

THOROUGH CRITICISM OF THE "THREE-SELF, ONE-GUARANTEE" SYSTEM
GEARED TO RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM

- Summary of a Criticism Meeting of Poor and Lower-Middle
Peasants and Revolutionary Cadres of Lants'un
Commune, Chimo Hsien, Shangtung Province -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-
language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13,
17 August 1967, pages 43-46.]

Hung-ch'i editor's note:

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "In this historical stage of socialism, there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism, and the danger of capitalist restoration." In the three-year period of economic difficulties, when the class struggle was extremely acute, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did the best he could to advocate the "three-self, one-guarantee"* system, and in doing so launched a frantic attack against the proletariat in concert with class enemies at home and abroad.

"Three-self, one-guarantee" sought to disintegrate the collective economy of the people's commune and cause capitalism to spread unchecked. It went against the firm faith of the vast masses of the poor and lower-middle

* Private plots, a free market, and responsibility for one's profit and loss; guarantee of fulfillment of production quotas based on the household.

peasants in taking the socialist road, but reflected the desire of an extremely small number of landlords and rich peasants as well as the well-to-do middle peasants with spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism. It was the same as that set of policies of developing new rich peasants vigorously pursued in the rural areas of the Soviet Union by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique; it was the continuation of the counter-revolutionary policy of China's Khrushchev who has for long advocated the development of the rich peasant economy and frantically opposed cooperativization, the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune, and it is a component part of his plot for restoration of capitalism. "Three-self, one-guarantee" is an out-and-out revisionist line!

The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, following Chairman Mao's instructions, taking class struggle as the key, and holding high the great red banner of the general line, have stopped the black wind of "three-self, one-guarantee" and beat back the frantic offensive of the bourgeoisie. The people's commune has been further consolidated and developed, agricultural production has attained a new leap, and signs of growing prosperity have appeared in the socialist cause.

In the course of large-scale revolutionary criticism, the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres of Lants'un Commune, Chimo Hsien, Shantung, taking the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon and using iron-clad facts, have exposed the hypocrisy of "three-self, one-guarantee," hitting China's Khrushchev where it hurts most. Below is a summary of their criticism meeting.

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"Three-Self, One-Guarantee" Is Restoration of Capitalism

Our great leader Chairman Mao says: "After the socialist revolution has won basic victory in our country, there will still be some people in society who dream of restoring the capitalist system." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief representative of this section of people. The "three-self, one-guarantee" system which he has energetically advocated is a gust of black wind stirred up for the purpose of restoring capitalism.

In the three-year period of economic difficulties in our country, China's Khrushchev, in concert with the anti-China big chorus by class enemies at home and abroad, wildly opposed Chairman Mao and socialism, vainly hoping that the wheels of history would go backward. He said

nonsensically that "industry must retreat to a sufficient degree, and so must agriculture. That also applies to the sending down of quotas to the household and individual farming!" "The free market must go on." In compliance with his black directive, his henchmen vigorously worked to promote "sending down quotas to the household" and open the "free market." In team No. 7 of our Ssuli Production Brigade "sending down of land" was practiced in eight different ways, with the result that by far the greater part of the collective land was divided.

In consequence, polarization between the rich and poor again occurred in our Ssuli. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, especially the "four-dependents and two-households" (dependents of army-men, martyrs, workers and cadres and the five-guarantee* households and households facing difficulties), lacking in manpower, farm implements, and fertilizer, found it difficult to do any farming. The land allocated to them for farming was laid waste, and they could no longer rely on the collective. They were getting poorer and poorer. Once again, there were instances where they were forced to sell their houses and their land.

On the other hand, a small handful of people engaged in speculations or had strong labor power which enabled them to open up more waste land and received a very high income; in both cases they amassed a fortune. What road did they take if not the road backward? If this state of affairs were allowed to continue, we would embark on the road of Soviet revisionism, the landlords and the bourgeoisie would sit on the heads of us poor and lower-middle peasants again, and we would suffer. The whole of Lants'un, nay, the whole of China, would change color. When we think of this, we cannot but deeply resent this big bad egg, the Khrushchev of China. (Tung K'uei-fa, a poor-peasant member of Ssuli Production Brigade)

Nothing can be more reactionary than the "three-self, one-guarantee" system advocated by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road! We of the Ssuli Production Brigade used to take the road pointed out by Chairman Mao. We built up our homes with our bare hands and acquired a fixed asset amounting to more than 40 thousand yuan. Since the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was introduced, we have seen more than 40 houses damaged and run short of plows, rakes, water wheels, big carts, and turbine engines. Of the eight kinds of sideline occupations, only three are still carried out. More than 60 head of big cattle and more than 60 pigs were lost. Our fixed asset has dwindled by more than 20 thousand yuan, and debts incurred by commune members exceeded 70 thousand yuan. The "three-self, one-guarantee" system has undermined the foundation of the collective

* "Five-guarantee households" refers to widows, widowers, the childless, the orphans and the crippled.

economy and is a downright capitalist system. (Wei Yueh-kuang, a poor-peasant member of Ssuli Production Brigade)

The "three-self, one-guarantee" system promoted by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road opened the door for speculations, causing capitalism to spread unchecked and the ghosts and monsters to be released from the cages. At that time, Wuli Production Brigade had eight elements belonging to the four categories, and of these eight, six engaged in speculations. China's Khrushchev is the top backstage boss of the speculators and unscrupulous traders. (Sui Jih-sheng, a cadre of the Market Control Office)

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in order to introduce the "three-self, one-guarantee" system, maintained that "it is not something dreadful that society produces some bourgeois elements. We should not be afraid of the spread of capitalism." This glaringly exposed his wolfish ambition to vainly restore capitalism. After the introduction of the "three-self, one-guarantee" system in our commune, some commune members began to lose interest in the collective, saying: "we would rather leave the fields unfarmed than delay the Lants'un trade fair." They gave themselves up to spontaneous tendencies and even engaged in speculations. Some young people indulged in gambling and degenerated. Some brigade and commune cadres were dragged into the water by the landlords and rich peasants, degenerated, and became newly-born bourgeois elements. The "three-self, one-guarantee" system created serious consequences. (Kuan Jui-ch'in, member of the preparatory committee of the Commune Revolutionary Committee)

The former director of the Taxation Office, after he knew that his family was unable to take care of its plot since the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was introduced, returned home once every three or five days to assist in farming the plot. Taking advantage of this, the speculators presented him with a gift of 60 yuan on the occasion of his child "reaching a hundred days." Later, they "helped" him to solve his difficulties in many ways. This whetted his appetite more and more and finally made him an agent of the bourgeoisie who shielded the speculative traders. He was a cadre born of a hired hand's family, and had been a PLA soldier who had fought against the Kuomintang. He had never been frightened in the rain of bullets. Nevertheless, he was hit by the bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. What a serious lesson this is! (Mou Chung-lien, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Commune Revolutionary Committee)

"Three-Self, One-Guarantee" Is a Demand of Landlords,
Rich Peasants and the Bourgeoisie

Talking rubbish, China's Khrushchev said: "In many places the peasants and even the cadres demand individual farming. They demand the division of land to the households or the setting of quotas based

on the household." "It is impossible to do away with individual farming. If you don't permit individual farming this year, you will permit it next year. If you don't let him return to individual farming, he will do it secretly." This is a great insult to us broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres. This bad fellow pretended to be highly concerned with us peasants and to represent our interests. Is this really so? No. Absolutely not.

Chairman Mao has said, there are some people "who always think on behalf of a handful of people from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie and rich peasants or the well-to-do middle peasants with spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism. They do not think on behalf of the whole nation and the whole body of the people from the standpoint of the working class." China's Khrushchev is just like that. His much vaunted "three-self, one-guarantee" system entirely represents the interests and demands of the landlords, rich peasants, and the bourgeoisie.

As soon as this bad idea of "three-self, one-guarantee" reach the countryside, it was loudly acclaimed by the landlords, rich peasants and speculative elements. A landlord in our village hysterically shouted: "Land will return home! The free market will be opened." On the contrary, we poor and lower-middle peasants were incensed by the news of promotion of "three-self, one-guarantee," as we were worried that were we to do so, we would take the road backward. While in the past we did not know who put forward this bad idea, now we know. We all deeply hate China's Khrushchev who proposed this bad idea behind the back of Chairman Mao. This score must be settled. (Kuan I-chin, a poor-peasant member of Sanli Production Brigade)

In 1961, when the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was put into practice here, we, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, rose to oppose it and criticize it, saying: "Setting quotas based on the household and practice of individual farming is against Chairman Mao's directives and is incompatible with the socialist orientation." However, those Party power-holders taking the capitalist road did not listen to us. Instead, they said venomously: "We don't care about orientation. Let's do it and talk later." They threatened us, saying: "Should you refuse to set quotas based on the household and should natural calamities and, as their aftermath, famine occur, we will not take care of you."

When this system was implemented slowly in our village, they openly criticized us at a mass meeting and mentioned our names. They said: "Refusal to set quotas based on the household is refusal to listen to the Party." What nonsense! Chairman Mao calls on us to take the road of collectivization, and we poor and lower-middle peasants listen to no one but Chairman Mao. Whoever oppose Chairman Mao, I will fight him to the end even if I may get killed. (Chang Chun-te, a poor-peasant member of Taohsiangts'un Production Brigade)

China's Khrushchev spoke like a blind man when he falsely charged our basic-level cadres with demanding setting quotas based on the household. In 1961, the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was practiced in Lants'un Commune. Capitalism spread everywhere unchecked and the poor and lower-middle peasants were divided in their opinions. I also felt that this was incompatible with the teachings of Chairman Mao, so I reported to the commune Party committee on what I had heard and thought.

However, instead of listening to what I told them, the handful of power-holders taking the capitalist road within the commune Party committee criticized me for "showing no interest in the well-being of the masses," accusing me of "eating but not working and spending time finding only faults." They deliberately created difficulties for me in work.

While struggling against them, I studied Chairman Mao's works. He taught us: "Chinese Communists who take the greatest interests of the largest sections of the people in China as the point of departure believe that their cause is entirely just, and they are willing to sacrifice their all and prepared to lay down their lives for our cause." Chairman Mao's teaching added immensely to my strength and courage and I again raised opinions on several occasions, but on each occasion I suffered attack and reprisal. Even after the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party, they still overtly obeyed Chairman Mao's directives while defying them in secret, and continued to enforce the "three-self, one-guarantee" system. This was really intolerable.

At a mass meeting of cadres at four levels held by the Yent'ai District Party Committee, I brought up the question of Lants'un Commune Party Committee's carrying out the "three-self, one-guarantee" system and promoting capitalist restoration on a large scale. But this brought on more frantic and savage class reprisals against me.

It was December in an icy cold winter. Four days after I left the hospital after suffering from a miscarriage, I had to confine myself to bed. However, the handful of power-holders taking the capitalist road of the commune Party committee forced me to dig drainage ditches. They wanted to put me to death. Many poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres also suffered from attack and persecution by these bad eggs merely because they opposed the "three-self, one-guarantee" system.

On the other hand, those cadres who actively promoted individual farming and speculations were often commended, given subsidies, and promoted. The reason why they dared to openly defy Chairman Mao's directives, suppress the poor and lower-middle peasants and attack the revolutionary cadres is that they had the backing of China's Khrushchev, who is their backstage boss. A tree must be pulled up with its roots, and we must completely strike down China's Khrushchev, not only unhorsing

him but also totally discrediting and repudiating him ideologically, politically and theoretically, so that he will never rise again. (Kuan Jui-ch'in)

Only When We Listen to Chairman Mao and Persist in the
Socialist Orientation Can We Have a Bright Road

Chairman Mao teaches: "The great majority of the peasants in our country, in order to free themselves from poverty, improve their living standard, and resist natural calamities, can only unite together and advance along the big socialist path. Only by doing so can they attain their aim." Our village was originally called Chiangchiachuang. Before the liberation it was notoriously called Nantahuang [big southern waste land]. A folk song current at that time said: "In Nanhuang, you can have only plants and chaff. Glad in rags, you live in mud huts. Every year people suffer or die of hunger."

It was Chairman Mao, the savior whom we had longed to see, who finally delivered us from miseries. In compliance with Chairman Mao's teaching of "getting organized," we embarked on the big socialist bright path and our living standard got improving by the day. China's Khrushchev and his agents were scared to death when they saw us poor and lower-middle peasants leading a good life. In concert with the frantic attack of class enemies at home and abroad, they threw out the "three-self, one-guarantee" black directive, thereby bringing serious losses to our production brigade.

It was precisely at this time that our great leader Chairman Mao issued at the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee a great call to us not to forget class struggle, and spoke what was in our minds. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we stopped the "three-self, one-guarantee" black wind and repulsed the wild offensive of the class enemies.

Having eliminated "three-self, one-guarantee" we again held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, taking class struggle as the key link, proceeded to wage a battle against nature. Says Chairman Mao: "The masses of the people have infinite creative power. They may get themselves organized and march on the places and departments where they can use their strength, and march on production in depth and breadth to create more and more welfare amenities for ourselves as every day passes."

Chairman Mao's great teaching pointed out for us the direction of advance. We made up our minds to rely on the strength of the collective and, in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed mountains, basically reclaimed wasteland, controlled alkalinity, cured waterlogging in low-lying areas. In the winter of 1964, we organized all the commune members to continue to work hard for 130 days, digging ditches, building

sluice gates, converting rice fields, and thus achieving increases every year. The living standard of the commune members has kept on rising. In 1966, the average per mou output reached 602 catties, setting up the highest record in history.

In 1963 we had to be supplied by the state with 170 thousand catties. In 1966, we sold to the state 500 thousand catties, every household selling 3,623 catties on average. In the two years 1965 and 1966, our brigade paid back state loans in the amount of more than 70 thousand yuan. In addition, we purchased hand-drawn tractors, rice grinding machines, seedling transplanting machines, and undertook a good number of capital construction projects. The collective economy was considerably consolidated and developed. The commune members were so happy that they changed Chiangchiachuang into Taohsiang [fragrant rice] village.

Facts are more eloquent than words. How could the poor and lower-middle peasants enjoy such happiness as they enjoy today if they did not listen to Chairman Mao and take the road of collectivization. Commune members of our village composed a quick song which read like this: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung radiates a golden light. Nantahuang has completely changed: Golden rice is piled up as mountains and granaries are filled with yellow wheat. A poor village has become one where the rice is fragrant, and saline land becomes land where fish and rice abound. Every household has white rice and everybody has a new dress. The people's commune is powerful and the road of collectivization is wide. Let us forever follow Chairman Mao and the Communist Party."

Facts proved that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a man-eating wolf, and a deadly enemy of the poor and lower-middle peasants. We must make a greater success of large-scale revolutionary criticism and swing the massive cudgel -- the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- to hit at this dog in the water and thoroughly crush his big plot for restoration of capitalism. We must forever advance bravely along the bright path of socialism which Chairman Mao indicated for us! (Chang Li-shan, activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works and a poor-peasant member of Taohsiang Village Production Brigade)

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