

Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung: Vol. VII

Publisher's Note

Note on Abbreviations

1. Speech at Banquet Celebrating Insurrection of KMT Troops
(September 23, 1949)
2. Telegram to Xinjiang Political and Military Authorities (September 28, 1949)
3. Proclamation of the Central People's Government of the PRC (October 1, 1949)
4. Telegram to the Communist Party of the United States
5. Letter to Wang Shoudao
6. Letter to Yang Kaizhi
7. Telegram to the French Transportation Labor Union
8. Telegram to General Zhao Xiguang
9. Telegram to Insurrectionists on the "Changzhi"
10. Telegram to the United States Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
11. Telegram to Five-men Independent Group of the British Labor Party in the House of Commons
12. Letter to Feng Youlan
13. Letter to Zhou Shizhao
14. Reply to Ambassador of the Soviet Union
15. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic
16. Reply to the Hui People of Xinjiang

17. Reply to the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang (*October 21, 1949*)
18. Reply to the Xinjiang League for the Defence of Peace and Democracy and to People of the Tacheng-Ili-Ashan Regions (*October 21, 1949*)
19. Preface to *The Victory of New Democracy in China* (*October 14, 1949*)
20. Telegram to the Insurrectionists on the "Hailiao" (*October 24, 1949*)
21. Inscription for the Inaugural Issue of *Renmin Wenxue* [People's Literature] (*October 25, 1949*)
22. Telegram to Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions (*October 26, 1949*)
23. Telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Algeria
24. Telegram to the Provisional Government of Greece
25. Telegram to the Albanian Council of Ministers
26. Letter to Bo Yibo
27. Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia
28. Telegram to the USSR
29. Telegram to the Work Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand
30. Telegram to Managers and Staff of Two Aviation Corporations
31. Letter to Peng Dehuai and the Northwest Bureau
32. Inscription on Public Morals
33. Letter to Mao Xusheng
34. Letter to Li Jiehou of Shaoshan, Hunan
35. Telegram to the Former KMT Government Resources Committee
36. Telegram to the Communist Party of India

37. Telegram to the Socialist Republican Party of India
38. Telegram to the Central Committee of the Iranian Workers' Party
39. Inscription for the Third Anniversary of *Nanqiao ribao*
40. Telegram of Condolence on the Death of Xinjiang Delegates to the CPPCC
41. Telegram to Panchen Gnoertehni
42. Telegram to the Banka Federation of Labor Unions of Indonesia
43. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
44. Letter to Xu Beihong
45. Telegram to the Britian-China Conference in London
46. Letter to the People of Lushun-Dalian
47. Letter to Liu Yazhi
48. Directive Issued at the Fourth Meeting of the CPGC (Excerpts)
49. Instruction on the Army's Participation in Production and Constrution Work in 1950
50. Speech on Arrival at Moscow Train Station
51. Telegram to Stalin (*December 19, 1949*)
52. Address at Birthday Celebration Meeting Held for Stalin (*December 21, 1949*)
53. Comment on Democratic Personages
54. Conversation with a Painter from the Soviet Union [Excerpts]
55. Inscription for First Issue of *Renmin haijun*
56. Interview Given to TASS Correspondent in Moscow
57. Inscription for Lenin's Mausoleum
58. Telegram to Bulgaria on the Death of Vasil Kolarov

59. Telegram to President Prasad of the Republic of India (*January 28, 1950*)

60. Speech on Departure from Moscow (*February 17, 1950*)

61. Telegram to President of the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association

62. Telegram to the USSR

63. Telegram to Stalin upon Leaving the USSR

64. Conversations During Inspection of Heilongjiang Province [Excerpts]

65. Inscriptions Written in Harbin

66. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Romania

67. Letter to Long Bojian

68. Letter to Liu Kuiyi

69. Telegram to the Communist Party of France

70. Directive on the Film *Qing gong mishi*

71. Telegram to the People's Republic of Hungary

72. Speech at the Sixth Session of the CPGC

73. Letter to Yang Kaizhi and Li Congde

74. Comment on Chen Yun's Report

75. Letter to Mao Shenpin

76. Letter to Li Shuyi

77. Letter to Xiang Mingqing

78. Telegram to W.H. Andrews

79. Telegram to Maurice Thorez

80. Inscription Concerning the People's Education

81. Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia

82. Inscription Commemorating the May Fourth Movement
83. Letter to Wen Jianquan
84. Letter to Zhang Ding
85. Letter to Zhao Puzhu
86. Letter to Mao Yimin
87. Letter to Wen Nansong
88. Letter to Ye Jiannong
89. Letter to Zhou Wennan
90. Telegram to Ho Chi Minh
91. Letter to Mao Yuju
92. Letter to Zou Puxun
93. Letter to Zhou Rong
94. Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of India (*September 26, 1952*)
95. Letter to Li Jinxi
96. Telegram of Condolence to Yan Huiqing's Family
97. Letter to Liu Yanan
98. Letter to Liu Shaoqi
99. Letter to Chen Mingshu
100. Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Poland
101. Reply to Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden
102. Opening Speech at the Second Meeting of the National Committee of the CPPCC
103. Letter to Ma Xulun
104. Reply to Minister of the Kingdom of Denmark

105. Reply to Head of Diplomatic Mission of the German Democratic Republic
106. Speech at Eighth Session of the CPGC
107. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Mongolia
108. Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia
109. Telegram to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
110. Letter to Wu Qirui
111. Telegram to the Republic of Poland
112. Telegram to the Transvaal Indian Congress
113. Reply to Ambassador of the Union of Burma
114. Letter to Su Yu
115. Telegram to the People's Government of Qinghai on the Death of Vice-chairman Ma Po
116. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
117. Telegram to the Republic of Indonesia
118. Letter to Xu Haidong
119. Telegram to the People's Republic of Romania
120. Speech at Banquet Commemorating the Liberation of Romania (Excerpt)
121. Letter to Xu Beihong
122. Letter to Chen Jisheng
123. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
124. Inscription for the First National Conference on Health Care
125. Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria
126. Letter to Chen Yu

127. Telegram to the South African Indian Congress
128. Letter to Zhang Wei
129. Telegram to the Communist Party of Great Britain
130. Inscription for the National Conference of Representatives of Combat Heroes
131. Comments on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
132. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria
133. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic
134. Inscription on the Unity of the Chinese and Soviet Peoples
135. Inscription for the Display of the PLA
136. Letter to Wang Shoudao
137. Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia
138. Telegram to Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden on the Death of King Gustaf V
139. Telegram to the USSR
140. Telegram to Harry Pollit
141. Letter to Hu Qiaomu
142. Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania
143. Comment on Hearing of Mao Anying's Death (*November 1950*)
144. Letter to Huang Niantian (*December 2, 1950*)
145. Telegram to Participants of Demonstration in Tianjin
146. Inscription for the Air Force
147. Letter to Chen Shutong
148. Telegram to the Communist Party of France

149. Inscription for the First Normal School of Hunan
150. Letter to Zhou Shizhao
151. Telegram to the People's Republic of Romania
152. Comment on "A Summary of the Relationship between the Various Departments of the Military and the Soviet Advisors"
153. Telegram to the Union of Burma
154. Telegram to Wilhelm Pieck
155. Letter to Rao Shushi and Chen Pixian
156. Letter to Xu Beihong
157. Letter to Li Sian
158. Letter to Ma Xulun
159. Letter to Zhang Lan
160. Telegram to the Communist Party of Italy
161. Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
162. Telegram to the Republic of India
163. Toast at a Reception given by Ambassador of India
164. Telegram to the USSR
165. Letter to Huang Yanpei
167. Telegram to the USSR
168. Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
169. Inscription for Women's Day
170. Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
171. Letter to Rao Shushi and Others
172. Comments on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries

173. Letter to Li Da
174. Comments on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
175. Letter to Peng Yousheng
176. Directive on the Problem of Cultivating Cadres
177. Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
178. Letter to Li Weihai
179. Letter to Situ Meitang
180. Letter to Chen Wenxin
181. Letter to Zhang Zhizhong
182. Directive on the Huai River
183. Comment on the "Report of the Secretary's Office on the Handling of Letters from the Masses"
184. Speech on the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet
185. Letter to Li Zhuchen
186. Inscription on the Unity of Nationalities
187. Letter to Huang Yanpei
188. Letter to Zhang Yuanji
189. Inscription for the People of the Old Revolutionary Bases
190. Telegram to the Dominion of Pakistan
191. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
192. Telegram to the Republic of Indonesia
193. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
194. Telegram to the USSR

195. Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria
196. Letter to Party Committee of Shijingshan Iron and Steel Works
197. Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
198. Letter to Deng Zihui
199. Reply to Ambassador of the Union of Burma
200. Comment on Suppressing and Liquidating Counterrevolutionaries
201. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic
202. Letter to Chen Shutong
203. Telegram to the USSR
204. Telegram to the Dalai Lama
205. Inscription for the Cultural Work Team of the Special District Party Committee of Chu *xian*
206. Closing Speech of the Third Meeting of the First National Committee of the CPPCC
207. Telegram to the USSR
208. Telegram to Gheorghiu-Dej
209. Reply to Ambassador of Pakistan
210. Letter to Zheng Zhenduo
211. Letter to Dong Biwu
212. Letter to Mao Zelian and Mao Yuanti
213. Telegram to the Northwest Nationalities' People's Representatives' Conference for Resisting U.S. Aggression and Aiding Korea
214. Telegram to Panchen Gnoertehni
215. Letter to Liu Shaoqi
216. Letter to Chen Yuying

217. Telegram to William Gallacher
218. Conversation with Zhou Shizhao
219. Comment Written on a Letter from Students of Chinese People's University
220. Directive on Language Reform
221. Telegram to the Union of Burma
222. Telegram to the Republic of India
223. Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia
224. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
225. Telegram to the USSR
226. Imperialism's Plan for Aggression Is Bound to Be Smashed
227. Telegram to the USSR
228. Decree to a Division of the Xinjiang Construction Battalion
229. Telegram to Matyas Rakosi
230. Letter to Cheng Qian
231. Instruction to Huang Yanpei
232. Reply to Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
233. Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Czechoslovakia
234. Conversation with Zhai Zuojun [Excerpt]
235. Telegram to Sa Zhenbing's Family
236. Telegram to Boleslaw Beirut
237. Telegram to Rajendra Prasad
238. Letter to Tan Kah-Kee
239. Inscription for Workers on Jing River Flood Control Project

240. Telegram to the Dalai Lama and Panchen Gnoertehni
241. Letter to Ye Gongzuo
242. Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Poland
243. Reply to Minister of the Republic of Finland
244. Inscription on Physical Culture and Sports
245. Letter to Huang Yanpei
246. Letter to Zhou Enlai
247. Inscription on Inauguration of the Chengdu-Chongqing Railway
248. Letter to Zhang Youcheng
249. Telegram to the German Socialist Unity Party
250. Address to the First Graduating Class of the Military Academy
251. Inscription on the Monument to the People's Heroes
252. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
253. Letter to Chen Yi
254. Letter to Li Shuqing (*October 16, 1952*)
255. Letter to Uighur Peasants of Xinjiang
256. Telegram to the USSR
257. Letter to Huang Yanpei
258. Letter to Comrade Li Da
259. Inscription on the Arts (*September 26, 1952*)
260. Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of India (*September 26, 1952*)
261. Inscription for Inauguration of the Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway (*September 28, 1952*)

262. Toast on Third Anniversary of Founding of the PRC (*September 30, 1952*)

263. Letter to Mao Yuju (*October 2, 1952*)

264. Telegram to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region (*October 2, 1952*)

265. Letter to Qi Baishi (*October 5, 1952*)

266. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic (*October 5, 1952*)

267. Talk with Tibetan Delegates (Excerpts) (*October 8, 1952*)

268. Letter to Song Qingling (*October 10, 1952*)

269. Letter to Tan Zhenlin (*October 15, 1952*)

270. Letter to Li Shuqing

271. Letter to Luo Yuankun

272. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

273. Conversation During an Inspection Tour of the Flood Prevention Works on the Yellow River [Excerpts]

274. Telegram to the USSR

275. Inscription on Inauguration of the Kangding-Changdu Section of the Xikang-Tibet Highway

276. Reply to Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden

277. Inscription Concerning Public Health Work

278. Letter to the Anshan Iron and Steel Works

279. Reply to Ambassador of the Soviet Union

280. Letter to Yi Nanpping

281. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Romania

282. Telegram to the USSR on the Transfer of the Chinese Changchun Railway

283. Instruction on the Arts
284. Directive on Education
285. Comment on a Report of the National Labor Insurance Conference
286. Telegram to the Union of Burma
287. Speech to the Central People's Government Council
288. Closing Speech at the Fourth Session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC (Excerpts)
289. Telegram to the USSR
290. Instructions on the Daye Steel Plant
291. Conversation with Naval Personnel on the Yangtze River [Excerpts]
292. Inscription Written for the Navy
293. Telegram to the USSR
294. *Inscription Awarded to Soviet Troops in Lushun (February 23, 1953)*
295. *Telegram to Inquire after Stalin's Illness (March 4, 1953)*
296. *Telegram to the USSR on Stalin's Death (March 6, 1953)*
297. Central People's Government's Decree on Stalin's Death
298. Letter to Huang Yanpei and Chen Shutong
299. *The Greatest Friendship (March 9, 1953)*
300. Telegram to Czechoslovakia on Gottwald's Death
301. Telegram to Palmiro Togliatti
302. Instruction on Leadership Work of Health Departments of Military Commissions
303. Reply to Ambassador of the Soviet Union
304. Letter to Li Zhuchen

305. Letter to Li Zhuchen
306. Letter to Huang Yanpei and Chen Shutong
307. Instructions on Education
308. Letter to Wang Jiexiang
309. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Mongolia
310. Letter to Fu Dingyi
311. Letter to Huang Yanpei
312. Telegram to the USSR
313. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
314. Letter to Ye Gongzuo
315. Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania
316. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
317. Address at the Establishment of the Institute of Military Engineering and the Inauguration of Its First Term
318. Letter to Li Shuqing
319. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
320. Telegram to the USSR
321. Telegram to the Chinese People's Volunteers
322. Telegram to the USSR
323. Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia on the Death of Bumatsende
324. Letter to Shen Junru
325. Letter to Mao Yuequi
326. Letter to Ma Xulun

327. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic
328. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
329. Speech at Reception for Tibetan Delegation
330. Letter to Yang Shangkun
331. Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania
332. Letter to Wen Jiuming
333. Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia
334. Criticism of the Ministry of Public Health
335. Telegram to the USSR
336. Reply to Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic
337. Reply to Minister of the Republic of Finland
338. Letter to Dai Yuben
339. Reply to Minister of the Kingdom of Denmark
340. Reply to Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
341. Letter to Liao Jingwen
342. Reply to Ambassador of the Soviet Union
343. Telegram to Anshan Workers and Staff
344. Remark to Ke Qingshi
345. Inscription in Guest Book of the Moganshan Clinic
346. Comment on the Department of Health Care
347. Directive on Physical Culture
348. Inscription for No. 1 Automobile Manufacturing Plant of Changchun
349. Directive on the Work of the Ministry of Geology

350. Telegram to the USSR
351. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
352. Telegram to the USSR
353. Telegram to the USSR
354. Letter to Tian Jiaying
355. Letter to Huang Yanpei
356. Telegram to Kim Du Bong
357. Letter to Peng Shilin
358. Letter to Party Branch and *xiang* Government of Shicheng xiang
359. Inscription on the Completion of Guanting Reservoir
360. Telegram to the South African Indian Congress
361. Telegram to the People's Republic of Poland
362. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
363. Directive on Work in Traditional Chinese Medicine
364. Letter to the Staff of the No. 320 Factory
365. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
366. Telegram to the People's Republic of Romania
367. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
368. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria
369. Telegram to the USSR
370. Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria
371. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania
372. Reply to Minister of the Confederation of Switzerland

373. Reply to Ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary
374. Toast at China's National Day Celebrations
375. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic
376. Letter to the Delegation of the USSR
377. Letter to the USSR
378. Telegram to the USSR
379. Implement the Correct Policy in Dealing with Doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine
380. Toast at Reception for Prime Minister Nehru
381. Telegram to the People's Republic of Hungary
382. Inscription Expressing Gratitude to the Soviet Union
383. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
384. On Criticizing *Honglougeng yanjiu*
385. Directive on the Film *Qing gong mishi*
386. Telegram to the USSR
387. Letter to Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, et al
388. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
389. Letter to Huang Yanpei
390. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Mongolia
391. Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania
392. Telegram to Petru Groza
393. Telegram to Rajendra Prasad
394. Toast at Dinner for Prime Minister U Nu
395. Telegram to the Republic of Finland

396. Telegram to Antonin Zapotocky
397. Inscription for Workers on the Kangding-Tibet and Qinghai-Tibet Highways
398. Letter to Li Da
399. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
400. On Writing Essays to Criticize Hu Shi
401. Speech at a Standing Committee Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC (Excerpts)
402. Comment on the National Budget
403. Instruction on the Work of Doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine
404. Inscription on the Triumph of the People of Wuhan over the Flood
405. Inscription for Historical Pavilion on Caixi *xiang*, Fujian Province
406. Telegram to the Union of Burma
407. Telegram to the Republic of India
408. Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of Finland
409. Criticism of Hu Feng
410. Telegram to the USSR
411. Speech at Banquet Celebrating Fifth Anniversary of Sino-Soviet Treaty
412. Telegram to the USSR
413. Toast at Banquet Celebrating Tibetan New Year
414. Letter to Lin Tie
415. Letter to Zhou Dunggu
416. Letter to Wei Lihuang

417. Inscription for the First Congress of Heroes and Model Soldiers of the Air Force
418. Speech at Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the CPC
419. Telegram to the People's Republic of Hungary
420. Order to Terminate State of War Between PRC and Germany
421. Reply to Ambassador of Pakistan
422. Inscription for Czechoslovakian Exhibition
423. Letter to Jiang Zhuru
424. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic
425. Telegram to the Republic of Czechoslovakia
426. Letter to the Party Committee of Xiangxiang *xian*
427. Telegram to Ho Chi Minh
428. Litter to Huang Yanpei
429. Telegram to Afghanistan
430. Toast at Banquet for Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo
431. Conversation with Security Guards on Taking Literacy Courses
432. Letter to Tan Shiyong
433. Conversation with Soldiers
434. On Swimming [Excerpts]
435. Telegram to Jamsarangyin Sambuu
436. Toast to Ho Chi Minh
437. Reply to Ambassdor of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia
438. Telegram to the People's Republic of Mongolia

439. Telegram to the People's Republic of Poland
440. Conversation with Security Guards
441. Telegram to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
442. Telegram to the Republic of Indonesia
443. Telegram to People's Republic of Romania
444. Telegram to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
445. Telegram to Antonin Zapotocky
446. Telegram to the People's Republic of Bulgaria
447. Inscription for Tokuda Kyuichi
448. Letter to Tian Jiaying
449. Letter to Zhou Shizhao
450. Telegram to the German Democratic Republic
451. Conversation with Members of the Japanese Diet
452. Telegram to the USSR
453. Letter to Zhang Naiqi
454. Telegram to the USSR
455. Letter to Huang Yanpei
456. Remark Made to Li Kaiwen
457. Letter to Panchen Gnoertehni
458. Letter to Zhou Shizhao
459. Telegram to the People's Republic of Albania
460. Telegram to the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia
461. Reply to Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Germany

462. Telegram to the Republic Of Finland
463. Talk on Opposing Right-Deviation and Conservatism
464. Letter to Zhai Zuojun
465. Talk at the Conference on Intellectuals Called by the Centre
(January 20, 1956)
466. Contradictions Under Socialism (April 5, 1956)
467. Stalin's Place in History (April 5, 1956)
468. Speech at Expanded Meeting of CPC Political Bureau (April 25,
1956)
469. Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers (24 August 1956)
470. Instructions at a Discussion Meeting Attended by Some of the
Delegates to the Second Session of the First Committee of the All-China
Federation of Industry and Commerce
471. Interjections at Conference of Provincial and Municipal Committee
Secretaries (Collected)
472. Talks at the Hangchow Conference of the Shanghai Bureau
473. The Bourgeois Orientation of the *Wen Hui-pao* for a Period of Time
474. Letter to Zhou Enlai (July 7, 1957)
475. Comment on Class Education with Leaders from Shanghai Motor
Power Institute (July, 1957)
476. Comment to the Loatian Patriotic (Liberation) Front Representative
on Education (1957)
477. Talk at the Enlarged Third Plenary Session of the 8th Central
Committee of the CCP (October 7, 1957)
478. No Power on Earth Can Separate Us (November 2, 1957)
479. Speech at Moscow Celebration Meeting (November 6, 1957)
480. The East Wind Prevails Over the West Wind! (November 17, 1957)

Transcription by the Maoist Documentation Project.
HTML revised 2004 by Marxists.org

PDF created by dudeman5685 2007

Note: This PDF was created from the Marxist.org site. Both there and on the original MDP site this text was incomplete. Only those items in red on the table of contents are included - dudeman5685

Note to the Reader

We are glad to bring out another compilation of the writings of Mao Tse-tung.

This volume covers the period 1949 to 1957.

We request the reader to note that "(Excerpt)" below a title indicates that the document was excerpted from a larger document by the original publisher (Source) [See for example the article "Speech at Banquet Commemorating the Liberation of Romania" p.90] and wherever the excerpting was done by others, from a larger document presenting more interesting or significant portions of the original, the title is followed by "[Excerpts]" (see for example the article "Conversation with Zhai Zuojun" p. 166). As a rule parentheses () indicates editorial remarks in the original, whereas brackets [] enclose the editorial remarks of the editors of those texts (other than the editors of the original source).

We once again extend our sincere thanks and acknowledgments to all those pioneers who translated, edited and published these works in different forms earlier. We wholeheartedly extend our thanks to all these comrades — the respected scholars and loving friends — whose unstinted cooperation and painstaking efforts contributed in a big way in the success of this venture.

We hope to bring out some more volumes in the near future. It is our fond hope that our effort will be well rewarded by the warm and enthusiastic response of the esteemed readers.

Commonly Used Abbreviations

CC Central Committee

CPC Communist Party of China

CPG Central People's Government

CPGC Central People's Government Council

CPPCC Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union

GAC Government Administration Council

KMT Kuomintang (Guomintang)

NPC National People's Congress

PRC People's Republic of China

US United States

USA United States of America

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Speech at Banquet Celebrating Insurrection of KMT Troops

September 23, 1949

[Source: *People's Daily*, September 24, 1949]

Owing to the insurrection of some patriotic troops among the Kuomintang armed forces, not only has the disintegration of the remnants of the Kuomintang's military forces been accelerated; moreover, it has enable us to acquire a speedily strengthening air force and navy.

Telegram to Xinjiang Political and Military Authorities

September 28, 1949

[Source: *People's Daily*, September 29, 1949.]

General Tao Zhiyue^[1] and the officers and soldiers under his command, Chairman Burhan^[2] and the government workers under him:

Your telegram of September 25 and 26 have been received. We believe that your standpoint is a correct one. You have declared your severance from the remnants of the reactionary government in Guangzhou^[3] and your new orientation towards the camp of People's Democracy; you have accepted the leadership of the People's Political Consultative Conference^[4] and await and abide by the orders and disposition of the Central People's Government and the People's Revolutionary Military Council. This attitude conforms to the wishes of the people of the entire nation. We are most happy. We hope that you will unite all military and civilian governmental personnel in maintaining the unity of the nationalities and local order and cooperate with the People's Liberation

Army, which is preparing at this moment to move northward, to abolish the old system and implement the new one, so as to strive for the establishment of a new Xinjiang.

(Co-signed with Zhu De and dated)

NOTES

1. Tao Zhiyue (b. 1882) a Hunanese military officer who graduated from the Baoding Military Academy in 1911 and served in various officer positions in the Hunan Army before participating in the KMT army in the Northern Expedition period. At the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japan, he was commander of the 36th Army, and later the commander of the First Army and deputy commander. At the end of the war of Resistance he became the deputy commander of the KMT's 8th Battle Zone, and in 1946, assumed command of the KMT's Xinjiang Garrison. In 1948, the Hexi district garrison was added to his command, and he also became deputy director of the Northwest Communist-Suppression Bureau of the KMT. His defection and surrender to the Communist forces at this time (Sept. 1949) was a severe blow to the KMT forces. In 1949-50, the PRC commissioned him as commander of the 22nd Army Group and deputy commander of the Xinjiang Military District under Peng Dehuai. In 1950 he also became a member of the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang and a member of the Northwest Military and Government Council.
2. Burhan Shahidi (b. 1896), also known by the sinicized version of his name. Baoerhan, was made governor of Xinjiang Province by the KMT government in 1948. On the eve of the Communist victory, Burhan joined the Communist side and assumed the positions of chairman of the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang and president of the Xinjiang People's Court. In 1950, he became a member of the Northwest Military and Government Council, and since then he has been a prominent representative of the people of Xinjiang in various national organizations in the PRC, such as the National Committee of the CPPCC.
3. A reference to the KMT Government which had its headquarters in Guangzhou and which was nominally headed by Li Zongren since the "retirement" of Chiang Kai-shek in January, 1949.
4. The First plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) was held on September 21-30, 1949 in Beijing.

Proclamation of the Central People's Government of the PRC

October 1, 1949

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 2, 1949.]

> The people throughout China have been plunged into bitter suffering and tribulations since the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary government betrayed the fatherland, colluded with imperialists, and lunched the counter-revolutionary war. Fortunately our People's Liberation Army, backed by the whole nation, has been fighting heroically and selflessly to defend the territorial sovereignty of our homeland, to protect the people's lives and property, to relieve the people of their sufferings, and to struggle for their rights, and it eventually wiped out the reactionary troops and overthrew the reactionary rule of the Nationalist government. Now, the People's War of Liberation has been basically won, and the majority of the people in the country have been liberated. On this foundation, the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, composed of delegates of all the democratic parties and people's organization of China, the People's Liberation Army, the various regions and nationalities of the country, and the overseas Chinese and other patriotic elements, has been convened. Representing the will of the whole nation, [this session of the conference] has enacted the organic law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elected Mao Zedong as chairman of the Central People's Government; and Zhu De, Lui Shaoqi, Song Qingling, Li Jishen, Zhang Lan, and Gao Gang as vice chairmen [of the Central People's Government]; and Chen Yi, He Long, Li Lisan, Lin Boqu, Ye Jianying, He Xiangning, Lin Biao, Peng Dehuai, Liu Bochong, Wu Yuzhang, Xu Xiangqian, Peng Zhen, Bo Yibo, Nie Rongzhen, Zhou Enlai, Dong Biwu, Seypidin, Rao Shushi, Tan Kah-kee [Chen Jiageng], Luo Ronghuan, Deng Zihui, Ulanhu, Xu Deli, Cai Chang, Liu Geping, Ma Yinchu, Chen Yun, Kang Sheng, Lin Feng, Ma Xulun, Guo Moruo, Zhang Yunyi, Deng Xiaoping, Gao Chongmin, Shen Junru, Shen Yanbing, Chen Shutong, Szeto Mei-tong [Situ Meitang], Li Xijiu, Huang Yanpei, Cai Tingkai, Xi Zhongxun, Peng Zemin, Zhang Zhizhong, Fu Zuoyi, Li Zhuchen, Li Zhangda, Zhang Nanxian, Liu Yazi, Zhang Dongsun, and Long Yun as council members to form the Central People's Government Council, proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China and decided on Beijing as the capital of the People's Republic of China. The Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China took office today in the capital and unanimously made the following decisions: to proclaim the establishment of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; to adopt the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the policy of the government; to elect Lin Boqu from among the council members as secretary general of the Central People's

Government Council; to appoint Zhou Enlai as premier of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government and concurrently minister of Foreign Affairs, Mao Zedong as chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central People's Government, Zhu De as commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army, Shen Junru as president of the Supreme People's Court of the Central People's Government, and Luo Ronghuan as procurator general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the Central People's Government, and to charge them with the task of the speedy formation of the various organs of the government to carry out the work of the government. At the same time, the Central People's Government Council decided to declare to the governments of all other countries that this government is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic of China. This government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government that is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Mao Zedong
Chairman
The Central People's Government
The People Republic of China

Reply to the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang

October 21, 1949.

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 21, 1949.]

To Chairman Burhan and through him to all committee members of the Provisional People's Government of Xinjiang Province:

Thank you for your message of congratulations. We hope that you will unite as one with the People's Liberation Army and the people of all nationalities of Xinjiang in carrying out the Common Program and in striving for the building of a new Xinjiang.

(Signed and dated)

Preface to the *Victory of New Democracy in China*

October 14, 1949

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 24, 1949.]

The book *Vitezstivi nove Demokraicie v Cine* (*The Victory of New Democracy in China*) was compiled by the editorial board of the Czechoslovakian monthly *Mezinarodni Politika* (*International Politics*) and published in the Prague on October 25, 1949. The book was edited and published under the direction of the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Comrades of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia have published in the Czech language the documents of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and my own essay concerning the people's democratic dictatorship of China. That is a great honor for the Communist Party of China. The struggles of the people of China and the peoples of Europe are two inseparable and mutually reinforcing parts of a common cause, despite the fact that owing to the differences in the levels of social development the stages of the development of their revolutions are different. All the readers of Europe who are concerned about the destiny of Asia will gain a basic knowledge of New China from reading these short documents and particularly from reading the Sixty Article Common Program passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. I believe that the effort which our comrades in Czechoslovakia have exerted in helping European readers to understand New China is a contribution to the international revolutionary movement for which we must be grateful.

Telegram to the Insurrectionists on the "Hailiao"

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 25, 1949.]

Telegram congratulating the Insurrectionists on the 3,000 ton merchant steamer "Hailiao" that has sailed from Hongkong.

Captain Fang Linliu and all comrades onboard the ship "Hailiao"

Congratulations on your insurrection on the seas and on your success in bringing the "Hailiao" to our port in the Northeast. For the sake of the people's state you have united together, overcome difficulties, and left the side of the reactionaries to stand on the side of the people. The action is applauded by the people of the entire country and should be emulated by all captains and crews who are still under the control of the Kuomintang reactionaries and bureaucratic capitalism.

(Signed and dated)

Inscription for the Inaugural Issue of *Renmin Wenxue* (People's Literature)

October 25, 1949

Source: *Renmin Wenxue* (People's Literature) Monthly, Beijing, October 25, 1949.

I hope that more good pieces of writing will be born of this.

Mao Zedong

Telegram to Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions

October 26, 1949

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 26, 1949.]

Paris

M.[Louis] Sailant, secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions:

We are deeply grateful for your message of congratulations to the People's Republic of China. The people of China are deeply aware that their own triumph depends on the assistance given it by the international workers' movement and will strive to consolidate their mutual concern and immortal friendship with the laboring peoples of all countries of the world.

(Signed and dated in Beijing)

Telegram to Stalin

December 19, 1949

[Source: *People's Daily*, December 21, 1949]

Chairman Stalin,
The Council of Ministers,
The Government of the Soviet Union

Your Excellency:

On this happy occasion of Your Excellency's seventieth birthday, I sincerely extend to you my respect and my best wishes for the daily strengthening of the fortress for world peace and democracy under Your Excellency's leadership.

(Signed as Chairman of CPG of PRC and dated)

Address at Birthday Celebration Meeting Held for Stalin

>December 21, 1949

Source: *People's Daily*, December 23, 1949.

Dear comrades and friends:

I am genuinely pleased to have the chance to join this distinguished gathering in celebration of the seventieth birthday of Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin is a teacher and friend of the people of the world as well as a teacher and friend of the Chinese people. He has further developed the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and has made extremely outstanding and extensive contributions to the cause of world Communist movement. In the arduous struggle to resist their oppressors, the Chinese people have become deeply appreciative of the importance of Comrade Stalin's friendship.

At this distinguished gathering, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, I congratulate Comrade Stalin on his seventieth birthday and wish him health and longevity. We wish well-being, strength, and prosperity to our great friend, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. We hail the great unprecedented solidarity of the working class in the world under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

Long live the great Stalin, leader of the world's working class and of the international Communist movement!

Long live the Soviet Union, the stronghold of world peace and democracy!

Telegram to President Prasad of the Republic of India

January 28, 1950

[Source: *People's Daily*, January 29, 1950.]

President Rajendra Prasad

The Republic of India

Your Excellency:

At this time, on Your Excellency's election as the first President of India, I express on behalf of the Central People's Government and the people of the People's Republic of China, our sincere congratulations.

(Signed as Chairman of CPG of PRC and dated)

Speech on Departure from Moscow

February 17, 1950

[Source: *People's Daily*, February 20, 1950.]

Dear Comrades and friends:

This time in Moscow, Comrade Zhou Enlai, the members of the Chinese delegation, and I met with Generalissimo Stalin and other comrades in responsible positions in the Soviet government. It is difficult for me to express in words the complete understanding and deep friendship that was established between us on the basis of the fundamental interests of the people of our two great nations. It is plain to see that the unity of the people of the two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, solidified by treaty, will be permanent and inviolable, and one which cannot be put asunder by anyone. Moreover, this unity will not only influence the prosperity of these two great countries, China and the Soviet Union but will surely also effect the future of humanity and the triumph of peace and justice all over the world.

During our sojourn in the Soviet Union we have visited many factories and farms. We have seen the great achievements of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet Union in their undertaking of socialist construction; we have observed the work-style of combining a spirit of revolution with a spirit of realism and practicality which has been nurtured among the people of the Soviet Union through the teaching of Comrade Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This has confirmed the conviction which the Chinese Communists have always held: that the experience of the Soviet Union in economic and cultural construction and its experience in construction in other major areas will serve as an example for the construction of New China.

We have received warm and enthusiastic hospitality in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, and in Leningrad, birth place of the October Revolution. As we leave this great capital of socialism, we wish particularly to express our sincerest gratitude to Generalissimo Stalin and to the government and people of the Soviet Union.

Long live the eternal friendship and the eternal cooperation between China and the Soviet Union.

Long live the people of the Soviet Union!

Long live the teacher of the world revolution and the true friend of the Chinese people — Comrade Stalin!

NOTES

1. Here Mao used the Chinese term *liangongdang* which is commonly used to refer to Bolshevik party

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of India

September 26, 1952

[Source: *People's Daily*, September 27, 1952.]

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very glad to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of India that Your Excellency has presented and am grateful for Your Excellency's congratulations.

For more than two years, the friendly relations between China and India in the areas of economy and culture have further developed. I believe that the friendly cooperation between our two peoples will be further enhanced and consolidated in our common cause of pursuing peace in Asia and throughout the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary of the Republic of India to the People's Republic of China and pledge to Your Excellency assistance in your work of strengthening the friendly cooperation between our two countries.

Best wishes for the prosperity of your country, the prospering of your people, and the good health of your head of state.

Comment on Hearing of Mao Anying's Death ^[1]

November 1950

"In war there must be sacrifice. Without sacrifices there will be no victory. To sacrifice my son or other people's sons are just the same. There are no parents in the world who do not treasure their children. But please do not feel sad on my behalf, because this is something entirely unpredictable".^[2]

We understand the how's and whys of these things. There are so many common folk whose children have shed their blood and were sacrificed for the sake of the revolution. They are in need of consolation, and we ought to pay more attention to showing them greater concern.^[3]

NOTES

1. Mao Anying was comrade Mao's son. He laid down his life in the Korean war.

2. Excerpt from "Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Family", a Red Guard Publication.

3. Excerpt from "Venerable Old Mr. Xu Talks About a Few Things About Chairman Mao" published in *China's Worker* (Semi-monthly; Beijing) 8; April 27, 1959.

Letter to Huang Niantian

December 2, 1950

[Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p.392]

Mr. Niantian:[1]

Your gracious letter and the poetry of Mr. Huang Jigang [2] as well as your own writings have been received, and I am very grateful to you. I am very gratified by the fact that you have devoted yourself to scholarly improvement and to serving the people in the cause of education. You have my great veneration for that. I hope that you will continue to apply yourself to the task and that with each day's passing improvements will come and results will be achieved. That, indeed, is our fervent hope.

In reply and with my respects,

Mao Zedong
December 2

NOTES

1. Huang Niantin was at the time of this letter an assistant professor of the Chinese language at Sichuan University.

2. Huang Jiang was Huang Niantin's father.

Letter to Li Shuqing

October 16, 1952

[Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p.468.]

Mr. Shuqing:[\[1\]](#)

Your gracious letter has been receipt. I am very grateful for your conveying to me news of our home village. As for matters related to the localities, I wish only to collect material and information for reference purpose; I do not want to, and should not, directly handle local problems in general [because this would] make it difficult for the local Party and government [organs] to handle their affairs. Please understand my situation and forgive me.

With great respect,

Mao Zedong

October 16, 1952

NOTES

1. Li Shuqing, see "Letter to Li Jehou of Shaoshan, Hunan", note 2,p.25 of this volume.

Inscription of the Arts

September 26, 1952

[Source: *Tianjin Daily*, September 26, 1952.]

Let a hundred flowers bloom; displace the old and worn, and let new things emerge!

This is an inscription written for the First National Operatic Exchange and Performance Festival convened by the Ministry of Culture in Beijing from October 6 to November 1,1952.

Reply to Ambassador of the Republic of India

September 26, 1952

[Source: *People's Daily*, September 27, 1952.]

Mr. Ambassador:

I am very glad to accept the letter of credence from the President of the Republic of India that Your Excellency has presented and am grateful for Your Excellency's congratulations.

For more than two years, the friendly relations between China and India in the areas of economy and culture have further developed. I believe that the friendly cooperation between our two peoples will be further enhanced and consolidated in our common cause of pursuing peace in Asia and throughout the world.

I warmly welcome Your Excellency as the ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary of the Republic of India to the People's Republic of China and pledge to Your Excellency assistance in your work of strengthening the friendly cooperation between our two countries.

Best wishes for the prosperity of your country, the prospering of your people, and the good health of your head of state.

Inscription for Inauguration of the Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway

September 28, 1952

Source: *Peoples Daily*, September 28, 1952.

Congratulations on the opening of the Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway^[1] to traffic. Continue to work hard for the construction of the Lanzhou-Xinjinag line.

NOTES

1. The Tianshui-Lanzhou railway was opened to traffic on August 23, 1952. Tianshui and Lanzhou are both in Giansu Province.

Toast on Third Anniversary of Founding of the PRC

September 30, 1952

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 1, 1952.]

Dear Friends,

The third anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China has arrived!

In the past year, we have done much work for the happiness of the people and for international peace; I hope that in the coming year we will be able to accomplish even more.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the great unity among the people of China's various nationalities and the overseas Chinese!

Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers![\[1\]](#)

Long live the friendship and unity between China and the Soviet Union!

Long live the friendship and unity between China and Mongolia!

Long live the friendship and unity between China and all the various New Democracies!

Long live the friendship and unity among the peoples of all the countries of Asia!

May the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region be successful.[\[2\]](#)

Long live the friendship and unity of the people of the world!

To everyone's health, bottoms up!

NOTES

1. Chinese Peoples' Volunteers were sent to Korea in support of the Korean People's war of liberation and to resist the US imperialist aggression.
2. The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region was convened in Beijing, October 2-12, 1952. Thirty-seven countries were represented by 367 delegates and 37 observers. The conference condemned the United States for halting the Korean truce talks and called for the repatriation of prisoners of war in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Convention.

Telegram to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region

October 2, 1952

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 3, 1952.]

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region:[\[1\]](#)

The convening of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region will be a tremendous contribution to the great common cause of the people of Asia, of the Pacific region, and of the entire world in safeguarding peace.

My sincere wishes for the success of this conference.

(Signed as Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC and dated)

NOTES

1. See "Toast on Third Anniversary of Founding of the PRC", note 2. p.188 of this volume.

Letter to Qi Baishi

October 5, 1952

[Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p.448]

Mr. Baishi:[\[1\]](#)

I thank you heartily for the gift of your scroll painting *Pu tian tong qing* (Joyous Celebration for All in Heaven), which I have received. I would like to express my gratitude to all your co-creators [of the masterpiece]: Messrs. Xu Shixue, Yu Feian, Wang Shensheng, Hu Peiheng, Pu Yizai, Pu Xuezai and Guan Songfang.

Mao Zedong,br> October 5, 1952

NOTES

1. Qi Baishi (1864-1957) was perhaps modern China's most renowned and respected artist. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he was an Honorary director of the Chinese Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing and a chairman of the Association of Chinese Painters. On his death he willed to the Central People's Government all of his works in his possession.

Telegram to the German Democratic Republic

October 5, 1952

[Source: *People's Daily*, October 2, 1952.]

The President,

The German Democratic Republic

Comrade Pieck:

On behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China, and on my own behalf, I sincerely extend to you and to the people and government of the

German Democratic Republic our heartfelt congratulations on this occasion of the third anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

In their struggles to secure a peace treaty and to restore the unity of Germany, to develop the economy and culture, and to consolidate state power, the victories scored by the German people have had a tremendous effect on the prosperity and happiness of the German people and the cause of peace throughout the world. Our best wishes to the German people for securing even greater successes in the struggle they have undertaken to build a unified, peaceful, democratic, and socialist Germany.

(Signed as Chairman of CPG of PRC, date, in Beijing)

Talk With Tibetan Delegates

(Excerpts)

October 8, 1952

[The speech was made at a reception that Mao held for the delegation of the people of the Changdu (Chamdo) region of Tibet taking part in the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the PRC in Beijing.

Source: *People's Daily*, November 22, 1952.]

1. The Communist Party has adopted a policy of protecting religions. Believers and non-believers, believers of one religion or another, are all similarly protected, and their faiths are respected. Today, we have adopted this policy of protecting religions, and in future we will still maintain this policy of protection.
2. The problem of land redistribution is different from that of religion. In the regions inhabited by the Han people land has already been redistributed, and in these areas religions are still protected. Whether or not land should be redistributed in regions inhabited by minority nationalities will be decided by the minority nationalities themselves. At the moment, land redistribution is out of the question in Tibet. Whether or not there should be redistribution in the future will be decided by you yourselves; moreover, you yourselves should carry out the redistribution. We will not redistribute the land for you.
3. The setting up of a military and administrative committee and the reorganization of the Tibetan army were stipulated by the Agreement.^[1] [However,] because you were afraid. I have informed the comrades working in Tibet to postpone the implementation [of this].

The Agreement must be implemented, but since you are afraid, implementation will simply have to be postponed. If you are afraid this year, we will wait until next year to implement it. If you are still afraid next year, then [we] will wait for the year after next before implementing it.

4. Tibet is a large area with a small population. Its population must be increased from the current figure of two or three million to five or six million. Later it would be good to increase it again to more than ten million. The economy and culture also need to be developed. Culture includes such things as schools, newspapers, cinema, etc. Religion is also included. The reactionary rules of the past, [whether] the emperors of the Qing dynasty or Chiang Kai-shek, all oppressed and exploited you, and so did the imperialists. They kept your population down, weakened your economy, and obstructed the development of your culture. The Communist Party puts into practice [the principle of] the equality of nationalities: it does not wish to oppress or exploit you, but rather to assist you — to assist you in developing your population, economy, and culture. When the People's Liberation Army entered Tibet, it was precisely for the purpose of carrying out the policy of helping you. In the early period of its presence there, it may not be of much help, and it may not be of great help even for the next three or four years. Later, however, it will be able to help you, that is certain. If the Communist Party could not help you develop your population, economy, and culture, the Communist Party would be of no use at all [I] am happy that you have come. During the next few days you can go to Nanjing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong, and the Northeast for a visit. From now on, if more people, both ecclesiastical and lay, and from all different circles of Tibet can come out to visit the various places in the interior, it will help to strengthen the relations of unity and amity among the nationalities in China.

NOTES

1. This refers to the Agreement between the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, May 23, 1951.

Letter to Song Qingling

October 10, 1952

[Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, p.449.]

Vice-Chairman Song:[1]

I am extremely elated by your gift of your masterpiece *Wei xin Zhongguo fendou* (Struggle for New China), and would like hereby to express my deep gratitude. Your other gifts have also been received and I thank you equally for them.

I wish you healthy and well-being.

Mao Zedong
October 10

NOTES

1. Song Qingling (b.1892) was one of the most prominent women in China's modern and recent history. Born into a family that acquired very considerable wealth and influence, she married Sun Yat-sen in 1914. For the next ten years she was also Sun's confidant in political matters, collaborating with him as a private secretary as well as wife and assistant. After Sun's death, Song Qingling's parting of ways with the rest of her own family came in 1927 when her youngest sister, Meiling married Chiang Kai-shek. Earlier in that year, she had parted ways with the mainstream of the KMT, which Sun had founded — i.e. with both the Nanjing government and the Wuhan government — for its anti-Communist policies and purges. In 1948 she became honorary chairman of an anti-Chiang KMT splinter group, the KMT Revolutionary Committee. This organisation remained active in the PRC after 1949 as one of the "democratic parties".

Letter to Tan Zhenlin

October 15, 1952

[Source: *Selections from Mao Zedong's Letters*, pp. 450-451.]

Comrade Zhenlin: [1]

The [information that] Comrade Chen Yun[2] has acquired on conditions in Xiaozhen *xiang*, Qingpu *xian*, [3] is quite worthy of attention. I enclose it here for your perusal; please make a copy of it and send to the Party committee of the South Jiangsu district.

According to Comrade Bo Yibo,[4] when he was in Shanghai, he already knew that last year's grain requisition in the Zhejiang and South Jiangsu districts has been too heavy and that the East China Bureau has resolved to return part [of that] to the peasants. I wonder what the results have been in this matter? How much, in total, has been returned [to the peasants] in the two districts? How many people's problems have been resolved [by the action]? What is this year's harvest like? Has the quantity of the [state] grain requisition been greatly reduced?

In order to resolve this problem, I suggest that you convene at the East China Bureau a special conference of the people responsible for the two districts and the secretaries of the

xian [party] committees of some characteristic *xian* in the two districts. Before the meeting is held, you can dispatch two investigation teams, one to go to Zhejinag and the other to South Jiangsu; let them go directly to the villages in several *xian* and investigate [the conditions] in a dozen or so *xian*, focusing especially on investigating the real situations with regard to the peasant's' [contributions to] public grain and other burdens— this then can be the basis for discussion at the meeting.

In short, we must earnestly and solidly resolve the problem of giving relief to those peasants who in the past have had little to live on because the [public] burdens have been too heavy. The grain requisition this year must not exceed the rate stipulated by the Centre[5]. [We must] greatly reduce the burden of the people.

I hope that you will notify me your opinions.

In comrade's salute!

Mao Zedong

October 15, 1952

NOTES

1. Tan was at the time of this letter, third secretary of the East China Bureau of the CC or the CPC.
2. Chen was at this time a vice-premier of the Government Administration Council and director of the Financial and Economic Commission of the Central People's Government.
3. This locality is within the municipality of Shanghai.
4. Bo was at this time deputy director of the Financial and Economic Commission and deputy minister of finance.
5. In February 1950, when the Government Administration Council [GAC-*MDP*] drew up regulations for the requisition of public grain in the "new liberated areas," it stipulated that such requisition "should not exceed seventeen percent of the gross agricultural income, and the added public grain requisition done by the local people's government must not exceed, fifteen percent of the official grain requisition." In its "Directive on the Work of Agricultural Taxation and Requisition in 1952" the GAC stipulated: "In those parts of the late liberated areas where land reforms has been completed, a unified system of accumulative progressive tax on the basis of a total combined rate will be followed in 1952. The accumulative progressive tax rate will start at seven percent and end at thirty percent. As a rule no additional surtax will be allowed." In this way the burden of the peasants was some what alleviated.

Inscription Awarded to Soviet Troops in Lushun

[Source: *People's Daily*, February 23, 1953.]

On February 22, 1953, a delegation of the PRC government headed by Premier Zhou Enlai, visited the Soviet Union's troops stationed in the Lushan region pursuant to the Sino-Soviet agreement on the joint administration of the region, which was a corollary agreement of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance signed on February 14, 1950. The delegation celebrated the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union's armed forces with the Soviet troops in Lushun-Dalian. Mao's inscription was embroidered on a banner which was awarded by the delegation to the Soviet troops.

February 22, 1953

The intimate unity between the two great peoples — the Soviet People and the Chinese People — and between their armed forces is a reliable safeguard for peace in the Far East and in the world.

Telegram To Inquire After Stalin's Illness

March 4, 1953

[Source: *People's Daily*, March 5, 1953.]

Chairman,

The Council of Ministers,

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic,

Dear Comrade J. V. Stalin:

On learning the unfortunate news that you have come down with a severe illness, the Chinese people, the Chinese government, and myself, bearing feelings of deepest concern, extend to you our sincere sympathy and wish with all our hearts that your

condition will take a turn for the better, that you will be restored to health, and that the prayers of the peace-loving people of China and of the whole world may be answered.

(Signed and dated in Beijing)

Telegram to the USSR on Stalin's Death

March 6, 1953

Source: *People's Daily*, March 7, 1953.

Chairman

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Comrade Shvernik:

It was with boundless grief that the Chinese people, the Chinese government, and I myself learned the news of the passing away of the Chinese people's closest friend and great teacher, Comrade Stalin. This is an inestimable loss, not only for the people of the Soviet Union, but for the Chinese people, for the entire camp of peace and democracy, and for peace-loving people throughout the world. On behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese government, and on my own behalf, I extend to you and to the people and government of the Soviet Union our deepest condolences.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution is absolutely inseparable from Comrade Stalin's unceasing care, leadership, and support of over thirty years. Since the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, Comrade Stalin and the people and government of the Soviet Union, under his leadership have rendered generous and selfless assistance to the Chinese people's cause of construction. Such a great and profound friendship as that which comrade Stalin had for the Chinese people will be forever remembered with gratitude by the Chinese people. The immortal beacon of Comrade Stalin will forever illuminate the path on which the Chinese people march forward.

Comrade Chairman, the glorious party of Lenin and Stalin and the great people and government of the Soviet Union will certainly have the brotherly confidence and support of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, and the Chinese government. With the greatest resolve, the Chinese people definitely will always and closely unite as one with the great Soviet people to consolidate and strengthen the world camp for peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union, heighten their vigilance, redouble their efforts, strike at the provocateurs of war, and strive to the end for the lasting interest of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and of world peace and security. I believe that the laboring people and all progressive peace-loving people of the world will take the same path as we do, following the direction pointed out by Comrade Stalin, and take up the sacred cause of protecting world peace.

(Signed and dated in Beijing)

The Greatest Friendship

March 9, 1953

[Source: *People's Daily*, March 9, 1953.]

Comrade Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, the greatest genius of the present age, the great teacher of the world Communist movement, and the comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin, has departed from the world.

Comrade Stalin's contribution to our era through his theoretical activities and practice is incalculable. Comrade Stalin represented our entire new age. His activities have let the Soviet people and the working people of all countries to turn around the whole world situation. That is to say, the cause of justice and of People's Democracy and socialism has achieved victory in an immense region of the world, a region embracing more than 800 million people — one third of the earth's population. Moreover, the influence of this victory is daily spreading to every corner of the world.

The death of Comrade Stalin has caused the laboring people of the whole world to feel unparalleled and profound grief; it has stirred the hearts of just people throughout the world. This demonstrates that Comrade Stalin's cause and his thought have gripped the broad masses of the people throughout the world and have already become an invincible force, a force that will guide those people who have already achieved victory in achieving still more fresh victories, one after another, and, at the same time, will guide all those

people who are still groaning under the oppression of the evil old world of capitalism so that they can strike courageously at the enemies of the people.

After the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin led the Soviet people in building into a magnificent socialist society the first socialist state in the world, which he, together with the great Lenin, created at the time of the October Revolution. The victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union was not only a victory for the people of the Soviet Union, but also a common victory for the people of the whole world. First, this victory proved in the most real (live terms the infinite correctness of Marxism-Leninism and concretely educated working people through out the world on how they should advance toward a good life. Second, this victory ensured that during the Second World War humanity would have the strength to defeat the Fascist beast. The achievement of victory in the anti-Fascist war, and the glory for these victories should be attributed to our great Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin developed Marxist-Leninist theory in a comprehensive and epoch-making way and propelled the development of Marxism to a new stage. Comrade Stalin creatively developed Lenin's theory concerning the law of the uneven development of capitalism and the theory that it is possible for socialism to first achieve victory in one country; Comrade Stalin creatively contributed the theory of the general crisis of the capitalist system.; he contributed the theory concerning the building of communism in the Soviet Union; he contributed the theory of the fundamental economic laws of present-day capitalism and of socialism; he contributed the theory of revolution in colonies and semi-colonies. Comrade Stalin also creatively developed Lenin's theory of party building. All these creative theories of Comrade Stalin's further united the workers throughout the world, further united the oppressed classes and oppressed people throughout the world, thereby enabling the struggle of the world's working class and all oppressed people for liberation and well-being and the victories in this struggle to reach unprecedented proportions.

All of Comrade Stalin's writing are immortal documents of Marxism. His works, The Foundations of Leninism, The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolshevik], and his last great work, Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, constitute an encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, a synthesis of the experience of the world Communist movement of the past hundred years. His speech at the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a precious last testament bequeathed to the Communists of all the countries of the world. We Chinese Communists, like the Communists of all countries, search for our own road to victory in the great works of Comrade Stalin.

Since the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin has always been the central figure in the world Communist movement. We rallied around him, constantly asked his advice, and constantly drew ideological strength from his works. Comrade Stalin was full of warmth for the oppressed peoples of the East. "Do not forget the East" (this was Comrade Stalin's great call after the October Revolution. Everyone knows that Comrade Stalin warmly loved the Chinese people and regarded the might of the Chinese revolution as

incalculable. On the question of the Chinese revolution, he contributed his exalted wisdom. It was by following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, along with having the support of the great Soviet state and all the revolutionary forces of other countries, that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people achieved their historic victory a few years ago.

Now we have lost our great teacher and most sincere friend Comrade Stalin. What a misfortune this is! The sorrow that this misfortune has brought us cannot be described in words.

Our task is to transform sorrow into strength. In memory of our great teacher Stalin, the great friendship between the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people [on the one hand] and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet People [on the other] formed in the name of Stalin will never cease to be strengthened. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will further intensify the study of Stalin's teachings and the study of Soviet science and technology in order to build our country.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a party nurtured personally by Lenin and Stalin; it is the most advanced, the most experienced, and the most theoretically cultivated party in the world. This party has been our model in the past, is our model at present, and will still be our model in the future. We fully believe that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the government of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Malenkov will definitely be able to carry on Comrade Stalin's unfinished work and push the great cause of Communism forward and carry it to greater and more glorious development.

There is not the slightest doubt that the camp of world peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the Soviet Union will become even more united and even more powerful.

In the past thirty years, Comrade Stalin's teachings and the model of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union have facilitated a major step forward for the world. Now that the Soviet Union has become so powerful the Chinese people's revolution has achieved such great victories, construction in the various people's democracies has achieved such great success, the movement of the peoples of various countries throughout the world against oppression and aggression has risen to such heights, and our front of friendship and solidarity is so consolidated, we can say with complete certainty that we are not afraid of any imperialist aggression. Any imperialist aggression will be smashed by us, and all their despicable provocation will be to no avail.

The reason that the great friendship between the peoples of the two countries, China and the Soviet Union, is unbreakable is that our friendship has been built on the great principles of the internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The friendship between the peoples of the two countries, China and the Soviet Union, and the peoples of the various people's democracies, as well as with all the people who love peace, democracy, and justice in all the countries of the world is also built upon these great principles of internationalism and consequently is also unbreakable.

Clearly, the strength created by this kind of friendship of ours is inexhaustible and truly invincible.

Let all imperialist aggressors and warmongers tremble before our great friendship!

Long live the teaching of Marx, Lenin and Stalin!

Immortal glory to the heroic name of the great Stalin!

Talk at the Conference on Intellectuals Called by the Centre

January 20, 1956

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought, a Red Guard Publication.*

The target plans of all the departments should be practicable what can be and should be done but has not yet been done, is [due to] rightist conservatism; what is ill-founded and completely unworkable and yet is being done, is [due to] a blindness or 'leftist' adventurism. In my view this [the leftist adventurism] is not the general orientation of the whole party although it is detectable. Some comrades are a bit woolly and dare not say that they are being realistic because of the ugly label of rightist conservatism and opportunism. If they examine and study [things carefully] , [they will be able to] say or insist on saying what cannot be done. What cannot be done should be deleted from our plans so that they may rest on a solid, reliable basis.

Contradictions Under Socialism

April 5, 1956

[Extracted from an editorial in the *People's Daily* of 5 April 1956 entitled 'On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat'.]

Some naive ideas seem to suggest that contradictions no longer exist in a socialist society. To deny the existence of contradictions is to deny dialectics. The contradictions in various societies differ in character as do forms of their solution but society at all times develops through continual contradictions. Socialist society also develops through contradictions between the productive forces and the conditions of production. In a socialist or communist society, technical innovations and improvement in the social

system inevitably continue to take place; otherwise the development of society would come to a standstill and society could no longer advance. Humanity is still in its youth. The road it has yet to traverse will be no one knows how many times longer than the road it has already travelled. Contradictions between progress and conservatism between the advanced and the backward, between the positive and the negative will constantly occur under varying conditions and different circumstances. Things will keep on like this: One contradiction will lead to another, and when old contradictions are solved new ones will arise. It is obviously incorrect to maintain as some people do, that the contradiction between idealism and materialism can be eliminated in a socialist or communist society. As long as contradictions exist between the subjective and the objective between the advanced and the backward and between the productive forces and the conditions of production, the contradiction between materialism and idealism will continue in a socialist or communist society and will manifest itself in various forms. Since man lives in society he reflects in different circumstances and to varying degrees the contradictions existing in each form of society. Therefore not everybody will be perfect, even when a communist society is established. By then there will still be contradictions among the people, and there will still be good people and bad people, people whose thinking is relatively correct and others whose thinking is relatively incorrect. Hence there will still be struggle between people though its nature and form will be different from those in class societies. Viewed in this light the existence of contradictions between the individual and the collective in a socialist society is nothing strange...

Stalin's Place in History

April 5, 1956

[Extracted from the *People's Daily* editorial of 5th April, 1956.]

After Lenin's death Stalin as the chief leader of the Party and the state creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle to defend the legacy of Leninism against its enemies - the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other bourgeois agents - Stalin expressed the will and wishes of the people and proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist fighter. The reason Stalin won the support of the Soviet people and played an important role in history was primarily that he, together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, brought about the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and created the conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler; these victories of the Soviet people conformed to the interests of the working class of the world and all progressive mankind. It was therefore quite natural for the name of Stalin to be greatly honoured throughout the world. But having won such high honour among the people both at home and abroad by his correct application of the Leninist line, Stalin erroneously exaggerated his own role and counterposed his individual authority to the collective leadership, and as a result certain of his actions were opposed to certain fundamental Marxist-Leninist concepts he himself had propagated....

Marxist-Leninists hold that leaders play a big role in history. The people and their parties need forerunners who are able to represent the interests and will of the people, stand in the forefront of their historic struggles, and serve as their leaders. But when any leader of the Party or the state places himself over and above the Party and the masses, instead of in their midst, when he alienates himself from the masses, he ceases to have all-round, penetrating insight into the affairs of the state. As long as this was the case, even so outstanding a personality as Stalin could not avoid making unrealistic and erroneous decisions on certain important matters... During the later part of his life, Stalin took more and more pleasure in this cult of the individual and violated the Party's system of democratic centralism and the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. As a result, he made some serious mistakes: for example, he broadened the scope of the suppression of counter-revolution; he lacked the necessary vigilance on the eve of the anti-fascist war; he failed to pay proper attention to the further development of agriculture and the material welfare of peasantry; he gave certain wrong advice on the international communist movement, and, in particular, made a wrong decision on the question of Yugoslavia. On these issues, Stalin fell victim to subjectivism and one-sidedness and divorced himself from objective reality and from the masses.

The cult of the individual is a rotten carry-over from the long history of mankind. The cult of the individual is rooted not only in the exploiting classes but also in the small producers. As is well known, patriarchy is a product of small-producer economy...

The struggle against the cult of the individual, which was launched by the Twentieth Congress, is a great and courageous fight by the communists and the people of the Soviet Union to clear away the ideological obstacles blocking their advance...

It must be pointed out that Stalin's works should, as before, still be seriously studied and that we should accept all that is of value in them, as an important historical legacy, especially those many works in which he defended Leninism and correctly summarized the experience of building up the Soviet Union. But there are two ways of studying them - the Marxist way and the doctrinaire way. Some people treat Stalin's writings in a doctrinaire manner and therefore cannot analyse and see what is correct and what is not and everything that is correct they consider a panacea and apply indiscriminately, and thus inevitably they make mistakes. For instance, Stalin put forward a formula that in different revolutionary periods the main blow should be so directed as to isolate the middle-of-the-road social and political forces of the time. This formula of Stalin's should be treated according to circumstances and from a critical, Marxist point of view. In certain circumstances it may be correct to isolate the middle forces, but it is not correct to isolate them under all circumstances. Our experience teaches us that the main blow of the revolution should be directed at the chief enemy and to isolate him, whereas with the middle forces, a policy of both uniting with them and struggling against them should be adopted, so that they are at least neutralized; and as circumstances permit, efforts should be made to shift them from their position of neutrality to one of alliance with us in order to facilitate the development of the revolution. But there was a time - the ten years of civil war from 1927 to 1936 - when some of our comrades crudely applied this formula of

Stalin's to China's revolution by turning their main attack on the middle forces, singling them out as the most dangerous enemy; the result was that, instead of isolating the real enemy, we isolated ourselves and suffered losses to the advantage of the real enemy. In the light of this doctrinaire error, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China during the period of the anti-Japanese war formulated a policy of developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the roaders, and isolating the diehards for the purpose of defeating the Japanese aggressors...

Some people consider that Stalin was wrong in everything. This is a grave misconception. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, yet at the same time a Marxist-Leninist who committed several gross errors without realizing that they were errors. We should view Stalin from a historical standpoint, make a proper and all round analysis to see where he was right and where he was wrong and draw useful lessons therefrom. Both the things he did right and the things he did wrong were phenomena of the international communist movement and bore the imprint of the times. Taken as a whole the international communist movement is only a little over hundred years old and it is only thirty-nine years since the victory of the October Revolution; experience in many fields of revolutionary work is still inadequate. Great achievements have been made, but there are still shortcomings and mistakes....

Reactionary forces the world over are pouring ridicule on this event: they jeer at the fact that we are overcoming mistakes in our camp. But what will come of all this ridicule? There is not the slightest doubt that these scoffers will find themselves facing a still more powerful, forever invincible, great camp of peace and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, while the murderous, bloodsucking enterprises of these scoffers will be in a pretty fix.

Speech at Expanded Meeting of CPC Political Bureau [1]

April 25, 1956

[Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought*, Red Guard Publication, 1969.]

There are those who show no vigor and vitality in their expressions of opinion. The relationship between the lower echelon and the higher echelon is like that of a mouse when it sees a cat. It is as if their souls have been eaten away. Thus many dare not speak up. The various provinces have this same problem. They are not sufficiently democratic, although the exemplary workers speak up quite spiritedly. Our financial and economic conference and the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee have an auxiliary function, because there are several rules and regulations on which not everyone dares speak appropriately and some comrades do not dare express themselves at all.

Another reason for this is that they do not have sufficient understanding of the situation and thus do not speak clearly and profoundly. In regard to the financial and economic system, Comrades X X and Hsien-nieh have their own opinions, but this is not a question of men. Only by changing the system can we change the way of doing things, and we must give some power to those below. Our discipline has come mostly from Soviet Union. By being too strict, we will tie the hands of the people. If we cannot crush bureaucracy in this way, then the proletarian dictatorship must have an appropriate system. In regard to the problem of the division of power between the central government and the local areas, and how the single-head system of the Soviet Union came about, the Political Bureau and the State Council have still been unable to make a decision. If the various localities want division of power, they should not be fearful of talking of independence. Since the central government has not made any decision on this, all of it can be brought up for discussion. It is allowable for the various localities to first work up their own regulations, by-laws, methods, and statutes. We should allow the various localities to be full of creativity, spirit, and liveliness. Starting next year, a large meeting should be held once a year. On 1 May there need not be a large meeting; there can be small meetings and entertainment, and 1 May slogans of the Soviet Union need not be posted.

Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, we have been dull and mechanical, and lacking in spirit. The Fourth Plenary Session should be convened. Its resolutions are very necessary. Letting Kao Kang hold sway for another year is unthinkable. But this has produced an over cautiousness about everything, and some do not dare speak of national affairs, and this is not right. Before the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central committee, there were some sabotage incidents; these must be overcome. The sabotage activities of Kao and Jao should be terminated.^[2] But some are overcautious and do not speak of national affairs. A clear distinction should be made between two kinds of national affairs. One type is destructive, like that of Kao and Jao, and should be opposed. One type is constructive, and should be thoroughly discussed. At the time of the financial and economic conference,^[3] some comrades said the wrong thing and were subject to criticism, but the Kao and Jao affairs should be distinguished from them. The party at the time of the Great Revolution was full of vitality. Later Ch'en Tu-hsiu committed the mistake of right opportunism, and subsequently also started the blind leftist movement.^[4] After defeat, he was no longer lively. In these eight years, the brief period following the "7 August" Conference ^[5], the Sixth National Congress ^[6] and the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee were correct.^[7] During the period of land reform, there were three leftist tendencies. During the period of the anti-Japanese war, there was a rightist trend. Two of the leftist trends were our own, and the third leftist trend and the Communist International were related to each other. The Fourth Plenary Session's resolutions on the third leftist trend were written by the Russians who forced us to accept them, especially the Wang Ming line. It was the greatest loss to our revolutionary power, the loss incurred amounting to over 90 percent. In view of this lesson, we should accept things analytically and critically. Chang Kuo-t'ao was rightist.^[8] During the Anti-Japanese War, he was also rightist. The three rightist movements were especially for centralization, and they were not allowed to express a difference of views. In defeat, they were not allowed to talk of defeat. In view of the

lessons of history, later every effort was made to remedy the situation, and there was unify and fighting spirit. During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, the spirit of independence of the base areas was very great, and local activism was given expression, but there was a kind of decentralization. Some who were working for independence expressed what should not be expressed. This was related to the Wang Ming line. In order to correct this kind of phenomenon, the central government made the decision to strengthen parry nature. There was to be centralization, but a good deal of autonomy was preserved. During the period of the War of Liberation, there was formulated the system of reporting for instructions, rectifying the previous tendency of decentralization.^[9] During the past few years, it has been irregular, and there has been more centralization. After all, how much autonomy should the industrial plants, the villages, the cooperatives, and the localities have? The Soviet Union during the past 40 years has had no experience in this, and we have no experience to study this. Since some things are decided neither by the Central Government nor the localities, they are just carried out as such, as for example the single-head system. Comrade Hsueh-feng would bring up the questions before the central government would discuss it. Our party historically has had the over-centralization of the Wang Ming line and the over-decentralization of the Second Wang Ming line. It is necessary to have an adequate amount of centralization, but too much centralization is not right and not beneficial for the mobilization of power to carry out large-scale economic reconstruction. Our comrades will please study carefully our party's history on this.

The question of the individual and the state, and the ratio of collective income. I agree that 60-70 percent of the total income should go to the commune members, and 30-40 percent to the state and the commune. At most this should not exceed 40 percent; and 30 percent is the best (including agricultural taxes, besides the cooperative public welfare fund the public accumulation fund, administrative fees, etc.)

The question of the system of the socialist economy:

The party committee system is not to be doubted. Please study Lenin's directives. The industrial plants and mines, cooperatives, commercial flow and transport, as well as other enterprises must have a definite independence, but the extent to which they should be independent should be carefully studied. We are not Kao Kang's Independent Kingdom, but should encourage open and legal "independent kingdoms" (not above the constitution) if we are to manage our affairs well. If we have none of this at all, we cannot manage our affairs well. How should the State Council have division of labor in management and control? This must be studied in order to find a solution. How many departments the central government should have and how much power they should have are questions which should be decided on shortly. As to how many departments the localities should set up, over what matters they should have jurisdiction, and how much power they should have, we should draft a resolution on this within the next few months. The various departments of the central government should stress the teaching of cadres for the lower levels to solve their problems. When the localities come to the central government and cannot see the people in charge, and there is delay and indecision, some problems do not get to be solved for several years, and the reasons for this should be

studied. These two problems need solution: What method should be used so that the people in charge can be seen, and also how can problems be expeditiously solved. Will the various departments of the central government please give this their attention.

The localities have the power to resist all inoperable, impractical, and subjective orders, directives, instructions, and forms which the central government issues to the localities, and if they are restrained a bit more, it would not matter. This power is only given to the provincial and municipal committees (which are comparatively more mature politically), and they are not given to the committees of the localities and the counties.

The Party regulations should show discipline and creativeness: the mass line should be manifested here, and the various provinces should study them a bit. It will not do to have discipline; but discipline, when enforced inflexibly, can obstruct an attitude of positivism. Discipline which obstructs creativeness and positivism should be abolished. In the draft party regulations it would be stipulated that a vice-chairman or several vice-chairmen should be designated. Whether or not it is possible to emulate the methods of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and designate regular delegates with 5-year terms to serve in a supervisory function, is something to which everyone will please give consideration.

In the field of arts, "Let a hundred flowers bloom"; and in the literary field, "Let a hundred schools of thought contend" (as they contended during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States period [722- 481 B.C.]) This should be our policy. This was the view of the people 2,000 years ago.

Democratic control of the cooperatives is very important. This is natural. In collectivized labor, the peasants also should be given some free time. It is right to listen to correct orders, but when orders are profuse, they become too inflexible and inoperative. We also must have some liberalism; it will not do otherwise. Strictness is derived from dealing with the unstrict. Discipline arises from dealing with liberalism. What we are opposed to is: We should not stir up the liberalism of the local liberals. But we must have some liberalism in order to facilitate getting things done. It will not do to be strict at all times. It is still necessary to have liberalism within the family, otherwise each family will have to set up supervisory members.

It is necessary to have national balance. Local independence should not obstruct national balance. Only with national balance can there be partial balance for the localities. Without national balance, the country would be in great chaos. Peking's things cannot match those of Shanghai, and they are afraid that Shanghai goods will flood the market. So it is necessary to have national balance. Without this balance, it will not be possible to make the nation industrialized. When we encourage independence of the localities, we must not lean to one side. Now it is necessary to stress independence.

We must positively touch on the economic activities of this year and next year. Each provincial and municipal committee should report once, and work up some exemplary models. We have had no experience in these matters, and must try to find some

departments, districts, and industrial plants to study. Other people say the central government has brilliant leadership. We know some things, but also do not know other things.

In four days of meetings, we cannot talk about everything. We have talked too little about the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the unification of war efforts, the minority nationalities, and international problems. Will the various areas please stress this to their subordinates. We should take affirmative action in regard to the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. In the past, we have killed, locked up, and controlled 2-3 million such persons, and this was extremely necessary. Without this stroke, it would not do. The democratic parties have divergent views from us. Now the counterrevolutionaries are fewer. We should take affirmative action to see if there are still any counterrevolutionaries, and this year decide upon having some of them killed. They must be liquidated in the strategic organizations and schools. Those not yet liquidated must be liquidated. We cannot be lax and lenient; we must carry out this bitter task. We should telephone once every half month to urge them into action. You can also use the telephone method towards the local committees.

Punishment within the party: In regard to some cadres in the counties, districts, and townships, this has been too much and too severe. In regard to high level cadres (including bureau chiefs and above) who commit errors and on whom it is difficult to reach a conclusion, the punishment should be carried out (and the reasons therefore should be clearly investigated). It is not right for the punishment to be severe and too heavy. With the exception of the counterrevolutionaries, they should be given the chance to reform.

In regard to the problem of minority nationalities, Comrade X X has said that Szechwan is right. Although some retribution has been made, attention needs to be paid to other areas.

The question of international relations. Some points should not be blindly followed. On some matters we already have experience. The Soviet Union has already initiated a mass criticism campaign. Some of it is neither suitable for our country nor to the Soviet Union. We have committed many errors in view of their direct leadership. For example, in regard to the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, we would not catch most of them and would not kill many of them. The single-head system is a military standpoint. The mass line is still the standpoint of graceful favors. Whether the method of capital accumulation should be by disparity (in prices between industrial goods and agricultural produce) or by tax collection is a problem. But this is not to say that we have nothing to learn from the Soviet Union. They have many things which are worthy of our study. The Soviet Union helped us in our reconstruction, and socialist countries are still the best at this. Now even with this one country, although it has made many errors, there is still much that merits our study. We should not follow blindly, but should subject everything to analysis. There is good and bad in everything. We cannot say that everything the Soviet Union does is good. Now, people are saying, that we have been following even what is bad. We should learn whatever is suitable for our use. Even the good in capitalism should be learned.

We should adopt an attitude of equal treatment to all small nations abroad. We should not cock our tail. Although we are not imperialists, do not have an "Octoberist Revolution," and in the beginning cannot cock our tail; we shall soon learn a few things and shall soon be able to cock our tail. We should teach our comrades who are sent to foreign countries to be honest and sincere, and call a spade a spade; and we must let everyone see what is good, bad, or mediocre in us. The Soviet Union had its Czars; and we have our Chiang Kai-shek. If our country has small feet, and others want to photograph them, let them do it. If our clothes are not good, let us not be afraid they will look unsightly. If we tell lies in front of foreigners, someday these lies will surely be exposed.

As to the problem of communication, some things can be talked about anywhere. The bad things about Stalin and the Third International can be communicated to the local committee secretaries and also to the county committee secretaries. It is out of consideration for the total situation that these are not written about in articles. (This article had only one sentence about "certain bad ideas being brought up,") and we have no intention of discussing them in newspapers or among the masses.

NOTES

1. In this connection also see comrade Mao's article "[On Ten Major Relationships](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* Vol.V, pp. 284-307
2. For more on Kao-Jao (Kao Kang-Jao Shushi) affair, see "[Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. V, pp.154-171.
3. The National Conference on Financial and Economic Work was held in the summer of 1953.
4. Chen Tu-hsiu was originally a professor at Peking University and became famous as an editor of *New Youth*. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party of China. Because of his reputation at the time of the May 4th Movement and owing to the Party's immaturity in its initial period, he became General Secretary of the Party. In the last period of the revolution of 1924-27, the Rightist thinking in the Party represented by Chen Tu-Hsiu developed into a line of capitulationism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has observed that the capitulationists at that time "voluntarily gave up the Party's leadership of the peasant masses, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and in particular gave up the Party's leadership of the armed forces, thus causing the defeat of the revolution" ("[The Present Situation and Our Tasks](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 171). After the defeat of 1927 Chen Tu-hsiu and a handful of other capitulationists lost faith in the future of the revolution and became liquidationists.. They took the reactionary Trotskyist stand and together with the Trotskyites formed a small anti-Party group. Consequently Chen Chen Tu-hsiu was expelled from the Party in November 1929. He died in 1942.

With reference to Chen Tu-Hsiu's Right opportunism, see the introductory notes to "[Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society](#)" and to "[Report on the Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. 1, and "[Introducing The Communist](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II

5. The CPC held an emergency conference of the Central Committee on August 7, 1927, at Kiukiang, Kiangsi Province. The conference criticized the erroneous capitulationist line of the Right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu on the question of revolutionary leadership, revolutionary armed forces and agrarian revolution and removed him from the leading post.

6. The Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in July 1928. It pointed out that after the defeat in 1927, China's revolution remained bourgeois-democratic in nature; i.e., anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, and that since the inevitable new high tide in the revolution was not yet imminent, the general line for the revolution should be to win over the masses. The Sixth Congress liquidated the 1927 Right Capitulationism of Chen Tu-hsiu and also repudiated the "Left" putschism which occurred in the Party at the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928.

The congress adopted the following Ten-Point Programme: (1) overthrow imperialist rule; (2) confiscate foreign capitalist enterprises and banks; (3) unify China and recognize the right of the nationalities to self-determination; (4) overthrow the Kuomintang warlord government (5) establish a government of councils of workers, peasants and soldiers, (6) institute the eight-hour day, increase wages, and establish unemployment relief and social insurance (7) confiscate the land of all landlords and distribute the land among the peasants; (8) improve the living conditions of the soldiers, give land and jobs to ex-soldiers; (9) abolish all exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies and adopt a consolidated progressive tax and (10) unite with the world proletariat, unite with the Soviet Union.

7. The Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party held in September 1930, and the subsequent central leading body adopted many positive measures to put an end to the Li-Li-san line. But later a number of Party comrades who were inexperienced in practical revolutionary struggle, with Chen Shao-yu (Wang Ming) and Chin Pang-hsien (Po Ku) in the lead, came out against the Central Committee's measures. In the pamphlet, **The Two Lines or The Struggle for the Further Bolshevization of the Communist Party of China**, they most emphatically declared that the main danger then existing in the Party was not "Left" opportunism but "Right opportunism" and, to justify their own activities, they "criticized" the Li Li-san line as "Rightist". They put forward a new political programme which continued, revived or developed the Li Li-san line and other "Left" ideas and policies in a new guise, and set themselves against the correct line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It was mainly to criticize the military mistakes of this new "Left" opportunist line that Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote the article, "[Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War](#)". This line was dominant in the Party from the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in January 1931 to the meeting of the Political Bureau convened by the Central Committee

at Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, in January 1935, which ended the dominance of this erroneous line and established the new central leadership headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The erroneous "Left" line dominated the Party for a particularly long time (four years) and brought extremely heavy losses, with disastrous consequences, to the Party and the Revolution. A loss of 90 percent was inflicted on the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army and its base areas, tens of millions of people in the revolutionary base areas were made to suffer the cruel oppression of the Kuomintang, and the progress of the Chinese revolution was retarded. The overwhelming majority of the errant comrades have realized and corrected their mistakes through a long process of learning from experience and have done much good work for the Party and people. Under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership they united with the masses of other comrades in the Party on the basis of a common political understanding.

8. Chang Kuo-tao was a renegade from the Chinese revolution. In early life, speculating on the revolution, he joined the Chinese Communist Party. In the Party he made many mistakes resulting in serious crimes. The most notorious of these was his opposition, in 1935, to the Red Army's northward march and his defeatism and liquidationism in advocating withdrawal by the Red Army to the minority-nationality areas on the Szechuan-Sikang borders; what is more, he openly carried out traitorous activities against the Party and the Central Committee, established his own bogus central committee, disrupted the unity of the Party and the Red Army, and caused heavy losses to the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army. But thanks to patient education by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee, the Fourth Front Army and its numerous cadres soon returned to the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and played a glorious role in subsequent struggles. Chang Kuo-tao however, proved incorrigible and in the spring of 1934 he skipped out of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and joined the Kuomintang secret police.

9. See "[On Setting up a System of Reports](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* Vol IV, pp. 177-180..

Chairman Mao's Talk to Music Workers

24 August 1956

[This is Chairman Mao's talk to responsible cadres of the National Association of Music Workers and some other comrades.

Source: *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought*, a Red Guard Publication, 1967]

The art of all the nations of the world is similar with respect to fundamental principles, but different with respect to form and style. The art of the various socialist countries each has socialism as its content, but each has its own national character. They have both similarities and differences, common features and individual characteristics. This is a

natural law. All things are like this, no matter whether they belong to nature, society, or to the realm of the intellect. Take the leaves of a tree: at first sight they all look much the same, but when you examine them closely, each one is different; to find two absolutely identical leaves is impossible.

Class struggle, social revolution, the transition from capitalism to socialism have the same fundamental principles in all countries. But when it comes to some of the minor principles and manifestations which are dependent on the major principles, then each country is different. The October Revolution and the Chinese Revolution are like this. With respect to fundamental principles the two revolutions are similar, but with respect to the form in which these principles were manifested, the two revolutions have many differences. For example, in Russia the revolution developed from the cities to the countryside, while in our country it developed from the countryside to the cities. This is one of the many differences between the two revolutions.

The art of the various nations of the world each has its own peculiar national form and national style. Some people do not understand this point. They reject their own national characteristics and blindly worship the West, thinking that the West is better in every respect. They even go so far as to advocate 'complete Westernization'. This is wrong. 'Complete Westernization' is impracticable; it will not be accepted by the common people of China. The arts and the natural sciences differ in this respect. For example, removing the appendix and taking aspirin have no national form. This is not the case with the arts: with them the question of national form does arise. This is because art is the manifestation of people's lives, thoughts and emotions, and it bears a very close relationship to a nation's customs and language. Historically the artistic heritage has grown up within the framework of the nation.

Chinese art, Chinese music, painting, drama, song and dance, and literature have each had their own historical development. In rejecting Chinese things, the people who advocate complete Westernization say that Chinese things do not have their own laws, and so they are unwilling to study or develop them. This is adopting an attitude of national nihilism towards Chinese art.

Every nation in the world has its own history and its own strengths and weaknesses. Since earliest times excellent things and rotten things have mingled together and accumulated over long periods. To sort them out and distinguish the essence from the dregs is a very difficult task, but we must not reject history because of this difficulty. It is no good cutting ourselves off from history and abandoning our heritage. The common people would not approve.

Of course this by no means implies that we do not need to learn from foreign countries. We must learn many things from foreign countries and master them. We must especially master fundamental theory. Some people advocate 'Chinese learning as the substance, Western learning for practical application'. Is this idea right or wrong? It is wrong. The word 'Learning' in fact refers to fundamental theory. Fundamental theory should be the

same in China as in foreign countries. There should be no distinction between Chinese and Western things in fundamental theory.

Marxism is a fundamental theory which was produced in the West. How then can we make a distinction between what is Chinese and what is Western in this respect? Are we to refuse to accept Marxism? The practice of the Chinese revolution proves that not to accept Marxism would be bad for us. It would be unreasonable not to accept it. In the past the Second International attempted to deny and revise the fundamental theories of Marxism and put forward some arguments for this, but they were completely refuted by Lenin. Marxism is a general truth which has universal application. We must accept it. But this general truth must be combined with the concrete practice of each nation's revolution. It was only because the Chinese people accepted Marxism and combined it with the practice of the Chinese revolution that they won victory in the Chinese revolution.

We learn foreign things because we want to study and develop Chinese things. In this respect natural and social science are similar. We must master all the good things from foreign countries and then apply them and, in the process, develop them. In the field of natural science we must do our own independent creative work, and use modern scientific knowledge and methods from abroad to sort out China's scientific heritage, until we can form our own schools of thought. Take, for example, Western medical science and other related modern sciences such as physiology, pathology, biochemistry, bacteriology and anatomy. Can you say we do not want to study them? We must study all these modern sciences. But some of those who have studied Western medicine should also study Chinese medicine, and use their modern scientific knowledge and method to put in order and study our ancient Chinese medical methods and materials. They should also combine Chinese and Western medicine and pharmacy to create new unified Chinese medical and pharmaceutical sciences.

If this applies to natural and social science, how much the more should it apply to the arts. We must learn from foreign countries and absorb the good things from foreign countries, but when we have learnt them we must use them to study and develop the arts of the various peoples of China, otherwise our work will benefit nobody. Our aim in studying foreign arts, studying their fundamental theories and techniques, is to create a new socialist art of the various peoples of China, which will possess its own individual national forms and styles.

We must acknowledge that in respect of modern culture the standards of the West are higher than ours. We have fallen behind. Is this the case in respect of art? In art we have our strengths and also our weaknesses. We must be good at absorbing the good things from foreign countries in order to make good our own shortcomings. If we stick to our old ways and do not study foreign literature, do not introduce it into China; if we do not know how to listen to foreign music or how to play it, this is not good. We must not be like the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi [1] who blindly rejected all foreign things. Blindly rejecting foreign things is like blindly worshipping them. Both are incorrect and harmful.

In learning from foreign countries we must oppose both conservatism and dogmatism. We have already suffered politically from dogmatism. Everything we copied from abroad was adopted rigidly, and this ended in a great defeat, with the Party organizations in the white areas losing one hundred per cent of their strength and the revolutionary bases and the Red Army losing ninety per cent of their strength, and the victory of the revolution being delayed for many years. [2] The reason is that there were some comrades who did not take reality as their starting-point, but dogmatism. They did not combine the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. If we had not rejected this kind of dogmatism the Chinese revolution would not have won today's victory.

In the field of the arts we should also learn this lesson and take good care not to let dogmatism get the better of us. To study foreign things does not mean importing everything, lock, stock and barrel. We must accept things critically. We learn from the ancients in order to benefit the people of today, and we learn from foreigners in order to benefit the people of China

We must learn good things from foreign countries and also learn good things from China. Half bottles of vinegar are no good: we must change two half bottles into two whole bottles.[3] We must master both Chinese and foreign things and combine them into an organic whole. Lu Hsün did this. He was very well versed in both Chinese and foreign works, but his brilliance was not primarily in his translations but rather in his creative work. His creative work was akin neither to foreign things nor to old-style Chinese things, but it is still Chinese. We should study Lu Hsün's spirit, master both Chinese and foreign things, absorb the good points of Chinese and foreign art, fuse them together and create a new art with a characteristic national form and style.

Of course it is not easy to make a successful combination of Chinese and foreign things. It is a process which takes time. There are some Chinese things into which it is possible to blend foreign things. For example, in writing novels, the language, characters and background must be Chinese, but they need not be written in the Chinese 'instalment' form.[4] You can produce some things which are neither Chinese nor Western. If what comes out is neither a donkey nor a horse but a mule, that would be not bad at all. When two things combine, their form is changed. It is not possible for them to remain completely unchanged. Chinese things will change. Politically, economically and culturally, the face of China is undergoing big changes. But however much they change, Chinese things will always have their own characteristics. Foreign things also change. After the October Revolution, the face of the world underwent a fundamental change. After the Second World War this change developed in a new direction. We must give our attention to the critical acceptance of foreign things, and especially to the introduction of things from the socialist world and from the progressive people of the capitalist world.

In short, art must have independent creative qualities; it must be distinctly imbued with the character of the times and also with the national character. China's art must not look more and more to the past, nor must it become more and more Westernized. It must increasingly reflect the characteristics of the times and of the nation. In trying to achieve

this we should not shun experimentation. Especially in a country such as China, with a long history and a large population, it is even more necessary to carry out such experimentation as will serve the needs of the various nationalities the better. We do not want complete uniformity. Uniformity leads to writing to formulae.^[5] No matter whether they are foreign or local formulae, both are lifeless and are not welcomed by the common people of China.

We have here the question of the treatment of bourgeois intellectuals who have received a Western education. If we do not tackle this question properly, it will have an adverse effect not only on art, but also on the whole revolutionary cause. The Chinese national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals consist of a few million people. Although their numbers are not great, they possess modern culture. We must unite with them, educate them and remould them. The comprador class has its own culture, which is a slave culture. The landlord class also has its culture -- feudal culture. The Chinese workers and peasants, owing to their having been oppressed for a long time, still do not have much cultural knowledge. Until the tasks of the cultural and technical revolutions have been completed, the bourgeois intellectuals have comparatively more knowledge and skill. Provided our policy is correct and we educate and remould them, we can get them to serve the cause of socialism. Can we educate and remould them? We can. Many of the people here present were bourgeois intellectuals in the past who have crossed over from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, so why should not they too cross over? In fact there are already many who have crossed over. We must not fail to unite with them, educate them and remould them. Only if we do this will they be of benefit to the revolutionary cause of the working class, to the socialist revolution, and to socialist construction.

You who are here present are all musicians. In studying Western music you have many important responsibilities. The ordering and development of Chinese music must depend on you who study Western-style music, just as the ordering and development of Chinese medicine depends on Western-style doctors. The Western things which you study are useful, but you should master both Western and Chinese things, and should not 'completely Westernize'. You should devote attention to Chinese things, do your utmost to study and develop them, with the aim of creating our own Chinese things with characteristic national form and style. If you grasp this basic policy your work will have a great future.

NOTES

1. In 1898, the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi (1835-1908) resumed control of the administration, which she had relinquished to her nephew the Kuang Hsü Emperor in 1889, and crushed the 'Reform Movement'; she encouraged the Boxers in their attacks on foreigners.
2. This passage refers primarily to the defeats suffered by the Chinese Communists in 1933-4, which ultimately led them to abandon their bases in Kiangsi and neighbouring provinces and embark on the Long March. Mao blamed these reverses on the faulty tactics imposed by the Moscow-trained 'Returned Student Faction' in the Chinese

Communist Party, and on the Comintern military adviser Otto Braun (Li Te), and their failure to take account of differences between Chinese and Soviet conditions. Lurking in the background is, of course, the memory of the bloody catastrophe to which policies dictated by Stalin had led in 1927.

3. There is a Chinese proverb: 'A half bottle of vinegar shakes; a full bottle does not .' Here, Mao is obviously using this metaphor to indicate that what China needs is a true synthesis of Chinese and European elements, not simply the juxtaposition of disparate ideas and styles.

4. Traditional Chinese novels, such as *Water Margin*, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, or the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (translated by David Hawkes under the title *The Story of the Stone*, Penguin, 1973), grew out of the story-teller's art. The chapters therefore tend to be broken at a high point in the action, and to conclude with some such sentence as: 'If you want to know how the hero got out of this fix, read (or listen to) the next instalment.'

5. Literally, to writing eight-legged essays. This highly artificial, stilted form in which candidates in the imperial examinations were obliged to cast their compositions from the fifteenth century onwards, has become a metaphor for pedantry and formalism in general. For Mao's most extensive attack on this vice, see his speech of 8 February 1942, 'Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing', in *Selected Works* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961-5), Vol. III, pp. 53-68.

Letter to Zhou Enlai

July 7, 1957

In both colleges and middle schools it is necessary to strengthen ideological and political leadership as well as to revamp ideological and political education. It is also necessary to cut down the curriculum, restore political classes for middle schools, abolish the Constitution class and compile new text books, on ideology and politics.

Comment on Class Education with Leaders from Shanghai Motor Power Institute

July, 1957

We must strengthen ideological and political work for youth; we must teach them not to despise labour so that they will be able to construct our nation successfully! Even if the youth is a young worker, because he has not undergone the hardship of the old society it is all the more necessary to strengthen class education in order to enhance his ideological awareness.

Comment to the Loatian Patriotic (Liberation) Front Representative on Education

1957

Political education is the center of all education.

Educating the youth is a big problem. If we are negligent the bourgeoisie will come to power.

Talk in the Enlarged Third Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the CCP^[1]

October 7, 1957

[Source: Long Live Mao Zedong Thought, a Red Guard Publication, 1969.]

China has had two revolutions. During the period of democratic revolution it was anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism, and anti-bureaucratic capitalism; only within the party was there a struggle against the capitalist ideology of the national bourgeoisie. At that time there were two roads, the road of liberation and the road of colonialism. The socialist revolution is to eradicate classes, to eliminate exploitation; it is the proletarian revolution. In declaring that there is a primary contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, I hold that in theory there is no problem.

In 1953 at the Finance and Economics Meeting the general line was set forth; [2] initially we did not dare to propagate it throughout the entire party but instead we first discussed it at the county level. At the end of 1953 it was discussed at the Political Consultative Conference. The Propaganda Department drafted an outline for dissemination of the general line. During these past three and one-half years, we have dealt a severe blow to the bourgeoisie; we have also dealt a blow to the individual economy. Consequently this was reflected in the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress, which said that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat had been fundamentally resolved. This statement was not incorrect, but fundamental resolution is not equivalent to complete resolution. Once the problem of political authority was resolved, the problem of ownership was fundamentally resolved, but in the economic and political spheres there was not a complete resolution.

Among the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals, the rightists in the democratic parties, and a portion of the well-to-do middle peasants, there were those who opposed the people while standing among them. At that time this was not seen so clearly, but it was not totally unperceived either (at that time we were still carrying out transformation). At that time they were very submissive and obedient, so we said that there was a fundamental resolution. Today I emphasize this contradiction because they wanted to rebel. At the Tsingtao Conference this year [3] we saw clearly, and pointed out that in the urban and rural area there was still a struggle between the two roads. As this sort of class struggle has not been eradicated and the rightist elements at this time are wildly advancing, it must be said that there is a primary contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But strategically the Tsingtao documents have said it well; it is all right if those at the meeting know what is primary and what is secondary. We have not talked about this for a long time. If we now add on to it, shaking heaven and earth, it would be bad. Now we must continue with the Tsingtao method of expression for three months.

There is also bourgeois ideology among the workers. Within the party the three big "isms" have also been unfurled over the bourgeoisie. The two roads — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, socialism and capitalism — are the primary contradictions of the transitional era; for the time being we will not discuss them in the report. Have we discussed whether or not it is possible to mitigate the contradictions among the great mass of the people? On the other hand there are internal bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism; we can write about this problem theoretically.

The relationship among the working people — contradictions in the relationship between the party and the masses, the relationship between cadres and the masses, between the individual and the collective, between the young and the old, and among the workers — are very numerous. If we declare suddenly that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is primary, could this have an effect on the frank airing of views? Not necessarily, but it could cause squabbling among the workers.

There are two segments of the people; one segment has exploited people and one segment has not exploited people. In one segment few have been influenced by bourgeois ideology while in the other many have been influenced. After several hundred years it will be impossible to unfurl again the banner of the bourgeoisie; that is the struggle between the advance and the backward. When we say that large-scale class struggle has fundamentally ended and that contradictions have been fundamentally resolved, we are speaking of the political system and the problem of ownership. But in building the superstructure, the question of ideology and political power in large measures has not been resolved. Individualism, bureaucratism, idealism are also a matter of building the superstructure and must be resolved.

After the capitalists began to beat their gongs and drums last year, we immediately put forth the idea of opposing the bourgeoisie, They were unable to speak out. This was unpopular, and the result was disadvantageous to us. Afterwards we had a frank airing of views, and it was easier to manage; we acquired experience and it was easier to manage. We brought forth "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", and so they let themselves go. In the past the bourgeoisie had been subservient, and now they raised a great clamor. We had only brought forth frank airing of views and the rightists aired their views and made a great racket. We said that there should be a frank airing of views in literature, art, and academic issues, but they wanted to progress to politics. This year the Communist Party and the rightists have cooperated to find a method which is good: a loud and frank airing of views, posting of big-character posters, and carrying on great debates, meant the discovery of a comparatively more appropriate form. In Yen-an we were not so daring, we had no experience, we did not forbid, but we also did not express. We had not carried out the socialist revolution and had no experience, and this episode of frank and loud airing of views had increased our experience. In the future we shall still wish to have a frank airing of views. Let a hundred flowers blossom does not embrace counter-revolution, however. We are able to have a frank airing of views once a year. To suppress the people as though they are enemies is very dangerous. In discussing contradictions among the people one must guard against adopting the method of suppression and coercion.

The first road is to assert that during the transitional period the primary contradiction is the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The second road during a prescribed period should not be discussed in the newspapers, but the struggle between the two roads should continue to be propagandized. Do not add these two characters and avoid stirring up a lot of trouble.

The contradiction among the working people is today being resolved in the course of the frank airing of views and great debates. As soon as it is mentioned that the class contradiction is primary, there will be an adverse effect on rectification and transformation.

Three classes are included among the people: the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, and the petit bourgeoisie. A contradiction exists among these three segments of the people. This contradiction is a contradiction among the people, and it is also a class contradiction. There is a distinction between class contradictions and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Generally speaking, a contradiction among the people is non-antagonistic while a contradiction with the bourgeoisie has an antagonistic side. The central question is the contradictions among the three segments of the people. Among these a portion are covertly antagonistic. The contradiction with Chang Po-chun, for example, was an antagonistic contradiction. In confronting this kind of antagonistic contradiction one should adopt the policy of peeling away the outer skin of a bamboo shoot. Each year peel away a little. This year peel away some of the outer skin, but don't peel it all away. After two years of not propagandizing socialism begin again, and afterwards peel away a little more. The work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*^[4] was not mistaken, but it was not a complete as the Tsingtao document. Now the primary problem is not the remnants of feudalism or the remnants of imperialism (the contradiction still exists). Who hasn't said that Hunan seized 7,000 landlords and rich peasants, but suddenly there is a problem when you try to seize one Chang po-chun.

Complete as the Tsingtao document, Now the primary problem is not the remnants of feudalism or the remnants of imperialism (the contradiction still exists). Who hasn't said that Human seized 7,000 landlords and rich peasants, but suddenly there is a problem when you try to seize one Chang po-chun. The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals, totaling 30 million including dependents, are a big problem. At most the working class totals 40 million people. The largest of the socialist revolution are the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, and the upper petit bourgeoisie (in the countryside the well-to-do middle peasants). The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals have leftists, while the great majority are centrists and the right wing accounts for only one or two percent. For more than 90 percent it is a question of education and a question of criticism. While we say that contradictions among the people embrace class struggle, the bourgeoisie, still enjoys civil rights. It cannot be said that the socialist revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but the remnants of imperialist and feudal powers are the allied army of the rightists of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the landlord party *Ai-wen Hui-pao* is anti-socialist.

At present there are 60,000 rightist elements (10,000 acting and 50,000 writing). In the future at most there will be 150,000 to 200,000. Of this number those that can be separated should be separated. For example, towards some engineering and technical personnel, natural scientists, and scholars, it is even better if they can be separated. We should work on them. Some people we should criticize seriously but treat with leniency as for example Jung I-jen and others.

Now it is clear-cut: in proceeding through the transitional era from capitalism to socialism, the main (or fundamental) contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. Thus in social relations and interpersonal relations there has been a fundamental resolution, but there has not been a complete resolution. The landlords, rich peasants, counter revolutionaries, and bad elements endorse capitalism, and those who exploit people endorse capitalism. This is also a contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The struggle between the two roads will be resolved after a long period of struggle. "Main" and "fundamental" have the same meaning.

The resolutions of the 8th Party Congress declare that the main contradiction is the contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces. Speaking reasonably, one cannot speak in that manner, Now there are contradictions, and in the future there will also be contradictions. When cooperative have all been transformed into state farms which pay out wages there will still be contradictions. Socialism is comprised of two sectors: public ownership and collective ownership. In the future, contradictions will also arise between the two. The socialist system and the productive forces are fundamentally in conformity, but they also have areas where there is not total conformity. There are still shortcomings and it is incorrect to say that there is perfect conformity. When Stalin mentioned perfect conformity (official report, page 14) there arose a problem. The ideology of religion is not in accord with socialism, but we still want to repair temples. Repairing temples is done to achieve the goal of tearing down temples, why do we say, this is by and large in accord? Because it can develop the productive forces. India undertook a five-year plan and increased its steel output by 300,000 tons. We raised our output by 94 million tons. Our system does not impede the development of the productive forces. After several tens of years the contradiction between the collective and the state-owned sectors will be resolved, but there will still be new contradictions. When we have arrived at communism, we will not need the law of value and we will not need an army, the international environment permitting of course. Marx, Engels, and Lenin never said this sentence which is in the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress, but there is no harm in it. The meaning is that we must hurriedly develop production, strengthen the material foundation of socialist society; it is only that this was not said clearly. Strictly speaking, it is of course incorrect to say that the socialist system and the productive forces are not in accord. We are a socialist system developing its productive forces. A good many economists say there is a contradiction between our system and the productive forces and that the productive forces of a socialist system are backward. This sort of talk is bad.

NOTES

1. Also see "[Be Activists in Promoting Revolution](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. V, pp. 483-497.

2. See "[The Party's General Line for the Transition Period](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. V, p.102.

3. The Tsingtao Conference was held in July, 1957, it was attended by the secretaries of provincial and municipal Party committees. See "[The situation in the summer of 1957](#)", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. V, pp. 473-482.

4. For this article see *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. V, [pp. 384-421](#).

No Power on Earth Can Separate Us

November 2, 1957

[Extracted from Mao's speech at the Moscow airport, 2 November, 1957. (Mao Chu-hsi tsai Su-lien-gi yen-lun, pp.1-2).]

Dear Comrades Khrushchov, Voroshilov, and Bulganin:

Dear Comrades and Friends:

The anniversary of the October Revolution is a great festival of victory for the Soviet People and for the proletariat, the laboring masses, and all oppressed peoples of the world. The victory won by the Soviet people under the leadership of the great Lenin and the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union forty years ago initiated a new epoch in human history. In the process of forty years of construction, the Soviet Union has made brilliant achievements at an extraordinary speed and in many fields has advanced to the forefront of the countries of the world, thus setting an outstanding example for the peoples who are striving for progress and happiness. The launching of the first man-made earth satellite by the Soviet Union is no simple feat. It Marks the beginning of a new era of man's further conquest of nature.

The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is a strong bulwark ensuring world peace and a faithful friend to all peoples who refuse to suffer imperialist oppression and enslavement...

The October Revolution enabled the Chinese people to find the way to emancipation, prosperity, wealth, and power [*fu ch'iang*]. In their own cause, the Chinese people have received tremendous sympathy and generous assistance from the people of the Soviet Union. The Peoples of our two countries have already formed fraternal alliance in their common struggles and there no is force on earth which can separate us.

Comrades, we will stand together forever, fighting for world peace and for the victory of our common cause!

Glory To The Great October Socialist Revolution!

Glory To The Great Soviet People And To The Great Communist Party Of The Soviet Union!

Long Live The Great Friendship Between The Chinese And Soviet Peoples!

Long Live World Peace!

Speech at Moscow Celebration Meeting

November 6, 1957

[Speech at a joint meeting of the two Soviets of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (namely the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities) in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Extracted from the magazine *People's China*. Beijing, December 1, 1957.]

Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I myself and the other members of the Chinese delegation, representing the National People's Congress and the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and all the People and Communist Party members of China, have the honor to offer warm fraternal congratulations to the people, government and Communist Party of the great Soviet Union (enthusiastic applause), and to all the comrades and friends present here. (Enthusiastic applause.)

As our revolutionary teacher Lenin pointed out time and again, the great revolution carried out by the Soviet people forty years ago initiated a new epoch in world history.

Historically there have been revolutions of many kinds, but none to compare with the October Socialist Revolution.

For thousands of years the working people of the world and all progressive humanity have dreamed of building a society in which there would be no exploitation of man by man, This dream was realized on one-sixth of the earth's land surface for the first time in history by the October Revolution. This revolution proves that, without the landlords and the bourgeoisie, the people are completely capable of building a free and happy new life in a planned way. It also proves that different nations of the world are completely capable of living together amicably once there is no imperialist oppression.

In the past forty years the Soviet people have traveled a hard road. The imperialists tried by every means to destroy the world's first socialist republic. The enemies of the Soviet Union appeared for a time to be stronger than the Soviet Union and twice launched armed attacks against it. But the courageous Soviet people, led by their glorious Communist Party, thoroughly smashed the attacks of the aggressors. (Applause.)

The Soviet Union has been invincible because it is a country in which the socialist system has replaced the capitalist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat has replaced the dictatorship of the exploiting classes — a country which develops its social productive forces at a speed of which the capitalist countries are incapable — and a country which truly practices proletarian internationalism, genuinely opposes national oppression and helps oppressed nations to emancipate themselves. Such a country enjoys the enthusiastic support of all its own people and the peoples of all the countries in the world. The Soviet Union enjoys these two kinds of support to a degree without parallel in the history of nations.

The face of the Soviet Union has changed completely in the past forty years. Before the revolution Russia was relatively backward economically and technically. Now the Soviet Union has become one of the world's first-class industrial powers. The living standards of the Soviet people have been steadily rising. The scale of development of educational, scientific and cultural establishments in the Soviet Union far surpasses that of the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union set up the world's first atomic power station, made the world's first batch of passenger jet planes and intercontinental ballistic rockets and launched the world's first and second man-made earth satellites. The whole world acknowledges that the success of the Soviet Union in launching the man-made earth satellites on two occasions has opened up a new era in the conquest of nature by man. Not only the Soviet people, but also the world proletariat and all mankind can take pride in all this. (Applause.) Only a few reactionaries are unhappy about it.

The creative application of Marxism-Leninism by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in tackling practical tasks has ensured unbroken success in the Soviet people's construction work. The fighting programme for communist construction in the Soviet Union put forward by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a good example. The wise measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the questions of overcoming the cult of the individual, developing agriculture, reorganizing the administration of industry and construction, extending the power of the union republics and local organizations, opposing the anti-party group, consolidating unity within the Party and improving the Party and political work in the Soviet army and navy, will undoubtedly promote still further the consolidation and development of all undertakings in the Soviet Union.

Throughout the world the people have begun to see their own future ever more clearly in the successes gained by the Soviet people. Essentially, the path of the Soviet Union, the path of the October Revolution, is the bright common way for the progress of all mankind. (Enthusiastic applause.) The masses of the people throughout the world celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution warmly, because the history

of the past forty years has convinced them that the proletariat is certain to defeat the bourgeoisie, socialism is certain to defeat capitalism, and the oppressed nations are certain to defeat the imperialists, Of course, difficulties, twists and turns still face the people. But it was well said by Lenin thirty-six years ago: "The important thing is that the ice has been broken, The broken, the road is open and the path has been blazed."
(Enthusiastic applause.)

The people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party has always been a part of the world socialist revolution of the proletariat initiated by the October Revolution. The Chinese revolution has its own national characteristics and it is entirely necessary to take these into consideration. But in our own revolution and socialist construction we have made full use of the rich experience of the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union. The Chinese people are fortunate in having the experience of the October Revolution and of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, which enables them to make fewer mistakes, to avoid many other and to pursue their cause fairly smoothly, although they still face many difficulties.

It is clear that, after the October Revolution, if a proletarian revolutionary of any country should overlook or not seriously study the experience of the Russian revolution, of the proletarian dictatorship and of socialist construction of the Soviet Union, and should fail to use these experiences analytically and in a creative way in the light of the specific conditions in his own country, he would not be able to master Leninism, which represents new stage in the development of Marxism, and he would not be able to solve the problems of revolution and construction in his own country correctly. He would either commit doctrinaire or revisionist mistakes. We must oppose both these deviations simultaneously, but at present, to oppose revisionist deviation is a particularly urgent task.

It is equally clear that, since the October Revolution, any government that refuses to be on friendly terms with the Soviet Union only harms the real interests of its own people.
(Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

In the world today a series of European and Asian countries with an aggregate population of over nine hundred million people have victoriously taken the path of the October Revolution and form a powerful world system of socialism. Capitalism has for some time foist its superiority, and socialism has become invincible.

In the end the socialist system will replace the capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries try to prevent the advance of the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.) "To lift a rock, merely to crush one's own foot" is a Chinese saying to describe the action of fools. The reactionaries of every country are just such fools, Their persecution of the revolutionary people will only end in rousing the people to broader and fiercer revolution. (Enthusiastic applause.) Did not persecution by the Russian tsar and Chiang Kai-shek of the revolutionary people serve precisely to stimulate the great Russian and Chinese revolutions?

As well as staking their fate on the oppression of the peoples at home and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the imperialists put their hope in war. But what can they expect out of war? In the past half century, we have experienced two world wars, After the First World War, the Great October. Socialist Revolution took place in Russia. And after the Second World War, more revolutions took place in East Europe and in the East. If the imperialist warriors are determined to start a third world war, they will bring about no other result than the end of the world capitalist system. (Enthusiastic applause.)

The governments and peoples of the socialist countries are the builders of a new peaceful life. We absolutely do not want war, and are firmly opposed to a new world war. The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries have been consistently working for the relaxation of international tension. The proposals made again and again by the Soviet Union For disarmament and the prohibition of the manufacture, use and testing of weapons of mass destruction, represent the common stand of the socialist countries, and accord at the same time with the interests of all peoples. We firmly stand for peaceful competition between the socialist and the capitalist countries, and for the settlement of the internal affairs of each country by its own people in accordance with their own desires. We firmly maintain that all nations should practice the well-known Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence.

The U.S. imperialists obstinately try to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, including those of the socialist countries. For example, they are interfering with the liberation of Taiwan by China and they engineered the counter-revolutionary riots in Hungary. They are particularly rabid in Interfering in the internal affairs of those countries situated in the area between the U.S. and the socialist camp, The U.S. is still planning to invade independent Syria through Turkey or Israel, it is still conspiring to subvert the anti-colonialist Egyptian Government. This maniac aggressive policy of the U.S. has not only precipitated a crisis in the Middle East, but has also created the danger of a new world war. All people in the world who love peace and freedom stand by Syria and oppose the U.S. and Turkish aggressors, just as they stood by Egypt and opposed the British, French and Israeli aggressors in October last year. The Soviet Government has served warning on the U.S. and Turkey to give up their aggressive plan immediately. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support Syria in its struggle to defend itself and firmly endorse the just position of the Soviet Union. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

The imperialist wolves should remember that the days when they could manipulate the fate of humanity and carve up the Asian and African countries as they liked have gone for ever.

The U. S. imperialists have tried and are still trying hard to undermine the liberation of the Chinese people. But in the end they could not prevent the six hundred million Chinese people from bravely taking the path of socialism. (Applause.) In the short period of eight years, China has already achieved such results in various fields of construction as it was

not able to achieve in the past hundred years. In China, a handful of bourgeois rightists try to oppose taking the path of socialism and oppose the leading position of the Communist Party in national life, and the close alliance between China and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Their vain efforts have been utterly defeated by the counter-attack of the people throughout our country. (Applause.)

The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are carrying out a vigorous rectification campaign in order to develop socialism in China rapidly and on a firmer basis. It is a campaign to resolve correctly the contradictions which actually exist among the people and which have to be resolved immediately, by means of a nation-wide debate which is both guided and free, carried out in the urban and rural areas on such questions as the socialist road and the capitalist road, the basic systems and major policies of the state, the working style of the Communist Party and government functionaries, and the welfare of the people a debate conducted by bringing out the facts and by argument. This is a socialist campaign of self-education and self-remolding by the people and great successes have already been recorded in it. The socialist consciousness of the people has been rapidly raised, false ideas clarified, shortcomings in work overcome, unity within the ranks of the people strengthened, and labour discipline and productivity increased, wherever the campaign has been carried out. (Applause.) We are now carrying forward this people's self-education campaign among our six hundred million people stage by stage and section by section and it is probable that in another few months nation-wide success will have been achieved. In future we intend to conduct a rectification campaign every year or every other year-the time it takes can be greatly shortened -as one of the main methods of resolving various social contradictions in our country during the whole period of transition. The basic starting point in practicing this method is the firm confidence that the majority of the masses are after all on our side and that they will listen to reason. This point has been proved by all our experience in the campaign.

In many years of revolutionary practice we have developed the method of the rectification campaign in accordance with the Leninist principles of keeping in close contact with the masses, recognizing the initiative of the masses, and practicing criticism and self-criticism. The correctness of this method has once again been proved by the present socialist self-education movement.

China has received brotherly assistance towards its socialist construction in many fields from the Soviet Union. In celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, please allow us to express our heartfelt gratitude to the Communist Party, the government and the people of the Soviet Union, for giving China such friendly help. (Enthusiastic, prolonged applause.)

Soon after it was founded, the People's Republic of China concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. This is a great alliance of two great socialist countries. We share the same destiny and the same life-spring with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. (Enthusiastic applause.) We

regard it as the sacred international obligation of all socialist countries to strengthen the solidarity of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

All possible means of sowing discord are used by the imperialist powers headed by the U.S. in their efforts to disrupt the friendship and solidarity of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. But reality is sure to disappoint the imperialists. The socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union are more closely united than ever. Since the dawn of history, it was not possible for relations between nations to be based on such identity of interests, such mutual respect and confidence, and such mutual assistance and inspiration as between the socialist countries. This is because the socialist countries are of an entirely new type in which the exploiting classes are overthrown and the working people are in power. The principal integrating internationalism with patriotism has been practiced in the relations between these countries. We are closely bound by common interest and ideals. Marx said in his inaugural address to the Workingmen's International Association: "Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts," This teaching of Marx more than ninety years ago will never be out-of-date for us. (Applause.)

Dear comrades, the fact that representatives of the working class and masses of the people of various countries of the world are here today to attend this grand meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, held to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution demonstrates in itself the great solidarity of the people's forces of the world and symbolizes the flourishing condition of the international socialist movement. Let us continue our efforts to strengthen the solidarity of the socialist countries, and of the working people and oppressed nations of the world, in order to attain new and greater victories. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

Long live the great October Socialist Revolution! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)
Long live the solidarity and friendship of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

Long live the great banner of Marxist-Leninist internationalism! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

The proletariat and peace-loving people of the whole world, unite! (prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

The East Wind Prevails Over the West Wind

November 17, 1957

[Extracted from Mao's remarks to Chinese students in Moscow, 17 November 1957.
(*Mao Ch-his tasai Su-lien ti yen-lun*, pp.14-15).]

Chairman Mao pointed out first of all that the October Socialist Revolution marks a turning point in world history; the appearance in the heavens of two artificial satellites and the coming to Moscow of delegates from the sixty-four communist and works' parties to celebrate the holiday of the October Revolution mark a new turning point. The forces of socialism surpass the forces of imperialism. The imperialist forces have a leader, America; our socialist camp must also have a leader, and that leader the Soviet Union. If we do not have a leader our forces might disintegrate! Chairman Mao... said it was an event of great significance that the communist and workers' parties of sixty-four countries attended the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. It showed the solidarity of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union. It showed the solidarity of the communists and workers' parties the world over, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as their center. Chairman Mao said that the direction of the wind in the world had changed. In the struggle between the socialist and capitalist camps, it was no longer the west wind that prevailed over the East wind, but the East wind that prevailed over the West wind. The world now has a population of 2.7 billion, the countries now struggling for independence or for complete independence plus the capitalist countries with neutralist tendencies 600 million, and the imperialist camp only about 400 million, besides which they are also divided internally. Earth quakes are likely to occur over there. At present, Chairman Mao said, it was not the west wind that was prevailing over the East wind, but the east wind prevailing over the west wind.

Transcription by the Maoist Documentation Project.
HTML revised 2005 by Marxists.org