press, freedom of the press, freedom of literature and art, etc.

"The Communist Party cannot, of course, have leadership among a part of the democratic parties, the intelligentsia and the industrial and commercial circles (the rightists) because they are the enemy; its leadership among the majority (the centrists) is not consolidated, and there are some literary and educational units in which the Party's leadership has not yet been established at all." "The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia were not convinced by the Communist Party, and the rightist elements among them were determined to contest us. After the contest and their defeat, he realized that they were hopelessly out of power. Only then will the majority of them (the centrists and a part of the rightists) gradually become honest, gradually abandon their bourgeois position and come over to the side of the proletariat, resolving to rely on the proletariat for their meals."

After more than three months of struggle . The situation has changed dramatically.

The struggle in provincial and municipal organs and above has generally been decisively won. In the institutions of higher learning, the anti-Rightist struggle has basically come to a victorious end. The main battlefield in education is now shifting to primary and secondary schools. Localities should strengthen their leadership in the rectification of teachers in primary and secondary schools.

In the press, Wenhui, Guangming, Dagong and Xinmin have all changed direction, and the main rightists outside the Party have been defeated. Party newspapers (including the regimental and labor union newspapers), news agencies, journals, publishing houses, and broadcasting stations in various places are investigating the internal rightists.

In the scientific circles, they have defeated Qian Weichang and Zeng Zhaowang, exposed the scientific program of the Zhang Luo Union, and exposed the rightist groups in sociology, law, and economics.

In the literary and artistic circles, the anti-Party activities of Ding Ling, Chen Qixia, Feng Xuefeng, Jiang Feng, Zhong Yunregui, Shamong, and Lu Ban and the activities of other rightists were exposed.

In the engineering and technology sector and the health sector, the struggle also made great gains.

In the parties: the struggle against Zhang Bojun, Luo Longji, Zhang Naiqi, Huang Shaohong, Chen Mingshu, and other rightists in the Central Committee of the Democratic League of China (DLC), the Peasants' and Workers' Union (PWU), the People's Progressive Party (PPP), the Democratic Construction Association (DCA), and the Democratic Revolutionary Party (DRP) has already gained much ground. After the 1993 Central Committee has criticized Xu Deheng's mistakes, the struggle will continue to deepen. After the struggle in the education sector has spread to the middle schools, the local organizations of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) have also begun to expose many rightists.

The struggle should be carried on to the end. We must continue to oppose rightist sentiments, but now we must also guard against the dangers of too broad a crackdown and simple brutality. Attention should be paid to the strict control of the boundaries dividing the extreme rightists, rightists and center-rightists, and attention should always be paid to the validation of the lists of rightists in the units to which they belong, and to the correction of those improperly classified, which must be made at any time. Great attention must be paid to the work of uniting the centrists, to securing the uprising of rightists, and to helping those who have shown signs of repentance to gradually reform. It should be realized that some rightists can be reformed, and that they can be useful to the people after they have been reformed.

In units where the struggle against the rightists has come to an end, they should be resolutely and promptly transferred to the stage of rectification and ideological education. Nowadays, there are quite a number of units that lack the determination to move on to rectification, and this should be

corrected. The so-called end of the anti-rightist struggle means that all the rightists have been exposed, criticized and isolated, and that most of them have bowed their heads and confessed their guilt in front of the masses, but it does not mean that all the rightists have reached the level of thoroughness in their reviews and explanations. There will always be a small number of rightists who will not repent and who will take their reactionary views to their coffins, and the majority of rightists will not be truly transformed in the short term. But as long as they are isolated among the masses, it is a victory for our struggle.

The bourgeois intellectuals, in addition to the minority with rightist views, have other seriously erroneous views, especially individualism, libertarianism, anarchism, egalitarianism and nationalism, and it is not a small group of people who have these views, but all bourgeois intellectuals. In the stage of ideological education and criticism and reflection, efforts must be concentrated on giving a systematic blow to these erroneous views. This is one of the major tasks that must be accomplished in this rectification movement.

The ideological transformation of the intellectuals is a long-term task which may take more than ten years. But extensive socialist education should be given to the bourgeois intellectuals in general and to the industrial and commercial circles in the course of this campaign, destroying the positions of bourgeois thought, radically altering the political outlook of many of the cultural and educational units and the democratic parties, and establishing a consolidated leadership over the centrists, and consolidating it at the earliest possible date.

It is necessary to vigorously strengthen the backbone of leadership on the cultural and educational front and to effectively reorganize many cultural and educational organizations. "In order to build socialism, the working class must have its own corps of technical cadres, its own corps of professors, instructors, scientists, journalists, literary figures, artists and Marxist theorists. This is a magnificent corps; it cannot be done with fewer people." In order to achieve this, both the Central Government and the local authorities must in the near future lay down specific plans in different categories and carry them out with great vigor.

It is necessary to cultivate new intellectuals in a revolutionary spirit, and to innovate and strengthen ideological and political education and labor education in schools. Strengthen the work of training intellectuals from among the workers and peasants. Systematically absorb leftist intellectuals into the Party.

The existing millions of intellectuals, most of whom are centrists, are still an important asset of the country and are needed for economic and cultural construction as well as for fostering the new force, so it is necessary to make vigorous efforts to unite and educate them, to correct their erroneous views, and to help them carry out self-transformation. By proper rather than brutal methods, they should be brought gradually out of the middle and onto the side of the working class. Through rectification and Marxist-Leninist study, we should help them to reach out to the masses and get closer to reality, talk to them more, make friends with them more, listen to their suggestions about their work, and help them to solve the difficulties they face in their work. Our past shortcomings in these areas must be overcome. Intellectuals during the release of the vast majority of the opinions put forward is correct, should be seriously studied and dealt with. The policy of a hundred schools of thought and a hundred flowers must be carried out by a series of concrete measures, and must not be wavered because of the anti-rightists, but of course it must be carried out in accordance with the six criteria, and in order to flourish a socialist rather than a capitalist academic culture.

How to deal with the rightists among the intellectuals should now be studied in detail by the various departments. The general principle is that "as long as they do not become secret agents and do not carry out any more sabotage activities, they should be given something to do and not deprived of their civil rights." "There is another kind of rightist who has speech but no action, and this kind of person should be treated with even greater leniency." Anyone who has indeed repented, or who does have real talent, should still be used. The social sciences and the natural sciences, ideological work and technical work are to be dealt with separately; the former is to be treated more seriously, the latter more leniently. The opinions of the Hubei Provincial Committee on the treatment of rightist teachers can be referred to by other departments and other places. Rightists in some

important posts (such as leadership positions, key departments, departments involved in diplomacy and teachers of political science, etc.) must be firmly mobilized, as must those who are too bad. Rightists must continue to be supervised in the future and be fought again for further rightist activities.

Counter-revolutionaries among the rightists, except those with current activities, should generally not be pursued during the campaign and can be dealt with on an ad hoc basis.

The Central Committee of the democratic parties has recently held a national conference on rectification, and should help them, while continuing to penetrate deeply into the struggle at the central, provincial and municipal levels, to take the struggle actively and systematically to the grass-roots level, and then to move on to general rectification, to break down the capitalist standpoint and to establish a socialist standpoint. Through anti-rightist and rectification, the political outlook of the central and local organizations of the parties will be fundamentally changed, so that the leftists and center-leftists will effectively assume the leadership. The rightists should be prepared to purge and remove a number of them from the parties, but some of them should be retained. Those in the National People's Congress, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the government of each party should also be prepared by the central and local authorities to deal with them separately on the spot.

During the period of the socialist revolution, a new united front in the service of socialism is needed. The view that the parties no longer have a role to play is wrong. The party units remain the same and are not to be merged. The policy of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision is still being carried out on the basis of the six criteria. However, the scope of activities and development of the parties should be investigated and controlled.

Consideration should be given to the establishment of a peripheral organization fully under the leadership of the Party as a continuation of the Youth League, to accommodate those who

sympathize with communism and call for progress, but are not sufficiently old enough to join the Party and have exceeded the age of the League.

The rectification of the industrial and commercial sector is just beginning, and there is not yet much to tell. The Central Committee has wholesaled the views of the United Front Work Department. Generally speaking, the approach to the rectification of the backbone of the industrial and commercial sector will be the same as that of the parties; the general bourgeois elements will either participate in the rectification of the backbone of the industrial and commercial sector or will form a separate group for rectification, depending on the situation; and the small-scale industrial and commercial workers will focus on socialist education, and if possible, will also be able to organize debates, slightly in the same way as the workers and the peasants. The specific methods will be summarized after the work has progressed. In short, all people in the industrial and commercial sector must be educated, and some people (mainly small-scale industrialists and businessmen) must not be left out as in some past campaigns.

(iii) On the countryside

The general situation in the countryside is good: the cooperatives are basically consolidated, grain production has increased, and the style of cadres has improved. However, because of the short period of time in which the cooperatives have been in operation, the lack of experience, and the great number of calamities, there have been difficulties and shortcomings.

With the realization of cooperativization, the question of ownership has basically been resolved, but this is not the same as saying that there are no more problems in the countryside.

The majority of peasants still have a poor understanding of the relationship between the State, cooperatives and the family, and there exists individualistic and localistic thinking that disregards the interests of the State and the collective. On the question of unified purchasing and marketing, the

peasants (mainly the rich and middle-income peasants) are in conflict with the State, using all sorts of methods to keep more grain and other major agricultural products, and some of them are even engaging in speculative activities, which caused the tension over grain in the first half of this year. Especially after the liberalization of the free market, spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants have resurfaced.

The great majority of the rich middle peasants have joined cooperatives as a result of the general trend, but most of them are still ideologically shaky. A small number of those who insisted on the capitalist road either took the lead in disrupting and withdrawing from the cooperatives after being forced to join them, or carried out activities outside the cooperatives to sabotage them. They always want to compete with the cooperatives. In addition, they are the main force in the countryside resisting the policy of unified purchasing and marketing and engaging in grain speculation.

Counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and a part of the landlords and rich peasants, seeing that a part of the middle peasants is wavering, seeing that the masses are not well informed, and seeing the weakness of our work and the style of our cadres, take advantage of the opportunity to carry out their activities; they make reactionary speeches, spread rumors, engage in superstitions, engage in gambling, engage in counting backward, instigate trouble, carry out sabotage, and even set up counter-revolutionary organizations and create riots.

In the recent period there has been a serious rightist ideology within the Party: the belief that the struggle between the two roads in the countryside is over and that the class line can be de-emphasized; that it is possible to bury oneself in production and to relax the socialist education of the peasants. They were paralyzed by the destructive activities of reactionary elements and failed to deal a timely and vigorous blow. Among the rural cadres, some of them, because of changes in the economic status of their families, have developed capitalist ideas. A part of the Party cadres actually took the stand of the rich middle peasants and opposed the policies of the Party and the State on such fundamental questions as the unification of purchasing and marketing and cooperativization. It is noteworthy that this situation also exists among a part of the personnel of the organs, troops, factories and mines.

"As in the cities, in the countryside there is still a struggle between two paths like either socialism or capitalism. This struggle will take a long time before it is completely won. This is the task of the whole transitional period."

The socialist education movement which is being carried out in the countryside throughout the country is aimed at (1) distinguishing between right and wrong in great debates, and firming up the confidence and determination to follow the socialist road; (2) criticizing the capitalist and individualist ideas of the rich middle peasants and weakening the influence of capitalism in the countryside; (3) exposing and combating the destructive activities of the landed-rich counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements; and (4) on the basis of mass criticism and self-criticism, rectify the society and the Party, improve the style of cadres and rectify shortcomings in their work, so as to achieve the purpose of improving relations between the Party and the masses, purifying the Party's ranks, consolidating the cooperatives, consolidating the policy of united purchasing and marketing, and developing agricultural production.

The method, likewise, must be one of great clamor and strife. Again there must be a firm trust in the majority of the masses.

Several different methods are now being adopted throughout the country, but they are all similar. The situation varies from place to place, and it is not necessary to force uniformity. However, no matter what approach is taken, it must not be to the detriment of the great release. Experience has proved that only by making a big fuss can we have a big fight, and only by making a big fight can we distinguish right from wrong and raise our consciousness; only by making a big fuss can we expose the capitalist ideology of the rich peasants, and only by making a big fuss can we expose the bulls and devils (the landed, the rich, the anti-government, and the bad), so as to facilitate a strong blow and educate the masses. Especially importantly, it is only by making a big fuss that the masses can speak freely, criticize the shortcomings or mistakes of the cadres, expose the shortcomings of their work, and clear the minds of the cadres so that they can improve their work and raise the level of

their thinking and their business ability. At the same time, in the campaign, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of moving only the mouth and not the hands, and to prevent and correct simple and rough practices.

Materials from all parts of the country prove that in the county, district and township cadres there are some class dissidents, serious lawbreakers and elements with serious capitalist tendencies (7 per cent in one county in Hubei, and 2-3 per cent still after the controversy). In order to strengthen the leadership of the rural movement, to expose these elements and to criticize all kinds of right-leaning ideas, it is necessary to hold meetings of the three levels of cadres in each county. The meetings of the three levels of cadres must adopt the method of loud clamor and great controversy.

Counter-revolutionaries and bad elements in the countryside must be dealt with resolutely in order to promote righteousness and suppress evil. "Where there is counter-revolution, there must be purges." "Those who are released from prison and reoffend will be caught and sentenced again." All kinds of "serious criminals who disrupt public order and discipline, as well as those who are recognized by the public as bad people, must be punished." "Gambling is prohibited" and "the outlawing of the Huidao sect should be carried out in earnest". These were the principles laid down by Chairman Mao at the Qingdao Conference. Chairman Mao also pointed out: "At present, some staff members of the political and legal departments have abandoned their duties and refused to arrest and punish those who should have been arrested and punished. It is not right to impose heavy penalties for minor offenses, nor is it right to impose light penalties for serious offenses; it is in the latter that the dangers of the present period lie." This shortcoming must be corrected under the leadership of the party committees at all levels.

Those who should be killed must be killed, but the number of killings should be small, and those who can be killed or not killed should not be killed. Those who should be arrested must be arrested, but they must be controlled; they must not be over-arrested, and it would be better to have more control. Sentencing should be timely, and provinces and municipalities can stipulate some legal formalities as well as simple and easy methods.

The above principles also apply to cities.

In the case of the landed rich whose hats have been removed and who are engaged in destructive activities, the hats should be put back on.

For some of the rich middle-range peasants with serious capitalist ideas and behavior, a reasoned struggle must be waged, but the number of people to be criticized by name should not be too large, and they should not be treated in the same way as the "landed, rich, anti-government, and bad" peasants. For the rich peasants, it is still a question of solidarity, education and reform. For those few who are determined to withdraw from the cooperative, they may be allowed to do so after being criticized for their wrong words and deeds and deprived of their political influence. The political situation in the cooperatives, in which a few people come and go freely every year, is not harmful, but rather very beneficial; but withdrawal in heaps under the influence of the rich middle peasants is bad.

The single-member households must not be discriminated against or treated harshly; they must be sought to be educated. But we must not create a situation in which the single-operator households are superior to the cooperatives. They have to bear all the obligations to the state as members of the cooperative. Some of their illegal and harmful activities (such as tapping, hiring laborers for exploitation, buying seedlings, usury, speculative trading, etc.) must be restricted or stopped.

On the question of how to combine the debate on the two paths, to reorganize the agricultural production cooperatives, to do a good job of managing the production of the cooperatives, and to carry out the implementation of a mutually beneficial government, the Central Committee has already issued three special directives, so I will not dwell on them here. Here I will only emphasize that the rural class line is still of decisive significance, and that it is wrong to forget the rural class analysis and the class line. The predominance of the poor peasants and the lower middle peasants

must be ensured in the integration of the cooperatives, and the principal cadres of the cooperatives must generally be the poor peasants and the lower middle peasants.

The cadres of the cooperatives must resolutely participate in productive labor. Many cadres of the cooperatives are now doing this, and the effect is very good, but there are still quite a few cadres who are not actively and adequately carrying this out, and some are even refusing to do so, so it is necessary to continue to urge them to do so.

The consolidation of cooperativization is basically determined by the development of agricultural production. Only when production is developed, when farmers' incomes are increased, and when cooperativization has demonstrated its great superiority, will it be a reliable guarantee of socialism's victory in the struggle for the two roads. Only when the output per unit area of the cooperatives catches up with or exceeds the level of the local rich middle-range peasants can we stop the rich middle-range peasants from wavering and following the socialist road. We should strive to bring most of the cooperatives up to or above the standard of living of the local rich middle-class peasants within the period of the second Five-Year Plan.

China is a large country with a population of more than 600 million, and the rural population accounts for more than 80 percent of the total population. If we do not develop agriculture, it will not only affect the livelihood of the greatest number of people, the alliance between the workers and peasants and the unity of the people, but also will not be possible to develop industry rapidly.

For the industrialization of the country, adequate attention must be paid to the development of agriculture. Our goal is to build our country into a modern industrial and modern agricultural country. To this end, it is necessary to increase the proportion of investment in agriculture in the future construction of the country, and attention must be paid to the development of industries serving agricultural production.

It is also necessary to formulate an outline for the development of agricultural production, which will be made known to all farmers and cadres as a goal to strive for. The draft 40-article outline

formulated the year before had boosted morale and served a good purpose. For a period of time, there was again an air of seeming that the Forty Articles would not work, which was a manifestation of right-leaning thinking and was wrong.

Now the Central Committee, on the basis of more than a year's experience, has made some modifications to the draft of the Forty Articles, and is prepared, after discussion at the Plenary Session and at the Party Congress at the end of the year, to refer them to the National People's Congress for adoption and official publication, as a guideline for the formulation of agricultural plans for the next ten years, and as a goal to be striven for unceasingly.

This winter and next spring, as in the previous winter and last spring, a big campaign should be launched to accumulate fertilizers and to build up farmland and water conservancy, and to carry out other basic construction as appropriate.

(IV) On the working class

The question of reorganization of the working class ranks is a question of reorganizing the ideological style of the class and raising the class consciousness, and is different in principle from the question of acceptance of socialist transformation by the bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals, and the petty bourgeoisie (especially the rich middle peasants), and therefore emphasis should be placed on improving the socialist education of the workforce and the masses, and the methods of treating the bourgeois intelligentsia in the schools of the institutions should not be brought to bear on the treatment of the working masses. to the general working masses.

The present organizational and ideological conditions of the working class ranks are, on the whole, good. Of the 11 million or so industrial workers, about 85 percent come from families of workers, peasants and other working people, the pre-Liberation veteran workers account for about 35 percent, and the Communist Party members account for 13 percent (plus 29 percent of the members of the Communist Youth League).

But there are problems. Older workers have proved from successive movements to be a core force for the Party and the socialist cause, but they also have weaknesses (e.g., they are more conservative). Among the new workers, who make up about 65 percent, more than half are peasants, students, and urban poor, with a strong petty-bourgeois mentality. About 3 per cent of the new workers (more than 5 per cent in some units) are former landlords, rich peasants, capitalists, pseudo-military and police officers and hobo elements, and their exploitative class consciousness and bad habits have not yet been properly reformed.

It is therefore necessary to conduct a general and deep socialist education campaign for the working masses in the context of the rectification. It is necessary to better establish and cultivate the backbone and core strength of the workers' ranks through the rectification. It is necessary to further check out the bad guys and purify the ranks of the working class. Special attention should be paid to measures to strengthen those units (joint ventures, mines) with complex composition and weak work. Through the rectification and socialist education campaigns, the working class will be trained into a conscious, organized, disciplined, cultured and skilled fighting force.

The centerpiece of the education is the question of the leading position and leading responsibility of the working class in the cause of socialist revolution and construction, and the political tasks of the working masses under the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working masses should be made to understand that they must, under the leadership of the Communist Party, constantly raise their consciousness, strengthen their organization and discipline, and enhance the unity within the class; that they must carry forward the fine tradition of hard work, maintain the noble quality of selflessness, work hard at production, be hardworking and frugal, and, by their exemplary role, lead the whole country in the struggle for the completion of socialist construction.

Topics for discussion should be proposed in the light of the workers' personal life experience and the main problems they have raised, and in the light of the political and economic life of the country and the specific conditions of the enterprise. Generally, the following issues can be discussed: (1) the

question of how the working class can take up the responsibility of leading the class; (2) the relationship between the individual and the collective, the individual and the State; (3) the relationship between the improvement of life and the development of production; (4) the relationship between freedom and discipline, between democracy and centralization; and (5) the question of the relationship between the workers and the peasants (the main point is to discuss the issue of the workers' standard of living not to be too much higher than that of the peasants). Through the discussion of these issues, ideological preparations for the improvement of the wage and welfare system were made.

In order to make the movement develop in a healthy way, the approach of the Shanghai Covenant can be adopted (not to hinder production; to observe labor discipline; only inside the factory, not outside; only to move the mouth, not the hands).

In the workers to implement the great clamor, to make full use of the big-character newspaper. Large print is simple and easy to mobilize the masses. They are vivid and lively and attract attention. Criticize the shortcomings of the leadership and the workers, and put forward all kinds of rationalization suggestions in a clear and sharp manner.

It is necessary to rely closely on the workers, give full play to their active role, and use their rich experience in production and life, their class consciousness, their organization and discipline to unite and educate the new workers, especially the young ones. Over the past few years, many cadres have somewhat neglected the role of old workers, and have not taken sufficient care of them in certain policy measures, such as promotion, piece-rate wages, work arrangements, labor insurance, and employment of their children, etc., which need to be improved.

Leadership must seriously rectify the style of work to improve the work, to implement from beginning to end the side of the rectification and improvement.

Check and overcome the three isms. Leading cadres (including the Party, government, industry and trade unions) to participate in physical labor to become a regular system. They should utilize every possible opportunity to study technology and business, and gradually transform themselves from amateurs into experts. Go deep into production, go deep into the workers, and care for the plight of the masses. To mingle with the workers in life, and resolutely abolish special treatment detached from the masses. Help and guide section-level cadres to overcome commandism, to be able to take responsibility and to follow the mass line.

Vigorously streamline the organization, reduce the number of off-duty personnel of the Party, Government, Labor and Workers' Union and the excessive number of non-productive personnel in the enterprises. Pay attention to the training and growth of cadres from among the workers, and give full play to the role of non-productive and semi-productive activists and cadres. Emphasis is placed on combining technical staff with workers and organizing their participation in practical operations, so as to produce a large number of outstanding cadres who have both practical experience and close contact with the masses.

Various rules and regulations that affect production, affect unity, and impede the realization of workers' motivation should be resolutely revised or abolished. At the same time, the necessary new management systems and political education work systems should be established accordingly, so as to consolidate the results of the rectification from an institutional point of view.

The workers' congress under the leadership of the Party committee is a good form of expanding enterprise democracy, attracting the workers to participate in the management of the enterprise, overcoming bureaucracy, and one of the effective ways of correctly dealing with the internal contradictions among the people; it should be fully utilized in this rectification exercise, and after summarizing the experience of the pilot project, it should be comprehensively promoted. The powers and functions of the workers' congresses should follow the provisions of the Central Committee's directives on strikes and strikes.

Attention should be paid to strengthening leadership and mastering policy.

The technicians and employees in the enterprises are an integral part of the working class in terms of their economic status, but most of them still belong to the category of bourgeois intellectuals in terms of their social origin and ideology. Rectification is mainly a matter of subjecting them to socialist transformation, and can be largely modeled on the rectification of the organs. However, because they participate directly in production and construction, they are closer to the workers and are different from the senior intellectuals in the institutions and schools. For some of them who are devoted to business and have real talent and who have made rightist remarks, they should not necessarily be labeled as rightists; for those rightists who have been engaged in reactionary activities, as long as they have real talent and are willing to repent, they should also be treated differently and with care; and for engineers and technicians, they should be dealt with in a more lenient manner than the general staff.

The slogan of anti-rightist struggle should not be mentioned among the workers, nor should the bourgeois rightists be labeled as such.

The very few anti-socialist elements among the workers, and the bad elements such as hooligans, aficionados, and those who have seriously violated the law and discipline should be criticized and duly struggled against. Those who are particularly serious or who repeatedly fail to change their ways should be expelled from the factories after the end of the movement and dealt with appropriately, but those who (1) are generally backward in their thinking, love to speak strange words, have slack labor discipline, or are dissatisfied with the leaders because of work or life problems; (2) have regional ideas, localistic thoughts, sectarian sentiments; (3) are generally trouble-makers, etc.; should not be indiscriminately treated as politically anti-socialist We must not indiscriminately treat them all as politically anti-socialist and bad elements to be fought and combated. Great care must be taken to prevent retaliation and the formation of sectarian struggles.

Problems occurring among veteran workers and soldiers who have changed jobs should be handled with particular care.

In the new joint-venture enterprises, the campaign should be used to expose and isolate the rightist elements among the capitalists, and to combat the capitalists' resistance to socialist transformation and their erosion of the thinking of the working masses. However, it is necessary to prevent the anti-Rightist struggle from being transformed into a campaign against capitalists in general.

The rectification of the handicraft and transportation cooperatives should be combined with the rectification of the societies. They should give full play to the enthusiasm of the workers and poor independent laborers to follow the socialist road, pay attention to uniting the wealthier and skilled members, expose and criticize the capitalist tendencies of the former small (14) owners and some of the wealthy independent laborers, stop the destructive activities of some of them, and consolidate the cooperatives on the basis of the victorious great debate and the rectification of cadres. Carry out the policy of running the cooperatives diligently and thriftily and democratically.

The families of the employees and other working people in the cities should, under the unified leadership of the local Party committees, carry out a general socialist education campaign, organizing as far as possible soundings, debates and clarifications of the major rights and wrongs. And through the campaign the anti-socialist and bad elements hidden among them should be ferreted out. But do not mention the slogans of the anti-Rightist struggle and do not wear the hats of Rightists.

(v) On the ethnic minorities

Socialist education and anti-Rightist struggles should be carried out in the same way in all minority areas and among the minority populations in which the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been basically realized.

Socialist education and anti-Rightist struggle among the minority nationalities should, in addition to the same content as in the Han areas, emphasize the fight against nationalist tendencies. Among the masses, the interests and necessity of the unity of all nationalities under the leadership of the CPC should be publicized by contrasting the old with the new, and the provocative and destructive activities of bad elements against national unity should be exposed. Among the cadres and upper echelons of the ethnic minorities, it should be pointed out that the tendency to local nationalism and the tendency to hanhuanism among the Han cadres are equally bourgeois and anti-socialist tendencies, and equally dangerous to the unity and solidarity of the nationalities in the socialist motherland. In the past we emphasized the opposition to the tendency towards Greater Han nationalism among the Han cadres, which was entirely necessary, and in the future it is still necessary to continue to resolutely oppose Greater Han nationalism, because only in this way can local nationalism be opposed. But at present it is equally necessary to emphasize the danger of opposing local nationalist tendencies among the cadres of the ethnic minorities. Nationalism is an important aspect of bourgeois thought and is fundamentally incompatible with the proletarian world outlook; it is an anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-communist ideology, and such bourgeois thought must not be allowed to exist in the Communist Party. All those who utilize narrow national feelings and inter-ethnic cleavages to split national unity and undermine the unity of the motherland are rightists among the nationalities. The particularly egregious extreme rightists who openly incite national separation should be resolutely and preparedly exposed and refuted, so that they can be completely isolated, by means of which the masses and cadres can be educated.

The key to socialist education against nationalism among the national minorities lies in the Party organizations in the minority areas. It is only by forming a truly proletarian-conscious communist core among the nationalities that the bourgeois nationalist tendencies in their own nationalities can be overcome and inter-ethnic solidarity and unity consolidated. Therefore, in the Communist Party organizations in the regions of the national minorities, it is necessary to set out plans to educate against bourgeois nationalism and to carry out, under specific conditions, the necessary criticism of the nationalist tendencies which are prominent among certain members of the Party in their own nationalities.

The policy of political education in the schools for training ethnic-minority cadres should be changed, and in the future emphasis should be placed on class education and on the Marxist-Leninist view of the nationalities, in order to build up the students' communist outlook on the world and on life.

The complete solution of the national question is a long-term process; therefore, the criticism of nationalism must be prevented from being hasty, and must be carried out cautiously and with leadership from the top down; care must be taken to obtain the support of the majority of party cadres of their own nationality and to avoid, as far as possible, the formation of a controversy in which only foreign Han cadres are involved with the local national cadres. Han cadres must focus on examining and criticizing the tendency towards greater Han nationalism, while local ethnic cadres should focus on examining and criticizing local nationalism. Only by paying constant attention to opposing the ideology of bourgeois nationalism (including grand nationalism and local nationalism) can the consciousness of party members and the people of all nationalities be constantly raised and the unity and solidarity of all nationalities be consolidated and strengthened.

In the areas of the national minorities where socialist transformation has not yet taken place, there should be no anti-Rightist struggles in society. Whether and how socialist education should be carried out to an appropriate extent in these areas should be considered separately in the light of different circumstances. The Central Committee will give separate special instructions on this and other questions concerning the conduct of rectification and socialist education in minority areas.

(VI) Concerning the army

With regard to the army, after the anti-Rightist struggle, a number of Rightists have also been identified in the army system. This is of great significance for the consolidation of the army. However, since the army is generally relatively pure, after the anti-Rightist struggle is over, efforts should be concentrated on internal rectification, with emphasis on the cadres.

During the great social changes of recent years, the political and ideological conditions of the army cadres have basically been stable and healthy. However, because of the peaceful environment of the army, the participation of a large number of new elements in the army, and the undue emphasis on specialization and neglect of political and ideological work in many departments, the tendency of cadres towards individualism and disorganization has developed to a certain extent over the past few years. Some cadres thought that the revolution had been accomplished and that they deserved credit, and that the Party should "reward them for their achievements". Instead of working conscientiously to accomplish the Party's tasks, they pursued honor, status, and treatment, and were unwilling to go to the hard areas to work for their own personal gain or loss. In serious cases, they even went so far as to openly confront the organization, fail to carry out orders, and disobey mobilization.

In the army, there is also some disconnection, alienation and disunity in the relationship between officers and soldiers, superior and subordinate relations, and civil-military relations. The army does not have enough contact with the local party and government and has a poor understanding of the social situation.

The army is basically good in implementing the Party's policies, but there are some cadres and soldiers who are dissatisfied with the policy of unification of purchasing and marketing, who doubt the superiority of cooperativization, and who think that the Party is unfair to the peasants. Some cadres speak from the standpoint of the rich middle peasants, and a few elements of the landed rich and other bad elements have even incited the peasants to riots. As a result of the changes made in some of the systems and regulations (e.g., the internal affairs regulations) which were not conducive to unity within the army, and after many rounds of education and reorganization, internal and external relations have improved, but there are still quite a number of problems which need to be properly solved by means of the rectification process.

Rectification at all levels of the army and in schools can be carried out by means of big-character posters, debates, and criticism and self-criticism. In the company, it is mainly a matter of socialist education and the organization of led debates.

The army has the heavy task of defending national defense and training, etc. During the period of rectification, care must be taken not to slacken combat readiness and training, especially in the front-line units. The purpose of the rectification must be to raise socialist consciousness, to strengthen the unity of the army and to enhance its fighting strength, not the other way round.

(VII) On the Party and the League

At present our Party already has 12,720,000 members, of whom more than 1,740,000 are workers, more than 8,500,000 are peasants, more than 1,880,000 are intellectuals, and more than 600,000 are members of other constituents.

In this rectification and anti-rightist struggle, most Party members performed well. But many problems have also been exposed. According to the statistics of 27 provinces, cities and organs of the Central Government, the Central State organs and the army as of early September, the total number of Party members who took part in the first batch of the Rectification Movement and the anti-Rightist struggle was more than 1 million, and a total of more than 5,800 rightists within the Party were uncovered, accounting for 0.58% of the total number of Party members who took part in the Movement. According to a survey of 1,018 rightists in the Party in the central state organs and in various provinces and cities, 186 persons, or 18.21 per cent of the total, had joined the Party before 1945; if we add to this the 311 persons who had joined the Party between 1946 and 1949, the total number of such persons was 497, or 48.76 per cent of the total. Among the more than 800 senior cadres studying at the Senior Party School, there were more than ten rightists. This shows that there are a considerable number of rightists among the senior Party members of one or two decades of age or more.

These rightists are the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie within the Party. The discovery of these rightists from within the Party is a great achievement of this rectification and anti-rightist struggle. This is of great significance for the consolidation and purity of our Party.

During the anti-rightist struggle, it was also revealed that quite a number of Party members and cadres had serious right-leaning ideas, were seriously dissatisfied with the Party, disagreed with the Party on some major policy issues, and showed a politically wavering and unstable position in this anti-rightist struggle. They were similar to the center-right elements in society.

According to the statistics of the five provinces of Jiangsu, Henan, Guangdong, Guangxi and Guizhou and the six units of the Central Organ, among the 76,442 Party members who took part in the movement, there were 1,780 right-of-center elements, accounting for 2.33 percent of the total number of Party members.

In this rectification movement and the anti-rightist struggle, it was revealed that the bourgeois individualism of some Party members and cadres was serious. There were also some Party members and cadres who had lost their revolutionary will, violated the law and discipline, were morally corrupt, and had lost their qualifications as Party members and cadres.

The phenomena of subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism within the Party have also been exposed as serious in this rectification movement and the anti-rightist struggle.

There are social and ideological roots for the occurrence of these serious problems within the Party. (1) Most Party members are of non-proletarian origin. (2) The Party's organization has developed relatively quickly, with attention paid to insufficient quality, and the ideological and political work has not kept pace. (3) More importantly, the majority of Party members joined the Party in a post victory environment and lacked real socialist consciousness when they joined the Party; they joined the Party in an environment of cooperation with the bourgeoisie for a long time after joining the Party and did not go through the direct and sharp class struggle with the bourgeoisie. Of the more than 1,640,000 intellectual Party members, most have not been tempered by productive labor and have not been tested by serious class struggle.

It is therefore essential to conduct a serious rectification campaign within the Party.

In the anti-Rightist struggle, the rightists within the Party must be treated equally and seriously as the rightists outside the Party. However, there are still some comrades who, in the struggle against the rightists within the Party, have a rather serious warmongering, especially towards some old Party members who should be classified as rightists, who are even more regretful, soft-hearted, and unable to lay their hands on them. This must be overcome.

At present, throughout the country, the units that participated in the first batch of the Rectification Movement are generally in the second phase of the Rectification Movement, focusing on the struggle against the rightists. Some Party members and cadres with poor ideological style think that the stage of rectification is over, which is obviously wrong. After the first and second phases, all the units of the Rectification Movement must successively enter the third and fourth phases. In these latter two phases, special attention must be paid to internal Party rectification; in addition to focusing on opposing subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism, rightist ideology, individualism, egalitarianism, absolute egalitarianism and libertarianism must also be thoroughly criticized. Party members whose revolutionary will has declined and who are passive and backward must also be severely criticized, and those who are more serious should be subjected to discipline.

The work of political and ideological education must be strengthened. It is necessary to carry out a general check on every Party member politically and ideologically in the course of this rectification. Seriously correct such shortcomings as neglect of political and ideological education, unsound organizational life, and lax discipline.

With the exception of traitors and serious lawbreakers, all Party members must be protected in the rectification, and with great effort and sincerity they must be helped to correct their mistakes and shortcomings, improve their working methods, enhance their working ability, raise their political level and improve their ideological level. Party members and cadres must be educated to be

energetic, to have a revolutionary will, and to have a spirit of selflessness and wholehearted service to the people.

A serious reorganization of all the Party's grass-roots organizations must be carried out in conjunction with this rectification campaign. Through this rectification movement, we must achieve the goal of purifying the Party's ranks and consolidating its organization.

The rightists within the Party should generally be expelled from the Party.

Those who are mixed up with the Party as bad elements, serious offenders against the law and discipline, irredeemably corrupt and degenerate elements, and those who have serious bourgeois individualist ideas and behavior and who have repeatedly failed to change their ways must be expelled from the Party.

Those who have lost their revolutionary will, are passive and backward, and do not play the role of Communists, and who do not correct themselves after criticism and education (18), should be advised to withdraw from the Party or be purged from it.

Doing so will not only purify the Party's organization, tighten Party discipline, and educate the majority of Party members and cadres, but will also make it easier for those who have been expelled from the Party to undergo reform. Failure to do so does great harm to the Party.

When a decision is made to expel a Party member, the facts of their wrongdoing must be checked and verified, the prescribed formalities must be observed, and after they have been expelled, they must still be cared for ideologically and politically, with special persons appointed to keep in touch with them and to carry out investigations and education.

More than 2.8 million of the 2.7 million members of the Party are reservists, and they must be scrutinized strictly to prevent those who are not qualified to be Party members from being converted into full Party members.

In order to constantly adjust the composition of the Party membership and replenish the Party's fresh blood, on the basis of the Rectification Movement and the Anti-Rightist Struggle, and provided that the quality of the Party membership is guaranteed, it is possible to control the acceptance of those who do have the qualifications for Party membership, in particular the best among the veteran workers and the senior intellectuals, as Party members.

Secondly, a word about cadres.

The Party has always paid attention to the selection of outstanding workers and peasants and intellectuals who have close ties with the workers and peasants to take up various kinds of leadership work. This is our Party's cadre line.

It is a shortcoming that we have over-absorbed a number of young intellectuals who have not been trained in production and labor and tested in actual struggles to work in the leading organs at all levels in the past.

In the future we should still select cadres from among the best elements of workers and peasants, but they should be workers and peasants with a certain level of education. Cadres should likewise be selected from among the best intellectuals, but they should be intellectuals who have gone through the exercise of production and struggle and who have close ties with the workers and peasants.

For Party members and cadres efforts must be made to direct their attention to politics, to the major problems of mass life and mass struggle, and to close contact with the basic masses. In the future, in addition to continuing to raise the level of Marxism-Leninism and business ability of the existing

cadres, and in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee to make them take part in some physical labor, the existing intellectual cadres who have not been tempered by the actual struggle and who have no experience of working at the grass-roots level should be organized systematically and in batches to go to the countryside and factories for a few years to work, or to the grass-roots level for a few years to do practical work.

All leading cadres at all levels of the Party, the government and mass organizations must have been trained in actual struggle and gained experience in grass-roots work, and those who lack such experience must make up for it. Literary, artistic and journalistic workers must do the same.

The staff of Party, political and mass organizations, and the off-the-job personnel of business units and institutions must be gradually reduced as far as possible.

With regard to graduates of universities and secondary specialized schools, appropriate methods must be studied for assigning them first to production units suitable for their disciplines, and after one to several years of labor, they will be assigned jobs according to their expertise and performance in labor.

Conditions must be carefully created so that the manual laborers in production will have the opportunity to improve their cultural and scientific knowledge, and so that a portion of them who are able to pursue further studies will have the opportunity to go on to colleges and universities.

It is only by conscientiously carrying out such a cadre line that the Party and the country will be able to place the training and selection of cadres on a sound footing and build up a cadre that can stand up to the risks of fighting for the communist cause.

Again, a word about the youth league.

The Communist Youth League is a powerful assistant of the Party. Party organizations at all levels should closely care for the consolidation of the youth league and the improvement of the quality of its members. The problems exposed among Party members in this great clamor and anti-rightist struggle are even more serious among the members of the League, and the shortcomings in the policy of the League's cadres are even more urgently in need of correction. According to statistics, more than 850,000 members of the League participated in the Rectification Movement, and more than 14,000 rightists were exposed, accounting for 1.65 percent of the total number of League members who participated in the Movement.

In conjunction with this Rectification Movement, a serious reorganization of the organization of the League must be carried out. For members of the Communist Youth League who have committed all kinds of serious mistakes, when they are dealt with by the organization, they can basically be dealt with in accordance with the principles for dealing with Party members who have committed all kinds of mistakes, but they should be looser than the Party and should place more emphasis on education.

(viii) Improvement of work for total victory

Improvement of work and the anti-rightist movement are of equal importance, and neither aspect should be neglected.

It is only by courageously accepting the criticisms of the masses and resolutely correcting their mistakes that we can help to isolate the rightists and win over the majority, and enhance the prestige of the Party and the Government.

Whether the Party's leadership can be consolidated and strengthened is determined by the Party itself, by whether the leadership is correct and whether it can effectively correct shortcomings and mistakes in its work. The anti-rightist movement by itself cannot eliminate our shortcomings and mistakes.

During the campaign, there was a great deal of criticism from inside and outside the Party, and more than ninety percent of these criticisms and opinions were correct, and some of them, though radical, were also very useful.

The problems exposed from the movement were much more serious than we had imagined, as the Central Committee's rectification instructions said: "In the past eight years, bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism, which are detached from the masses and from actual practice, have grown newly in our Party." It is dangerous not to correct these errors and shortcomings resolutely.

The faults that are reflected more prominently are:

Many rules and regulations are unreasonable, impractical and contradictory. This affects the relations between upper and lower levels, between the same levels, between this sector and that sector, between this part of the masses and that part of the masses, and affects the development of production. Most of these things went out of Beijing, some of which were incorrect in their original provisions, some of which were correct but which should have been changed due to changes in conditions but were not changed in time, some of which should have been provided for by each region in accordance with local conditions and should not have been uniformly provided for by the central government, and some of which were provided for by the various departments of the central government in their own way and without any contact with each other. Some are unavoidable due to lack of experience, while others are completely avoidable, and there is the phenomenon of excessive centralization and decentralization. The same is true of certain local regulations.

There is a serious detachment of leading organs and cadres from reality and from the masses, and the responsible comrades are too busy with their own affairs to be close to the masses, and they do not know much about the problems of the masses. Many systems of life, which form specialties, contribute to the detachment of cadres from the masses. Many cadres are complacent and self-righteous, do not follow the mass line, and do not consult the masses on matters of concern. Many

cadres are unwilling to socialize with the non-party masses and non-party people. A part of the party members to pursue personal enjoyment, the status of honor, in matters of special requirements, and even degeneration and corruption, oppression of the masses, lawlessness and lawlessness.

These phenomena can not be changed without change, and must be resolutely changed.

We are a large country with a population of 600 million. It is not easy to unite 600 million people in a single-minded effort to build socialism. For this reason, those in charge of Party committees at all levels must pay constant attention to ideological and political leadership, and must not fall into the quagmire of transactionalism, so that they lose sight of the big picture and the fundamental aspects of the matter. The general task is to adhere to the mass line and correctly deal with internal contradictions among the people. "Our goal is to create a political situation that is centralized and democratic, disciplined and free, unified and individual, comfortable and lively, so as to facilitate the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to make it easier to overcome difficulties, to build up China's modern industry and modern agriculture faster, and to make the Party and the country more consolidated and more able to withstand risks."

To bring about such a political situation, it is necessary to carry out the struggle against the Rightists, to strengthen the dictatorship over the counter-revolutionaries and to consolidate the discipline of the Party and the State on the one hand, and on the other hand to overcome sectarianism, bureaucracy and subjectivism. In order to rectify the style of work and improve it, we should now concentrate on the following three points:

(1) Overcoming the tendency to sectarianism and specialization. Communist Party members should be impartial and should mingle with the masses, share their sorrows and sufferings, and breathe together. Party members should have close ties with the non-party masses and people outside the Party and should make more friends. Cadres and the masses should not live too differently from each other; regulations and systems forming the specialization of cadres (mainly Communist Party members) should be abolished; the culture of hard work and simplicity should be promoted; leading

cadres should be close to the lower strata of the hierarchy and close to the masses; cadres should participate in physical labor; there should not be too great a difference between the lives of workers and peasants, or between urban and rural areas; the rise in the standard of living must be made taking into account the majority of the country's population; a reasonably low wage system must be introduced; and everyone should have food to eat as far as possible.

(2) Systematically and organizationally change those unreasonable regulations, correctly solve the relationship between centralization and unification and division of responsibilities (party-government relationship, up and down relationship), what should be centralized must be centralized, what should be decentralized must be decentralized, what should be decentralized must be decentralized. Excessive centralization and decentralization must be corrected. A good solution in these areas will reduce both subjectivism and bureaucracy, as well as anarchy and indiscipline. Excessive staffing of Party and government organs away from production and large, bloated institutions also contribute to the development of subjectivist bureaucracy, which must be vigorously streamlined and the excess staff resolutely decentralized to production units and grass-roots units in need of strengthening.

(3) Expand democratic life within the people and continue to improve the democratic system. In dealing with conflicts within the people, we must adhere to the "unity-criticism-unity" approach. Leaders at all levels must fully respect the democratic rights of the people, always listen to their voices and demands, seriously consider all reasonable dissenting views and objections, accept the criticism and supervision of the masses in good faith, and resolutely correct their own shortcomings and mistakes. "All controversial issues within the people should be resolved only by democratic methods, only by methods of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education, not by coercive or oppressive methods." Only in this way can the masses be inspired and their consciousness raised, so that they will have the courage to criticize and express their opinions, to argue and to insist on the truth in their daily lives in the future.

The anti-Rightist struggle is to clear the way for the correct handling of internal contradictions among the people; we must not allow anyone to use the anti-Rightist struggle to block the path of

speech within the people and to use coercive and subdued methods to solve the problem of internal disputes among the people. In order to educate the masses, and especially to allay the concerns of the centrists, the anti-Rightist struggle itself must pay special attention to adhering to the principle of reasoning, presenting facts and convincing people by reasoning, preventing simplicity and brutality, and making every effort to avoid exaggeration and one-sidedness; in regard to the erroneous views of the centrists and the workers and peasants, it is necessary to adopt the method of patience, persuasion and education; and in regard to the academic controversy, it is especially necessary to oppose rashness and arbitrariness. The rightists must also be dealt with appropriately. The results of the anti-Rightist struggle must be conducive, not detrimental, to the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and to the fostering of an atmosphere in which the masses dare to speak out.

We have to strive for the total victory of the movement. By "total victory" we mean victory in the anti-Rightist struggle, victory in the improvement of work, and victory so that the outcome of the struggle will create the kind of political situation described above.

The anti-Rightist struggle still needs to be deepened and unfolded, but a decisive victory has already been won, while the work of reform has only begun. This is something to which special attention must be paid.

With regard to the work of improvement, some regions and some units are doing a better job. Where attention has been paid to reform, the results have been obvious: the rightists have been isolated, the centrists have been brought closer together, relations between the Party and the masses have improved, the prestige of the Party and of the cadres has been enhanced, and the enthusiasm of the masses for their work and their political activism have increased. These units which have paid attention to the improvement of their work have proved that most of the criticisms and opinions of the masses can be accepted and improved immediately by their own units (some units have analyzed that 90-95 per cent of them can be solved by their own units), and that only a small part of them can be improved only after a decision has been made by the higher authorities or the central government.

The central and local departments and units should set up a special group chaired by the person in charge to widely collect the opinions of the masses on the improvement of their work (all units that have not yet sounded the actual sound or have not sounded the sound sufficiently in the past must make up for the lessons so that the opinions of the masses can be fully expressed). After careful study, plans and programs for improvement will be proposed and gradually implemented. All departments and units must report to their superiors and the Central Committee at any time on the situation of the improvement work.

At present there are still quite a number of units whose leading comrades pay no or insufficient attention to the work of improvement. Some, fearful of exposing their shortcomings, dare not release the sounding at the beginning of the campaign; some, after the sounding, take advantage of the anti-Rightist faction to cover up their own mistakes, or even try to evade the rectification and get away with it; and some even take blows and retaliation against those who have given their opinions. These cannot be allowed. The Party committees at all levels must earnestly grasp the leadership of the third and fourth phases in order to seek total victory for the movement.

Source: Reprinted by the Office of the CPC Luoyang Municipal Committee, October 20, 1957