

# QUOTATIONS FROM MAO ZEDONG



## PUBLICATION NOTE

We are proud to present this new, enlarged and enhanced, edition of the *Quotations from Mao Zedong*.

Originally published in a 1<sup>st</sup> Edition intended for education within the Chinese People's Liberation Army, these *Quotations* became widely popular in the People's Republic of China during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (May 1966-October 1976), and a 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, intended for broader circulation, was prepared – both edited by members of the Cultural Revolution Group of the 8<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. A 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition was later prepared without Lin Biao's preface.

However, being selected and compiled at the very beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and ten whole years before Mao Zedong's passing, these *Quotations from Mao Zedong* are naturally incomplete. Not only are ten years of quotations not accounted for in the original three editions – there are also some important quotations from earlier periods missing, which only became prominent during the Cultural Revolution itself.

Therefore, with the intention of finally completing the great work of publishing the *Quotations from Mao Zedong*, we have enlarged and enhanced the selection of quotations in this new, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition of the *Quotations*. We have reintroduced the Preface by Lin Biao, which was removed during the second campaign of the Cultural Revolution – «Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius» – but which was personally approved by Comrade Mao Zedong originally, and therefore must be assumed to portray his own red, proletarian line.

We also include the pictures of Mao Zedong included in the Chinese revisionist edition of the *Quotations*, which it must be noted is nothing but a falsification for Western tourists, censoring some of Mao's most important quotations in the interest of preserving the international prestige of the Chinese revisionists. The photographs are only included here due to the historical significance they may have. In addition, we include a photograph of Mao Zedong with his comrade and wife, Jiang Qing, taken in Yan'an in 1946.

Finally, wherever possible, we have replaced the titles of texts from Volume Five of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* with their official titles in that volume, instead of the simple descriptions given in the *Quotations*, which were released prior to Volume Five.

We hope that the publication of this new, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition of the *Quotations from Mao Zedong* may serve to give new impulse to the study and application of marxism-leninism-maoism creatively in the world and in our homeland, overcoming difficulties and smashing revisionism, so as to found, refound and strengthen the Communist Parties and advance to a new wave of the proletarian-socialist world revolution!

Switzerland, February 2022

THE EDITOR

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## PREFACE

Study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, and act according to his instructions.

Comrade Mao Zedong is the greatest marxist-leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed marxism-leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.

Mao Zedong thought is marxism-leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. It is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism and for opposing revisionism and dogmatism. Mao Zedong thought is the guiding principle for all the work of The Party, the army and the country.

Therefore, the most fundamental task in our Party's political and ideological work is at all times to hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong thought, to arm the minds of the people throughout the country with it and to persist in using it to command every field of activity. The broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the broad ranks of the revolutionary cadres and the intellectuals should really master Mao Zedong thought; they should all study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters.

In studying the works of Chairman Mao, one should have specific problems in mind, study and apply his works in a creative way, combine study with application, first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and strive hard to apply what one is studying. In order really to master Mao Zedong thought, it is essential to study many of Chairman Mao's basic concepts over and over again, and it is best to memorize important statements and study and apply them repeatedly. The newspapers should regularly carry quotations from Chairman Mao relevant to current issues for readers to study and apply. The experience of the broad masses in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the last few years has

proved that to study selected quotations from Chairman Mao with specific problems in mind is a good way to learn Mao Zedong thought, a method conducive to quick results.

We have compiled *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* in order to help the broad masses learn Mao Zedong thought more effectively. In organizing their study, units should select passages that is relevant to the situation, their tasks, the current thinking of their personnel, and the state of their work. In our great motherland, a new era is emerging in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are grasping marxism-leninism, Mao Zedong thought. Once Mao Zedong thought is grasped by the broad masses, it becomes a source of strength and a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power. The large-scale publication of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* is a vital measure for enabling the broad masses to grasp Mao Zedong thought and for promoting the revolutionization of our people's thinking. It is our hope that all comrades will learn earnestly and diligently, bring about a new country-wide high tide in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and, under the great red banner of Mao Zedong thought, strive to build our country into a great socialist State with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern science and culture and modern national defence!

*Beijing, 16.12.1966*

*LIN BIAO*

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# QUOTATIONS FROM MAO ZEDONG

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## 1. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

«The force at the core directing our cause forward is the Communist Party of China.

The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is marxism-leninism.»

«Strive to Build a Great Socialist Country» (15.09.1954)

«If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the marxist-leninist revolutionary theory and in the marxist-leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to direct the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs. In the more than 100 years since the birth of marxism, it was only through the example of the Russian bolsheviks in directing the October Revolution, in directing socialist construction and in defeating fascist aggression that revolutionary parties of a new type were formed and developed in the world. With the birth of revolutionary parties of this type, the face of the world revolution has changed. The change has been so great that transformations utterly inconceivable to people of the older generation have come into being amid fire and thunder. The Communist Party of China is a party built and developed on the model of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. With the birth of the Communist Party of China, the face of the Chinese revolution took on an altogether new aspect. Is this fact not clear enough?»

«Revolutionary Forces of the World, Unite! Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!» (November 1948)

«The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is a net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.»

«Talks with Responsible Comrades at Various Places During Provincial Tour» (From the Middle of August to 12.09.1971)

«I hope that you will practice marxism and not revisionism; that you will unite and not split; that you will be sincere and open and not resort to plotting and conspiracy.»

Ibid.

«This Party of ours already has 50 years' history, during which time we have had ten

**big struggles on the question of our line. During these ten struggles there were people who wanted to split our Party, but none of them were able to do so. This is a question worth studying: such a big country, such a large population, yet no split. We can only say that this means that the Party wants what the people want, and the Party members do not want a split. In view of its past history, the future of the Party is full of hope.»**

Ibid.

**«Without the efforts of the Communist Party of China, without the Chinese communists as the mainstay of the Chinese people, China can never achieve independence and liberation, or industrialization and the modernization of its agriculture.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«The Communist Party of China is the core of directorship of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious.»**

«The Communist Party of China Is the Core of Directorship of the Whole Chinese People» (25.05.1957)

**«A well-disciplined party armed with the theory of marxism-leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the directorship of such a party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the directorship of such a Party – these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.»**

«On the People's Democratic Dictatorship» (30.06.1949)

**«We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing.»**

«On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation» (31.07.1955)

**«Armed with marxist-leninist theory and ideology, the Communist Party of China has brought a new style of work to the Chinese people. A style of work which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing self-criticism.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«No political party can possibly direct a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.»**

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

**«As we used to say, the rectification movement is <a widespread movement of marxist**

education». Rectification means the whole Party studying marxism through criticism and self-criticism. We can certainly learn more about marxism in the course of the rectification movement.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«It is an arduous task to ensure a better life for the several hundred million people of China and to build our economically and culturally backward country into a prosperous and powerful one with a high level of culture. And it is precisely in order to be able to shoulder this task more competently and work better together with all non-Party people who are actuated by high ideals and determined to institute reforms that we must conduct rectification movements both now and in the future, and constantly rid ourselves of whatever is wrong.»

Ibid.

«Policy is the starting-point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of that party's actions. A revolutionary party is carrying out a policy whenever it takes any action. If it is not carrying out a correct policy, it is carrying out a wrong policy; if it is not carrying out a given policy consciously, it is doing so blindly. What we call experience is the process and the end-result of carrying out a policy. Only through the practice of the people, that is, through experience, can we verify whether a policy is correct or wrong and determine to what extent it is correct or wrong. However, people's practice, especially the practice of a revolutionary party and the revolutionary masses, cannot but be bound up with one policy or another. Therefore, before any action is taken, we must explain the policy, which we have formulated in the light of the given circumstances, to Party members and to the masses. Otherwise, Party members and the masses will depart from the guidance of our policy, act blindly and carry out a wrong policy.»

«On the Policy Concerning Industry and Commerce» (27.02.1948)

«Our Party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese revolution as well as various specific lines for work and specific policies. However, while many comrades remember our Party's specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we actually forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries, and when we carry out a specific line for work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer.»

«Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shaanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area» (01.04.1948)

«Policy and tactics are the life of the Party; directing comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent.»

«A Circular on the Situation» (20.03.1948)

**«The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of directing the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily, The Red Flag and Liberation Army Daily*: «Ushering in the All-Round Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» (01.01.1968)

**«The victories of the revolution and construction in our country are victories of marxism-leninism. It has been the consistent ideological principle of our Party to closely integrate marxist-leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution.»**

«Opening Address at the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (15.09.1956)

**«Our 18 years of experience show that the united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The united front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle. And the Party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions. That is how the three are related to each other.»**

«Introducing *The Communist*» (04.10.1939)

**«Who is it that gives us our power? It is the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the laboring masses comprising over 90% of the population. We represent the proletariat and the masses and have overthrown the enemies of the people, and therefore the people support us. Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party.»**

Quoted in *The Red Flag*: «Absorb Proletarian Fresh Blood» (April 1968)

**«A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and they breathe through their lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour.»**

Ibid.

## **2. CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE**

**«Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history; such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is**

**historical idealism.»**

«Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle!» (14.08.1949)

**«In class society, everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.»**

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

**«Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between classes and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the suppression of the old society by the new.»**

Ibid.

**«The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule [...]. It was the class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars that constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society.»**

«The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China» (December 1939)

**«In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle. Among the Whites in the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles that oppress the Black people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the White people.»**

«Statement Supporting the Black People in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism» (08.08.1963)

**«It is up to us to organize the people. As for the reactionaries in China, it is up to us to organize the people to overthrow them. Everything reactionary is the same; if you do not hit it, it will not fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.»**

«The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan» (13.08.1945)

**«The enemy will not perish of themselves. Neither will the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism in China step down from the stage of history of their own accord.»**

«Carry the Revolution Through to the End» (30.12.1948)

**«A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.»**

«Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan» (March 1927)

**«Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him retaliation and to fight for every inch of land. We act after his fashion. He always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his right. We take up swords, too, following his example [...]. As Chiang Kai-shek is now sharpening his swords, we must sharpen ours too.»**

«The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan» (13.08.1945)

**«Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.»**

«Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society» (March 1926)

**«Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism – the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big Landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and small bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their Right may become our enemy and their Left may become our friend – but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks.»**

Ibid.

**«Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whomever sides with the revolutionary people in words only but acts otherwise is a revolutionary in speech. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in deed as well as in word is a revolutionary in the full sense.»**

«Be a True Revolutionary» (23.06.1950)

**«I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.»**

«To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing But a Good Thing» (26.05.1939)

**«We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports.»**

«Interview with Three Correspondents from the *Central News Agency*, the *Saodangbao* and the *Xinminbao*» (16.09.1939)

**«Our position is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the position of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy.»**

«Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art» (May 1942)

**«After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.»**

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

**«The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every minute to stage a comeback. This is inevitable, beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance.»**

«The Chinese People Have Stood Up!» (21.09.1949)

**«In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the small bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological held between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times**

will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«It will take a long period to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society will remain in our country for a long time to come, and so will their class ideology. If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored.»

Ibid.

### 3. SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

«Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system. It is different from any other ideological and social system, and is the most complete, progressive, revolutionary and rational system in human history. The ideological and social system of feudalism has a place only in the museum of history. The ideological and social system of capitalism has also become a museum piece in one part of the world (in the Soviet Union), while in other countries it resembles *«a dying person who is sinking fast, like the Sun setting beyond the western hills»*, and will soon be relegated to the museum. The communist ideological and social system alone is full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt.»

«On New Democracy» (January 1940)

«The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of human will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, eventually revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.»

«Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Council of the Union of Socialist Council Republics in Celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution» (06.11.1957)

«We communists never conceal our political views. Definitely and beyond all doubt, our future or maximum program is to carry China forward to socialism and communism. Both the name of our Party and our marxist world outlook unequivocally point to this supreme ideal of the future, a future of incomparable brightness and splendor.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«Taken as a whole, the Chinese revolutionary movement directed by the Communist Party

embraces the two stages, that is, the democratic and the socialist revolutions, which are two essentially different revolutionary processes, and the second process can be carried through only after the first has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society.»

«The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China» (December 1939)

«Confiscate the land of the feudal class and turn it over to the peasants. Confiscate monopoly capital, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, Song Ziwen, Kong Xiangxi and Chen Lifu, and turn it over to the new-democratic State. Protect the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie. These are the three major economic policies of the new-democratic revolution. During their 20-year rule, the four big families, Chiang, Song, Kong and Chen, have piled up enormous fortunes valued at 10-20,000,000,000 U.S. dollars and monopolized the economic lifelines of the whole country. This monopoly capital, combined with State power, has become State-monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism, closely tied up with foreign imperialism, the domestic landlord class and the old-type rich peasants, has become comprador, feudal, State-monopoly capitalism. Such is the economic base of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. This State-monopoly capitalism oppresses not only the workers and peasants but also the urban small bourgeoisie, and it injures the middle bourgeoisie. This State-monopoly capitalism reached the peak of its development during the War of Resistance and after the Japanese surrender; it has prepared ample material conditions for the new-democratic revolution. This capital is popularly known in China as bureaucratic capital. This capitalist class, known as the bureaucratic-capitalist class, is the big bourgeoisie of China. Besides doing away with the special privileges of imperialism in China, the task of the new-democratic revolution at home is to abolish exploitation and oppression by the landlord class and by the bureaucratic-capitalist class (the big bourgeoisie), change the comprador, feudal relations of production and unfetter the productive forces. The upper small bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, oppressed and injured by the landlords and big bourgeoisie and their State power, may take part in the new-democratic revolution or stay neutral, though they are themselves bourgeois. They have no ties, or comparatively few, with imperialism and are the genuine national bourgeoisie. Wherever the State power of new democracy extends, it must firmly and unhesitatingly protect them. In Chiang Kai-shek's areas, there are a small number of people among the upper small bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, the Right of these classes, who have reactionary political tendencies, spread illusions about U.S. imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique and oppose the people's democratic revolution. As long as their reactionary tendencies can affect the masses, we should unmask them before the people under their political influence, attack this influence and liberate the masses from it. But political attack and economic annihilation are two different matters, and we shall make mistakes if we confuse the two. The new-democratic revolution aims at wiping out only feudalism and monopoly capitalism, only the landlord class and the bureaucratic-capitalist class (the big bourgeoisie), and not at wiping out capitalism in general, the upper small bourgeoisie or the middle bourgeoisie. In view of China's economic backwardness, even after the

country-wide victory of the revolution, it will still be necessary to permit the existence for a long time of a capitalist sector of the economy represented by the extensive upper small bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie. In accordance with the division of labour in the national economy, a certain development of all parts of this capitalist sector which are beneficial to the national economy will still be needed. This capitalist sector will still be an indispensable part of the whole national economy. The upper small bourgeoisie referred to here are small industrialists and merchants employing workers or assistants. In addition, there are also great numbers of small independent craftsmen and traders who employ no workers or assistants and, needless to say, they should be firmly protected. After the victory of the revolution all over the country, the new-democratic State will possess huge state enterprises taken over from the bureaucratic-capitalist class and controlling the economic lifelines of the country, and there will be an agricultural economy liberated from feudalism which, though it will remain basically scattered and individual for a fairly long time, can later be led to develop, step by step, in the direction of cooperatives. In these circumstances the existence and development of these small and middle capitalist sectors will present no danger. The same is true of the new rich peasant economy which will inevitably emerge in the rural areas after the land reform. It is absolutely impermissible to repeat such wrong ultra-*<Left>* policies towards the upper-small bourgeois and middle bourgeois sectors in the economy as our Party adopted during 1931-34 (unduly advanced labour conditions, excessive income tax rates, encroachment on the interests of industrialists and merchants during the land reform, and the adoption as a goal of the so-called *<workers' welfare>*, which was a short-sighted and one-sided concept, instead of the goal of developing production, promoting economic prosperity, giving consideration to both public and private interests and benefiting both labour and capital). To repeat such mistakes would certainly damage the interests both of the working masses and of the new-democratic State. One of the provisions in the Outline Land Law of China reads: *<The property and lawful business of industrialists and merchants shall be protected from encroachment.>* *<Industrialists and merchants>* refers to all small independent artisans and traders as well as all small and middle-capitalist elements. To sum up, the economic structure of New China will consist of: (1) the State-owned economy, which is the leading sector; (2) the agricultural economy, developing step by step from individual to collective; and (3) the economy of small independent artisans and traders and the economy of small and middle private capital. These constitute the whole of the new-democratic national economy. The principles guiding the new-democratic national economy must closely conform to the general objective of developing production, promoting economic prosperity, giving consideration to both public and private interests and benefiting both labour and capital. Any principle, policy or measure that deviates from this general objective is wrong.»

«The Present Situation and Our Tasks» (25.12.1947)

«Socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces. The changeover from individual to socialist, collective ownership in agriculture and handicrafts and from capitalist to socialist ownership in private industry and commerce is bound to bring about a tremendous liberation of the productive forces. Thus, the social conditions

are being created for a tremendous expansion of industrial and agricultural production.»

«Speech at the Supreme State Conference» (25.01.1956)

«We are now carrying out a revolution not only in the social system, the change from private to public ownership, but also in technology, the change from handicraft to large-scale modern machine production, and the two revolutions are interconnected. In agriculture, with conditions as they are in our country cooperation must precede the use of big machinery (in capitalist countries agriculture develops in a capitalist way). Therefore we must on no account regard industry and agriculture, socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture as two separate and isolated things, and on no account must we emphasize the one and play down the other.»

«On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation» (31.07.1955)

«The new social system has only just been established and requires time for its consolidation. It must not be assumed that the new system can be completely consolidated the moment it is established, for that is impossible. It has to be consolidated systematically. To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but also to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts. Moreover, various contributory international factors are required.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. However, we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist State with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture.»

Ibid.

«The number of intellectuals who are hostile to our State is very small. They do not like our State, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and yearn for the old society. Whenever there is an opportunity, they will stir up trouble and attempt to overthrow the Communist Party and restore the old China. As between the proletarian and the bourgeois roads, as between the socialist and the capitalist roads, these people stubbornly choose to follow the latter. In fact, this road is impossible, and in fact, therefore, they are ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Such people are to be found in political circles and in industrial and commercial, cultural and educational, scientific, technological, and religious circles, and they are extremely reactionary.»

Ibid.

«The serious problem is the education of the peasantry. The peasant economy is scattered, and the socialization of agriculture, judging by the Soviet Union's experience, will require a long time and painstaking work. Without socialization of agriculture, there can be no complete, consolidated socialism.»

«On the People's Democratic Dictatorship» (30.06.1949)

«We must have faith, first, that the peasant masses are ready to advance step by step along the road of socialism under the directorship of the Party, and second, that the Party is capable of directing the peasants along this road. These two points are the essence of the matter, the main current.»

«On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation» (31.07.1955)

«The directing bodies in cooperatives must establish the dominant position of the poor peasants and the new lower-middle peasants in these bodies, with the old lower-middle peasants and the upper-middle peasants – whether old or new – as the supplementary force. Only thus can unity between the poor and middle peasants be attained. Moreover, the cooperatives can also be consolidated, production can be expanded and the socialist transformation of the entire countryside be correctly accomplished in accordance with the Party's policy. Otherwise, unity between the middle and poor peasants cannot be attained, the cooperatives cannot be consolidated, production cannot be expanded, and the socialist transformation of the entire countryside cannot be achieved.»

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

«It is essential to unite with the middle peasants, and it is wrong not to do so. But on whom must the working class and the Communist Party rely in the countryside in order to unite with the middle peasants and realize the socialist transformation of the entire countryside? Surely on none other than the poor peasants. That was the case when the struggle against the landlords was being waged and the land reform was being carried out, and that is the case today when the struggle against the rich peasants and other capitalist elements is being waged to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture. In both these revolutionary periods, the middle peasants wavered in the initial stages. It is only after they clearly see the general trend of events and the approaching triumph of the revolution that the middle peasants will come in on the side of the revolution. The poor peasants must work on the middle peasants and win them over, so that the revolution will broaden from day to day until final victory.»

Ibid.

«There is a serious tendency towards capitalism among the well-to-do peasants. This tendency will become rampant if we in the slightest way neglect political work among the peasants during the cooperative movement and for a very long period after.»

Ibid.

«The agricultural cooperative movement has been a severe ideological and political struggle from the very beginning. No cooperative can be established without going through such a struggle. Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way. After a cooperative is established, it must go through many more struggles before it can be consolidated. Even then, the moment it relaxes its efforts it may collapse.»

Ibid.

«The spontaneous forces of capitalism have been steadily growing in the countryside in recent years, with new rich peasants springing up everywhere and many well-to-do middle peasants striving to become rich peasants. On the other hand, many poor peasants are still living in poverty for lack of sufficient means of production, with some in debt and others selling or renting out their land. If this tendency goes unchecked, the polarization in the countryside will inevitably be aggravated day by day. Those peasants who lose their land and those who remain in poverty will complain that we are doing nothing to save them from ruin or to help them overcome their difficulties. Nor will the well-to-do middle peasants who are heading in the capitalist direction be pleased with us, for we shall never be able to satisfy their demands unless we intend to take the capitalist road. Can the worker-peasant alliance continue to stand him in these circumstances? Obviously not! There is no solution to this problem except on a new basis. And that means to bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture simultaneously with the gradual realization of socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce; in other words, it means to carry out cooperation and eliminate the rich-peasant economy and the individual economy in the countryside so that all the rural people will become increasingly well off together. We maintain that this is the only way to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.»

«On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation» (31.07.1955)

«By over-all planning, we mean planning which takes into consideration the interests of the 600,000,000 people of our country. In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of 600,000,000 people, and we must never forget this fact.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«In addition to the directorship of the Party, a decisive factor is our population of 600,000,000. More people mean a greater ferment of ideas, more enthusiasm and more energy. Never before have the masses of the people been so inspired, so militant and so daring as at present.»

«Introducing a Cooperative» (15.04.1958)

«Apart from their other characteristics, the outstanding thing about China's 600,000,000 people is that they are <poor and blank>. This may seem a bad thing, but in reality it is a good thing. Poverty gives rise to the desire for changes the desire for action and the desire for revolution. On a blank sheet of paper free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful characters can be written; the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted.»

Ibid.

«During the War of Liberation China solved the tasks of the democratic revolution. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the basic conclusion of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the transition to socialism. It took another three years to conclude the land reform, but at the time the Republic was founded we immediately expropriated the bureaucratic-capitalist enterprises – 80% of the fixed assets of our industry and transport – and converted them to ownership by the whole people.

During the War of Liberation we raised anti-bureaucratic-capitalist slogans as well as anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ones. The struggle against bureaucratic capitalism had a two-sided character: it had a democratic-revolutionary character insofar as it amounted to opposition to comprador capitalism, but it had a socialist character insofar as it amounted to opposition to the big bourgeoisie.

After the war of resistance was won, the Guomindang took over a very large portion of bureaucratic capital from Japan and Germany and Italy. The ratio of bureaucratic to national capital was 8:2. After liberation we expropriated all bureaucratic capital, thus eliminating the major components of Chinese capitalism.

But it would be wrong to think that after the liberation of the whole country *<the revolution in its earliest stages had only in the main the character of a bourgeois-democratic revolution and not until later would it gradually develop into a socialist revolution>.*»

«Reading Notes on the Soviet Textbook *Political Economy*» (1961-62)

«The countries of Western Europe and the United States have a very high level of capitalist development, and the controlling positions are held by a minority of monopoly capitalists. But there are a great number of small and middle capitalists as well. Thus it is said that American capital is concentrated but also widely distributed. After a successful revolution in these countries monopoly capital will undoubtedly have to be expropriated, but will the small and middle capitalists likewise be uniformly expropriated? It may well be the case that some form of State capitalism will have to be adopted to transform them.

Our north-eastern provinces may be thought of as a region with a high level of capitalist development. The same is true for Jiangsu (with centers in Shanghai and the

southern part of the province). If State capitalism could work in these areas, tell me why the same policy could not work in other countries which resemble these provincial sectors?

[...]

Our transformation of national capital passed through three stages: private manufacture on State order, unified government purchase and sale of private output, joint State ↔ private operation (of individual units and of whole complexes). Each phase was carried out in a methodical way. This prevented any damage to production, which actually developed as the transformation progressed. We have gained much new experience with State capitalism; for one example, the providing of capitalists with fixed interest after the joint State ↔ private operation phase.»

Ibid.

«Collectivization is not altogether determined by mechanization, and so industrialization is not the precondition for it.»

Ibid.

«Under the guidance of the larger enterprises we are developing the small and the medium; under the guidance of the foreign we are adopting native methods wherever we can – mainly for the sake of achieving the high rate of industrialization.»

Ibid.

«Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism!»

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

«Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people.»

Ibid.

«On the question of heavy industry, light industry, and agriculture, the Soviet Union did not lay enough emphasis on the latter two and had losses as a result. In addition, they did not do a good job of combining the immediate and the long-term interests of the people. In the main they walked on one leg. Comparing the planning, which of us after all had the better adapted <planned proportionate development>? Another point: Stalin emphasized only technology, technical cadres. He wanted nothing but technology, nothing but cadre; no politics, no masses. This too is walking on one leg! And in industry they walk on one leg when they pay attention to heavy industry but not to light industry. Furthermore, they did not point out the main aspects of the contradictions in the relationships among departments of heavy industry. They

exaggerated the importance of heavy industry, claiming that steel was the foundation, machinery the heart and soul. Our position is that grain is the mainstay of agriculture, steel of industry, and that if steel is taken as the mainstay, then once we have the raw material the machine industry will follow along.»

«Concerning «Economic Problems of Socialism in the Union of Socialist Council Republics»» (November 1958)

«The characteristic of the people's commune is that it is the basic level at which industry, agriculture, the military, education, and commerce are to be integrated in our social structure. At the present time it is the basic-level administrative organization. The militia deals with foreign threats, especially from the imperialists. The commune is the best organizational form for carrying out the two transitions, from socialist (the present) to all-embracing public, and from all-embracing public to communist ownership. In the future, when the transitions have been completed, the commune will be the basic mechanism of communist society.»

Ibid.

«The cities of the future need not be so large. Residents of large cities should be dispersed into the rural areas. Building many smaller cities is a relative advantage in case of nuclear war.»

«Reading Notes on the Soviet Textbook *Political Economy*» (1961-62)

«Within a certain number of years our people's communes will have to carry through the transformation from ownership by the basic team to ownership by the basic commune, and then into ownership by the whole people. The transformation to basic commune ownership already carried out by the people's communes remains collective ownership (and is not yet ownership by the whole people).»

Ibid.

«The socialist State and socialist construction cannot be established for any great length of time on the basis of ownership by the whole people and ownership by the collective as two different bases of ownership.

In the Soviet Union the period of coexistence between the two types of ownership has lasted too long. The contradictions between ownership of the whole people and collective ownership are in reality contradictions between workers and peasants. The text fails to recognize such contradictions.

In the same way prolonged coexistence of ownership by the whole people with ownership by the collectives is bound to become less and less adaptable to the development of the productive forces and will fail to satisfy the ever increasing needs of peasant consumption and agricultural production or of industry for raw materials. To satisfy such needs we must resolve the contradiction between these two forms of ownership, transform ownership by the collectives into ownership by the whole people, and make a

unified plan for production and distribution in industry and agriculture on the basis of ownership by the whole people for an indivisible nation.»

Ibid.

«After the countrywide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, which is the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the State power of the people's republic under the directorship of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened.»

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

«*«Don't you want to abolish State power?»* Yes, we do, but not right now. We cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's State apparatus – mainly the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts – in order to consolidate national defense and protect the people's interests.»

«On the People's Democratic Dictatorship» (30.06.1949)

«Our State is a people's democratic dictatorship directed by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. For instance, to arrest, try and sentence certain counterrevolutionaries, and to deprive landlords and bureaucratic capitalists of their right to vote and their freedom of speech for a specified period of time – all this comes within the scope of our dictatorship. To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over embezzlers, swindlers, arsonists, murderers, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order. The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. In that event, it is the task of this dictatorship to resolve the external contradiction between the enemy and us. The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labour and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«The people's democratic dictatorship needs the directorship of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless and most

thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the directorship of the working class revolution fails and that with the directorship of the working class revolution triumphs.»

«On the People's Democratic Dictatorship» (30.06.1949)

«The people's democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban small bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants, because these two classes comprise 80 to 90% of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Guomindang reactionaries. The transition from new democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance.»

Ibid.

«Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and monsters were all allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and were corrupted, divided and demoralized by him, if our cadres were thus pulled out or the enemy were able to sneak in, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenseless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the marxist-leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color.»

Note on «The Seven Well-Written Documents of Zhejiang Province Concerning Cadres' Participation in Physical Labor» (09.05.1963)

«The people's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. Towards the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship, that is, for as long a period of time as is necessary it does not let them take part in political activities and compels them to obey the law of the People's Government and to engage in labour and, through labour, transform themselves into new people. Towards the people, on the contrary, it uses the method not of compulsion but of democracy, that is, it must necessarily let them take part in political activities and does not compel them to do this or that, but uses the method of democracy in educating and persuading them.»

«Be a True Revolutionary» (23.06.1950)

«Under the directorship of the Communist Party, the Chinese people are carrying out a vigorous rectification movement in order to bring about the rapid development of socialism in China on a firmer basis. It is a movement for carrying out a country-wide debate which is both guided and free, a debate in the city and the countryside on such questions as the socialist road versus the capitalist road, the basic system of the State and its major policies, the working style of Party and government functionaries, and the question of the welfare of the people, a debate which is conducted by setting forth facts and reasoning things out, so as correctly to resolve those actual contradictions among the people which demand immediate solution. This is a socialist movement for the self-education and self-remolding of the people.»

«Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Council of the Union of Socialist Council Republics in Celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution» (06.11.1957)

«Most arduous tasks lie ahead of us in the great work of construction. Although there are over 10,000,000 members in our Party, they still constitute a very small minority of the country's population. In government departments and public organizations and enterprises, much work has to be done by non-Party people. It is impossible to get this work well done unless we are good at relying on the masses and cooperating with non-Party people. While continuing to strengthen the unity of the whole Party, we must also continue to strengthen the unity of all our nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and people's organizations, and to consolidate and expand the people's democratic united front, and we must conscientiously get rid of every unhealthy manifestation in any link in our work that is detrimental to the unity between the Party and the people.»

«Opening Address at the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (15.09.1956)

«We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of human by human over the whole globe, upon which all humanity will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to leninism and does not conform to facts.»

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

#### **4. THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE**

«Two types of social contradictions – those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves – confront us. The two are totally different in their nature.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«To understand these two different types of contradictions correctly, we must first be clear on what is meant by <the people> and what is meant by <the enemy> [...]. At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favour, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people.»

Ibid.

«In the conditions prevailing in China today, the contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry, the contradictions within the intelligentsia, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other, the contradictions between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, the contradictions within the national bourgeoisie, and so on. Our People's Government is one that genuinely represents the people's interests; it is a government that serves the people. Nevertheless, there are still certain contradictions between the government and the people. These include contradictions among the interests of the State, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual; between democracy and centralism; between the directorship and the directed; and the contradiction arising from the bureaucratic style of work of certain government workers in their relations with the masses. All these are also contradictions among the people. Generally speaking, the people's basic identity of interests underlies the contradictions among the people.»

Ibid.

«The contradictions between the enemy and us are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a non-antagonistic aspect in addition to an antagonistic aspect.»

Ibid.

«In the political life of our people, how should right be distinguished from wrong in one's words and actions? On the basis of the principles of our Constitution, the will of the overwhelming majority of our people and the common political positions which have been proclaimed on various occasions by our political parties and groups, we consider that, broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

1. Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities.

2. They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.
3. They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.
4. They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.
5. They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the directorship of the Communist Party.
6. They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the directorship of the Party.»

Ibid.

«The question of suppressing counterrevolutionaries is one of a struggle between us and the enemy, a contradiction between us and the enemy. Among the people, some see this question in a somewhat different light. Two kinds of persons hold views different from ours. Those with a Rightist way of thinking make no distinction between the enemy and us and take the enemy for our own people. They regard as friends the very persons whom the broad masses regard as enemies. Those with a <Leftist> way of thinking magnify contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent that they take certain contradictions among the people for contradictions with the enemy and regard as counter-revolutionary persons who are actually not counter-revolutionaries. Both these views are wrong. Neither can lead to the correct handling of the question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries or to a correct assessment of this work.»

Ibid.

«Qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods. For instance, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution; the contradiction between the great masses of the people and the feudal system is resolved by the method of democratic revolution; the contradiction between the colonies and imperialism is resolved by the method of national revolutionary war; the contradiction between the working class and the peasant class in socialist society is resolved by the method of collectivization and mechanization in agriculture; contradiction within the Communist Party is resolved by the method of criticism and self-criticism; the contradiction between society and nature is resolved by the method of developing the productive forces [...]. The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one that marxist-leninists must strictly observe.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between us and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former is a matter of drawing a clear distinction between us and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong. It is, of course, true that the distinction between the enemy and us is also a matter of right and wrong. For example, the question of who is in the right, we or the domestic and foreign reactionaries, the imperialists, the feudalists and bureaucratic capitalists, is also a matter of right and wrong, but it is in a different category from questions of right and wrong among the people.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression. To be able to carry on their production and studies effectively and to arrange their lives properly, the people want their government and those in charge of production and of cultural and educational organizations to issue appropriate orders of an obligatory nature. It is common sense that the maintenance of public order would be impossible without such administrative regulations. Administrative orders and the method of persuasion and education complement each other in resolving contradictions among the people. Even administrative regulations for the maintenance of public order must be accompanied by persuasion and education, for in many cases regulations alone will not work.»

Ibid.

«Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and small bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them. We must undoubtedly criticize wrong ideas of every description. It certainly would not be right to refrain from criticism, look on while wrong ideas spread unchecked and allow them to monopolize the field. Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up. However, such criticism should not be dogmatic, and the metaphysical method should not be used, but efforts should be made to apply the dialectical method. What is needed is scientific analysis and convincing argument.»

Ibid.

«To criticize the people's shortcomings is necessary, [...] but in doing so we must truly take the position of the people and speak out of whole-hearted eagerness to protect and educate them. To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the position of the enemy.»

«Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art» (May 1942)

«Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions. Some contradictions are characterized by open antagonism and others are not. In accordance with the concrete development of things, some contradictions, which were originally non-antagonistic, develop into antagonistic ones, while others which were originally antagonistic develop into non-antagonistic ones.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«In ordinary circumstances, contradictions among the people are not antagonistic. However, if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise. In a socialist country, a development of this kind is usually only a localized and temporary phenomenon. The reason is that the system of exploitation of human by human has been abolished and the interests of the people are the same.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie belongs to the category of contradictions among the people. Largely, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it had both a revolutionary and a conciliationist side to its character. In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the Constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other. The national bourgeoisie differs from the imperialists, the landlords and the bureaucratic capitalists. The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between the exploiter and the exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. Nevertheless, in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic class contradiction can, if properly handled, be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods. However, it will change into a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy if we do not handle it properly and do not follow the policy of uniting with, criticizing and educating the national bourgeoisie, or if the national bourgeoisie does not accept this policy of ours.»

Ibid.

«[The counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary in 1956] was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder. This lesson of the Hungarian events merits attention. »

Ibid.

## **5. CONTINUING THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

**«The period of transition is full of contradiction and struggle. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more profound than the armed revolutionary struggles of the past. It is a revolution that will forever bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily, The Red Flag and Liberation Army Daily*: «Struggle Between Two Roads in China's Countryside» (23.11.1967)

**«Never forget class struggle.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily and The Red Flag*: «Along the Socialist or the Capitalist Road?» (15.08.1967)

**«Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so.»**

Quoted in *The Red Flag*: «Forward Along the High Road of Mao Zedong Thought» (1966)

**«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.»**

Quoted in *The Red Flag*: «A Theoretical Weapon for Making Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat» (1967)

**«The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power. Similarly, the sole aim of counterrevolution in desperately struggling against the revolutionary forces is the preservation of its political power.»**

Quoted in the *People's Daily* (22.01.1967)

**«There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and**

**repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction.»**

Quoted in Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: «Circular Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» (16.05.1966)

**«In the historical period of socialism it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. Only thus is it possible to prevent the restoration of capitalism, carry forward socialist construction and prepare the conditions for the transition to communism.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily* and *The Red Flag*: «On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World» (14.07.1964)

**«In the era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized State power must suppress all counterrevolutionary classes, groups or individuals resisting the revolution, stop their activities aiming at a comeback and prohibit all counterrevolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech for counterrevolutionary purposes.»**

«Preface and Editor's Notes to *Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique*» (May-June 1955)

**«Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counterrevolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.»**

Quoted in Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: «Circular Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» (16.05.1966)

*«The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.*

[...]

*Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic <authorities> and the*

*ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.»*

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: «Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» (08.08.1966)

**«Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the Great Cultural Revolution.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily* and *The Red Flag*: «A Great Strategic Measure» (01.06.1967)

**«The fundamental contradiction to be solved by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Speech at the Beijing Rally to Receive Revolutionary Teachers and Students from All Parts of China» (16.09.1966)

**«To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task [of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.»**

«Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation» (01.05.1967)

**«The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Communist Party of China and the masses of revolutionary people under its directorship against the Guomindang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily* and *Liberation Army Daily*: «Of the Land of Hibiscus Glowing in the Morning Sun: Hail the Establishment of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee» (10.04.1968)

**«Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois position of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the directorship in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time necessary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres**

**of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of directing the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.»**

Quoted in Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: «Circular Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» (16.05.1966)

**«Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!»**

Quoted in *People's Daily*: «Be Models in Forming the Revolutionary Great Alliance» (17.08.1967)

**«The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

**«In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.»**

Ibid.

**«Now we have found this form – it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.»**

Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

**«In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

**«The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out.»**

Ibid.

**«Carry out the tasks of struggle → criticism → transformation conscientiously.»**

Ibid.

**«Struggle → criticism → transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops.»**

Ibid.

**«In every place or unit where power must be seized, it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary ,three-in-one‘ combination in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called the revolutionary committee.»**

Quoted in *The Red Flag*: «On the Revolutionary <Three-in-One> Combination» (1967)

**«The revolutionary committee should exercise unified directorship, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of <better troops and simpler administration> and organize itself into a revolutionized directing group which maintains close ties with the masses.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

**«The big-character poster is a very useful new weapon, which can be used in the cities and the rural areas, in factories, cooperatives, shops, government institutions, schools, army units and streets – in short, wherever the masses are to be found. It has already been widely used and should always be used.»**

«Introducing a Cooperative» (15.04.1958)

**«The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture.»**

Quoted in *People’s Daily, The Red Flag and Liberation Army Daily*: «Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Socialist Revolution» (06.11.1967)

**«To accomplish the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working class directorship; the masses of workers must take part in this revolution and, in cooperation with Liberation Army fighters, form a revolutionary three-in-one combination with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in schools and colleges, who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers’ propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle → criticism → transformation there and will always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants – the most reliable ally of the working class.»**

Quoted in Yao Wenyan: «The Working Class Must Exercise Directorship in Everything» (26.08.1968)

«The general view on the Cultural Revolution: Basically correct, with some shortcomings. What we want to study now is the shortcomings. The ratio is 70:30, 70% achievements and 30% mistakes, and the views on it are not necessarily consistent. There were two mistakes made in the Cultural Revolution:

1. Overthrow everything.
2. All-round civil war.

Regarding «overthrowing everything», some of the attacks were correct, such as against Liu Shaoqi's and Lin Biao's groups. Some of them were mistakes, such as those against some old comrades. These people also made mistakes, so some criticism of them is fine. The experience without war has already lasted ten years. During the «all-round civil war», guns were taken, most were distributed. Armed fighting is also an exercise. But beating people to death and not rescuing the wounded, this is not good.

One shouldn't underestimate old comrades. I am among the oldest. Old comrades still have a bit of use. The old comrades should treat the rebel factions magnanimously, and not tell them to «yield or get lost». Sometimes the rebel factions make mistakes, but don't we old comrades also make mistakes? In the same way, we still make mistakes. Pay attention to the three-in-one combinations of old, middle-aged, and young in directorship.»

«Main Directives» (October 1975-January 1976)

«Act in line with the past principles.»

«A Few Words Written During a Conversation with Hua Guofeng» (30.04.1976)

## 6. THE BOURGEOISIE IS RIGHT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

«You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party – those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.

Will there be a need for revolution 100 years from now? Will there still be need for revolution 1,000 years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be recognized 10,000 years from now? Why not? They will still be recognized.»

«Main Directives» (October 1975-January 1976)

«Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to

revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.»

Quoted in *People's Daily* and *Red Flag*: «Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat» (February 1975)

«In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation it was much the same as capitalism. Even now it practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to their work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed.»

Ibid.

«Our country at present practises a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Biao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more marxist-leninist works.»

Ibid.

«Lenin said: <Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.> This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of State organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life.»

Ibid.

«Is there class struggle under socialist society or not? What <*Take the three directives as the key link*>! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link, everything else hinges on it. Stalin made a big mistake concerning this question. But not Lenin. He said that small production engenders capitalism continuously and daily. Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois State without the bourgeoisie to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a State, not much different from the old society. There are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values. Money is needed to buy grain, coal, or vegetables. Eight grades of wages regardless if you are many people or few.

In 1949 it was proposed that the main contradiction within China was that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. 13 years later, the question of class struggle was raised again, and the situation began to take a turn for the better. What is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution up to? Class struggle. Liu Shaoqi promoted the theory that class struggle had died out. In fact he himself had not <died out>. He wanted to protect his bunch of traitors and diehard followers. Lin Biao wanted to bring down the proletariat and staged a State coup. So has it died out?

Why do some people not clearly see the issue of the contradictions in socialist society? Don't the old bourgeoisie still exist? Hasn't everyone seen the great numbers of small bourgeois? Are there not many bourgeois intellectuals who still have not well remolded? Is the influence of small production, corruption, and speculation not everywhere? Are the anti-Party groups of Liu, Lin and others not horrifying? The problem is that they themselves belong to the small bourgeoisie and their thinking easily turns Rightist. The issue is that they themselves represent the bourgeoisie, but say that class contradictions are not recognizable.

The thinking of some comrades, mainly the old comrades, remains <standing still> at the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. They don't understand, resist, or even oppose the socialist revolution. There are two kinds of attitudes towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, one is dissatisfaction, and the other is <settlng accounts>: settling the account of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Why didn't Lenin <stand still>? After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they wanted revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members have not wanted to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they became high officials and wanted to protect the interests of high officials. They have a good house, a car, a high salary, and attendants, more grievous than the capitalists. With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. When it came to the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it now comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it.

[...]

Deng Xiaoping has put forward <taking the three directives as the key link>. This he did not research together with the Political Bureau, did not discuss with the State Council, and did not report to me. He just said it as so. This person, he does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of <white cat, black cat>, making no distinction between imperialism and marxism. He says, <whenever there is a campaign it tends to harm the old workers and the experienced cadres>. So opposing Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, Li Lisan, Luo Zhanglong, Wang Ming, Zhang Guotao, Gao Gang, Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, this all was harmful? He says, <there is a crisis in education, students are not studying>. He himself has not studied, he does not understand marxism-leninism, he represents the capitalist class. He says he will <never reverse the verdicts>, he is not reliable. Xiaoping never speaks heart-to-heart, so others fear him, and don't dare speak with him, and neither does he listen to the opinions of the masses. Serving as a director, his style is a big problem.»

«Main Directives» (October 1975-January 1976)

«The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.»

Quoted in *People's Daily, The Red Flag and Liberation Army Daily*: «Leninism or Social-Imperialism?» (22.04.1970)

**«The Soviet Union today is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a fascist dictatorship of the German type and a dictatorship of the Hitlerite type.»**

«Some Interjections at a Briefing of the Directing Group of the State Planning Commission»  
(11.05.1964)

**«If a Rightist, anti-communist coup occurs in China, my conclusion is they will not have peace, and it is quite possible that it will be short-lived. This is because all the revolutionaries, who represent the interest of more than 90% of the people, will not tolerate it. At that time, the Right will possibly use my words to secure power for some time, and the Left then will definitely use other of my words, organize, and defeat the Right.»**

Letter to Jiang Qing (08.07.1966)

**«You have been wronged.  
Today we are separating into two worlds.  
May each keep their peace.  
These few words may be my last message to you...**

**A human life is limited,  
but revolution knows no bounds.  
In the struggle of the past ten years, I have tried to reach the peak of the  
revolution,  
but I have failed.  
However, you could reach the summit.**

**If somehow you fail,  
You will plunge into a fathomless abyss.  
Your body will be torn to pieces, and your bones will break.**

**No compromise with others is good.  
If the blade turns, and I believe it has, against the revolution,  
Then it will be necessary to wage guerrilla warfare once again.  
Once again, Yan'an...»**

«Last Will and Testament» (Letter to Jiang Qing) (May-June 1976)

## **7. WAR AND PEACE**

**«War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes.»**

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

**««War is the continuation of politics.» In this sense, war is politics and war itself**

is a political action; since ancient times there has never been a war that did not have a political character [...]. However, war has its own particular characteristics and in this sense, it cannot be equated with politics in general. <War is the continuation of politics by other [...] means.> When politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way [...]. When the obstacle is removed and our political aim attained the war will stop. Nevertheless, if the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue until the aim is fully accomplished [...]. It can therefore be said that politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«History shows that wars are divided into two kinds, just and unjust. All wars that are progressive are just, and all wars that impede progress are unjust. We communists oppose all unjust wars that impede progress, but we do not oppose progressive, just wars. Not only do we communists not oppose just wars; we actively participate in them. As for unjust wars, the 1<sup>st</sup> World War is an instance in which both sides fought for imperialist interests; therefore, the communists of the whole world firmly opposed that war. The way to oppose a war of this kind is to do everything possible to prevent it before it breaks out and, once it breaks out, to oppose war with war, to oppose unjust war with just war, whenever possible.»

Ibid.

«Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«Revolutionary war is an antitoxin that not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth. Every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power and can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation. The Sino-Japanese war will transform both China and Japan; provided China perseveres in the War of Resistance and in the united front, the old Japan will surely be transformed into a new Japan and the old China into a new China, and people and everything else in both China and Japan will be transformed during and after the war.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«Every communist must grasp the truth: <Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.>»

«Problems of War and Strategy» (06.11.1938)

«The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This marxist-leninist principle of revolution holds well universally, for China and for all other countries.»

Ibid.

«Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. In [the 18 years since the founding of the Party] the development, consolidation and bolshevization of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today. Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood.»

«Introducing *The Communist*» (04.10.1939)

«According to the marxist theory of the State, the army is the chief component of State power. Whoever wants to seize and retain State power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the <omnipotence of war>. Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is marxist. The guns of the Communist Party of Russia created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the laboring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.»

«Problems of War and Strategy» (06.11.1938)

«We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.»

Ibid.

«War, this monster of mutual slaughter among humans, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war [...]. When human society advances to the point where classes and States are eliminated, there will be no more wars, counter-revolutionary or revolutionary, unjust or just; that will be the era of perpetual peace for humanity. Our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars. Herein, lies the distinction between us communists and all the exploiting classes.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

«Our country and all the other socialist countries want peace; so do the peoples of all the countries of the world. The only ones who crave war and do not want peace are certain monopoly capitalist groups in a handful of imperialist countries that depend on aggression for their profits.»

«Opening Address at the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (15.09.1956)

«To achieve a lasting world peace, we must further develop our friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries in the socialist camp and strengthen our solidarity with all peace-loving countries. We must endeavor to establish normal diplomatic relations, based on mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit, with all countries willing to live together with us in peace. We must give active support to the national independence and liberation movement in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as to the peace movement and to just struggles in all the countries of the world.»

Ibid.

«As for the imperialist countries, we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbour any unrealistic notions about them.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«We desire peace. However, if imperialism insists on fighting a war, we will have no alternative but to take the firm resolution to fight to the finish before going ahead with our construction. If you are afraid of war day in day out, what will you do if war eventually comes? First, I said that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind and war will not break out, and now I have added these explanations about the situation in case war should break out. Both possibilities have thus been taken into account.»

«Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties» (18.11.1957)

«People all over the world are now discussing whether a 3<sup>rd</sup> World War will break out. On this question, too, we must be mentally prepared and do some analysis. We stand firmly for peace and against war. However, if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards any disturbance: first, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it. The 1<sup>st</sup> World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200,000,000. The 2<sup>nd</sup> World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900,000,000. If the imperialists insist on launching a 3<sup>rd</sup> World War, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on Earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again – until their doom – that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause and they will never go against this logic. This is a marxist law. When we say <imperialism is ferocious>, we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom. Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again – until their victory – that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.»

«Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle!» (14.08.1949)

«Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position.»

«Address to the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference» (15.06.1949)

«The imperialists and their running dogs, the Chinese reactionaries, will not resign themselves to defeat in this land of China. They will continue to gang up against the Chinese people in every possible way. For example, they will smuggle their agents into China to sow dissension and make trouble. That is certain; they will never neglect these activities. To take another example, the imperialists will incite the Chinese reactionaries, and even throw in their own forces, to blockade China's ports. They will do this as long as it is possible. Furthermore, if they still hanker after adventures, they will send some of their troops to invade and harass frontiers of China; this, too, is not impossible. All this we must take fully into account.»

Ibid.

«The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history. We should carry on constant propaganda among the people on the facts of world progress and the bright future ahead so that they will build their confidence in victory.»

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

«The commanders and fighters of the entire Chinese People's Liberation Army absolutely must not relax in the least their will to fight; any thinking that relaxes the will to fight and belittles the enemy is wrong.»

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

«With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is

that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war.»

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

## 8. IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS

«All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality, they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are powerful.»

«Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong» (August 1946)

«Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature – they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive – they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites – the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat – grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. Moreover, eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they devoured people, devoured people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path, there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than 100 years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? Nevertheless, in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, and bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are – paper tigers. On this, we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers that can devour people. On this, we should build our tactical thinking.»

«On the Question of Whether Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Real Tigers» (01.12.1958)

«I have said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people. Look! Was not Hitler a paper tiger? Was Hitler not overthrown? I also said that the Tsar of Russia, the emperor of China and Japanese imperialism were all paper tigers. As we know, they were all

overthrown. U.S. imperialism has not yet been overthrown and it has the atom bomb. I believe it also will be overthrown. It, too, is a paper tiger.»

«Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties» (18.11.1957)

«*Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet*» is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behavior of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale. Did not the persecution of the revolutionary people by the tsar of Russia and by Chiang Kai-shek perform this function in the great Russian and Chinese revolutions?»

«Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Council of the Union of Socialist Council Republics in Celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution» (06.11.1957)

«U.S. imperialism invaded China's territory of Taiwan and has occupied it for the past nine years. A short while ago it sent its armed forces to invade and occupy Lebanon. The United States has set up hundreds of military bases in many countries all over the world. China's territory of Taiwan, Lebanon and all military bases of the United States on foreign soil are so many nooses round the neck of U.S. imperialism. The nooses have been fashioned by the Americans themselves and by nobody else, and it is they themselves who have put these nooses round their own necks, handing the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in those places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become.»

«Speech at the Supreme State Conference» (08.09.1958)

«Imperialism will not last long because it always does evil things. It persists in grooming and supporting reactionaries in all countries who are against the people, it has forcibly seized many colonies and semi-colonies and many military bases, and it threatens the peace with atomic war. Thus, forced by imperialism to do so, more than 90% of the people of the world are rising or will rise in struggle against it. Yet, imperialism is still alive, still running amuck in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the West imperialism is still oppressing the people at home. This situation must change. It is the task of the people of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, and chiefly by U.S. imperialism.»

«Interview with a *New China News Agency* Correspondent» (29.09.1958)

«Riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people of the world and has increasingly isolated itself. The atom bombs and hydrogen bombs in the hands of the U.S. imperialists will never cow those who refuse to be enslaved. The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly

**win still greater victories.»**

«Statement Supporting the Panamanian People's Just Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism»  
(12.01.1964)

**«If the U.S. monopoly-capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when the people of the whole world will hang them. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States.»**

«Speech at the Supreme State Conference» (08.09.1958)

**«Over a long period, we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with respect to the whole, but that we must take them seriously with respect to each concrete question. If we do not despise the enemy with respect to the whole, we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. However, in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism unless we take them seriously. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one by one. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly – we know we can finish it. Actually, we eat it mouthful by mouthful. It is impossible to swallow an entire banquet in one gulp. This is known as a piecemeal solution. In military parlance, it is called wiping out the enemy forces one by one.»**

«Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties» (18.11.1957)

**«It is my opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning point. There are two winds in the world today, the East Wind and the West Wind. There is a Chinese saying: *«Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind.»* I believe it is characteristic of the situation today that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism have become overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism.»**

Ibid.

**«The United States is a paper tiger. Don't believe in it. One thrust and it's punctured. Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily*: «Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism» (01.11.1977)

**«The Soviet Union was the first socialist State and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the directorship of the Soviet Party and State has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the**

**conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

## **9. DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN**

**«The next 50 or 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.»**

«Talk at a Working Conference Convened by the 8<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (30.01.1962)

**«People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, and dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.»**

«Statement Supporting the People of Congo (Leopoldville) Against U.S. Aggression» (28.11.1964)

**«The Communist Party of China, having made a clear-headed appraisal of the international and domestic situation on the basis of the science of marxism-leninism, recognized that all attacks by the reactionaries at home and abroad had to be defeated and could be defeated. When dark clouds appeared in the sky, we pointed out that they were only temporary, that the darkness would soon pass and the sun break through.»**

«The Present Situation and Our Tasks» (25.12.1947)

**«Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.»**

«The Turning Point in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War» (12.10.1942)

**«If [the Guomindang] fight, we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction. China's problems are complicated, and our brains must also be a little complicated. If they start fighting, we fight back, fight to win peace.»**

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

**«If anyone attacks us and if the conditions are favorable for battle, we will certainly act in self-defense to wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely (we do not strike rashly, but when we do strike, we must win). We must never be cowed by the bluster of reactionaries.»**

«On Peace Negotiations with the Guomindang» (26.08.1945)

**«As far as our own desire is concerned, we do not want to fight even for a single day. However, if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish.»**

«Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong» (August 1946)

**«We are for peace. But so long as U.S. imperialism refuses to give up its arrogant and unreasonable demands and its scheme to extend aggression, the only course for the Chinese people is to remain determined to go on fighting side by side with the Korean people. Not that we are warlike. We are willing to stop the war at once and leave the remaining questions for later settlement. However, U.S. imperialism is not willing to do so. All right then let the fighting go on. However many years U.S. imperialism wants to fight, we are ready to fight right up to the moment when it is willing to stop, right up to the moment of complete victory for the Chinese and Korean peoples.»**

«Speech at the 4<sup>th</sup> Session of the 1<sup>st</sup> National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference» (07.02.1953)

**«We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong.»**

«The Present Situation and Our Tasks» (25.12.1947)

**«The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the <sensibleness> of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle.»**

«Statement Opposing Aggression Against South Vietnam and Slaughter of Its People by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem Clique» (29.08.1963)

**«No matter when this countrywide civil war breaks out, we must be well prepared. If it comes early, say, tomorrow morning, we should also be prepared. That is point one. In the present international and domestic situation, it is possible that for a time the civil war will be kept restricted in scale and localized. That is point two. Point one is what we should prepare for; point two is what has existed for a long time. In short, we must be prepared. Being prepared, we shall be able to deal properly with all kinds of complicated situations.»**

«The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan» (13.08.1945)

## 10. PEOPLE'S WAR

«The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; only mobilizing the masses and relying on them can wage it.»

«Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work» (27.01.1934)

«What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion, which it is impossible, and impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.»

Ibid.

«The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people. It is mainly because of the unorganized state of the Chinese masses that Japan dares to bully us. When this defect is remedied, then the Japanese aggressor, like a mad bull crashing into a ring of flames, will be surrounded by hundreds of millions of our people standing upright, the mere sound of their voices will strike terror into them, and they will be burned to death.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously. Not only must we have a powerful regular army; we must also organize contingents of the people's militia on a big scale. This will make it difficult for the imperialists to move a single inch in our country in case of invasion.»

«Interview with a *New China News Agency* Correspondent» (29.09.1958)

«Considering the revolutionary war as a whole, the operations of the people's guerrillas and those of the main forces of the Red Army complement each other like a person's right arm and left arm, and if we had only the main forces of the Red Army without the people's guerrillas, we would be like a warrior with only one arm. In concrete terms, and especially concerning military operations, when we talk of the people in the base area as a factor, we mean that we have an armed people. That is the main reason why the enemy is afraid to approach our base area.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

«Unquestionably, victory or defeat in war is determined mainly by the military, political, economic and natural conditions on both sides. However, not by these alone. It is also determined by each side's subjective ability in directing the war. In their endeavor to win a war, a military strategist cannot overstep the limitations imposed

by the material conditions; within these limitations, however, they can and must strive for victory. The stage of action for a military strategist is built upon objective material conditions, but on that stage, they can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and color, power and grandeur.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

«Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessary wielded by people.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«Take the case of China. We have only millet plus rifles to rely on, but history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles is more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's airplanes plus tanks. Although the Chinese people still face many difficulties and will long suffer hardships from the joint attacks of U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries, the day will come when these reactionaries are defeated and we are victorious. The reason is simply this: the reactionaries represent reaction, we represent progress.»

«Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong» (August 1946)

«The object of war is specifically <to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy> (to destroy the enemy means to disarm them or <deprive them of the power to resist>, and does not mean to destroy every member of their forces physically). In ancient warfare, the spear and the shield were used, the spear to attack and destroy the enemy, and the shield to defend and preserve oneself. To the present day, all weapons are still an extension of the spear and the shield. The bomber, the machine-gun, the long-range gun and poison gas are developments of the spear, while the air-raid shelter, the steel helmet, the concrete fortification and the gas mask are developments of the shield. The tank is a new weapon combining the functions of both spear and shield. Attack is the chief means of destroying the enemy, but defense cannot be dispensed with. In attack, the immediate object is to destroy the enemy, but at the same time, it is self-preservation, because if the enemy is not destroyed, you will be destroyed. In defense, the immediate object is to preserve yourself, but at the same time defense is a means of supplementing attack or preparing to go over to the attack. Retreat is in the category of defense and is a continuation of defense, while pursuit is a continuation of attack. It should be pointed out that destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself. Therefore, attack, the chief means of destroying the enemy, is primary, while defense, a supplementary means of destroying the enemy and a means of self-preservation, is secondary. In actual warfare, defense plays the chief role much of the time and by attack for the rest of the time, but if war is taken as a whole, attack remains primary.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«All the guiding principles of military operations grow out of the one basic principle: to strive to the utmost to preserve one's own strength and destroy that of the enemy [...]. How then do we justify the encouragement of heroic sacrifice in war? Every war exacts a price, sometimes an extremely high one. Is this not in contradiction with <preserving oneself>? In fact, there is no contradiction at all; to put it more exactly, sacrifice and self-preservation are both opposite and complementary to each other. For such sacrifice is essential not only for destroying the enemy but also for preserving oneself – partial and temporary <non-preservation> (sacrifice, or paying the price) is necessary for the sake of general and permanent preservation. From this basic principle stems the series of principles guiding military operations, all of which – from the principles of shooting (taking cover to preserve oneself, and making full use of fire-power to destroy the enemy) to the principles of strategy – are permeated with the spirit of this basic principle. All technical principles and all principles concerning tactics, campaigns and strategy represent applications of this basic principle. The principle of preserving oneself and destroying the enemy is the basis of all military principles.»

«Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan» (May 1938)

«Our principles of operation are:

1. Attack dispersed isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated strong enemy forces later.
2. Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.
3. Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.
4. In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of their flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out the entire enemy.
5. Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every

effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.

6. Give full play to our style of fighting – courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

7. Strive to wipe out the enemy when they are on the move. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.

8. Concerning attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities that are weakly defended. At opportune moments, seize all enemy fortified points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for all strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait until conditions are ripe and then take them.

9. Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and material are at the front.

10. Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should not in general be very long, and the enemy should as far as possible be permitted no breathing space.

These are the main methods the People's Liberation Army has employed in defeating Chiang Kai-shek. They are the result of the tempering of the People's Liberation Army in long years of fighting against domestic and foreign enemies and are completely suited to our present situation [...] our strategy and tactics are based on a people's war; no army opposed to the people can use our strategy and tactics.»

«The Present Situation and Our Tasks» (25.12.1947)

«Without preparedness, superiority is not real superiority and there can be no initiative either. Having grasped this point, a force that is inferior but prepared can often defeat a superior enemy by surprise attack.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«Armed struggle by the Communist Party of China takes the form of peasant war under proletarian directorship.»

«Introducing *The Communist*» (04.10.1939)

«Since China's key cities have long been occupied by the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through

**protracted fighting; it is imperative for them to do so if they do not wish to compromise with imperialism and its lackeys but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up and temper their forces, and avoid decisive battles with a powerful enemy while their own strength is inadequate.»**

«The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China» (December 1939)

**«What, then, are the base areas? They are the strategic bases on which the guerrilla forces rely in performing their strategic tasks and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out any of our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of the war.»**

«Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan» (May 1938)

**«A base area for guerrilla war can be truly established only with the gradual fulfillment of the three basic conditions, that is, only after the anti-Japanese armed forces are built up, the enemy has suffered defeats and the people are aroused.»**

Ibid.

**«[...] the protracted revolutionary support bases consists mainly in peasant guerrilla warfare directed by the Communist Party of China. Therefore, it is wrong to ignore the necessity of using rural districts as revolutionary support bases, to neglect painstaking work among the peasants, and to neglect guerrilla warfare.»**

«The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China» (December 1939)

**«And stressing the work in the rural base areas does not mean abandoning our work in the cities and in the other vast rural areas which are still under the enemy's rule; on the contrary, without the work in the cities and in these other rural areas, our own rural base areas would be isolated and the revolution would suffer defeat. Moreover, the final objective of the revolution is the capture of the cities, the enemy's main bases, and this objective cannot be achieved without adequate work in the cities.»**

Ibid.

**«From 1927 to the present the center of gravity of our work has been in the villages – gathering strength in the villages, using the villages in order to surround the cities and then taking the cities.»**

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

**«You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Long Live the Victory of People's War!» (September 1965)

*«In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you don't wipe us out. It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics. It is because of the necessity of fighting that we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. This strategy and these tactics can be applied only when one relies on the broad masses of the people, and such application brings the superiority of people's war into full play. However superior they may be in technical equipment and whatever tricks they may resort to, the enemy will find themselves in the passive position of having to receive blows, and the initiative will always be in our hands.»*

Lin Biao: «Long Live the Victory of People's War!» (September 1965)

**«Our strategy is <pit one against ten> and our tactics are <pit ten against one> – this is one of our fundamental principles for gaining mastery over the enemy.»**

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

**«Ours are guerrilla tactics. They consist mainly of the following points:**

**<Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.>**

**<The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.>**

**<To extend stable support bases, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.>**

**<Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible means.>**

**These tactics are just like casting a net; at any moment we should be able to cast it or draw it in. We cast it wide to win over the masses and draw it in to deal with the enemy.»**

«A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire» (05.01.1930)

**«The laws of war are a problem which anyone directing a war must study and solve.**

The laws of revolutionary war are a problem which anyone directing a revolutionary war must study and solve.

The laws of China's revolutionary war are a problem which anyone directing China's revolutionary war must study and solve.

We are now engaged in a war; our war is a revolutionary war; and our revolutionary war is being waged in this semi-colonial and semi-feudal country of China. Therefore, we must study not only the laws of war in general, but the specific laws of revolutionary war, and the even more specific laws of revolutionary war in China.

It is well known that when you do something, unless you understand its actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws governing it, or know how to do it, or be able to do it well.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

*«Violent revolution is the universal principle of proletarian revolution. A marxist-leninist party must adhere to this universal principle and apply it to the concrete practice of its own country. Historical experience shows that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the oppressed people of a country and the seizure of victory in their revolution are accomplished invariably by the power of the gun; they are accomplished under the directorship of a proletarian party, by acting in accordance with that country's specific conditions, by gradually building up the people's armed forces and fighting a people's war on the basis of arousing the broad masses to action, and by waging repeated struggles against the imperialists and reactionaries. This is true of the Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the revolutions of Albania, Vietnam, Korea and other countries, and there is no exception.»*

*People's Daily, The Red Flag and Liberation Army Daily: «Long Live the Victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!» (18.03.1971)*

«A commander's correct disposition stems from their correct decisions, their correct decisions stem from their correct judgements, and their correct judgements stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance. They apply all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, and ponder on the information gathered about the enemy's situation, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside; then, they take the conditions on their own side into account, and make a study of both sides and their interrelations, thereby forming their judgements, making up their mind and working out their plans. Such is the complete process of knowing a situation which a military person goes through before they formulate a strategic plan, a campaign plan or a battle plan.»

Ibid.

«Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare. A person who has had no opportunity to go to school can also learn warfare – they can learn through fighting in war. A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning.»

Ibid.

## 11. THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

«Without a people's army, the people have nothing.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«This army is powerful because all its members have a conscious discipline; they have come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole country. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them whole-heartedly.»

Ibid.

«The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.»

«On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party» (December 1929)

«The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force. Even after countrywide victory, our army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which classes have not been abolished in our country and the imperialist system still exists in the world. On this point, there should be no misunderstanding or wavering.»

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

«We have an army for fighting as well as an army for labour. For fighting, we have the 8<sup>th</sup> Route and New 4<sup>th</sup> Armies but even they do a dual job, warfare and production. With these two kinds of armies, and with a fighting army skilled in these two tasks and in mass work, we can overcome our difficulties and defeat Japanese imperialism.»

«Get Organized!» (29.11.1943)

«Our national defense will be consolidated and no imperialist will be allowed to invade our territory again. Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the brave and steeled People's Liberation Army as their foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.»

«The Chinese People Have Stood Up!» (21.09.1949)

«Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.»

«Problems of War and Strategy» (06.11.1938)

«All our officers and fighters must always bear in mind that we are the great People's Liberation Army, we are the troops directed by the great Communist Party of China. Provided we constantly observe the directives of the Party, we are sure to win.»

«Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army» (October 1947)

«This army is powerful because it has the people's self-defense corps and the militia – the vast armed organizations of the masses – fighting in coordination with it. In the liberated areas of China all men and women, from youth to middle age, are organized in the people's anti-Japanese self-defense corps on a voluntary and democratic basis and without giving up their work in production. The cream of the self-defense corps, except for those who join the army or the guerrilla units, is brought into the militia. Without the cooperation of these armed forces of the masses it would be impossible to defeat the enemy.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«This army is powerful because of its division into two parts, the main forces and the regional forces, with the former available for operations in any region whenever necessary and the latter concentrating on defending their own localities and attacking the enemy there in cooperation with the local militia and the self-defense corps. This division of labor has won the whole-hearted support of the people. Without this correct division of labor – if, for example, attention were paid only to the role of the main forces while that of the regional forces were neglected – it would likewise be impossible to defeat the enemy in the conditions obtaining in China's liberated areas. Under the regional forces, numerous armed working teams have been organized, which are well-trained and hence better qualified for military, political and mass work; they penetrate into the rearmost areas behind the enemy lines, strike at the enemy and arouse the masses to anti-Japanese struggle, thus giving support to the frontal military operations of the various liberated areas. In all this they have achieved great success.»

Ibid.

«The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this great school, our soldiers should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium-sized or small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or for exchange with the State at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in factories and villages. After the socialist education movement is over, they can always find mass work to do, so that the army will forever be at one with the masses. They should also take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution whenever they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie. In this way, the army can concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly coordinated and a distinction should be made between the primary and secondary tasks. Each army unit should engage in one or two of the three fields of activity – agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three at the same time. In this way, our army of several million will be able to play a very great role indeed.»

Letter to Lin Biao (07.05.1966)

«[In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution], the People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left.»

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

## 12. DIRECTORSHIP OF PARTY COMMITTEES

«The Party committee system is an important Party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs. It has recently been found that in some (of course not all) directing bodies it is the habitual practice for one individual to monopolize the conduct of affairs and decide important problems. Solutions to important problems are decided not by Party committee meetings but by one individual, and membership in the Party committee has become nominal. Differences of opinion among committee members cannot be resolved and are left unresolved for a long time. Members of the Party committee maintain only formal, not real, unity among themselves. This situation must be changed. From now on, a sound system of Party committee meetings must be instituted in all directing bodies, from the regional bureaus of the Central Committee to the prefectural Party committees; from the Party committees of the fronts to the Party committees of brigades and military areas (sub-commissions of the Revolutionary Military Commission or directing groups); and the leading Party members' groups in government bodies, people's organizations the news agency and the newspaper offices. All important problems (of course, not the unimportant, trivial problems, or problems whose solutions have already been decided after discussion at meetings and need only be carried out) must be submitted to the committee for discussion, and the committee members present should express their views fully and reach definite decisions which should then be carried out by the members concerned [...]. Party committee meetings must be divided into two categories, standing committee meetings and plenary sessions, and the two should not

be confused. Furthermore, we must take care that neither collective directorship nor personal responsibility is overemphasized to the neglect of the other. In the army, the person in command has the right to make emergency decisions during battle and when circumstances require.»

«On Strengthening the Party Committee System» (20.09.1948)

«The secretary of a Party committee must be good at being a <squad leader>. A Party committee has ten to 20 members; it is like a squad in the army, and the secretary is like the <squad leader>. It is indeed not easy to lead this squad well. Each regional bureau or sub-regional bureau of the Central Committee now directs a vast area and shoulders very heavy responsibilities. To direct means not only to decide general and specific policies but also to devise correct methods of work. Even with correct general and specific policies, troubles may still arise if methods of work are neglected. To fulfil its task of exercising directorship, a Party committee must rely on its <squad members> and enable them to play their parts to the full. To be a good <squad leader>, the secretary should study hard and investigate thoroughly. A secretary or deputy secretary will find it difficult to direct their <squad> well if they do not take care to do propaganda and organizational work among their own <squad members>, are not good at handling their relations with committee members or do not study how to run meetings successfully. If the <squad members> do not march in step, they can never expect to direct tens of millions of people in fighting and construction. Of course, the relation between the secretary and the committee members is one in which the minority must obey the majority, so it is different from the relation between a squad leader and their soldiers. Here we speak only by way of analogy.»

«Methods of Work of Party Committees» (13.03.1949)

«Place problems on the table. This should be done not only by the <squad leader> but by the committee members too. Do not talk behind people's backs. Whenever problems arise, call a meeting, place the problems on the table for discussion, take some decisions and the problems will be solved. If problems exist and are not placed on the table, they will remain unsolved for a long time and even drag on for years. The <squad leader> and the committee members should show understanding in their relations with each other. Nothing is more important than mutual understanding, support and friendship between the secretary and the committee members, between the Central Committee and its regional bureaus and between the regional bureaus and the area Party committees.»

Ibid.

«<Exchange information.> This means that members of a Party committee should keep each other informed and exchange views on matters that have come to their attention. This is of great importance in achieving a common language. Some fail to do so and, like the people described by Laozi, *<do not visit each other all their lives, though the crowing of their cocks and the barking of their dogs are within hearing of each*

*other*». The result is that they lack a common language.»

Ibid.

«Ask your subordinates about matters you do not understand or do not know, and do not lightly express your approval or disapproval [...]. We should never pretend to know what we do not know, we should *<not feel ashamed to ask and learn from people below>* and we should listen carefully to the views of the cadres at the lower levels. Be a pupil before you become a teacher; learn from the cadres at the lower levels before you issue orders [...]. What the cadres at the lower levels say may or may not be correct, after hearing it, we must analyse it. We must heed the correct views and act upon them [...]. Listen also to the mistaken views from below, it is wrong not to listen to them at all. Such views, however, are not to be acted upon but to be criticized.»

Ibid.

«Learn to *<play the piano>*. In playing the piano, all ten fingers are in motion; it will not do to move some fingers only and not others. However, if all ten fingers press down at once, there is no melody. To produce good music, the ten fingers should move rhythmically and in coordination. A Party committee should keep a firm grasp on its central task and at the same time, around the central task, it should unfold the work in other fields. At present, we have to take care of many fields; we must look after the work in all the areas, armed units and departments, and not give all our attention to a few problems, to the exclusion of others. Wherever there is a problem, we must put our finger on it, and this is a method we must master. Some play the piano well and some badly, and there is a great difference in the melodies they produce. Members of Party committees must learn to *<play the piano>* well.»

Ibid.

«*<Grasp firmly.>* That is to say, the Party committee must not merely *<grasp>*, but must *<grasp firmly>*, its main tasks. One can get a grip on something only when it is grasped firmly, without the slightest slackening. Not to grasp firmly is not to grasp at all. Naturally, one cannot get a grip on something with an open hand. When the hand is clenched as if grasping something but is not clenched tightly, there is still no grip. Some of our comrades do grasp the main tasks, but their grasp is not firm and so they cannot make a success of their work. It will not do to have no grasp at all, nor will it do if the grasp is not firm.»

Ibid.

«*<Have a head for figures.>* That is to say, we must attend to the quantitative aspect of a situation or problem and make a basic quantitative analysis. Every quality manifests itself in a certain quantity, and without quantity, there can be no quality. To this day many of our comrades still do not understand that they must attend to the quantitative aspect of things – the basic statistics, the main percentages and the quantitative limits that determine the qualities of things. They have no *<figures>* in

their heads and therefore cannot help making mistakes.»

Ibid.

«*Notice to Reassure the Public.*» Notice of meetings should be given beforehand; this is like issuing a *Notice to Reassure the Public*, so that everybody will know what is going to be discussed and what problems are to be solved and can make timely preparations. In some places, meetings of cadres are called without first preparing reports and draft resolutions, and only when people have arrived for the meeting are makeshifts improvised; this is just like the saying: *Troops and horses have arrived, but food and fodder are not ready*, and that is no good. Do not call a meeting in a hurry if the preparations are not completed.»

Ibid.

«*Fewer and better troops and simpler administration.*» Talks, speeches, articles and resolutions should all be concise and to the point. Meetings also should not go on too long.»

Ibid.

«Pay attention to uniting and working with comrades who differ with you. This should be borne in mind both in the localities and in the army. It also applies to relations with people outside the Party. We have come together from every corner of the country and should be good at uniting in our work not only with comrades who hold the same views as we but also with those who hold different views.»

Ibid.

«Guard against arrogance. For anyone in a leading position, this is a matter of principle and an important condition for maintaining unity. Even those who have made no serious mistakes and have achieved very great success in their work should not be arrogant.»

Ibid.

«Draw two lines of distinction. First, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Yan'an and Xi'an.<sup>1</sup> Some do not understand that they must draw this line of distinction. For example, when they combat bureaucracy, they speak of Yan'an as though *nothing is right* there and fail to make a comparison and distinguish between the bureaucracy in Yan'an and the bureaucracy in Xi'an. This is fundamentally wrong. Secondly, within the revolutionary ranks, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between right and wrong, between achievements and shortcomings and to make clear which of the two is primary and which secondary. For instance, do the achievements amount to 30% or to 70% of the whole? It will not do either to understate or to overstate. We must have a fundamental evaluation of a person's work and establish whether their achievements amount to 30% and their mistakes to 70%, or the other way around. If

their achievements amount to 70% of the whole, then their work should in the main be approved. It would be entirely wrong to describe work in which the achievements are primary as work in which the mistakes are primary. In our approach to problems, we must not forget to draw these two lines of distinction, between revolution and counter-revolution and between achievements and shortcomings. We shall be able to handle things well if we bear these two distinctions in mind; otherwise, we shall confuse the nature of the problems. To draw these distinctions well, careful study and analysis are of course necessary. Our attitude towards every person and every matter should be one of analysis and study.»

Ibid.

«In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance. It should be done on the following lines:

1. The directing bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centers of directorship.
2. The higher bodies must be familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the life of the masses to have an objective basis for correct guidance.
3. No Party organization at any level should make casual decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.
4. All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the Party ordinary people [...].
5. The lower bodies of the Party and the Party ordinary people must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on the methods of carrying them out.»

«On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party» (December 1929)

«There are two methods which we communists must employ in whatever work we do. One is to combine the general with the particular; the other is to combine the directorship with the masses.»

«Some Questions Concerning Methods of Directorship» (01.06.1943)

«The Central Committee considers that this attitude and method of learning modestly from the good experience of other provinces, municipalities and districts is fine and constitutes an important way of promoting our economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and Party work. Some comrades stick to the beaten track, are conceited and complacent, do not take an analytical approach towards the work in their own area in accordance with marxist dialectics (that is, one dividing into two, into shortcomings and mistakes as well as achievements), but notice only achievements and not shortcomings and mistakes. They welcome praise but not criticism. They take little

interest in arranging for competent directors and cadres to study modestly and earnestly what is being done in other provinces, municipalities, districts or units in order to introduce improvements by applying the findings to their own province, municipality, district or unit. They confine their vision always to the small world of their own area or unit, but fail to see beyond it and to notice any world other than their own, which is sheer parochial arrogance. They show to foreign visitors, comrades from other parts of the country or comrades sent by the central authorities to their area only what is good and not what is bad. They tell these visitors only the achievements, and not the shortcomings and mistakes which, if taken up at all, will not be gone into at any great length but dismissed perfunctorily in a few words. The Central Committee has called our comrades' attention to this problem time and again, maintaining that a communist must acquire the marxist dialectical concept of one dividing into two with regard to achievements and shortcomings, truth and falsehood. Without exception everything (economy, politics, ideology, culture, military and Party work, and so on) develops as a process. And every process develops through the interconnection and mutual struggle of its two contradictory aspects. This should be ABC for a marxist. However, many comrades at the central and local levels seldom think and work conscientiously in accordance with this viewpoint. They find it difficult to shake off their customary metaphysical way of thinking. By metaphysics is meant the denial of the unity of opposites and the struggle of opposites in things (the method of one dividing into two), the denial of the truth that under given conditions two contradictory things that stand in opposition transform themselves into each other and turn into their opposite. Metaphysics also finds expression in the following – to stick to the beaten track, to be conceited and complacent, to notice only achievements and not shortcomings, to welcome praise and not criticism; to be unwilling to criticize oneself (to apply the method of one dividing into two to oneself) and, worse still, to be afraid of being criticized by others. Among the dozens of ministries under the Central Government there are obviously several which have done better and have a better style of work, for instance, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. Yet other ministries simply pay no attention and have never bothered to visit them, study their experience and learn from them. Of the various units under a ministry, there are obviously many factories and mines, enterprises, undertakings and scientific research institutions, together with their personnel, that have done well. Yet its directorship, through its ignorance, is in no position to encourage people to learn from them. Comrades, when the Central Committee here speaks about comrades committing errors in succumbing to metaphysics, this refers only to some comrades, not to all. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that large numbers of fine comrades are frustrated by those comrades who are highly placed with fat emoluments and live in style, who are conceited and complacent and are only too glad to stick to the beaten track, and who are addicted to bourgeois metaphysics; in other words, these fine comrades are frustrated by the bureaucrats. This situation must be changed right now. To any comrade who rejects the dialectical and analytical method of marxism and doesn't modestly and conscientiously analyse either their own locality, their own unit and themselves or other localities, other units and other people, we must give comradely advice and criticism, so as to bring about a change in this undesirable state of affairs. We must make it a practice to learn from the good experience, good style and good methods of other ministries, provinces, municipalities, districts and units. This

**is an important question and you are requested to discuss it.»**

«Strive to Learn from Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent» (13.12.1963)

### **13. THE MASS LINE**

**«The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding, it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.»**

Preface to «Rural Surveys» (17.03.1941)

**«The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and create more and more undertakings for their own well-being.»**

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

**«The present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.»**

«Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan» (March 1927)

**«The high tide of social transformation in the countryside, the high tide of cooperation, has already reached some places and will soon sweep over the whole country. It is a vast socialist revolutionary movement involving a rural population of more than 800,000,000, and it has extremely great and worldwide significance. We should give this movement active, enthusiastic and systematic leadership, and not drag it back by one means or another. Some errors are unavoidable in the process; this is understandable, and they will not be hard to correct. Shortcomings or mistakes found among the cadres and the peasants can be remedied or overcome provided we give them positive help.»**

«On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation» (31.07.1955)

«The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down. Haven't we come across enough persons of this type? Those who simply follow the old routine invariably underestimate the people's enthusiasm. Let something new appear and they always disapprove and rush to oppose it. Afterwards, they have to admit defeat and do a little self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they go through the same process all over again. This is their pattern of behavior in regard to anything and everything new. Such people are always passive, always fail to move forward at the critical moment, and always have to be given a shove in the back before they move a step.»

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

«For over 20 years our Party has carried on mass work every day, and for the past dozen years it has talked about the mass line every day. We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders. The mass line, however, is still not being thoroughly carried out in the work of some comrades; they still rely solely on a handful of people working in solitude. One reason is that, whatever they do, they are always reluctant to explain it to the people they lead and that they do not understand why or how to give play to the initiative and creative energy of those they lead. Subjectively, they too want everyone to take a hand in the work, but they do not let other people know what is to be done or how to do it. That being the case, how can everyone be expected to get moving and how can anything be done well? To solve this problem the basic thing is, of course, to carry out ideological education on the mass line, but at the same time we must teach these comrades many concrete methods of work.»

«A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shaanxi-Suiyuan Daily*» (02.04.1948)

«24 years of experience tell us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably strengthen our ties with the masses, and the wrong task, policy and style of work invariably disagree with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably alienate us from the masses. The reason why such evils as dogmatism, empiricism, commandism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and an arrogant attitude in work are definitely harmful and intolerable, and why anyone suffering from these maladies must overcome them, is that they alienate us from the masses.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from

the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail [...]. There are two principles here: one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, and the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them.»

«The United Front in Cultural Work» (30.10.1944)

«Our Congress should call upon the whole Party to be vigilant and to see that no comrade at any post is divorced from the masses. It should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify themselves with the masses wherever they go and, instead of standing above them, to immerse themselves among them; and, according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organize themselves voluntarily and to set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«If we tried to go on the offensive when the masses are not yet awakened, that would be adventurism. If we insisted on directing the masses to do anything against their will, we would certainly fail. If we did not advance when the masses demand advance, that would be Right-opportunism.»

«A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shaanxi-Suiyuan Daily*» (02.04.1948)

«Commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity. Our comrades must not assume that everything they themselves understand is understood by the masses. Whether the masses understand it and are ready to take action can be discovered only by going into their midst and making investigations. If we do so, we can avoid commandism. Tailism in any type of work is also wrong, because in falling below the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of directing the masses forward it reflects the disease of dilatoriness. Our comrades must not assume that the masses have no understanding of what they do not yet understand. It often happens that the masses outstrip us and are eager to advance a step and that nevertheless our comrades fail to act as leaders of the masses and tail behind certain backward elements, reflecting their views and, moreover, mistaking them for those of the broad masses.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of directorship – such is the basic method of directorship.»

«Some Questions Concerning Methods of Directorship» (01.06.1943)

«In all the practical work of our Party, all correct directorship is necessarily <from the masses, to the masses>. This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the marxist theory of knowledge.»

Ibid.

«We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness.»

«Get Organized!» (29.11.1943)

«There are people in our directing organs in some places that think that it is enough for the directors alone to know the Party's policies and that there is no need to let the masses know them. This is one of the basic reasons why some of our work cannot be done well.»

«A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shaanxi-Suiyuan Daily*» (02.04.1948)

«In all mass movements we must make a basic investigation and analysis of the number of active supporters, opponents and neutrals and must not decide problems subjectively and without basis.»

«Methods of Work of Party Committees» (13.03.1949)

«The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The directors must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the directorship and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements.»

«Some Questions Concerning Methods of Directorship» (01.06.1943)

«To be good at translating the Party's policy into action of the masses, to be good at getting not only the directors but also the broad masses to understand and master every movement and every struggle we launch – this is an art of marxist-leninist directorship. It is also the dividing line that determines whether or not we make mistakes in our work.»

«A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shaanxi-Suiyuan Daily*» (02.04.1948)

«However active the directing group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong directing group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level.»

«Some Questions Concerning Methods of Directorship» (01.06.1943)

«Production by the masses, the interests of the masses, the experiences and feelings of the masses – to these the directors should pay constant attention.»

Inscription for a Production Exhibition Sponsored by Organizations Directly Under the Central Committee of the Party and the General Headquarters of the 8<sup>th</sup> Route Army (24.11.1943)

«We should pay close attention to the well being of the masses, from the problems of land and labour to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt [...]. All such problems concerning the well being of the masses should be placed on our agenda. We should discuss them, adopt and carry out decisions and check up on the results. We should help the masses to realize that we represent their interests and that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolutionary war, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution.»

«Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work» (27.01.1934)

## 14. POLITICAL WORK

«The system of Party representatives and of political departments, adopted for the first time in China, entirely changed the complexion of these armed forces.<sup>ii</sup> The Red Army, which was founded in 1927 and the 8<sup>th</sup> Route Army of today have inherited this system and developed it.»

«Interview with the British Journalist James Bertram» (25.10.1937)

**«The People's Liberation Army has developed its vigorous revolutionary political work, which is an important factor in winning victory over the enemy, on the basis of a people's war and of the principles of unity between army and people, of unity between commanders and fighters and of disintegrating the enemy troops.»**

«The Present Situation and Our Tasks» (25.12.1947)

**«This army has built up a system of political work which is essential for the people's war and is aimed at promoting unity in its own ranks, unity with the friendly armies and unity with the people, and at disintegrating the enemy forces and ensuring victory in battle.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the social and economic system is undergoing fundamental change.»**

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

**««The Party branch is organized on a company basis»; this is an important reason why the Red Army has been able to carry on such arduous fighting without falling apart.»**

«The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains» (25.11.1928)

**«The political work of the 8<sup>th</sup> Route Army is guided by three basic principles. First, the principle of unity between officers and soldiers, which means eradicating feudal practices in the army, prohibiting beating and abuse, building up a conscious discipline, and sharing weal and woe – as a result of which the entire army is closely united. Second, the principle of unity between the army and the people, which means maintaining a discipline that forbids the slightest violation of the people's interests, conducting propaganda among the masses, organizing and arming them, lightening their economic burdens and suppressing the traitors and collaborators who do harm to the army and the people – as a result of which the army is closely united with the people and welcomed everywhere. Third, the principle of disintegrating the enemy troops and giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war. Our victory depends not only upon our military operations but also upon the disintegration of the enemy troops.»**

«Interview with the British Journalist James Bertram» (25.10.1937)

**«Our troops must observe the correct principles that govern relations between the army and the people, between the army and the government, between the army and the Party, between officers and soldiers, and between military work and political work, and relations among the cadres, and must never commit the errors of warlordism. Officers must cherish their soldiers and must not be indifferent to their well-being or resort to corporal punishment; the army must cherish the people and never encroach upon their interests; the army must respect the government and the Party and never <assert**

**independence>.>**

«Get Organized!» (29.11.1943)

«Our policy towards prisoners captured from the Japanese, puppet or anti-communist troops is to set them all free, except for those who have incurred the bitter hatred of the masses and must receive capital punishment and whose death sentence has been approved by the higher authorities. Among the prisoners, those who were coerced into joining the reactionary forces but who are more or less inclined towards the revolution should be won over in large numbers to work for our army. The rest should be released and, if they fight us and are captured again, should again be set free. We should not insult them, take away their personal effects or try to exact recent taxation from them, but without exception should treat them sincerely and kindly. This should be our policy, however reactionary they may be. It is a very effective way of isolating the camp of reaction.»

«On Policy» (25.12.1940)

«Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. People necessarily wield military and economic power.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«The atom bomb is a paper tiger that the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the people decide the outcome of a war, not by one or two new types of weapon.»

«Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong» (August 1946)

«Soldiers are the foundation of an army; unless they are imbued with a progressive political spirit, and unless such a spirit is fostered through progressive political work, it will be impossible to achieve genuine unity between officers and soldiers, impossible to arouse their enthusiasm for the War of Resistance to the full, and impossible to provide an excellent basis for the most effective use of all our technical equipment and tactics.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«The purely military viewpoint is very highly developed among a number of comrades in the Red Army. It manifests itself as follows: 1. These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. Some even say: *«If you are good militarily, naturally you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be any good politically»* – this is to go a step further and

**give military affairs a leading position over politics.»**

«On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party» (December 1929)

**«Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the Party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«Recently there has been a falling off in ideological and political work among students and intellectuals, and some unhealthy tendencies have appeared. Some people seem to think that there is no longer any need to concern oneself with politics or with the future of the homeland and the ideals of mankind. It seems as if marxism was once all the rage but is currently not so much in fashion. To counter these tendencies, we must strengthen our ideological and political work. Both students and intellectuals should study hard. In addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make progress both ideologically and politically, which means that they should study marxism, current events and politics. Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul [...]. All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work, and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers.»**

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

**«After receiving political education, the Red Army soldiers have all become class-conscious and learned the essentials of distributing land, setting up political power, arming the workers and peasants, and so on, and they all know they are fighting for themselves, for the working class and the peasantry. Hence they can endure the hardships of the bitter struggle without complaint. Each company, battalion or regiment has its soldiers' committee that represents the interests of the soldiers and carries on political and mass work.»**

«The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains» (25.11.1928)

**«The correct unfolding of the movement for pouring out grievances (the wrongs done to the laboring people by the old society and by the reactionaries) and the three check-ups (on class origin, performance of duty and will to fight) greatly heightened the political consciousness of commanders and fighters throughout the army in the fight for the emancipation of the exploited working masses, for nationwide land reform and for the destruction of the common enemy of the people, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. It also greatly strengthened the firm unity of all commanders and fighters under the directorship of the Communist Party. On this basis, the army achieved greater purity in its ranks, strengthened discipline, unfolded a mass movement for training, and further developed its political, economic and military democracy in a completely well-directed and orderly way. Thus the army has become united as one person, with**

**everybody contributing their ideas and their strength, an army fearless of sacrifice and capable of overcoming material difficulties, which displays mass heroism and daring in destroying the enemy. Such an army will be invincible.»**

«On the Great Victory in the North-West and on the New Type of Ideological Education Movement in the Liberation Army» (07.03.1948)

**«In the last few months almost all the People's Liberation Army has made use of the intervals between battles for large-scale training and consolidation. This has been carried out in a fully guided, orderly and democratic way. It has therefore aroused the revolutionary fervor of the great masses of commanders and fighters, enabled them clearly to comprehend the aim of the war, eliminated certain incorrect ideological tendencies and undesirable manifestations in the army, educated the cadres and fighters and greatly enhanced the combat effectiveness of the army. From now on, we must continue to carry on this new type of ideological education movement in the army, a movement that has a democratic and mass character.»**

«Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shaanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area» (01.04.1948)

**«The educational policy of the college [the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College] is to cultivate a firm and correct political orientation, an industrious and simple style of work, and flexible strategy and tactics. These are the three essentials in the making of an anti-Japanese revolutionary soldier. It is in accordance with these essentials that the staff teaches and the students study.»**

«To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing But a Good Thing» (26.05.1939)

**«Our nation has always had a traditional style of hard struggle, which we should develop [...]. What is more, the Communist Party has always advocated a firm and correct political orientation [...]. This orientation is inseparable from a style of hard struggle. Without a firm and correct political orientation, it is impossible to promote a style of hard struggle. Without the style of hard struggle, it is impossible to maintain a firm and correct political orientation.»**

«Speech at the Yan'an Rally in Celebration of International Labor Day» (01.05.1939)

**«Be united, alert, earnest and lively.»**

Motto for the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College

**«What really counts in the world is conscientiousness, and the Communist Party is most particular about being conscientious.»**

«Talk at a Meeting with Chinese Students and Trainees in Moscow» (17.11.1957)

## 15. RELATIONS BETWEEN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS

«Our army has always had two policies. First, we must be ruthless to our enemies; we must overpower and annihilate them. Second, we must be kind to our own, to the people, to our colleagues and to our superiors and subordinates, and unite with them.»

«Speech at the Reception Given by the Central Committee of the Party for Model Study Delegates from the Rear Army Detachments» (18.09.1944)

«We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective [...]. Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other.»

«Serve the People» (08.09.1944)

«A movement to support the cadres and cherish the soldiers should be launched in every army unit, calling on the cadres to cherish the soldiers and the soldiers to support the cadres. They should speak up about each other's shortcomings and mistakes and quickly correct them. In this way they will be able to achieve a very good internal unity.»

«The Tasks for 1945» (15.12.1944)

«Many people think that it is wrong methods that make for strained relations between officers and soldiers and between the army and the people, but I always tell them that it is a question of basic attitude (or basic principle), of having respect for the soldiers and the people. It is from this attitude that the various policies, methods and forms ensue. If we depart from this attitude, then the policies, methods and forms will certainly be wrong, and the relations between officers and soldiers and between the army and the people are bound to be unsatisfactory. Our three major principles for the army's political work are, first, unity between officers and soldiers; second, unity between the army and the people; and third, the disintegration of the enemy forces. To apply these principles effectively, we must start with this basic attitude of respect for the soldiers and the people, and of respect for the human dignity of prisoners of war once they have laid down their arms. Those who take all this as a technical matter and not one of basic attitude are indeed wrong, and they should correct their view.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«Communists must use the democratic method of persuasion and education when working among the laboring people and must on no account resort to commandism or coercion. The Communist Party of China faithfully adheres to this marxist-leninist principle.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«Our comrades must understand that ideological remolding involves long-term, patient and painstaking work, and they must not attempt to change people's ideology, which has been shaped over decades of life, by giving a few lectures or by holding a few meetings. Persuasion, not compulsion, is the only way to convince them. Compulsion will never result in convincing them. To try to convince them by force simply won't work. This kind of method is permissible in dealing with the enemy, but absolutely impermissible in dealing with comrades or friends.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«We must make a distinction between the enemy and ourselves, and we must not adopt an antagonistic position towards comrades and treat them as we would the enemy. In speaking up, one must have an ardent desire to protect the cause of the people and raise their political consciousness, and there must be no ridiculing or attacking in one's approach.»

Ibid.

## 16. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

«The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible [...].»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«Every comrade must be helped to understand that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«Wherever our comrades go they must build good relations with the masses, be concerned for them and help them overcome their difficulties. We must unite with the masses, the more of the masses we unite with, the better.»

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

«The army in the Liberated Areas must support the government and cherish the people, while the democratic governments must direct the people in the work of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting Japan. In this way relations between the army and the people will become still better.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«In the army the task of supporting the government and cherishing the people should be handled through the ideological education of every commander and fighter, so that they

all thoroughly understand its importance. As long as the army on its part does this job well, the local government and the people will also improve their relations with the army.»

«Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946» (15.12.1945)

«In the course of these campaigns [to <support the government and cherish the people> and to <support the army and give preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting Japan>], the army on its side and the Party and the government on theirs should thoroughly examine the shortcomings and mistakes of 1943, and should resolutely correct them in 1944. From now on, such campaigns should be launched everywhere in the first month of every lunar year, and in the course of them the pledges to <support the government and cherish the people> and <support the army and give preferential treatment to the families of soldiers fighting Japan> should be read out time and again, and there should be repeated self-criticism before the masses of any high-handed behavior by the troops in the base areas towards the Party or government personnel or towards civilians, or of any lack of concern for the troops shown by the Party or government personnel or the civilians (each side criticizing itself and not the other) in order that these shortcomings and mistakes may be thoroughly corrected.»

«Spread the Campaigns to Reduce Rent, Increase Production and Support the Government and Cherish the People in the Base Areas» (01.10.1943)

## 17. DEMOCRACY IN THE THREE MAIN FIELDS

«A proper measure of democracy should be put into effect in the army, chiefly by abolishing the feudal practice of bullying and beating and by having officers and soldiers share weal and woe. Once this is done, unity will be achieved between officers and men, the combat effectiveness of the army will be greatly increased, and there will be no doubt of our ability to sustain the long, cruel war.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«Apart from the role played by the Party, the reason why the Red Army has been able to carry on in spite of such poor material conditions and such frequent engagements is its practice of democracy. The officers do not beat the soldiers; officers and soldiers receive equal treatment; soldiers are free to hold meetings and to speak out; trivial formalities have been done away with; and the accounts are open for all to inspect [...]. In China the army needs democracy as much as the people do. Democracy in our army is an important weapon for undermining the feudal mercenary army.»

«The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains» (25.11.1928)

«The policy for political work in our army units is fully to arouse the rank and file, the commanders and all working personnel in order to achieve three major objectives through a democratic movement under centralized directorship, namely, a high degree of political unity, better living conditions, and better military technique and tactics.»

The <Three Check-Ups> and <Three Improvements><sup>iii</sup> now being enthusiastically carried out in our army units are intended to attain the first two of these objectives through the methods of political and economic democracy. With regard to economic democracy, the representatives elected by the soldiers must be ensured the right to assist (but not to bypass) the company directorship in managing the company's supplies and mess. With regard to military democracy, in periods of training there must be mutual instruction as between officers and soldiers and among the soldiers themselves; and in periods of fighting the companies at the front must hold big and small meetings of various kinds. Under the direction of the company directorship, the rank and file should be roused to discuss how to attack and capture enemy positions and how to fulfil other combat tasks. When the fighting lasts several days, several such meetings should be held. This kind of military democracy was practiced with great success in the battle of Banlong in northern Shanxi and in the battle of Shijiazhuang in the Shaanxi-Chahar-Hebei area. It has been proved that the practice can only do well and can do no harm whatsoever.»

«The Democratic Movement in the Army» (30.01.1948)

«In the present great struggle, the Communist Party of China demands that all its directing bodies and all its members and cadres should give the fullest expression to their initiative, which alone can ensure victory. This initiative must be demonstrated concretely in the ability of the directing bodies, the cadres and the Party rank and file to work creatively, in their readiness to assume responsibility, in the exuberant vigor they show in their work, in their courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions and criticize defects, and in the comradely supervision that is maintained over the directing bodies and the directors. Otherwise, <initiative> will be an empty thing. But the exercise of such initiative depends on the spread of democracy in Party life. It cannot be brought into play if there is not enough democracy in Party life. Only in an atmosphere of democracy can large numbers of able people be brought forward.»

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«Anyone should be allowed to speak out, whoever they may be, so long as they are not a hostile element and do not make malicious attacks, and it does not matter if they say something wrong. Directors at all levels have the duty to listen to others. Two principles must be observed:

1. Say all you know and say it without reserve.
2. Don't blame the speaker but take their words as a warning.

Unless the principle of <Don't blame the speaker> is observed genuinely and not falsely, the result will not be <Say all you know and say it without reserve>.»

«The Tasks for 1945» (15.12.1944)

«Education in democracy must be carried on within the Party so that members can

understand the meaning of democratic life, the meaning of the relationship between democracy and centralism, and the way in which democratic centralism should be put into practice. Only in this way can we really extend democracy within the Party and at the same time avoid ultra-democracy and the <live and let live> attitude that destroys discipline.»

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«Both in the army and in the local organizations, inner-Party democracy is meant to strengthen discipline and increase combat effectiveness, not to weaken them.»

Ibid.

«In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. First, it should be pointed out that the danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it should be pointed out that the source of ultra-democracy consists in the small bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-democratic ideas politically and organizationally. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.»

«On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party» (December 1929)

## 18. EDUCATION AND THE TRAINING OF TROOPS

«Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«Physical education complements education in virtue and knowledge. Moreover, both virtue and knowledge reside in the body. Without the body there would be neither virtue nor knowledge. Those who understand this are rare. People stress either knowledge or morality. Knowledge is certainly valuable, for it distinguishes humans from animals. But wherein is knowledge contained? Morality, too, is valuable; it is the basis of the social order and of equality between ourselves and others. But where does virtue reside? It is the body that contains knowledge and houses virtue.»

«A Study of Physical Education» (April 1917)

«We should let the students read fiction and take a nap in class, and we should look after their health. Teachers should lecture less and make the students read more.

[...]

**When you return to school, you should take the lead to rebel. Don't return to school on Sunday and don't attend any meetings on that day.»**

«A Conversation with Wang Hairong» (21.12.1970)

**«As for education for cadres whether at work or in schools for cadres, a policy should be established of focusing such education on the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and using the basic principles of marxism-leninism as the guide, and the method of studying marxism-leninism statically and in isolation should be discarded.»**

«Reform Our Study» (May 1941)

**«For a military school, the most important question is the selection of a director and instructors and the adoption of an educational policy.»**

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

**«A school of 100 people certainly cannot be run well if it does not have a directing group of several people, or a dozen or more, which is formed in accordance with the actual circumstances (and not thrown together artificially) and is composed of the most active, upright and alert of the teachers, the other staff and the students.»**

«Some Questions Concerning Methods of Directorship» (01.06.1943)

**«All officers and fighters of our army must improve their military art, march forward courageously towards certain victory in the war and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all enemies.»**

«Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army» (October 1947)

**«Equal importance should be attached to the military and political aspects of the one-year consolidation and training program that has just begun, and the two aspects should be integrated. At the start, stress should be placed on the political aspect, on improving relations between officers and men, enhancing internal unity and arousing a high level of enthusiasm among the masses of cadres and fighters. Only thus will the military consolidation and training proceed smoothly and attain better results.»**

«The Tasks for 1945» (15.12.1944)

**«As for the method of training, we should unfold the mass training movement in which officers teach soldiers, soldiers teach officers and the soldiers teach each other.»**

«Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946» (15.12.1945)

**«Our slogan in training troops is <Officers teach soldiers, soldiers teach officers and soldiers teach each other>. The fighters have a lot of practical combat**

**experience. The officers should learn from the fighters, and when they have made other people's experience their own, they will become more capable.»**

«A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shaanxi-Suiyuan Daily*» (02.04.1948)

**«As for the training courses, the main objective should still be to raise the level of technique in shooting, bayoneting grenade-throwing and the like and the secondary objective should be to raise the level of tactics, while special emphasis should be laid on night operations.»**

«Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946» (15.12.1945)

## **19. SERVING THE PEOPLE**

**«We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul [...].»**

«China's Two Possible Destinies» (23.04.1945)

**«Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the directing organs of the Party.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«The organs of State must practice democratic centralism, they must rely on the masses and their personnel must serve the people.»**

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

**«Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every communist must learn from him. We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A person's ability may be great or small, but if they have this spirit, they are already noble-minded and pure, a person of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a person who is of value to the people.»**

«In Memory of Norman Bethune» (21.12.1939)

**«Our Communist Party and the 8<sup>th</sup> Route and New 4<sup>th</sup> Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests.»**

«Serve the People» (08.09.1944)

«All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?»

«The Tasks for 1945» (15.12.1944)

«Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected – that is what being responsible to the people means.»

«The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan» (13.08.1945)

«Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices.»

«Serve the People» (08.09.1944)

«All people must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Sima Qian said: *«Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather.»* To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.»

Ibid.

## 20. PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

«Can a communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that they not only can be but also must be. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions. There is the «patriotism» of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism. Communists must resolutely oppose the «patriotism» of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler. The communists of Japan and Germany are defeatists with regard to the wars being waged by their countries. To bring about the defeat of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler by every possible means is in the interests of the Japanese and the German people, and the more complete the defeat the better [...]. For the wars launched by the Japanese aggressors and Hitler are harming the people at home as well as the people of the world. China's case, however, is different, because it is the victim of aggression. Chinese communists must therefore combine patriotism with internationalism. We are at once internationalists and patriots, and our slogan is: «Fight to defend the homeland against the aggressors!» For us defeatism is a crime and to strive for victory in the War of Resistance is an inescapable duty. For only by fighting in defense of the homeland can we defeat the aggressors and achieve national liberation. And only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and other working people to achieve their own emancipation. The victory of China and the defeat

**of the invading imperialists will help the people of other countries. Thus in wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism.»**

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

**«What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as their own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese communist must learn [...]. We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, with the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries, before it is possible to overthrow imperialism, to liberate our nation and people, and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.»**

«In Memory of Norman Bethune» (21.12.1939)

**«In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.»**

«Talk with African Friends» (08.08.1963)

**«The socialist countries are States of an entirely new type in which the exploiting classes have been overthrown and the working people are in power. The principle of integrating internationalism with patriotism is practiced in the relations between these countries. Common interests and common ideals closely bind us.»**

«Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Council of the Union of Socialist Council Republics in Celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution» (06.11.1957)

**«The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of all the continents should unite, all peace-loving countries should unite, and all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, intervention or bullying should unite, and so form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace.»**

«Statement Supporting the Panamanian People's Just Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism» (12.01.1964)

**«Things develop ceaselessly. It is only 45 years since the Revolution of 1911, but the face of China has completely changed. In another 25 years, that is, in the year 2001, or the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China will have undergone an even greater change. It will have become a powerful socialist industrial country. And that is as it should be. China is a land with an area of 9,600,000 square kilometers and a population of 600,000,000 people, and it ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity. Its**

contribution over a long period has been far too small. For this we are regretful. But we must be modest – not only now, but 45 years hence as well. We should always be modest. In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.»

«In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen» (November 1956)

«We must never adopt an arrogant attitude of great-power chauvinism and become conceited because of the victory of our revolution and certain achievements in our construction. Every nation, big or small, has its strong and weak points.»

«Opening Address at the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (15.09.1956)

## 21. THE DIFFERENTIATION OF THE THREE WORLDS

«We hope the third world will unite. The third world has a large population!

In my view, the United States and the Soviet Union form the first world. Japan, Europe and Canada, the middle section, belong to the second world. We are the third world.

[...]

The U.S. and the Soviet Union have a lot of atomic bombs, and they are richer. Europe, Japan, Australia and Canada, of the second world, do not possess so many atomic bombs and are not so rich as the first world, but richer than the third world.

[...]

The third world has a huge population.

[...]

With the exception of Japan, Asia belongs to the third world. The whole of Africa belongs to the third world, and Latin America too.»

«On the Differentiation of the Three Worlds» (22.02.1974)

«No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies.»

«On New Democracy» (January 1940)

«The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question. In the Pacific the United States now controls areas larger than all the former British spheres of influence there put together; it

controls Japan, that part of China under Guomindang rule, half of Korea, and the South Pacific. It has long controlled Central and South America. It seeks also to control the whole of the British Empire and Western Europe. Using various pretexts, the United States is making large-scale military arrangements and setting up military bases in many countries. The U.S. reactionaries say that the military bases they have set up and are preparing to set up all over the world are aimed against the Soviet Union. True, these military bases are directed against the Soviet Union. At present, however, it is not the Soviet Union but the countries in which these military bases are located that are the first to suffer U.S. aggression. I believe it won't be long before these countries come to realize who is really oppressing them, the Soviet Union or the United States. The day will come when the U.S. reactionaries find themselves opposed by the people of the whole world.»

«Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong» (August 1946)

«From this incident we can pin-point the focus of struggle in the world today. The contradiction between the imperialist countries and the socialist countries is certainly most acute. But the imperialist countries are now contending with each other for the control of different areas in the name of opposing communism. [...] In the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions are: first, those between different imperialist powers, that is, between the United States and Britain and between the United States and France and, second, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. The three kinds of forces are: one, the United States, the biggest imperialist power, two, Britain and France, second-rate imperialist powers, and three, the oppressed nations.»

«Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees» (January 1957)

«Japan and China should act jointly, work together one with the other. Japan is a country which is relatively developed industrially; therefore she can aid us in many ways. But we must also support each other politically. Why should we oppose each other as was the case a few years ago?

[...]

As a result of the war, Japan came under the domination of U.S. imperialism, exactly as U.S. imperialism rules South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and so on. The hands of the United States have stretched out into the western part of the Pacific Ocean and into South-East Asia. These stretched-out hands are very long.

The United States rules over Europe; it rules over Canada; it rules over Latin America, except for Cuba. Its hands reach all the way to Africa.

All the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are rising against imperialism; even Europe, Canada, and other countries are rising against imperialism. Imperialists are even rising against imperialists. Isn't that what De Gaulle is doing?

At the present time, there exist two intermediate zones in the world. Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute the first intermediate zone. Europe, North America, and Oceania constitute the second. Japanese monopoly capital belongs to the second intermediate zone, but even it is discontented with the United States, and some of its representatives are openly rising against the United States. Though Japanese monopoly capital now is dependent on the United States, the time will come when it too will shake off the American yoke.

The Japanese people are a great people. They waged war with the United States, with England and France. They carried out the attack on Pearl Harbor; they occupied Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia. Their advance reached the eastern part of India.

Obviously, this by no means indicates that I favour repetition of aggression by Japanese imperialism.

However, I do not think that Japanese monopoly capital will allow the United States to sit on its neck forever. Wouldn't it be best for Japan to be completely independent, to establish relations and enter into cooperation with those forces in Asia striving for national independence?»

«Interview with the Japanese Socialists on the Theory of the Intermediate Zone» (11.08.1964)

«The places occupied by the Soviet Union are very many. In accordance with the Yalta Agreement, the Soviet Union, under the pretext of assuring the independence of Mongolia, actually placed that country under its domination. Mongolia covers an area much greater than that of the Kurile Islands. When Khrushchev and Bulganin were in China in 1954 we raised this question, but they refused to speak to us about it. They annexed a part of Romania. They cut off a part of East Germany and chased the local inhabitants into the western part. They cut off a part of Poland and included it in Russia, and as compensation gave Poland a part of East Germany. The same happened in Finland. They cut off everything that was possible to cut off. Some people have declared that Xinjiang Province and the territory north of the Amur River should be included in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is concentrating troops on its borders.

The Soviet Union covers an area of 22,000,000 square kilometers and its population totals 200,000,000 people. The time has come for it to stop annexations. Japan covers an area of 370,000 square kilometers and has a population of 100,000,000. It has been only 100 years that the land east of the Baikal has been Russian territory, and it is from those times that Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka, and other points can be considered territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet presented accounts on this score. As far as the Kurile Islands are concerned, the question is clear for us – they should be returned to Japan.»

Ibid.

«China belongs to the third world. For China cannot compare with the rich or powerful countries politically, economically, and so on. It can be grouped only with the

**relatively poor countries.»**

Quoted in *People's Daily*: «Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism» (01.11.1977)

**«We should win over these countries, such as Britain, France and West Germany.»**

Ibid.

**«The Soviet Union has wild ambitions. It wants to lay hands on the whole of Europe, Asia and Africa.»**

Ibid.

**«Imperialism does exist in this world. In our opinion, Russia may be called a social-imperialist country, and this system engenders war. Not that you or we or the third world want a world war. Nor do the people in the rich countries want a world war. This sort of thing happens irrespectively of human will.»**

Ibid.

**«[The imperialist superpowers] may reach some agreement, but I wouldn't take it as something solid. It's transitory, and deceptive too. In essence, rivalry is primary.»**

Ibid.

**«Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

**«People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!»**

Quoted in *People's Daily*, *The Red Flag* and *Liberation Army Daily*: «Usher in the Great 1970s» (01.01.1970)

## **22. REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM**

**«This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield. No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single soldier remains, they will fight on.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«Give full play to our style of fighting – courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).»**

«The Present Situation and Our Tasks» (25.12.1947)

**«Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.»**

«The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains» (11.06.1945)

**«At a critical moment in the progress of the Northern Expedition, [...] the treacherous and reactionary policies of <party purge> and massacre adopted by the Guomindang authorities wrecked this national united front – the united front of the Guomindang, the Communist Party and all sections of the people, which embodied the Chinese people's cause of liberation – and all its revolutionary policies [...]. Thereupon unity was replaced by civil war, democracy by dictatorship, and a China full of brightness by a China covered in darkness. But the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people were neither cowed nor conquered nor exterminated. They picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went into battle again. Holding high the great standard of revolution, they rose in armed resistance and over a vast territory in China they set up people's governments, carried out land reform, built up a people's army – the Chinese Red Army – and preserved and expanded the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«You have many good qualities and have rendered great service, but you must always remember not to become conceited. You are respected by all, and quite rightly, but this easily leads to conceit. If you become conceited, if you are not modest and cease to exert yourselves, and if you do not respect others, do not respect the cadres and the masses, then you will cease to be heroes and models. There have been such people in the past, and I hope you will not follow their example.»**

«We Must Learn to Do Economic Work» (10.01.1945)

**«In the fight to wipe out the enemy and to restore and increase industrial and agricultural production, you have overcome many difficulties and hardships and demonstrated immense courage, wisdom and initiative. You are models for the whole Chinese nation, the backbone of the victorious advance of the people's cause in all**

spheres, pillars of support to the People's Government and bridges linking the People's Government with the great masses.»

«You Are Models for the Whole Nation» (25.09.1950)

«We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.»

«On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism» (27.12.1935)

«The peoples of the world must have courage, dare to fight, and fear no hardships. When the ones in front fall, the others behind must follow up. In this way, the world will belong to the people and all the demons will be eliminated.»

Directive on Cultural Revolution (01.10.1966)

«Fear neither hardship nor death.»

Quoted in Zhang Chunqiao: «A Basic Understanding of the Party» (March 1974)

«To summarize the above, suicide has no place in ethics, in psychology, in physiology, or in biology. Thus the criminal law of many nations includes prohibitions against suicide. Social custom, too, celebrates life and grieves at death, and both of these attitudes are rooted in the <principle of seeking life>.

[...]

We respect the heroic suicide<sup>iv</sup> for the following two reasons. First, because that person dares to do what others dare not do, we recognize that their spirit surpasses our own, and thus a feeling of respect arises unwittingly within us. Second, because of their spirit of rebellion against oppression, we recognize that although their body is dead, their aspirations live on (they do not actually continue to exist, but their suicide makes us feel as if they do), and the powers oppressing them are thus foiled. We derive a feeling of happiness and comfort from this, which turns into respect for the person who has committed suicide. Consequently, we respect only heroic suicides, which represent the triumph of righteousness over treachery.»

«Miss Zhao's Suicide» (November 1919)

## 23. BUILDING OUR COUNTRY THROUGH DILLIGENCE AND FRUGALITY

«We must see to it that all our cadres and all our people constantly bear in mind that ours is a big socialist country but an economically backward and poor one, and that this is a very great contradiction. To make China rich and strong needs several decades of intense effort, which will include, among other things, the effort to practice strict economy and combat waste, that is, the policy of building up our

**country through diligence and frugality.»**

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

**«Diligence and frugality should be practiced in running factories and shops and all State-owned, cooperative and other enterprises. The principle of diligence and frugality should be observed in everything. This principle of economy is one of the basic principles of socialist economics. China is a big country, but it is still very poor. It will take several decades to make China prosperous. Even then we will still have to observe the principle of diligence and frugality. But it is in the coming few decades, during the present series of five-year plans, that we must particularly advocate diligence and frugality, that we must pay special attention to economy.»**

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

**«Wherever we happen to be, we must treasure our manpower and material resources, and must not take a short view and indulge in wastefulness and extravagance. Wherever we are, from the very first year of our work we must bear in mind the many years to come, the protracted war that must be maintained, the counter-offensive, and the work of reconstruction after the enemy's expulsion. On the one hand, never be wasteful or extravagant; on the other, actively expand production. Previously, in some places people suffered a great deal because they did not take the long view and neglected economy in manpower and material resources and the expansion of production. The lesson is there and attention must be called to it.»**

«We Must Learn to Do Economic Work» (10.01.1945)

**«In order to speed up this restoration and development [of agricultural production and industrial production in small towns], we must do our utmost, in the course of our struggle for the abolition of the feudal system, to preserve all useful means of production and of livelihood, take resolute measures against anyone's destroying or wasting them, oppose extravagant eating and drinking and pay attention to thrift and economy. »**

«Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shaanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area» (01.04.1948)

**«Thrift should be the guiding principle in our government expenditure. It should be made clear to all government workers that corruption and waste are very great crimes. Our campaigns against corruption and waste have already achieved some results, but further efforts are required. Our system of accounting must be guided by the principle of saving every copper for the war effort, for the revolutionary cause and for our economic construction.»**

«Our Economic Policy» (23.01.1934)

**«A dangerous tendency has shown itself of late among many of our personnel – an unwillingness to share the joys and hardships of the masses, a concern for personal**

fame and gain. This is very bad. One way of overcoming it is to simplify our organizations in the course of our campaign to increase production and practice economy, and to transfer cadres to lower levels so that a considerable number will return to productive work.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«Production by the army for its own support has not only improved the army's living conditions and lightened the burden on the people, thereby making it possible further to expand the army. In addition, it has had many immediate side effects. They are as follows:

1. Improved relations between officers and soldiers. Officers and soldiers work together in production and become like brothers.
2. Better attitude to labour [...]. Since the army began to produce for its own support, the attitude to labour has improved and loafer ways have been overcome.
3. Strengthened discipline. Far from weakening discipline in battle and in army life, labour discipline in production actually strengthens it.
4. Improved relations between the army and the people. Once an armed force begins to <keep house> for itself, encroachments upon the property of the people seldom or never occur. As the army and the people exchange labour and help each other in production, the friendship between them is strengthened.
5. Less grumbling in the army about the government and improved relations between the two.
6. An impetus to the great production campaign of the people. Once the army engages in production, the need for government and other organizations to do likewise becomes more obvious, and they do so more energetically; also, the need for a universal campaign of the whole people to increase production naturally becomes more obvious, and this too is carried on more energetically.»

«On Production by the Army for Its Own Support and on the Importance of the Great Movements for Rectification and for Production» (27.04.1945)

«Some people say that if the army units go in for production, they will be unable to train or fight and that if the government and other organizations do so, they will be unable to do their own work. This is a false argument. In recent years our army units in the Border Region have undertaken production on a big scale to provide themselves with ample food and clothing and have simultaneously done their training and conducted their political studies and literacy and other courses much more successfully than before, and there is greater unity than ever within the army and between the army and the people. While there was a large-scale production campaign at the front last year, great successes were gained in the fighting and in addition an extensive training campaign was started. And thanks to production, the personnel of the government and other organizations live a better life and work with greater devotion and efficiency;

**this is the case both in the Border Region and at the front.»**

«We Must Learn to Do Economic Work» (10.01.1945)

## **24. SELF-RELIANCE AND ARDUOUS STRUGGLE**

**«On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts. We are not alone; all the countries and people in the world opposed to imperialism are our friends. Nevertheless, we stress regeneration through our own efforts. Relying on the forces we ourselves organize, we can defeat all Chinese and foreign reactionaries.»**

«The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan» (13.08.1945)

**«We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people.»**

«We Must Learn to Do Economic Work» (10.01.1945)

**«To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 miles [...]. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle.»**

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

**«We must thoroughly clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories through good luck, without hard and bitter struggle, without sweat and blood.»**

«Build Stable Base Areas in the North-East» (28.12.1945)

**«We should carry on constant propaganda among the people on the facts of world progress and the bright future ahead so that they will build their confidence in victory. At the same time, we must tell the people and tell our comrades that there will be twists and turns in our road, There are still many obstacles and difficulties along the road of revolution. The 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of our Party assumed that the difficulties would be many, for we preferred to assume there would be more difficulties rather than less. Some comrades do not like to think much about difficulties. But difficulties are facts; we must recognize as many difficulties as there are and should not adopt a <policy of non-recognition>. We must recognize difficulties, analyse them and combat them. There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road that twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap. It must not be imagined that one fine morning all the reactionaries will**

**go down on their knees of their own accord. In a word, while the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns. There are still many difficulties ahead that we must not overlook. By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory.»**

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

**«Anyone who sees only the bright side but not the difficulties cannot fight effectively for the accomplishment of the Party's tasks.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a marxist-leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.»**

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

**«The comrades throughout the Party must take all this fully into account and be prepared to overcome all difficulties with an indomitable will and in a planned way. The reactionary forces and we both have difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future.»**

«Greet the New High Tide of the Chinese Revolution» (01.02.1947)

**«In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage.»**

«Serve the People» (08.09.1944)

**«New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts.»**

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

**«At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, the difficulties outweigh the favorable conditions and so constitute the main aspect of the contradiction and the favorable conditions constitute the secondary aspect. But through their efforts the revolutionaries can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favorable new situation, thus a difficult situation yields place to a favorable one.»**

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and solve. We go there to work and struggle to overcome these difficulties. A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater.»

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

«There is an ancient Chinese fable called <The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains>. It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his children in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another graybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively: *<How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains.>* The Foolish Old Man replied: *<When I die, my children will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandchildren, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?>* Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. This moved God, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism and the other is feudalism. The Communist Party of China has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?»

«The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains» (11.06.1945)

«Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony.»

Quoted in Zhou Enlai: «Report to the 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (24.08.1973)

## 25. METHODS OF THINKING AND METHODS OF WORK

«The history of humanity is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. In any society in which classes exist class struggle will never end. In classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, humanity makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change, they never remain at the same level. Therefore, humanity has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong. They are wrong because they agree neither with the historical facts of social development over the past 1,000,000 years, nor with the historical facts of nature so far known to us (that is, nature as revealed in the history of celestial

**bodies, the earth, life, and other natural phenomena).»**

Quoted in Zhou Enlai: «Report on the Work of the Government to the 1<sup>st</sup> Session of the 3<sup>rd</sup> National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China» (21.-22.12.1964)

**«Natural science is one of humanity's weapons in his fight for freedom. For the purpose of attaining freedom in society, humanity must use social science to understand and change society and carry out social revolution. For the purpose of attaining freedom in the world of nature, humanity must use natural science to understand, conquer and change nature and thus attain freedom from nature.»**

«Speech at the Inaugural Meeting of the Natural Science Research Society of the Border Region» (05.02.1940)

**«The marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice.»**

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

**«Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world.»**

Ibid.

**«Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice and from it alone. They come from three kinds of social practice: the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment.»**

«Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?» (May 1963)

**«It is humanity's social being that determines its thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.»**

Ibid.

**«In their social practice, humans engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures. Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a human's brain through its five sense organs – the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, that is, to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It**

is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not. Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking, those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of humanity's struggle with nature. In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later. Humanity's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap in cognition, that is, of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth.»

Ibid.

«Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge.»

Ibid.

«Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment. [...] If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself [...]. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«Knowledge begins with practice, and theoretical knowledge, which is acquired through practice, must then return to practice. The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but – and this is more important – it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice.»

Ibid.

«It is well known that when you do anything, unless you understand its actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws governing it, or know how to do it, or be able to do it well.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

«If a person wants to succeed in their work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, they must bring their ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, they will fail in their practice. After they fail, they draw their lessons, correct their ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by <failure is the mother of success> and <a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit>.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«We are marxists, and marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts.»

«Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art» (May 1942)

«It should be observed that [people becoming the masters of the economic relations of their own society and becoming able to take hold of and apply these laws fully and consciously] requires going through a process. The understanding of laws always begins with the understanding of a minority before it becomes the knowledge of the majority. It is necessary to go through a process of practice and study to go from ignorance to knowledge. At the beginning no one has knowledge. Foreknowledge has never existed. People must go through practice to gain results, meet with failure as problems arise; only through such a process can knowledge gradually advance. If you want to know the objective laws of the development of things and events you must go through the process of practice, adopt a marxist-leninist attitude, compare successes and failures, continually practicing and studying, going through multiple successes and failures; moreover, meticulous research must be performed. There is no other way to make one's own knowledge gradually conform to the laws. For those who see only victory but not defeat it will not be possible to know these laws.»

«Reading Notes on the Soviet Textbook *Political Economy*» (1961-62)

«Starting from fundamental principles and rules is not the marxist method.

From the second chapter on a great many rules are set up. The analysis of capitalist economy in <Capital> commences with appearances, searches out essences, and only then uses the essence to explain the appearance, making through this method effective summaries and outlines. But the text does not pursue an analysis. Its composition lacks order. It always proceeds from rules, principles, laws, definitions, a methodology marxism-leninism has always opposed. The effects of principles and laws

must be subjected to analysis and thorough study; only then can principles and laws be derived. Human knowledge always encounters appearances first. Proceeding from there, one searches out principles and laws. The text does the opposite. Its methodology is deductive, not analytical. According to formal logic: *People all will die. Mr. Chang is a person. Therefore Mr. Chang will die.* This is a conclusion derived from the premise that all human beings die. This is the deductive method. For every question the text first gives definitions, which it then takes as a major premise and reasons from there, failing to understand that the major premise should be the result of researching a question. Not until one has gone through the concrete research can principles and laws be discovered and proved.»

Ibid.

«The most fundamental method of work, which all communists must firmly bear in mind, is to determine our working policies according to actual conditions. When we study the causes of the mistakes we have made, we find that they all arose because we departed from the actual situation at a given time and place and were subjective in determining our working policies.»

«Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shaanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area» (01.04.1948)

«Idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world, because people can talk as much nonsense as they like without basing it on objective reality or having it tested against reality. Materialism and dialectics, on the other hand, need effort. They must be based on and tested by objective reality. Unless one makes the effort one is liable to slip into idealism and metaphysics.»

«Preface and Editor's Notes to *Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique*» (May-June 1955)

«[...] dogma is less useful than cow shit. One can make whatever one likes out of it, even revisionism [...].»

«Interview with André Malraux» (July 1965)

«When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold, and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis.»

«A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire» (05.01.1930)

«The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. This internal contradiction exists in every single thing, hence its motion and development. Contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its interrelations and interactions with other things are secondary causes.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«[Materialist dialectics] holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. In a suitable temperature an egg changes into a chicken, but no temperature can change a stone into a chicken, because each has a different basis.»

Ibid.

«Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in human thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«The analytical method is dialectical. By analysis, we mean analyzing the contradictions in things. And sound analysis is impossible without intimate knowledge of life and without real understanding of the pertinent contradictions.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«Concrete analysis of concrete conditions, Lenin said, is <the most essential thing in marxism, the living soul of marxism>. Lacking an analytical approach, many of our comrades do not want to go deeply into complex matters, to analyse and study them over and over again, but like to draw simple conclusions which are either absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative [...]. From now on we should remedy this state of affairs.»

«Our Study and the Current Situation» (12.04.1944)

«The way these comrades look at problems is wrong. They do not look at the essential or main aspects but emphasize the non-essential or minor ones. It should be pointed out that these non-essential or minor aspects must not be overlooked and must be dealt with one by one. But they should not be taken as the essential or main aspects, or we will lose our bearings.»

«On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation» (31.07.1955)

«In this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors. We should look at problems from different aspects, not from just one.»

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

«Only those who are subjective, one-sided and superficial in their approach to

problems will smugly issue orders or directives the moment they arrive on the scene, without considering the circumstances, without viewing things in their totality (their history and their present state as a whole) and without getting to the essence of things (their nature and the internal relations between one thing and another). Such people are bound to trip and fall.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«In studying a problem, we must shun subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality. To be subjective means not to look at problems objectively, that is, not to use the materialist viewpoint in looking at problems. I have discussed this in my essay <On Practice>. To be one-sided means not to look at problems all-sidedly [...]. Or it may be called seeing the part but not the whole, seeing the trees but not the forest. That way it is impossible to find the method for resolving a contradiction, it is impossible to accomplish the tasks of the revolution, to carry out assignments well or to develop inner-Party ideological struggle correctly. When Sunzi said in discussing military science: *<Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat>*, he was referring to the two sides in a battle. Wei Cheng of the Tang Dynasty also understood the error of one-sidedness when he said: *<Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened, heed only one side and you will be benighted.>* But our comrades often look at problems one-sidedly, and so they often run into snags. [...] Lenin said: [...] in order really to know an object we must embrace, study, all its sides, all connections and <mediations>. We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sidedness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity. We should remember his words. To be superficial means to consider neither the characteristics of a contradiction in its totality nor the characteristics of each of its aspects; it means to deny the necessity for probing deeply into a thing and minutely studying the characteristics of its contradiction, but instead merely to look from afar and, after glimpsing the rough outline, immediately to try to resolve the contradiction (to answer a question, settle a dispute, handle work, or direct a military operation). This way of doing things is bound to lead to trouble. [...] To be one-sided and superficial is at the same time to be subjective. For all objective things are actually interconnected and are governed by inner laws, but, instead of undertaking the task of reflecting things as they really are, some people only look at things one-sidedly or superficially and know neither their interconnections nor their inner laws, and so their method is subjectivist.»

Ibid.

«One-sidedness means thinking in terms of absolutes, that is, a metaphysical approach to problems. In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to regard everything either as all positive or as all negative. [...] To regard everything as positive is to see only the good and not the bad, and to tolerate only praise and no criticism. To talk as though our work is good in every respect is at variance with the facts. It is not true that everything is good; there are still shortcomings and mistakes. But neither is it true that everything is bad, and that, too, is at variance with the facts. Here analysis is necessary. To negate everything is to think, without having made any

analysis, that nothing has been done well and that the great work of socialist construction, the great struggle in which hundreds of millions of people are participating, is a complete mess with nothing in it worth commending. Although there is a difference between the many people who hold such views and those who are hostile to the socialist system, these views are very mistaken and harmful and can only dishearten people. It is wrong to appraise our work either from the viewpoint that everything is positive, or from the viewpoint that everything is negative.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«In approaching a problem a marxist should see the whole as well as the parts. A frog in a well says: *«The sky is no bigger than the mouth of the well.»* That is untrue, for the sky is not just the size of the mouth of the well. If it said: *«A part of the sky is the size of the mouth of a well»*, that would be true, for it tallies with the facts.»

«On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism» (27.12.1935)

«We must learn to look at problems all-sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also – and indeed must – recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«In seeking victory, those who direct a war cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the objective conditions. Within these limitations, however, they can and must play a dynamic role in striving for victory. The stage of action for commanders in a war must be built upon objective possibilities, but on that stage they can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and color, power and grandeur.»

«On Protracted War» (May 1938)

«People must adapt their thinking to the changed conditions. Of course no one should go off into wild flights of fancy, or make plans of action unwarranted by the objective situation, or stretch for the impossible. The problem today, however, is that Rightist conservative thinking is still causing mischief in many spheres and preventing the work in these spheres from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation. The present problem is that many people consider it impossible to

**accomplish things that could be accomplished if they exerted themselves.»**

«Prefaces to *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

**«We should always use our brains and think everything over carefully. A common saying goes: <Knit your brows and you will hit upon a stratagem.> In other words much thinking yields wisdom. In order to get rid of the blindness that exists to a serious extent in our Party, we must encourage our comrades to think, to learn the method of analysis and to cultivate the habit of analysis.»**

«Our Study and the Current Situation» (12.04.1944)

**«If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the main contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this main contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved.»**

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

**«Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be main and the other secondary. The main aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction. The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the main aspect of a contradiction, the aspect that has gained the dominant position. But this situation is not static; the main and the non-main aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other and the nature of the thing changes accordingly.»**

Ibid.

**«It is not enough to set tasks; we must also solve the problem of the methods for carrying them out. If our task is to cross a river, we cannot cross it without a bridge or a boat. Unless the bridge or boat problem is solved, it is idle to speak of crossing the river. Unless the problem of method is solved, talk about the task is useless.»**

«Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work» (27.01.1934)

**«In any task, if no general and widespread call is issued, the broad masses cannot be mobilized for action. But if persons in directing positions confine themselves to a general call – if they do not personally, in some of the organizations, go deeply and concretely into the work called for, make a break-through at some single point, gain experience and use this experience for guiding other units – then they will have no way of testing the correctness or of enriching the content of their general call, and there is the danger that nothing may come of it.»**

«Some Questions Concerning Methods of Directorship» (01.06.1943)

«No one in a directing position is competent to give general guidance to all the units unless they derive concrete experience from particular individuals and events in particular subordinate units. This method must be promoted everywhere so that directors at all levels learn to apply it.»

Ibid.

«In any given place, there cannot be a number of central tasks at the same time. At any one time there can be only one central task, supplemented by other tasks of a second or third order of importance. Consequently, the person with over-all responsibility in the locality must take into account the history and circumstances of the struggle there and put the different tasks in their proper order; they should not act upon each instruction as it comes from the higher organization without any planning of their own, and thereby create a multitude of <central tasks> and a state of confusion and disorder. Nor should a higher organization simultaneously assign many tasks to a lower organization without indicating their relative importance and urgency or without specifying which is central, for that will lead to confusion in the steps to be taken by the lower organizations in their work and thus no definite results will be achieved. It is part of the art of directorship to take the whole situation into account and plan accordingly in the light of the historical conditions and existing circumstances of each locality, decide correctly on the center of gravity and the sequence of the work for each period, steadfastly carry through the decision, and make sure that definite results are achieved.»

Ibid.

«It [a regional or sub-regional bureau of the Central Committee of the Party] should constantly have a grip on the progress of the work, exchange experience and correct mistakes; it should not wait several months, half a year or a year before holding summing-up meetings for a general check-up and a general correction of mistakes. Waiting leads to great loss, while correcting mistakes as soon as they occur reduces loss.»

«On the Policy Concerning Industry and Commerce» (27.02.1948)

«Don't wait until problems pile up and cause a lot of trouble before trying to solve them. Directors must march ahead of the movement, not lag behind it.»

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

«What we need is an enthusiastic but calm state of mind and intense but orderly work.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

## 26. INVESTIGATION AND STUDY

«No investigation, no right to speak.

Unless you have investigated a problem, you will be deprived of the right to speak on it. Isn't that too harsh? Not in the least. When you have not probed into a problem, into the present facts and its past history, and know nothing of its essentials, whatever you say about it will undoubtedly be nonsense. Talking nonsense solves no problems, as everyone knows, so why is it unjust to deprive you of the right to speak? Quite a few comrades always keep their eyes shut and talk nonsense, and for a communist that is disgraceful. How can a communist keep their eyes shut and talk nonsense?

It won't do!

You must investigate!

You must not talk nonsense!»

«Oppose Dogmatism» (May 1930)

«Everyone engaged in practical work must investigate conditions at the lower levels. Such investigation is especially necessary for those who know theory but do not know the actual conditions, for otherwise they will not be able to link theory with practice. Although my assertion: <No investigation no right to speak>, has been ridiculed as <narrow empiricism>, to this day I do not regret having made it; far from regretting it, I still insist that without investigation there cannot possibly be any right to speak. There are many people who <the moment they alight from the official carriage> make a hullabaloo, spout opinions, criticize this and condemn that; but, in fact, ten out of ten of them will meet with failure. For such views or criticisms, which are not based on thorough investigation, are nothing but ignorant twaddle. Countless times our Party suffered at the hands of these <imperial envoys>, who rushed here, there and everywhere. Stalin rightly says <theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice>. And he rightly adds that <practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory>. Nobody should be labeled a <narrow empiricist> except the <practical person> who gropes in the dark and lacks perspective and foresight.»

Preface to «Rural Surveys» (17.03.1941)

«To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. <Facts> are all the things that exist objectively, <truth> means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and <to seek> means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws that are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of marxism-leninism, draw correct conclusions from it.»

«Reform Our Study» (May 1941)

«To behave like *<a blindfolded person catching sparrows>*, or *<a blind person groping for fish>*, to be crude and careless, to indulge in verbiage, to rest content with a smattering of knowledge – such is the extremely bad style of work that still exists among many comrades in our Party, a style utterly opposed to the fundamental spirit of marxism-leninism. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that it is necessary to study conditions conscientiously and to proceed from objective reality and not from subjective wishes; however, many of our comrades act in direct violation of this truth.»

Ibid.

«You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it. Conclusions invariably come after investigation, and not before. Only a blockhead cudgels their brains on their own, or together with a group, to *<find a solution>* or *<evolve an idea>* without making any investigation. It must be stressed that this cannot possibly lead to any effective solution or any good idea.»

«Oppose Dogmatism» (May 1930)

«Investigation may be likened to the long months of pregnancy, and solving a problem to the day of birth. To investigate a problem is, indeed, to solve it.»

Ibid.

«[With the marxist-leninist attitude,] a person applies the theory and method of marxism-leninism to the systematic and thorough investigation and study of the environment. They do not work by enthusiasm alone but, as Stalin says, combine revolutionary sweep with practicalness.»

«Reform Our Study» (May 1941)

«The only way to know conditions is to make social investigations, to investigate the conditions of each social class in real life. For those charged with directing work, the basic method for knowing conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan and, using the fundamental viewpoint of marxism, that is, the method of class analysis, make a number of thorough investigations.»

Preface to «Rural Surveys» (17.03.1941)

«A fact-finding meeting need not be large; from three to five or seven or eight people are enough. Ample time must be allowed and an outline for the investigation must be prepared; furthermore, one must personally ask questions, take notes and have discussions with those at the meeting. Therefore one certainly cannot make an investigation, or do it well, without zeal, a determination to direct one's eyes downward and a thirst for knowledge, and without shedding the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and becoming a willing pupil.»

Ibid.

«A commander's correct dispositions stem from their correct decisions, their correct decisions stem from their correct judgements, and their correct judgements stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance. They apply all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, and ponder on the information gathered about the enemy's situation, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside; then, they take the conditions on their own side into account, and makes a study of both sides and their interrelations, thereby forming their judgements, making up their mind and working out their plans. Such is the complete process of knowing a situation that a soldier goes through before they formulate a strategic plan, a campaign plan or a battle plan.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

## 27. CORRECTING MISTAKEN IDEAS

«Even if we achieve gigantic successes in our work, there is no reason whatsoever to feel conceited and arrogant. Modesty helps one to go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind.»

«Opening Address at the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (15.09.1956)

«With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party – arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation.»

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

«Many things may become baggage, may become encumbrances if we cling to them blindly and uncritically. Let us take some illustrations. Having made mistakes, you may feel that, come what may, you are saddled with them and so become dispirited; if you have not made mistakes, you may feel that you are free from error and so become conceited. Lack of achievement in work may breed pessimism and depression, while achievement may breed pride and arrogance. A comrade with a short record of struggle may shirk responsibility on this account, while a veteran may become opinionated because of his long record of struggle. Worker and peasant comrades, because of pride in their class

origin, may look down upon intellectuals, while intellectuals, because they have a certain amount of knowledge, may look down upon worker and peasant comrades. Any specialized skill may be capitalized on and so may lead to arrogance and contempt of others. Even one's age may become ground for conceit. The young, because they are bright and capable, may look down upon the old; and the old, because they are rich in experience, may look down upon the young. All such things become encumbrances or baggage if there is no critical awareness.»

«Our Study and the Current Situation» (12.04.1944)

«Some comrades in the army have become arrogant and high-handed in their behavior towards the soldiers, the people, the government and the Party, always blaming the comrades doing local work but never themselves, always seeing their own achievements but never their own shortcomings, and always welcoming flattery but never criticism [...] the army must endeavor to eradicate these faults.»

«Get Organized!» (29.11.1943)

«Hard work is like a load placed before us, challenging us to shoulder it. Some loads are light, some heavy. Some people prefer the light to the heavy; they pick the light and shove the heavy on to others. That is not a good attitude. Some comrades are different; they leave ease and comfort to others and take the heavy loads themselves; they are the first to bear hardships the last to enjoy comforts. They are good comrades. We should all learn from their communist spirit.»

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

«There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light to the heavy, shoving the heavy loads on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know. They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people but are cold, indifferent and apathetic. In fact such people are not communists, or at least cannot be counted as true communists.»

«In Memory of Norman Bethune» (21.12.1939)

«Those who assert this kind of <independence> are usually wedded to the doctrine of <me first> and are generally wrong on the question of the relationship between the individual and the Party. Although in words they profess respect for the Party, in practice they put themselves first and the Party second. What are these people after? They are after fame and position and want to be in the limelight. Whenever they are put in charge of a branch of work, they assert their <independence>. With this aim, they draw some people in, push others out and resort to boasting, flattery and touting among the comrades, thus importing the vulgar style of the bourgeois political parties into the Communist Party. It is their dishonesty that causes them to come to grief. I believe we should do things honestly, for without an honest attitude it is absolutely

**impossible to accomplish anything in this world.»**

«Rectify the Party's Style of Work» (01.02.1942)

«[Communists] must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for the part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a whole, again the part must give way to the whole. This is what is meant by considering the situation as a whole.»

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«Pleasure-seeking. In the Red Army there are also quite a few people whose individualism finds expression in pleasure seeking. They always hope that their unit will march into big cities. They want to go there not to work but to enjoy themselves. The last thing they want is to work in the Red areas where life is hard.»

«On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party» (December 1929)

«We must oppose the tendency towards selfish departmentalism by which the interests of one's own unit are looked after to the exclusion of those of others. Whoever is indifferent to the difficulties of others, refuses to transfer cadres to other units on request, or releases only the inferior ones, *using the neighbor's field as an outlet for their overflow*, and does not give the slightest consideration to other departments, localities or people – such a person is a selfish departmentalist who has entirely lost the spirit of communism. Lack of consideration for the whole and complete indifference to other departments, localities and people are characteristics of a selfish departmentalist. We must intensify our efforts to educate such persons and to make them understand that selfish departmentalism is a sectarian tendency that will become very dangerous, if allowed to develop.»

«Rectify the Party's Style of Work» (01.02.1942)

«Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because they are an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop them or reason with them, but to allow them to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along – *«So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell.»* This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type.»

«Combat Liberalism» (07.09.1937)

«Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which the Party directs. It is an extremely bad tendency.»

Ibid.

«People who are liberals look upon the principles of marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of marxism, but are not prepared to practice it or to practice it in full;

they are not prepared to replace their liberalism by marxism. These people have their marxism, but they have their liberalism as well – they talk marxism but practice liberalism; they apply marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.»

Ibid.

«The people's State protects the people. Only when the people have such a State can they educate and remold themselves by democratic methods on a country-wide scale, with everyone taking part, and shake off the influence of domestic and foreign reactionaries (which is still very strong, will survive for a long time and cannot be quickly destroyed), rid themselves of the bad habits and ideas acquired in the old society, not allow themselves to be led astray by the reactionaries, and continue to advance – to advance towards a socialist and communist society.»

«On the People's Democratic Dictatorship» (30.06.1949)

«It is not hard for one to do a bit of good. What is hard is to do good all one's life and never do anything bad, to act consistently in the interests of the broad masses, the young people and the revolution, and to engage in arduous struggle for decades on end. That is the hardest thing of all!»

«Message of Greetings on the 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Wu Yuzhang» (15.01.1940)

## 28. UNITY

«Without democracy there cannot be correct concentration, because it is impossible to establish centralism when people have divergent views and don't have unity in thinking. What is meant by concentration? First, there must be concentration of correct ideas. Unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action is attained on the basis of concentrating correct ideas. This is unity through concentration.»

«Talk at a Working Conference Convened by the 8<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (30.01.1962)

«The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities – these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«It is only through the unity of the Communist Party that the unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved, and it is only through the unity of the whole class and the whole nation that the enemy can be defeated and the national and democratic revolution accomplished.»

«Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front» (07.05.1937)

«We shall solidly unite all the forces of our Party on democratic-centralist principles of organization and discipline. We shall unite with any comrade if they abide by the Party's Programme, Constitution and decisions.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula <unity → criticism → unity>. To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. In our experience this is the correct method of resolving contradictions among the people.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«[Our] army has achieved remarkable unity in its own ranks and with those outside its ranks. Internally, there is unity between officers and soldiers, between the higher and lower ranks, and between military work, political work and rear service work; and externally, there is unity between the army and the people, between the army and government organizations, and between our army and the friendly armies. It is imperative to overcome anything that impairs this unity.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«*The Internationale* says we must unite until the day comes when communism will certainly be realized. If you study marxism you will see that it teaches unity and not splitting. We have been singing *The Internationale* for 50 years but people have tried to split our Party ten times. I think it possible that they will do it another ten times, or 20 times, or 30 times. You don't believe it? Maybe you don't but I do. When we reach communism will there be no struggles? I don't believe that either. When we reach communism there will still be struggles, but they will be between the new and the old, the correct and the incorrect, that is all. After tens of millennia have passed by, the incorrect will still be no good and will fail.»

«Talks with Responsible Comrades at Various Places During Provincial Tour» (From the Middle of August to 12.09.1971)

## 29. DISCIPLINE

«Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

1. The individual is subordinate to the organization.
2. The minority is subordinate to the majority.
3. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
4. The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity.»

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.»

«On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party» (December 1939)

«The <Three Main Rules of Discipline> are as follows:

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take a single needle piece of thread from the masses.
3. Turn in everything captured.

The <Eight Points for Attention> are as follows:

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage crops.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. Do not ill-treat captives.»

«On the Reissue of the <Three Main Rules of Discipline> and the <Eight Points for Attention>» (10.10.1947)

«[All officers and soldiers of our army] must heighten their sense of discipline and resolutely carry out orders, carry out our policy, carry out the <Three Main Rules of Discipline> and the <Eight Points for Attention> – with army and people united, army and government united, officers and soldiers united, and the whole army united – and permit no breach of discipline.»

«Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army» (October 1947)

### 30. CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

«The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, nor hesitating to criticize us communists and give us their suggestions. *<The one who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor>* – this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.»

Ibid.

«We have the marxist-leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good.»

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

«Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb *<Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worm-eaten>* means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as *<Say all you know and say it without reserve>*, *<Blame not the speaker but be warned by their words>* and *<Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not>* – this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.»

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

«Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the

Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon. But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.»

«Combat Liberalism» (07.09.1937)

«In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, <learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones>, and second, <cure the sickness to save the patient>. The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by <learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones>. But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor them to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes their appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide their sickness for fear of treatment or persist in their mistakes until they are beyond cure, so long as they honestly and sincerely wish to be cured and to mend their ways, we should welcome them and cure their sickness so that they can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go and lash out at them. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of <curing the sickness to save the patient>, which is the only correct and effective method.»

«Rectify the Party's Style of Work» (01.02.1942)

«Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.»

«On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party» (December 1929)

**«In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should be based on facts and criticism should stress the political side.»**

Ibid.

**«Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attack. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of small-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.»**

Ibid.

**«If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If they are right, we will correct them. If what they propose will benefit the people, we will act upon it.»**

«Serve the People» (08.09.1941)

**«As we Chinese communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms? Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them – can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.»**

«Get Organized!» (29.11.1943)

**«As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.»**

«On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation» (31.07.1955)

**«Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.»**

«On the People's Democratic Dictatorship» (30.06.1949)

### **31. COMMUNISTS**

**«A communist should have largeness of mind and they should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as their very life and subordinating their personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere they should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; they should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about themselves. Only thus can they be considered a communist.»**

«Combat Liberalism» (07.09.1937)

**«Every comrade must be brought to understand that the supreme test of the words and deeds of a communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«At no time and in no circumstances should a communist place their personal interests first; they should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.»**

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

**«Communists must be ready at all times to stand up for the truth, because truth is in the interests of the people; communists must be ready at all times to correct their mistakes, because mistakes are against the interests of the people.»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«Communists must always go into the why's and wherefore's of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness.»**

«Rectify the Party's Style of Work» (01.02.1942)

**«We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every**

**Party member, every branch of work, every statement and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole Party; it is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle.»**

Ibid.

**«Communists should set an example in being practical as well as far-sighted. For only by being practical can they fulfil the appointed tasks, and only far-sightedness can prevent them from losing their bearings in the march forward.»**

«The Role of Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

**«Communists should be the most farsighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations, and should rely on the majority of the masses and win their support.»**

«The Tasks of the Communist Party of China in the Period of Resistance to Japan» (03.05.1937)

**«Communists should set an example in study; at all times they should be pupils of the masses as well as their teachers.»**

«The Role of Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

**«Every communist working in the mass movements should be a friend of the masses and not a boss over them, an indefatigable teacher and not a bureaucratic politician.»**

Ibid.

**«Communists must never separate themselves from the majority of the people or neglect them by directing only a few progressive contingents in an isolated and rash advance, but must take care to forge close links between the progressive elements and the broad masses. This is what thinking in terms of the majority means.»**

Ibid.

**«We communists are like seeds and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go, we must unite with the people, take root and blossom among them.»**

«On the Chongqing Negotiations» (17.10.1945)

**«We communists must be able to integrate ourselves with the masses in all things. If our Party members spend their whole lives sitting indoors and never go out to face the world and brave the storm, what good will they be to the Chinese people? None at all, and we do not need such people as Party members. We communists ought to face the world and brave the storm the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle.»**

«Get Organized!» (29.11.1943)

«The exemplary vanguard role of the communists is of vital importance. Communists in the 8<sup>th</sup> Route and New 4<sup>th</sup> Armies should set an example in fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work and fostering internal unity and solidarity.»

«The Role of Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«A Communist must never be opinionated or domineering, thinking that they are good in everything while others are good in nothing; they must never shut themselves up in their little room, or brag and boast and lord it over others.»

«Speech at the Assembly of Representatives of the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region» (21.11.1941)

«Communists must listen attentively to the views of people outside the Party and let them have their say. If what they say is right, we ought to welcome it, and we should learn from their strong points; if it is wrong, we should let them finish what they are saying and then patiently explain things to them.»

Ibid.

«The attitude of communists towards any person who has made mistakes in their work should be one of persuasion in order to help them change and start afresh and not one of exclusion, unless they are incorrigible.»

«The Role of Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«As for people who are politically backward, communists should not slight or despise them, but should befriend them, unite with them, convince them and encourage them to go forward.»

Ibid.

«The revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, the Titoite clique of Yugoslavia and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades are mere dust heaps in comparison, while you, a lofty mountain, tower to the skies. They are flunkeys and accomplices of imperialism before which they prostrate themselves, while you are dauntless proletarian revolutionaries who dare to fight imperialism and its lackeys, fight the world's tyrannical enemies.»

«Message of Greetings to the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania» (November 1966)

## 32. CADRES

«In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their color, we must

not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution. In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the marxist-leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the directorship of our Party and State will remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by marxism-leninism, or, in other words, whether or not we can successfully prevent the emergence of Khrushchev's revisionism in China. In short, it is an extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for 100, 1,000, nay 10,000 years. Basing themselves on the changes in the Soviet Union, the imperialist prophets are pinning their hopes of <peaceful evolution> on the third or fourth generation of the Chinese Party. We must shatter these imperialist prophecies. From our highest organizations down to the grass-roots, we must everywhere give constant attention to the training and upbringing of successors to the revolutionary cause.

What are the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat? They must be genuine marxist-leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchev wearing the cloak of marxism-leninism. They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchev who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction. They must be proletarian politicians capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchev and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the State at any level. They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of directorship based on the principle of <from the masses, to the masses>, and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchev and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially. They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchev, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others. Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution. It is essential to test and judge cadres and choose and train successors in the long course of mass struggle.»

Quoted in *People's Daily* and *The Red Flag*: «On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World» (14.07.1964)

«Our Party organizations must be extended all over the country and we must

purposefully train tens of thousands of cadres and hundreds of first-rate mass directors. They must be cadres and directors versed in marxism-leninism, politically far-sighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in the midst of difficulties and loyal and devoted in serving the nation, the class and the Party. It is on these cadres and directors that the Party relies for its links with the membership and the masses, and it is by relying on their firm directorship of the masses that the Party can succeed in defeating the enemy. Such cadres and directors must be free from selfishness, from individualistic heroism, ostentation, sloth, passivity, and arrogant sectarianism, and they must be selfless national and class heroes; such are the qualities and the style of work demanded of the members, cadres and directors of our Party.»

«Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front» (07.05.1937)

«Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined. Therefore, it is our fighting task to train large numbers of new cadres in a planned way.»

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«The criterion the Communist Party should apply in its cadres policy is whether or not a cadre is resolute in carrying out the Party line, keeps to Party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to find their bearings independently, and are active, hardworking and unselfish. This is what <appointing people on their merit> means.»

Ibid.

«It is necessary to maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. The cadres of our Party and State are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism.»

Quoted in *People's Daily* and *The Red Flag*: «On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World» (14.07.1964)

«We must know how to judge cadres. We must not confine our judgement to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life, but should consider their life and work as a whole. This is the main method of judging cadres.»

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«We must know how to use cadres well. In the final analysis, directorship involves two main responsibilities: to work out ideas, and to use cadres well. Such things as drawing up plans, making decisions, and giving orders and directives, are all in the category of <working out ideas>. To put the ideas into practice, we must weld the

cadres together and encourage them to go into action; this comes into the category of <using the cadres well>.»

Ibid.

«We must know how to take good care of cadres. There are several ways of doing so.

First, give them guidance. This means allowing them a free hand in their work so that they have the courage to assume responsibility and, at the same time, giving them timely instructions so that, guided by the Party's political line, they are able to make full use of their initiative.

Second, raise their level. This means educating them by giving them the opportunity to study so that they can enhance their theoretical understanding and their working ability.

Third, check up on their work, and help them sum up their experience, carry forward their achievements and correct their mistakes. To assign work without checking up and to take notice only when serious mistakes are made – that is not the way to take care of cadres.

Fourth, in general, use the method of persuasion with cadres who have made mistakes, and help them correct their mistakes. The method of struggle should be confined to those who make serious mistakes and nevertheless refuse to accept guidance. Here patience is essential. It is wrong lightly to label people <opportunists> or lightly to begin <waging struggles> against them.

Fifth, help them with their difficulties. When cadres are in difficulty as a result of illness, straitened means or domestic or other troubles, we must be sure to give them as much care as possible.

This is how to take good care of cadres.»

Ibid.

«A directing group that is genuinely united and is linked with the masses can gradually be formed only in the process of mass struggle, and not in isolation from it. In the process of a great struggle, the composition of the directing group in most cases should not and cannot remain entirely unchanged throughout the initial, middle and final stages; the activists who come forward in the course of the struggle must constantly be promoted to replace those original members of the directing group who are inferior by comparison or who have degenerated.»

«Some Questions Concerning Methods of Directorship» (01.06.1943)

«If our Party does not have a great many new cadres working in unity and cooperation with the old cadres, our cause will come to a stop. All old cadres, therefore, should welcome the new ones with the utmost enthusiasm and show them the warmest solicitude. True, new cadres have their shortcomings. They have not been long in the revolution

and lack experience, and unavoidably some have brought with them vestiges of the unwholesome ideology of the old society, remnants of the ideology of small-bourgeois individualism. But such shortcomings can be gradually eliminated through education and tempering in the revolution. The strong point of the new cadres, as Stalin has said, is that they are acutely sensitive to what is new and are therefore enthusiastic and active to a high degree – the very qualities which some of the old cadres lack. Cadres, new and old, should respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from each other's strong points, so as to unite as one in the common cause and guard against sectarian tendencies.»

«Rectify the Party's Style of Work» (01.02.1942)

«Our concern should extend to non-Party cadres as well as to Party cadres. There are many capable people outside the Party whom we must not ignore. The duty of every communist is to rid himself of aloofness and arrogance and to work well with non-Party cadres, give them sincere help, have a warm, comradely attitude towards them and enlist their initiative in the great cause of resisting Japan and reconstructing the nation.»

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

### 33. YOUTH

«Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to one sentence: <It's right to rebel.> For thousands of years, it has been said that it was right to oppress, that it was right to exploit and that it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed with the appearance of marxism. This is a great contribution. It was through struggle that the proletariat learned this truth, and Marx drew the conclusion. And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.»

«It's Right to Rebel!» (21.12.1939)

«The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the Sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you. The world belongs to you. China's future belongs to you.»

«Talk at a Meeting with Chinese Students and Trainees in Moscow» (17.11.1957)

«We must help all our young people to understand that ours is still a very poor country, that we cannot change this situation radically in a short time, and that only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people, working with their own hands, can China be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades. The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«Because of their lack of political and social experience, quite a number of young people are unable to see the contrast between the old China and the new, and it is not easy for them thoroughly to comprehend the hardships our people went through in the struggle to free themselves from the oppression of the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, or the long period of arduous work needed before a happy socialist society can be established. That is why we must constantly carry on lively and effective political education among the masses and should always tell them the truth about the difficulties that crop up and discuss with them how to surmount these difficulties.»

Ibid.

«The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism. We hope that the local Party organizations in various places will help and work with the Youth League organizations and go into the question of bringing into full play the energy of our youth in particular. The Party organizations should not treat them in the same way as everybody else and ignore their special characteristics. Of course, the young people should learn from the old and other adults, and should strive as much as possible to engage in all sorts of useful activities with their agreement.»

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

«How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the broad masses of workers and peasants and do so in practice. If they are willing to do so and actually do so, they are a revolutionary; otherwise they are a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today they integrate themselves with the masses of workers and peasants, then today they are a revolutionary; if tomorrow they cease to do so or turn round to oppress the common people, then they become a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.»

«The Orientation of the Youth Movement» (04.05.1939)

«Since their task is to serve the masses of workers and peasants, the intellectuals must, first and foremost, know them and be familiar with their life, work and ideas. We encourage the intellectuals to go among the masses, to go to factories and villages.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«If the intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and make friends with them, the marxism they have learned from books can become truly their own.»

Ibid.

«The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles, or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them. Hence although the mass of revolutionary intellectuals in China can play a vanguard role or serve as a link with the masses, not all of them will remain revolutionaries to the end. Some will drop out of the revolutionary ranks at critical moments and become passive, while a few may even become enemies of the revolution. The intellectuals can overcome their shortcomings only in mass struggles over a long period.»

«The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China» (December 1939)

«In China, it was among the intellectuals and young students that marxist-leninist ideology was first widely disseminated and accepted. The revolutionary forces cannot be successfully organized and revolutionary work cannot be successfully conducted without the participation of revolutionary intellectuals.»

Ibid.

«The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. The upsurge of the student movement will inevitably promote an upsurge of the whole people's movement.»

«The Chiang Kai-shek Government Is Besieged by the Whole People» (30.05.1947)

«Apart from continuing to act in coordination with the Party in its central task, the Youth League should do its own work to suit the special characteristics of youth. New China must care for its youth and show concern for the growth of the younger generation. Young people have to study and work, but they are at the age of physical growth. Therefore, full attention must be paid both to their work and study and to their recreation, sport and rest.»

«The Youth League in Its Work Must Take the Characteristics of Youth Into Consideration» (30.06.1953)

«It is necessary to train a great many people as vanguards of the revolution. People who are politically far-sighted. People imbued with the spirit of struggle and self-sacrifice. People with largeness of mind who are loyal, active and upright. People who never pursue selfish interests, but are wholeheartedly for the liberation of the nation and society. People who fear no difficulties, but remain steadfast and advance courageously in the face of difficulties. People who are neither high and mighty nor seekers after the limelight, but are conscientious and full of practical sense. If China has large numbers of such vanguards, the tasks of the Chinese revolution can be successfully accomplished.»

Quoted in the *Liberation Army Daily*: «Resolutely Support and Care for the Broad Masses of the Left» (30.08.1967)

## 34. WOMEN

«A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority [political authority, family authority and religious authority] [...]. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three systems of authority, they are also dominated by the men (the authority of the husband). These four authorities – political, family, religious and masculine – are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants. How the peasants have overthrown the political authority of the landlords in the countryside has been described above. The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority. With that overturned the family authority, the religious authority and the authority of the husband all begin to totter [...]. As to the authority of the husband, this has always been weaker among the poor peasants because, out of economic necessity, their womenfolk have to do more manual labour than the women of the richer classes and therefore have more say and greater power of decision in family matters. With the increasing bankruptcy of the rural economy in recent years, the basis for men's domination over women has already been undermined. With the rise of the peasant movement, the women in many places have now begun to organize rural women's associations; the opportunity has come for them to lift up their heads, and the authority of the husband is getting shakier every day. In a word, the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system is tottering with the growth of the peasants' power.»

«Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan» (March 1927)

«The relationship between men and women should, according to the contemporary view, center on <love>, and apart from love, must not be governed by <economics>. Thus the contemporary position is, <Each is economically independent, sharing the fruits of love.> Before modern times, this was not the case. No one knew of the principle <Love is sacred>. In the relationship between men and women, love was considered to be only secondary, while the core relationship remained economic, and was thus controlled by capitalism. In antiquity, eating was a simple affair. People picked fruit and caught wild animals and fish, and were easily satisfied. Men and women were equals, and economically women asked nothing of men and men asked nothing of women. Men and women sought of each other only <love>. Thus woman sometimes, on the contrary, used her physiological strengths (physiologists say that in sexual physiology women are stronger than men) to control men. Later, as population increased, and food supplies became inadequate, the competition for survival made it necessary to emphasize work, and with this arrived the terrible age in which women became subjugated to men.

In doing physical labor, women are not inherently inferior to men, but because women cannot work during the period of childbearing, men took advantage of this weakness, exploited this single flaw, made <submission> the condition of exchange and used <food> to shut them up. This then is the general cause that has kept women subjugated and unable to emancipate themselves.»

«Miss Zhao's Suicide» (November 1919)

**«Unite and take part in production and political activity to improve the economic and political status of women.»**

Inscription for the Magazine *Women of New China*, Printed in Its First Issue (20.07.1949)

**«Protect the interests of the youth, women and children – provide assistance to young students who cannot afford to continue their studies, help the youth and women to organize in order to participate on an equal footing in all work useful to the war effort and to social progress, ensure freedom of marriage and equality as between men and women, and give young people and children a useful education [...].»**

«On Coalition Government» (24.04.1945)

**«[In agricultural production] our fundamental task is to adjust the use of labour power in an organized way and to encourage women to do farm work.»**

«Our Economic Policy» (23.01.1934)

**«In order to build a great socialist society it is of the utmost importance to arouse the broad masses of women to join in productive activity. Men and women must receive equal pay for equal work in production. Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole.»**

«Editor's Notes from *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*» (September-December 1955)

**«With the completion of agricultural cooperation, many cooperatives are finding themselves short of labour. It has become necessary to arouse the great mass of women who did not work in the fields before to take their place on the labour front [...]. China's women are a vast reserve of labour power. This reserve should be tapped in the struggle to build a great socialist country.»**

Ibid.

**«Enable every woman who can work to take her place on the labour front, under the principle of equal pay for equal work. This should be done as quickly as possible.»**

Ibid.

**«When women all over the country rise up, that will be the day of victory for the Chinese revolution.»**

Quoted in *Chinese Women in the Fight for Socialism* (1977)

**«Without the awakening of the women who comprise half the Chinese population, China's War of Resistance will not be victorious.»**

Ibid.

**«How bright and brave they look, shouldering five-foot rifles  
On the parade ground lit up by the first gleams of day.  
China's daughters have high-aspiring minds,  
They love their battle array, not silks and satins.»**

«Militia Women» (February 1961)

**«Genuine equality between man and woman can be realized only in the process of socialist transformation of society as a whole.»**

Quoted in *Beijing Review*, No. 10 of 1972

**«Times have changed, and today men and women are equal. Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too.»**

Ibid.

**«Women comprise one half of the population. The economic status of working women and the fact of their being specially oppressed prove not only that women urgently need revolution but also that they are a decisive force in the success or failure of the revolution.»**

Ibid.

**«Women carry half of heaven on their shoulders – and they must conquer it.»**

Quoted in Claudie Bruyelle: «Women's Liberation in China» (1971)

### **35. CULTURE AND ART**

**«In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine.»**

«Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art» (May 1942)

**«Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution.»**

«On New Democracy» (January 1940)

**«All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place**

for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.»

«Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art» (May 1942)

«Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their position; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.»

Ibid.

«[Our purpose is] to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.»

Ibid.

«In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic [...]. There is the political criterion and there is the artistic criterion; what is the relationship between the two? Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion; each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second [...]. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art, which lack artistic quality, have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the <poster and slogan style> which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.»

Ibid.

«Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting the progress of the arts and the sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land. Different forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely. We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in

**artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in summary fashion.»**

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

**«An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy.»**

«The United Front in Cultural Work» (30.10.1944)

## **36. STUDY**

**«In transforming backward agricultural China into an advanced industrialized country, we are confronted with arduous tasks and our experience is far from adequate. So we must be good at learning.»**

«Opening Address at the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (15.09.1956)

**«Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems.»**

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

**«We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new.»**

«Report to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 7<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China» (05.03.1949)

**«Now, there are two different attitudes towards learning from others. One is the dogmatic attitude of transplanting everything, whether or not it is suited to our conditions. This is no good. The other attitude is to use our heads and learn those things that suit our conditions, that is, to absorb whatever experience is useful to us. That is the attitude we should adopt.»**

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

**«The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning marxism-leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their position and method in examining and solving problems.»**

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

«If we have a correct theory but merely prate about it, pigeonhole it and do not put it into practice, then that theory, however good, is of no significance.»

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

«It is necessary to master marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it. If you can apply the marxist-leninist world outlook in elucidating one or two practical problems, you should be commended and credited with some achievement. The more problems you elucidate and the more comprehensively and profoundly you do so, the greater will be your achievement.»

«Rectify the Party's Style of Work» (01.02.1942)

«How is marxist-leninist theory to be linked with the practice of the Chinese revolution? To use a common expression, it is by <shooting the arrow at the target>. As the arrow is to the target, so is marxism-leninism to the Chinese revolution. Some comrades, however, are <shooting without a target>, shooting at random, and such people are liable to harm the revolution.»

Ibid.

«Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors.»

Ibid.

«Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare. A person who has had no opportunity to go to school can also learn warfare – they can learn through fighting in war. A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning.»

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

«There is a gap between the ordinary civilian and the soldier, but it is no Great Wall, and it can be quickly closed, and the way to close it is to take part in revolution, in war. By saying that it is not easy to learn and to apply, we mean that it is hard to learn thoroughly and to apply skillfully. By saying that civilians can very quickly become soldiers, we mean that it is not difficult to cross the threshold. To put the two statements together, we may cite the Chinese adage: <Nothing in the world is difficult for one who sets their mind to it.> To cross the threshold is not difficult, and mastery, too, is possible provided one sets one's mind to the task and

**is good at learning.»**

Ibid.

**«We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are. We must esteem them as teachers, learning from them respectfully and conscientiously. We must not pretend to know when we do not know.»**

«On the People's Democratic Dictatorship» (30.06.1949)

**«Knowledge is a matter of science and no dishonesty or conceit whatsoever is permissible. What is required is definitely the reverse – honesty and modesty.»**

«Dialectical Materialism» (1937-38)

**«Complacency is the enemy of study. We cannot really learn anything until we rid ourselves of complacency. Our attitude towards ourselves should be <to be insatiable in learning> and towards others <to be tireless in teaching>.»**

«The Role of the Communist Party of China in the National War» (October 1938)

**«Some people have read a few marxist books and think themselves quite learned but what they have read has not penetrated, has not struck root in their minds, so that they do not know how to use it and their class feelings remain as of old. Others are very conceited and having learned some book-phrases, think them terrific and are very cocky; but whenever a storm blows up, they take a stand very different from that of the workers and the majority of the peasants. They waver while the latter stand firm, they equivocate while the latter are forthright.»**

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

**«In order to have a real grasp of marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants. When in addition to reading some marxist books our intellectuals have gained some understanding through close contact with the masses of workers and peasants and through their own practical work, we will all be speaking the same language, not only the common language of patriotism and the common language of the socialist system, but probably even the common language of the communist world outlook. If that happens, all of us will certainly work much better.»**

Ibid.

### **37. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM**

**«In our country bourgeois and small-bourgeois ideology, anti-marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the**

ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and small-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical or dogmatic.»

«Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work» (12.03.1957)

«Both dogmatism and revisionism run counter to marxism. Marxism must certainly advance; it must develop along with the development of practice and cannot stand still. It would become lifeless if it remained stagnant and stereotyped. However, the basic principles of marxism must never be violated, or otherwise mistakes will be made. It is dogmatism to approach marxism from a metaphysical point of view and to regard it as something rigid. It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of marxism and to negate its universal truth. Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line. In present circumstances, revisionism is more pernicious than dogmatism. One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism.»

Ibid.

«Revisionism, or Right-opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the Right-opportunists, pay lip service to marxism; they too attack <dogmatism>. However, what they are really attacking is the quintessence of marxism. They oppose or distort materialism and dialectics, oppose or try to weaken the people's democratic dictatorship and the directing role of the Communist Party, and oppose or try to weaken socialist transformation and socialist construction. After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. Moreover, their right-hand men in this struggle are the revisionists.»

«On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» (27.02.1957)

«Dogmatism and empiricism alike are subjectivism, each originating from an opposite pole.

Hence there are two kinds of subjectivism in our Party, dogmatism and empiricism. Each sees only a part and not the whole. If people are not on guard, do not realize that such one-sidedness is a shortcoming and do not strive to overcome it, they are liable

**to go astray.»**

«Rectify the Party's Style of Work» (01.02.1942)

*«The correctness or incorrectness of any political, military or organizational line has ideological roots – it depends on whether or not the line starts from marxist-leninist dialectical materialism and historical materialism and whether or not the line starts from the objective realities of the Chinese revolution and the objective needs of the Chinese people.*

[...]

*It is characteristic of dogmatism that it starts not from actual conditions but from particular words and phrases taken out of books. The dogmatists did not base themselves on the marxist-leninist position and method to make a serious study of China's past and present – political, military, economic and cultural – and of the practical experience of the Chinese revolution, to draw conclusions as a guide to action in the Chinese revolution and to test the validity of these conclusions in the practice of the masses. On the contrary, throwing away the essence of marxism-leninism, they transported particular words and phrases from marxist-leninist literature into the country and took them for dogma, without any study of the suitability of these quotations to the actual conditions of present-day China. Inevitably, therefore, the <theories> of the dogmatists were divorced from reality, their directorship was divorced from the masses, and instead of seeking truth from facts they were opinionated, arrogant, glib and afraid of proper criticism and self-criticism.*

*Empiricist ideology, which was the collaborator and assistant of dogmatism in the period of its domination, is likewise a manifestation of subjectivism and formalism. Empiricism differs from dogmatism in that it starts not from books but from narrow experience. It should be emphasized that all the useful experience gained by vast numbers of comrades in practical work is a most precious asset. It is definitely not empiricism, but marxism-leninism, to sum up such experience scientifically as the guide to future action, just as it is definitely not dogmatism, but marxism-leninism, to take the theories and principles of marxism-leninism as the guide to revolutionary action and not as dogma. But if there are some comrades among all those versed in practical work who remain satisfied with their own limited experience and with that alone, who take it for dogma that can be applied everywhere, who do not understand and moreover do not want to acknowledge the truth that **<without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement>** and that **<in order to lead, one must foresee>**, and who consequently belittle the study of marxism-leninism which is the summation of world revolutionary experience, and are infatuated with a narrow practicalism which is devoid of principle and with a brainless routinism that leads nowhere; and if they nevertheless sit and give orders from on high, if in their purblindness they style themselves heroes, put on the airs of veterans and refuse to heed the criticism of comrades or to practise self-criticism – then indeed these comrades have become empiricists. Thus, in spite of their different points of departure, the empiricists and the dogmatists were essentially one in their method of thinking. Both severed the*

*universal truth of marxism-leninism from the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; both violated dialectical and historical materialism and magnified partial and relative truths into universal and absolute truths; and the thinking of neither corresponded to the objective, actual situation as a whole.*

[...]

*Such were the ideological roots which made it possible for these two different sets of comrades to collaborate. On account of their limited and narrow experience, most of the empiricists lacked independent, clear-cut and systematic views on problems of a general nature and therefore they usually played second fiddle in their association with the dogmatists; but the history of our Party proves that it would not have been easy for the dogmatists to have **<spread their poison throughout the Party>** without the collaboration of the empiricists; and after the defeat of dogmatism, empiricism became the main obstacle to the development of marxism-leninism in the Party. Hence we must overcome subjectivist empiricism as well as subjectivist dogmatism. Only by completely overcoming both dogmatist and empiricist ideology can the marxist-leninist ideology, line and style of work spread far and wide and take deep root in the whole Party.»*

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: «Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party» (20.04.1945)

**«You all only hate empiricism and do not hate dogmatism. The <28½ Bolsheviks> ruled for four years' time. They flew the flag of the Communist International to intimidate the Chinese Party, attacking whoever disagreed with them and holding a bunch of empiricists captive. You, Zhou Enlai, were one, Zhu De was one, and other people, mainly Lin Biao and Peng Dehuai. It is not enough for me to only speak of Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping – without Lin Biao and Peng Dehuai they would not have power.»**

«Talk with Members of the Political Bureau Who Were in Beijing» (03.05.1975)

**«History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat <Left>-opportunism on the one hand and Right-opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war.»**

«Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War» (December 1936)

**«Guard against revisionism, and especially its emergence in the Central Committee of the Party.»**

Quoted in *The Red Flag* Commentator: «Grasp the Main Contradiction, Hold to the General Orientation of Struggle» (July 1967)

**«Fight self, criticize revisionism.»**

Quoted in Lin Biao: «Report to the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China» (01.04.1969)

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i Yan'an was the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China from January 1937 until March 1947; Xi'an was the center of reactionary rule of the Guomintang in north-western China. Comrade Mao Zedong cited the two cities as symbols of revolution and counter-revolution.

ii This refers to the revolutionary armed forces organized jointly by the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang in the years of their cooperation during the 1<sup>st</sup> Revolutionary Civil War Period (1924-27).

iii The «Three Check-Ups» and «Three Improvements» constituted an important movement for Party consolidation and for ideological education in the army which was carried out by our Party in conjunction with the land reform during the People's War of Liberation. In the localities, the «Three Check-ups» meant checking on class origin, ideology and style of work; in the armed units, the check ups were on class origin, performance of duty and will to fight. The «Three Improvements» meant organizational consolidation, ideological education and rectification of style of work.

iv By «**the heroic suicide**» Comrade Mao Zedong is referring to the act of self-sacrifice in the face of the enemy, such as the last stand of an army or suicide committed out of desperation in the face of oppression, both of which are part of the class struggle and do not exist outside of it.