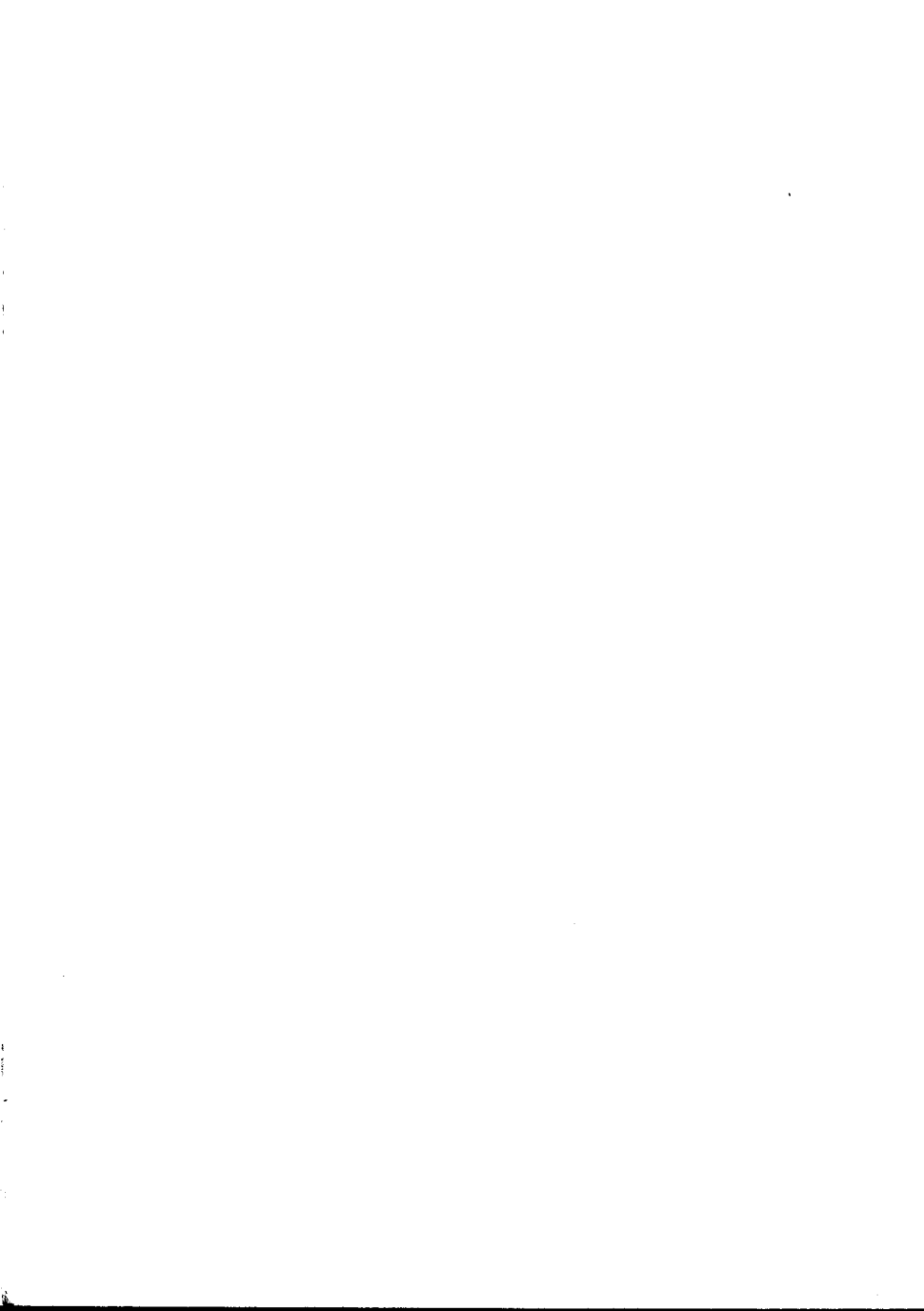




THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA







**THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA**

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REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE
CONSTITUTION
Chang Chun-chiao 45



THE
CONSTITUTION OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA

(Adopted on January 17, 1975 by the Fourth
National People's Congress of the People's
Republic of China at its First Session)



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Preamble



THE founding of the People's Republic of China marked the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a victory gained only after the Chinese people had waged a heroic struggle for over a century and, finally, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by a people's revolutionary war.

For the last twenty years and more, the people of all nationalities in our country, continuing their triumphant advance under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have achieved great victories both in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and have consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

We should consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working

class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and develop the revolutionary united front. We should correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handle them. We should carry on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; we should build socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and we should be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people.

In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism. China will never be a superpower. We should strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all oppressed people and oppressed nations, with each supporting

the other; strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and oppose the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers.

The Chinese people are fully confident that, led by the Communist Party of China, they will vanquish enemies at home and abroad and surmount all difficulties to build China into a powerful socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

People of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!

CHAPTER ONE

General Principles



Article 1

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

Article 2

The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation.

Article 3

All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels, with deputies of workers, peasants and soldiers as their main body.

The people's congresses at all levels and all other organs of state practise democratic centralism.

Deputies to the people's congresses at all levels are elected through democratic consultation. The electoral units and electors have the power to supervise the deputies they elect and to replace them at any time according to provisions of law.

Article 4

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional

national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

All the nationalities are equal. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages.

Article 5

In the People's Republic of China, there are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production at the present stage: socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people.

The state may allow non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement by neighbourhood organizations in cities and towns or by production teams in rural

people's communes. At the same time, these individual labourers should be guided onto the road of socialist collectivization step by step.

Article 6

The state sector of the economy is the leading force in the national economy.

All mineral resources and waters as well as the forests, undeveloped land and other resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize urban and rural land as well as other means of production under conditions prescribed by law.

Article 7

The rural people's commune is an organization which integrates government administration and economic management.

The economic system of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage generally takes the form of three-level ownership with the production team at the basic level, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit.

Provided that the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune are ensured, people's commune members may farm small plots for their personal needs, engage in limited household sideline production, and in pastoral areas keep a small number of livestock for their personal needs.

Article 8

Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state shall ensure the consolidation and development of the socialist economy and prohibit any person from undermining the socialist

economy and the public interest in any way whatsoever.

Article 9

The state applies the socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The state protects the citizens' right of ownership to their income from work, their savings, their houses, and other means of livelihood.

Article 10

The state applies the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war; promotes the planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy, taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor

and bringing the initiative of both the central and the local authorities into full play; and improves the people's material and cultural life step by step on the basis of the constant growth of social production and consolidates the independence and security of the country.

Article 11

State organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, firmly put proletarian politics in command, combat bureaucracy, maintain close ties with the masses and wholeheartedly serve the people. Cadres at all levels must participate in collective productive labour.

Every organ of state must apply the principle of efficient and simple administration. Its leading body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

Article 12

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labour.

Article 13

Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people. The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help

consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Article 14

The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights for specified periods of time according to law, and at the same time provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour.

Article 15

The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants'

own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China; they are the armed forces of the people of all nationalities.

The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is at all times a fighting force, and simultaneously a working force and a production force.

The task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is to safeguard the achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.

CHAPTER TWO

The Structure of
the State



SECTION I

The National People's Congress

Article 16

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central Government, and the People's Liberation Army. When necessary, a certain number of patriotic personages may be specially invited to take part as deputies.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years. Its term of office may be extended under special circumstances.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

Article 17

The functions and powers of the National People's Congress are: to amend the Constitution, make laws, appoint and remove the Premier of the State Council and the members of the State Council on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, approve the national economic plan, the state budget and the final state accounts, and exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

Article 18

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent organ of the

National People's Congress. Its functions and powers are: to convene the sessions of the National People's Congress, interpret laws, enact decrees, dispatch and recall plenipotentiary representatives abroad, receive foreign diplomatic envoys, ratify and denounce treaties concluded with foreign states, and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and other members, all of whom are elected and subject to recall by the National People's Congress.

SECTION II

The State Council

Article 19

The State Council is the Central People's Government. The State Council is responsible

and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

The State Council is composed of the Premier, the Vice-Premiers, the ministers, and the ministers heading commissions.

Article 20

The functions and powers of the State Council are: to formulate administrative measures and issue decisions and orders in accordance with the Constitution, laws and decrees; exercise unified leadership over the work of ministries and commissions and local organs of state at various levels throughout the country; draft and implement the national economic plan and the state budget; direct state administrative affairs; and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

SECTION III

The Local People's Congresses and the Local Revolutionary Committees at Various Levels

Article 21

The local people's congresses at various levels are the local organs of state power.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the Central Government are elected for a term of five years. The people's congresses of prefectures, cities and counties are elected for a term of three years. The people's congresses of rural people's communes and towns are elected for a term of two years.

Article 22

The local revolutionary committees at various levels are the permanent organs of the local people's congresses and at the same time the local people's governments at various levels.

Local revolutionary committees are composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members, who are elected and subject to recall by the people's congress at the corresponding level. Their election or recall shall be submitted for examination and approval to the organ of state at the next higher level.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to the people's congress at the corresponding level and to the organ of state at the next higher level.

Article 23

The local people's congresses at various levels and the local revolutionary committees elected

by them ensure the execution of laws and decrees in their respective areas; lead the socialist revolution and socialist construction in their respective areas; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; maintain revolutionary order; and safeguard the rights of citizens.

SECTION IV

The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

Article 24

The autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas; their organs of self-government are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, apart from exercising the

functions and powers of local organs of state as specified in Chapter Two, Section III of the Constitution, may exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

The higher organs of state shall fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas and actively support the minority nationalities in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

SECTION V

The Judicial Organs and the Procuratorial Organs

Article 25

The Supreme People's Court, local people's courts at various levels and special people's

courts exercise judicial authority. The people's courts are responsible and accountable to the people's congresses and their permanent organs at the corresponding levels. The presidents of the people's courts are appointed and subject to removal by the permanent organs of the people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

The functions and powers of procuratorial organs are exercised by the organs of public security at various levels.

The mass line must be applied in procuratorial work and in trying cases. In major counter-revolutionary criminal cases the masses should be mobilized for discussion and criticism.



CHAPTER THREE

The Fundamental Rights
and Duties of Citizens



Article 26

The fundamental rights and duties of citizens are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China.

It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression. It is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service according to law.

Article 27

All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

Citizens have the right to work and the right to education. Working people have the right to rest and the right to material assistance in old age and in case of illness or disability.

Citizens have the right to lodge to organs of state at any level written or oral complaints of transgression of law or neglect of duty on the part of any person working in an organ of state. No one shall attempt to hinder or obstruct the making of such complaints or retaliate.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all respects.

The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state protects the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese.

Article 28

Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, proces-

sion, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes shall be inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a public security organ.

Article 29

The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific activities.

1. The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to define the problem clearly.

2. The second step is to identify the causes of the problem.

3. The third step is to identify the effects of the problem.

4. The fourth step is to identify the stakeholders involved in the problem.

5. The fifth step is to identify the resources available to solve the problem.

6. The sixth step is to identify the constraints on the solution.

7. The seventh step is to identify the options for solving the problem.

8. The eighth step is to evaluate the options.

9. The ninth step is to select the best option.

10. The tenth step is to implement the solution.

11. The eleventh step is to monitor the solution.

12. The twelfth step is to evaluate the results.

13. The thirteenth step is to report the results.

14. The fourteenth step is to reflect on the process.

15. The fifteenth step is to share the results.

16. The sixteenth step is to learn from the experience.

17. The seventeenth step is to apply the lessons learned.

18. The eighteenth step is to continue to improve.

19. The nineteenth step is to stay focused.

20. The twentieth step is to stay motivated.

21. The twenty-first step is to stay organized.

22. The twenty-second step is to stay flexible.

23. The twenty-third step is to stay open-minded.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to stay curious.

25. The twenty-fifth step is to stay humble.

26. The twenty-sixth step is to stay resilient.

27. The twenty-seventh step is to stay positive.

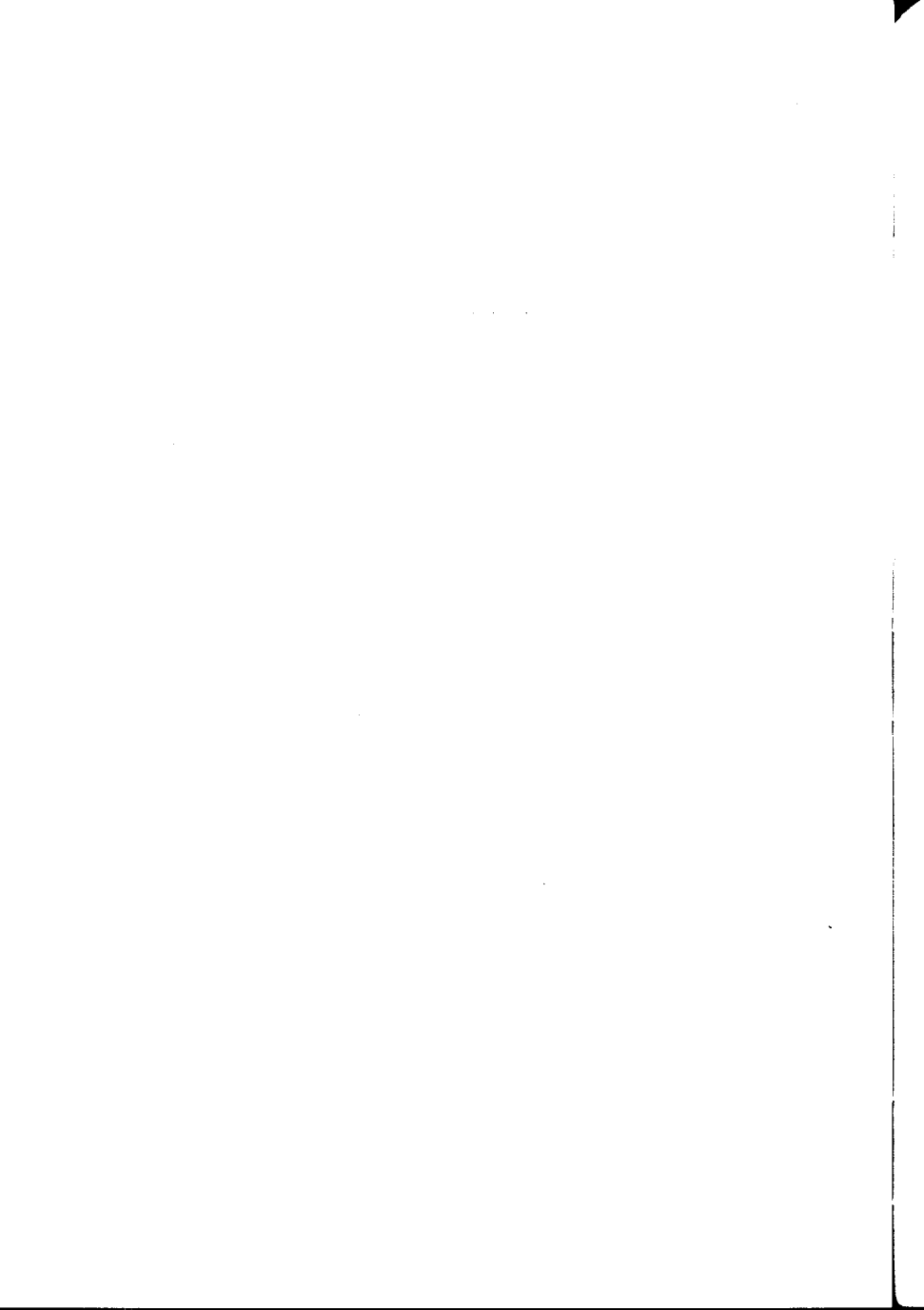
28. The twenty-eighth step is to stay optimistic.

29. The twenty-ninth step is to stay confident.

30. The thirtieth step is to stay determined.

CHAPTER FOUR

The National Flag, the
National Emblem
and the Capital



Article 30

The national flag has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem: Tien An Men in the centre, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital is Peking.

2. 1990-1991

The 1990-1991 season was a very dry one for the region. The total rainfall was only 1,100 mm, which is only 70% of the long-term average. The dry weather had a significant impact on the water resources of the region. The water level in the reservoirs was very low, and the flow in the rivers was very low. This led to a significant reduction in the water available for irrigation and other uses. The water quality was also affected, with a significant increase in the concentration of dissolved solids and other minerals. The dry weather also led to a significant increase in the risk of fire, particularly in the forested areas. The fire risk was particularly high in the areas around the reservoirs, where the vegetation was very dry and the wind was strong. The fire risk was also high in the areas around the dams, where the vegetation was very dry and the wind was strong. The fire risk was also high in the areas around the reservoirs, where the vegetation was very dry and the wind was strong.

3. 1992-1993

The 1992-1993 season was a very wet one for the region. The total rainfall was 1,800 mm, which is 110% of the long-term average. The wet weather had a significant impact on the water resources of the region. The water level in the reservoirs was very high, and the flow in the rivers was very high. This led to a significant increase in the water available for irrigation and other uses. The water quality was also affected, with a significant increase in the concentration of dissolved solids and other minerals. The wet weather also led to a significant increase in the risk of flooding, particularly in the low-lying areas. The flooding was particularly severe in the areas around the reservoirs, where the water level was very high and the wind was strong. The flooding was also severe in the areas around the dams, where the water level was very high and the wind was strong. The flooding was also severe in the areas around the reservoirs, where the water level was very high and the wind was strong.

4. 1994-1995

The 1994-1995 season was a very dry one for the region. The total rainfall was only 1,100 mm, which is only 70% of the long-term average. The dry weather had a significant impact on the water resources of the region. The water level in the reservoirs was very low, and the flow in the rivers was very low. This led to a significant reduction in the water available for irrigation and other uses. The water quality was also affected, with a significant increase in the concentration of dissolved solids and other minerals. The dry weather also led to a significant increase in the risk of fire, particularly in the forested areas. The fire risk was particularly high in the areas around the reservoirs, where the vegetation was very dry and the wind was strong. The fire risk was also high in the areas around the dams, where the vegetation was very dry and the wind was strong. The fire risk was also high in the areas around the reservoirs, where the vegetation was very dry and the wind was strong.

CHANG CHUN-CHIAO

REPORT
ON THE REVISION OF
THE CONSTITUTION

(Delivered on January 13, 1975 and adopted
on January 17, 1975 at the First Session
of the Fourth National People's Congress of
the People's Republic of China)



Fellow Deputies!

The Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Congress for its deliberation has been issued to all the deputies. At the behest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I shall explain some points.

Twenty years ago, in 1954, the First National People's Congress adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, **"An organization must have rules, and a state also must have rules; the Constitution is a set of general rules and is a fundamental charter."** The Constitution of 1954 was China's first constitution of a socialist type. In the form

of a fundamental charter it summed up historical experience, consolidated the victories of our people and mapped out a clear, well-defined course of advance for the people of the whole country. Practice in the last twenty years has proved that that Constitution was correct. Its basic principles are still applicable today. However, as tremendous changes have taken place in China's politics, economy and culture and in international relations since 1954, some parts of the Constitution are no longer suitable. In the present revision of the Constitution our main task is to sum up our new experience, consolidate our new victories and express the common desire of the people of our country to persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of the new victories won by our people in the last two decades the most significant has been the step-by-step consolidation and development of the socialist system under the leader-

ship of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. Through repeated trials of strength with enemies at home and abroad, and especially through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the last eight years which destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao, the people of all nationalities in our country are more united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever. What is more important is that, in the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao formulated for us a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism by applying the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice. He says:

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the

capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

Both the Ninth and the Tenth Congresses of the Party reaffirmed this basic line. Our struggles against Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao have focused on one issue: whether to uphold this basic line or to change it. Past and present

class struggles all prove that this basic line is the lifeline of our Party as well as of our country. As long as we uphold it, we shall assuredly be able to overcome all difficulties, defeat enemies at home and abroad and win greater victories. This is the main experience we have gained and also our guiding thought in revising the Constitution.

The draft revised Constitution now submitted is the continuation and development of the 1954 Constitution. It was born out of repeated discussions among the people of all our nationalities and is the outcome of combining the ideas of the leading organizations and those of the masses. The Preamble is new. The number of articles has been reduced from 106 to 30. The important revisions are as follows:

(1) Starting from the Preamble, the draft revised text records the glorious history of the Chinese people's heroic struggle. "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership

of the whole Chinese people” and “Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation” — such is the conclusion which the people of our country have drawn from their historical experience of more than a century and which is now inscribed in the General Principles of the draft. The draft stipulates, “The National People’s Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.” It also stipulates, “The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country’s armed forces.” Since no chairmanship of state is instituted, the draft makes a corresponding revision of the provisions of the 1954 Constitution concerning the structure of the state. All this will certainly help strengthen the Party’s centralized leadership over the structure of the state and meet the desire of the people of the whole country.

(2) The draft stipulates, "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." It stipulates that the worker, peasant and soldier deputies shall form the main body of people's congresses at all levels. It also specifies the targets of the dictatorship of the proletariat and sets forth the policies of the dictatorship. The draft includes in separate articles the rural people's communes, which integrate government administration and economic management, and the local revolutionary committees at various levels formed on the basis of the revolutionary three-in-one combination, both of which emerged from great revolutionary mass movements. Thus, the class nature of our state and the status of each class in our country are clearly defined. Marx and Lenin consistently teach us, "**The class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the pro-**

letariat” and “**The proletarian state is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.**” Our draft adheres to this principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and is sharply demarcated from such fallacies as Confucius’ “benevolent government” or the Soviet revisionist renegade clique’s “state of the whole people.”

As for our dictatorship of the proletariat, firstly, within the country it suppresses the reactionary classes and elements and those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction, and suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities; and secondly, it protects our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. It is the magic weapon with which the people of our country vanquish enemies and protect themselves. We must treasure it and constantly strengthen it. We should strengthen the great unity of the people of all our nationalities, strengthen the People’s Liberation Army and

the people's militia which are the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strengthen the building of state organs. We should continue to consolidate the alliance of the working class with its reliable ally, the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other working people and the many intellectuals, and develop the revolutionary united front which includes the patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages in all walks of life. Only in this way can we unite with all the forces that can be united with, exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat effectively, defend the socialist system, and consolidate the independence and security of our great motherland.

(3) The dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand exercises dictatorship over the enemy and on the other practises democratic centralism within the ranks of the people. Without ample democracy, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without

a high degree of centralism, it is impossible to build socialism. The draft stipulates that all organs of state shall practise democratic centralism and specifies the democratic rights of citizens, and especially the rights of the fraternal minority nationalities and of women. It also stipulates that the masses shall have the right to speak out freely, air views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters. Moreover, in accordance with Chairman Mao's proposal, the specification that citizens enjoy freedom to strike has been added to Article 28 of the draft. We are convinced that the revolutionary masses, who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will apply these provisions still better and "create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."

(4) The task of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production put forth in the 1954 Constitution has in the main been completed. The draft fully affirms this great victory of the Chinese people and lays it down that at the present stage our country has mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production, namely, socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people. The draft also contains provisions regarding non-agricultural individual labourers and allowing people's commune members to farm small plots for their personal needs and engage in limited household side-line production. These provisions integrate the principle of adherence to socialism with the necessary flexibility and are sharply demarcated from such fallacies as those advocated by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao on the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own and the abolition of farm plots for personal needs.

The draft reiterates the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and stipulates a series of principles and policies for the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base.

It should be pointed out that in our country we still have harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Like the morning sun, our socialist system is still very young. It was born in struggle and can only grow in struggle. Take the state sector of the economy for example. In some enterprises, the form is that of socialist ownership, but the reality is that their leadership is not in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers. The bourgeoisie will seize hold of many fronts if the proletariat does not occupy them. Confucius died more than two thousand years ago, yet such rubbish as his never vanishes

of itself where the broom of the proletariat does not reach. The draft lays down that “state organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought,” that “the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture” and that state organizations and state personnel must maintain close ties with the masses and overcome unhealthy tendencies. It is precisely the purpose of these provisions to call on us to pay keen attention to grasping socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and to pay attention to solving problems concerning the relations of production. We must broaden, deepen and persevere in the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and occupy all fronts with Marxism.

(5) In accordance with Chairman Mao’s teaching, **Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony**, we have written into

the draft that "China will never be a superpower" in order to show that our country does not seek hegemony today and that it never will. Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. We shall always unite with the people of all countries in the common struggle to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the face of the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Fellow Deputies!

The work of revising the Constitution has been going on for nearly five years. This Congress will complete the work and promulgate the new fundamental charter of the People's Republic of China. This is a major event calling for our enthusiastic celebration. In order to win and defend the right to people's democracy and socialism, smash the schemes of Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao for restoring capitalism internally and capitulating and selling out the country external-

ly, and defeat reactionaries both at home and abroad, the people of our country have long engaged in sharp and complex struggles, in which tens of thousands of martyrs have laid down their lives. It is precisely the victories of these struggles that have given birth to this socialist Constitution. We are confident that the people of all our nationalities and, first of all, the Communists and state personnel, will earnestly implement and courageously defend this Constitution and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, so as to ensure that our great motherland will forever forge ahead victoriously along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

中华人民共和国宪法

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