To Mao Yuju[1]

(May 26, 1938)

To Elder Brother Yuju and the others:

I have received and read your letter of May 10. It is better for Tan Jiyu not to come.[2] I have mailed a little money to Chuxiong[3] and others, and I may also provide some small assistance to him in the future. Please urge him to be hard-working and frugal. It is a very good thing that Mr. Zhou[4] stays and lives in Shaoshan, and he should be regarded as a member of the family, without any distinction from the other members. This is my reply. With all best wishes!

May you enjoy peace!

Your younger brother Mao Zedong

Yuanrao[5] and the others are all very well here.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong shuxin xuanji,* pp. 127–28, where it is reproduced from the manuscript.

1. Mao Yuju was Mao Zedong's first cousin, who had served as his tutor during Mao's youth.

2. Tan Jiyu, a relative of Mao Zedong, had written to Mao early in 1938 proposing to go to Yan'an.

3. Mao Chuxiong was the son of Mao's brother Mao Zetan. At this time he was living in Shaoshan.

4. The reference is to Mao Chuxiong's maternal uncle Zhou Zuyu, who was at that time living in Mao Zedong's old residence.

5. Mao Yuanrao was Mao Yuju's nephew. He was working in the Secretariat of the Central Military Commission in Yan'an.

We Should Develop Guerrilla Warfare Extensively in North China

(May 26, 1938)

Zhu [De], Peng [Dehuai], and Fu [Zhong]; Chen [Guang] and Luo [Ronghuan]; He [Long], Xiao [Ke], Guan [Xiangying], and Gan [Siqi]; Liu [Bocheng], Xu [Xiangqian], and Deng [Xiaoping]; Nie [Rongzhen], Peng [Zhen], Ye [Ting], and Xiang [Ying]; Guo [Hongxiu] and Li [Yu]:

1. After the loss of Xuzhou, we judge that the enemy will take the attack on Wuhan as the heart of his war plans.

2. The estimate that the enemy will immediately move his main force to North China and to the Northwest to attack the guerrillas and to sever the route of communications between China and the Soviet Union, disregarding the fact that Wuhan is the center of gravity of the resistance struggle, is incorrect. This move will take place, but at a slightly later date.

3. If war breaks out or a major crisis unfolds in Europe, the enemy will rapidly invade Guangdong.

4. Our slogan is: Defend Wuhan, defend Guangzhou, defend the Northwest, and resolutely carry out the guerrilla war in North China.

5. Given the above-mentioned circumstances, it remains an opportune time to engage in extensive guerrilla warfare in North China. At present, more attention should be paid to Shandong, Rehe, and the Daqing mountain range.

Mao [Zedong]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 227–28, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

There Are No Strategic Offensives in the Anti-Japanese War, but Only Battlefield Counteroffensives and Strategic Counteroffensives[1]

(May 28, 1938)

Of course, the anti-Japanese war does not have so-called strategic offensives, but only battlefield counteroffensives and strategic counteroffensives, which are positive components of the entire strategic defense and are relied upon in part for the defeat of Japan. When speaking in popular terms it is, of course, also permissible to call them offensives.

Mao [Zedong]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, p. 229, where it is reproduced from Mao's handwritten manuscript preserved in the Central Archives.

1. Mao wrote this letter in his capacity as chief editor of the series *Kang-Ri zhanzheng congshu* (Collected Writings on the Anti-Japanese War), in reply to Guo Huaruo, one of the authors of *Kangri youji zhanzheng de yiban wenti* (All the Problems of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War). Regarding this latter work, see below, Mao's "Problems of Strategy in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War."

Problems of Strategy in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War

(May 30, 1938)[1]

I.[2] Why Raise the Question of Strategy in Guerrilla War?

In the War of Resistance against Japan, regular warfare is primary, and guerrilla warfare supplementary. This point we have already correctly settled. Thus it seems there are only tactical problems in guerrilla warfare. Why, then, raise the question of strategy?

If we were a small country in which the role of guerrilla warfare was only to render direct support over short distances to the campaigns of the regular army, there would, of course, be only tactical problems and no strategic ones. If, on the other hand, China were a country as strong as the Soviet Union, and the invading

This work was first published in *Jiefang,* no. 40, May 30, 1938. Our source is *Mao Zedong ji,* Vol. 6, pp. 7–47, where it is reproduced from the 1944 edition of Mao's *Selected Works.* It was also included in a slim volume entitled *Kang-Ri youji zhanzheng de yiban wenti* (All the Problems of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War), dated July 7, 1938, on the title page, but published, according to *Nianpu,* Vol. 2, p. 74, only in 1939. Although the title of this latter volume appears on the first page in Mao's calligraphy, there is no evidence that he played a major role in editing it, so the other six chapters are not translated in this volume.[3]

Editor's Foreword

This book summarizes not only the lessons of the guerrilla warfare in the civil war but also the lessons of the guerrilla warfare in the first ten months of the Resistance War and solves many basic problems in the anti-Japanese guerrilla war. This book was written collectively; Mao Zedong, Chen Changhao, Liu Yalu, Xiao Jingguang, and Guo Huaruo were the authors. None of it has ever been published before, except the chapter entitled "Strategic Problems of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War" by Mr. Mao, which has been published in *Jiefang*. Sections on the tactics and political work of the guerrilla war have already been put together and will be printed soon.

The Editor

1. May 30 is the date of publication in *Jiefang*; in the various Chinese editions of this work it is dated simply May 1938.
2. I → Chapter I
3. Because Mao was involved to some degree in putting together this volume, we reproduce here the editor's foreword to the collection as subsequently published.

enemy could either be quickly expelled or, even though the expulsion were to take some time, the enemy did not occupy extensive areas, then again guerrilla warfare would simply play a supporting role in campaigns and would naturally involve only tactical and not strategic problems.

The question of strategy in guerrilla war does arise, however, in the case of China, which is neither small nor like the Soviet Union, but which is both a large and a weak country. This large and weak country is being attacked by a small and strong country, but the large and weak country is in an era of progress; this is the source of the whole problem. It is in these circumstances that vast areas have come under enemy occupation and the war has become a protracted one. The enemy is occupying vast areas of this large country of ours, but theirs is a small country without sufficient soldiers, so many places remain unoccupied, and consequently the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare consists primarily not in interior-line operations in support of the campaigns of the regular troops, but in independent operations on exterior lines. Furthermore, because China is progressing, the warfare is not small scale, but large scale.[4] Hence the emergence of a whole lot of things, such as the strategic defensive, the strategic offensive, and so on. The protracted nature of the war (together with its attendant ruthlessness) have made it necessary for guerrilla warfare to undertake many unusual tasks; hence such problems as those of the base areas, the development of guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare, and so on. For all these reasons, China's anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare has broken out of the bounds of tactics to knock at the gates of strategy, and it demands examination from the viewpoint of strategy. The point that merits particular attention is that such extensive as well as protracted guerrilla warfare is quite new in the entire history of wars among the human race. This point is inseparable from the fact that we have now progressed to the 1930s and 1940s.[5] Herein lies the crux of the matter. Our enemy is probably still cherishing fond dreams of emulating the Mongol conquest of the Song dynasty, the Manchu conquest of the Ming dynasty, the British occupation of North America and *East* India, the occupation of Central and South America by the Latin countries, and so on. But such dreams have no practical value in present-day China because there are certain factors present in today's China that were absent in those historical instances, and one of them is guerrilla warfare, which is quite a new phenomenon. If our enemy overlooks this fact, he will certainly come to grief.

These are the reasons why the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare, though occupying only a supplementary place in the War of Resistance as a whole, must nevertheless be examined from the viewpoint of strategy.

4. The warfare is not small scale, but large scale → Which is to say that it has a staunch army and broad popular masses, both led by the Communist Party, so that, far from being small scale, the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare is in fact large scale

5. To the 1930s and 1940s → To the 1930s and 1940s and that we now have the Communist Party and Red Army

II. Why Not, Then, Apply to Guerrilla Warfare Elements of the General Strategic Principles of the War of Resistance Against Japan?

The question of strategy in the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare is, of course, closely linked to the question of strategy in the War of Resistance as a whole; the two have much in common. On the other hand, guerrilla warfare is different from regular warfare and has its own peculiarities, and consequently many peculiar elements are involved in the question of strategy in guerrilla warfare. Without modification it is impossible to apply the strategic principles of the War of Resistance in general to guerrilla warfare with its own peculiarities.

III.[6] The Basic Principle of War Is to Preserve Oneself and Destroy the Enemy

Before discussing the question of strategy in guerrilla warfare in concrete terms, a few words are needed on the fundamental problem of war.

All the guiding principles of military operations grow out of one basic principle: to strive to the utmost to preserve one's own strength and destroy that of the enemy. In a revolutionary war, this principle is directly linked to basic political principles. For instance, the basic political principle of China's War of Resistance against Japan (that is, its political goal), is to drive out Japanese imperialism and build an independent, free, and happy new China. In terms of military action this principle means the use of armed force to defend our motherland and to drive out the Japanese bandits. To attain this end, the operations of the armed units take the form of doing their utmost to preserve their own strength, on the one hand, and destroy the enemy's, on the other. How then do we justify the encouragement of heroic sacrifice in war? Every war exacts a price, sometimes an extremely high one. Is this not in contradiction with "preserving oneself"? In reality, there is no contradiction at all, or, to put it more exactly, it is an instance of things which oppose one another and yet also complement one another, because such sacrifice is essential not only for destroying the enemy but also for preserving oneself. Partial and temporary "nonpreservation" (sacrifice, or paying the price) is necessary for the sake of general and permanent preservation. From this basic principle stems the series of principles guiding military operations, all of which—from the principles of shooting (taking cover to preserve oneself and making full use of firepower to destroy the enemy) to the principles of strategy—are permeated with the spirit of this basic principle. All technical, tactical, and strategic principles represent applications of this basic principle. *Only* the principle of preserving oneself and destroying the enemy is the basis of all military principles.

6. III → Chapter II

IV.[7] There Are Altogether Six Specific Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan

Now let us see what overall policies or principles have to be adopted in the military operations of the guerrilla war against Japan before we can attain the objective of preserving ourselves and destroying the enemy. Since the guerrilla units in the War of Resistance (and in all revolutionary wars) generally grow out of nothing and expand from a small to a large force, they must preserve themselves, and in addition they must expand. Hence the question is, what policies or principles have to be adopted to attain the object of preserving and expanding ourselves and destroying the enemy?

Generally speaking, the main principles are as follows: (1) the use of initiative, flexibility, and planning in conducting offensives within the defensive, battles of quick decision within protracted war, and exterior-line operations within interior-line operations; (2) coordination with regular warfare; (3) establishment of base areas; (4) the strategic defensive and the strategic offensive; (5) the development of guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare; and (6) correct command relationships. These six items constitute the whole of the strategic program for guerrilla war against Japan and are the means necessary for the preservation and expansion of our own forces, for the destruction and expulsion of the enemy, for coordination with regular warfare, and for the winning of final victory.

V. *The First Problem:* Initiative, Flexibility, and Planning in Conducting Offensives Within the Defensive, Battles of Quick Decision Within Protracted War, and Exterior-Line Operations Within Interior-Line Operations

Here the subject may be dealt with under four headings: (1) the relationship between the defensive and the offensive, between protractedness and quick decision, and between the interior and exterior lines; (2) the initiative in all operations; (3) flexible employment of forces; and (4) planning in all operations. I will begin by speaking of the first of these.

With regard to the War of Resistance as a whole, the fact that the Japanese bandits are a strong country and are attacking, while we are a weak country defending itself, makes our war strategically a defensive and protracted war. As far as the operational lines are concerned, the enemy is fighting on exterior and we on interior lines. This is one aspect of the situation. But there is another aspect which is just the reverse. The enemy forces, though strong (in arms, in certain qualities of their men, and certain other conditions) are numerically small, whereas our forces, though weak (likewise, only with regard to arms, certain qualities of our men, and certain other factors), are numerically very large. If you add the fact that the enemy is an alien nation invading our country while we are one nation resisting an alien nation,[8] this determines the following strategic orientation: It is possible and indeed necessary to use tactical offensives within the strategic defensive, to fight campaigns and battles of quick decision within a strategically protracted war, and to fight campaigns and battles on exterior lines within strategically interior lines. Such is the strategy to be adopted in the War of Resistance as a whole. It holds true both for regular and for guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare is different only in degree and form. Offensives in guerrilla warfare generally take the form of surprise attacks. Although surprise attacks can and should be employed in regular warfare too, the degree of surprise is somewhat smaller. In guerrilla warfare, the need to bring operations to a quick decision is very great, and our exterior-line ring of encirclement of the enemy in campaigns and battles is very small. All these distinguish it from regular warfare.

Thus it can be seen that in their operations guerrilla forces have to concentrate the maximum possible forces, act secretly and swiftly, attack the enemy by surprise, and bring battles to a quick decision, and that they must strictly avoid passive defense, procrastination, and the dispersal of forces before engagements. Of course, guerrilla warfare includes not only the strategic but also the tactical defensive. The latter embraces, among other things, containing outpost actions during battles; the disposition of forces for resistance at narrow passes, strategic points, rivers, or villages in order to deplete and exhaust the enemy; and action to cover withdrawal. But the basic orientation of guerrilla warfare must be the offensive, and guerrilla warfare is more offensive in character than is regular warfare. The offensive, moreover, must take the form of surprise attacks, and to expose ourselves by ostentatiously parading our forces is even less permissible in guerrilla warfare than in regular warfare. From the fact that the enemy is strong and we are weak it necessarily follows that, in guerrilla operations in general even more than in regular warfare, battles must be decided quickly, although on some occasions guerrilla fighting may be kept up for several days, as in an assault on a small and isolated enemy force cut off from help. Because of its dispersed character, guerrilla warfare can spread everywhere, and in many of its tasks, as in harassing, containing, and disrupting the enemy and in mass work, its principle is dispersal of forces. But a guerrilla unit, or a guerrilla formation, must concentrate its main forces when it is engaged in destroying the enemy, and especially when it is striving to smash an enemy attack. "Concentrate a big force to strike at a small section of the enemy force" remains a principle of field operations in guerrilla warfare.

Thus it can also be seen that, with regard to the War of Resistance as a whole, we can attain the aim of our strategic defensive and finally drive out[9] Japanese imperialism only through the cumulative effect of many offensive campaigns and

7. IV → Chapter III

8. One nation resisting an alien nation → Resisting an alien nation's invasion on our own soil

9. Drive out → Defeat

battles in both regular and guerrilla warfare, namely, through the cumulative effect of many victories in offensive actions. Only through the cumulative effect of many campaigns and battles of quick decision, namely, the cumulative effect of many victories achieved through quick decision in offensive campaigns and battles, can we attain our goal of strategic protractedness, which means gaining time to increase our capacity to resist while hastening or awaiting changes in the international situation and the internal collapse of the enemy, in order to be able to launch a strategic counteroffensive and drive the Japanese bandits out of China. We must also concentrate superior forces and fight exterior-line operations in every campaign or battle, whether in the stage of strategic defensive or in that of strategic counteroffensive, in order to encircle and destroy the enemy forces, encircling part if not all of them, destroying part if not all of the forces we have encircled, and inflicting heavy casualties on the encircled forces if we cannot capture them in large numbers. Only through the cumulative effect of many such battles of annihilation can we change the relative position as between the enemy and ourselves, thoroughly smash his strategic encirclement—that is, his scheme of exterior-line operations—and finally, in coordination with international forces and the revolutionary warfare[10] of the Japanese people, surround Japanese imperialism and overthrow[11] it with one blow. These results are to be achieved mainly through regular warfare, with guerrilla warfare making only a secondary contribution. What is common to both types of warfare, however, is the accumulation of many minor victories to make a major victory. Herein lies the great strategic role of guerrilla warfare in the process of resistance to Japan.

Now let us discuss the question of initiative, flexibility, and planning in guerrilla warfare. What is initiative in guerrilla warfare?

In any war, the opponents contend for the initiative, whether on a battlefield, in a battle area, in a war zone, or in the whole war, for the initiative means freedom of action for an army. Any army which, losing the initiative, is forced into a passive position and ceases to have freedom of action, faces the danger of defeat or extermination. Naturally, gaining the initiative is harder in strategic defensive and interior-line operations and easier in offensive exterior-line operations. Japanese imperialism, however, has two basic weaknesses, namely, its shortage of troops and the fact that it is fighting a foreign nation.[12] Moreover, its underestimation of China's strength and the internal contradictions among the Japanese militarists have given rise to many mistakes in command, such as piecemeal reinforcement, lack of strategic coordination, occasional absence of a main direction for attack, failure to grasp opportunities in some operations, and failure to wipe out encircled forces, and so on—all of which may be considered its third weakness. Thus, because of their shortage of troops (including their small territory, limited popula-

10. Warfare → Struggles
11. Overthrow → Destroy
12. A foreign nation → On foreign soil

tion, inadequate resources, the fact that they are feudal imperialists, and so on), because they are at war with a foreign nation[13] (including the imperialist nature of the war and its barbarous policies, etc.), and because of their stupidities in command, the Japanese militarists are steadily losing the initiative, despite the advantage of being on the offensive and operating on exterior lines. Japan is neither willing nor able to conclude the war at present, nor has its strategic offensive yet come to an end, but, as the general trend shows, its offensive is confined within certain limits. This is the inevitable consequence of its three weaknesses; it cannot go on indefinitely until it swallows the whole of China. Already there are signs that Japan will one day find itself in an utterly passive position. China, on the other hand, was in a rather passive position during the first period of the war, but in the second period,[14] having gained experience, it has turned to the new policy of mobile warfare, which is that of taking the offensive, seeking quick decisions, and operating on exterior lines in campaigns and battles, and which, together with the policy of developing widespread guerrilla warfare, is helping China to build up a position of initiative day by day.

The question of the initiative is even more vital in guerrilla warfare, because most guerrilla units operate in very difficult circumstances, fighting without a rear, with their own weak forces facing the enemy's strong forces, lacking experience (when the units are newly organized), being separated, and so on. Nevertheless, it is possible to build up the initiative in guerrilla warfare, the essential condition being to seize on the enemy's three weaknesses as described above. Taking advantage of the enemy's shortage of troops (from the viewpoint of the war as a whole) allows the guerrilla units to use vast areas as their fields of operation; taking advantage of the fact that the enemy is an alien invader and is pursuing a most barbarous policy provides the guerrilla units with the support of millions upon millions of people; and taking advantage of the stupidities in the enemy's command makes the command of the guerrilla units seem objectively that much more brilliant.[15] While the regular army must seize on all these weaknesses of the enemy and turn them to good account in order to defeat him, it is even more important for the guerrilla units to do so. As for the guerrilla units' own weaknesses, they can be gradually reduced in the course of the struggle. Moreover, these weaknesses sometimes constitute the very condition for gaining the initiative. For example, it is precisely because the guerrilla units are small that they can mysteriously appear and disappear in their operations behind enemy lines, without the enemy's being able to do anything about them, and thus enjoy a freedom of action such as massive regular armies never can.

13. At war with a foreign nation → Fighting on foreign soil
14. In the second period → Now
15. Makes the command of the guerrilla units seem objectively that much more brilliant → The guerrilla units can give full scope to their brilliance

When the enemy is making a converging attack from several directions, a guerrilla unit can exercise initiative only with difficulty and can lose it all too easily. In such a case, if its appraisals and dispositions are wrong, it is liable to get into a passive position and consequently fail to smash the converging enemy attack. This may occur even when the enemy is on the defensive and we are on the offensive. Thus, the initiative results from making a correct appraisal of the situation (both our own and that of the enemy) and from making the correct military and political dispositions. A pessimistic appraisal not in accordance with the objective conditions, and the passive dispositions ensuing from it, will undoubtedly result in the loss of the initiative and throw one into a passive position. But an overoptimistic appraisal out of accordance with the objective conditions and the risky (unjustifiably risky) dispositions ensuing from it will likewise result in the loss of the initiative and eventually land one in a position similar to that of the pessimists. The initiative is not an innate attribute of genius, but is something an intelligent leader attains through open-minded study and correct appraisal of the objective conditions and through correct military and political dispositions. It follows that the initiative is not ready-made but is something that requires conscious effort.

When forced into a passive position through some incorrect appraisal and disposition or through overwhelming pressure, [a guerrilla unit] must strive to extricate itself. How this can be done depends on the circumstances. In many cases it is necessary to "move away." The ability to move is the distinctive feature of a guerrilla unit. To move away is the principal method for getting out of a passive position and regaining the initiative. But it is not the sole method. Just at the moment when the enemy is most energetic and we are in the greatest difficulties is often the very moment when things begin to turn against him and in our favor. Frequently a favorable situation recurs and the initiative is regained as a result of efforts to "hold out a little longer."

Next, let us deal with flexibility.

Flexibility is a concrete expression of the initiative. The flexible employment of forces is more essential in guerrilla warfare than in regular warfare.

A guerrilla commander must be made to understand that the flexible employment of his forces is the most important means of changing the situation as between the enemy and ourselves and of gaining the initiative. The character of guerrilla warfare is such that guerrilla forces must be employed flexibly in accordance with the tasks in hand and with such circumstances as the state of the enemy, the terrain, and the local population. The chief ways of employing the forces are dispersal, concentration, and shifting of position. In employing his forces, a guerrilla commander is like a fisherman casting his net, which he should be able to spread wide as well as draw in tight. When casting his net, he has to ascertain the depth of the water, the speed of the current, and the presence or absence of obstructions; *similarly,* when dispersing his units, a guerrilla commander must take care not to incur losses through ignorance of the situation or through miscalculated action. Just as the fisherman must keep a grip on the cord in order to draw his net in tight, so the guerrilla commander must maintain liaison and communication

with all his forces and keep enough of his main forces at hand. Just as a frequent change of position is necessary in fishing, so a frequent shift of position is necessary for a guerrilla unit. Dispersal, concentration, and shifting of position are the three ways of flexibly employing forces in guerrilla warfare.

Generally speaking, the dispersal of guerrilla units, or "breaking up the whole into parts," is employed chiefly under the following circumstances: (1) when we want to threaten the enemy with a wide frontal attack because he is on the defensive, and there is temporarily no chance to mass our forces for action; (2) when we want to harass and disrupt the enemy throughout an area where his forces are weak; (3) when we are unable to break through the enemy's encirclement and try to slip away by making ourselves less conspicuous; (4) when we are restricted by terrain or supplies; or (5) when we are carrying on mass work over a wide area. But whatever the circumstances, when dispersing for action we must pay attention to the following: (1) we should never make an absolutely even dispersal of forces, but should keep a fairly large part in an area convenient for maneuver, so that any possible exigency can be met and there is a center of gravity for the task being carried out in dispersion; and (2) we should assign to the dispersed units clearly defined tasks, fields of operation, time limits for actions, places for reassembly, and ways and means of liaison.

Concentration of forces, or "assembling the parts into a whole," is the method usually applied to destroy an enemy when he is on the offensive and sometimes to destroy some of his stationary forces when he is on the defensive. Concentration of forces does not mean absolute concentration, but the massing of the main forces for use in one important direction while retaining or dispatching part of the forces for use in other directions to contain, harass, or disrupt the enemy, or to carry on mass work.

Although the flexible dispersal or concentration of forces according to circumstances is the principal method in guerrilla warfare, we must also know how to shift (or transfer) our forces flexibly. When the enemy feels seriously threatened by guerrillas, he will send troops to attack or suppress them. Hence the guerrilla units will have to take stock of the situation. If advisable, they should fight where they are; if not, they should lose no time in shifting elsewhere. Sometimes, in order to crush the enemy units one by one, guerrilla units which have destroyed an enemy force in one place may immediately shift to another so as to wipe out a second enemy force; sometimes, finding it inadvisable to fight in one place, they may have to disengage quickly and fight the enemy elsewhere. If the enemy's forces in a certain place present a particularly serious threat, the guerrilla units should not linger, but should move off with lightning speed. In general, shifts of position should be made with secrecy and speed. In order to mislead and confuse[16] the enemy, they should constantly use stratagems, such as making a feint to the

16. Mislead and confuse → Mislead, decoy, and confuse

east but attacking in the west, appearing now in the south and now in the north, hit-and-run attacks, and night actions.

Flexibility in dispersal, concentration, and shifts of position is a concrete expression of the initiative in guerrilla warfare, whereas rigidness and inertia inevitably lead to passivity and cause unnecessary losses. But a commander proves himself wise not just by recognition of the importance of employing his forces flexibly but by skill in dispersing, concentrating, or shifting them in good time according to the specific circumstances. This wisdom in sensing changes and choosing the right moment to act is not easily acquired; it can be gained only by those who study with a receptive mind and investigate and ponder diligently. Prudent consideration of the circumstances is essential to prevent flexibility from turning into impulsive action.

Lastly, we come to planning.

Without planning, victories in guerrilla warfare are impossible. Any idea that guerrilla warfare can be conducted in haphazard fashion indicates either a flippant attitude or ignorance of guerrilla warfare. The operations in a guerrilla zone as a whole, or those of a guerrilla unit or formation, must be preceded by as thorough planning as possible, by preparation in advance for every action. Grasping the situation, setting the tasks, disposing the forces, giving military and political training, securing supplies, putting the equipment in good order, making proper use of the people's help, and so on—all these are part of the work of the guerrilla commanders, which they must carefully consider and conscientiously perform and check up on. There can be no initiative, no flexibility, and no offensive unless they do so. True, guerrilla conditions do not allow as high a degree of planning as do those of regular warfare, and it would be a mistake to attempt very thorough planning in guerrilla warfare. But it is necessary to plan as thoroughly as the objective conditions permit, for it should be understood that fighting the enemy is no joke.

In sum, the above points serve to explain the first of the strategic principles of guerrilla warfare, the principle of using initiative, flexibility, and planning in conducting offensives within the defensive, battles of quick decision within protracted war, and exterior-line operations within interior-line operations. It is the key problem in the strategy of guerrilla warfare. The solution of this problem provides the major guarantee of victory in guerrilla warfare so far as military command is concerned.

Although a variety of matters have been dealt with here, they all revolve around the offensive in campaigns and battles. The initiative can be decisively grasped only after victory in an offensive. Every offensive operation must be organized on our initiative and not launched under compulsion. Flexibility in the employment of forces revolves around the effort to take the offensive, and planning likewise is necessary chiefly in order to ensure success in offensive operations. Measures of tactical defense are meaningless if they are divorced from their role of giving either direct or indirect support to an offensive. Quick decision refers to the tempo of an offensive, and exterior lines refer to its scope. The offensive is the only means of destroying the enemy and is also the principal means of self-preservation, while pure defense and retreat can play only a temporary and partial role in self-preservation and are quite useless for destroying the enemy.

This principle is basically the same for both regular and guerrilla war; it differs to some degree only in its form of expression. But in guerrilla war it is both important and necessary to note this point of difference. It is precisely this difference in form which distinguishes the operational methods of guerrilla war from those of regular war. If we confuse the two different forms in which the principle is expressed, victory in guerrilla war will be impossible.

VI.[17] *The Second Problem:* Coordination with Regular Warfare

The second problem of strategy in guerrilla warfare is its coordination with regular warfare. It is a matter of clarifying the relation between guerrilla and regular warfare on the operational level, in light of the nature of actual guerrilla operations. An understanding of this relationship is very important for effectiveness in defeating the enemy.

There are three kinds of coordination between guerrilla and regular warfare: in strategy, in campaigns, and in battles.

Taken as a whole, guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines, which cripples the enemy, pins him down, disrupts his supply lines, and inspires the regular forces and the people throughout the country, is coordinated with regular warfare in strategy. Take the case of the guerrilla warfare in the Three Eastern Provinces. Of course, the question of coordination did not arise before the War of Resistance[18] began, but since the war began the significance of such coordination has become obvious. Every enemy soldier the guerrillas kill there, every bullet they make the enemy expend, every enemy soldier they stop from advancing south of the Great Wall can be reckoned a contribution to the total strength of the resistance. It is, moreover, clear that they are having a demoralizing effect on the whole enemy army and country, and a heartening effect on our whole army and people. Still clearer is the role in strategic coordination played by the guerrilla warfare along the Beiping-Suiyuan, Beiping-Hankou, Tianjin-Pukou, Datong-Puzhou, Zhengding-Taiyuan, and Shanghai-Hangzhou railway lines. Not only are [the guerrilla units] performing the function of coordination with the regular forces in our present strategic defensive, when the enemy is on the strategic offensive; not only will they coordinate with the regular forces in disrupting the enemy's hold on the occupied territory, after he concludes his strategic offensive and switches to the safeguarding of his gains; they will also coordinate with the regular forces in driving out the enemy forces and recovering all the lost territories, when the regular forces launch the strategic counteroffensive. The great role of guerrilla warfare in strategic coordination must not be overlooked. The commanders both of the guerrilla units and of the regular forces must clearly understand this role.

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17. VI → Chapter V
18. War of Resistance → Nationwide War of Resistance

In addition, guerrilla warfare also performs a coordinating function in campaigns. For instance, in the campaign at Xinkou, north of Taiyuan, the guerrillas played a remarkable role in coordination both north and south of Yanmenguan by wrecking the Datong-Puzhou railway line and the motor roads running through Pingxingguan and Yangfangkou. Or take another example. After the enemy occupied Fenglingdu, guerrilla warfare, which was already widespread throughout Shanxi (and was conducted mainly by the regular forces), played an even greater role through coordination with the defensive campaigns west of the Yellow River in Shaanxi and south of the Yellow River in Henan. Again, when the enemy attacked southern Shandong, the guerrilla warfare throughout the five provinces of North China contributed a great deal through coordination with the campaigns of our army. In performing a task of this sort, the leaders of each guerrilla base behind the enemy lines, or the commanders of guerrilla formations temporarily dispatched there, must dispose their forces well *under the unified command of each war zone's commanding officer* and, by adopting different tactics suited to the time and place, move energetically against the enemy's most vital and vulnerable spots in order to cripple him, pin him down, disrupt his supply lines, inspire our armies campaigning on the interior lines, and so fulfill their duty of coordinating with the campaign. If each guerrilla zone or unit goes it alone without giving any attention to coordinating with the campaigns of the regular forces, its role in strategic coordination will lose a great deal of its significance, although it will still play some such role in the general strategy. All guerrilla commanders should give this point serious attention. To achieve this goal, it is absolutely necessary for all larger guerrilla units and guerrilla formations to have radio equipment.

Finally, coordination with the regular forces in battles, in actual fighting on the battlefield, is the task of all guerrilla units in the vicinity of an interior-line battlefield. Of course, this applies only to guerrilla units operating close to the regular forces or to units of regulars dispatched on temporary guerrilla missions. In such cases, a guerrilla unit has to perform whatever task it is assigned by the commander of the regular forces, which is usually to pin down some of the enemy's forces, disrupt his supply lines, conduct reconnaissance, act as guides, and so on. Even without such an assignment from the commander of the regular forces, the guerrilla unit should carry out these tasks on its own initiative. To sit by idly, neither moving nor launching attacks, or to move about without making *surprise* attacks, would be an intolerable attitude *whatever the circumstances.*

VII.[19] *The Third Problem:* The Establishment of Base Areas

The third problem of strategy in anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare is the establishment of base areas. This problem is important and essential because of the protracted nature and ruthlessness of the war. The recovery of lost territories will have to await the nationwide strategic counteroffensive. By then the enemy's front will have extended deep into Central China and cut it in two from north to south, and a part or even a greater part of our territory will have fallen into the hands of the enemy and become his rear. Extending guerrilla warfare all over this vast enemy-occupied area will turn the enemy's rear into his front and force him to fight ceaselessly throughout the territory he occupies. Until such time as our strategic counteroffensive is launched, and so long as our lost territories are not recovered, it will be necessary to persist in guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear, certainly for a fairly long time, though one cannot say definitely for how long. This is precisely what is meant by the protracted nature of the war. And in order to safeguard his gains in the occupied areas, the enemy is bound to step up his antiguerrilla measures and, especially after the halting of his strategic offensive, to embark on relentless suppression of the guerrillas. With ruthlessness thus added to protractedness, it will be impossible to sustain guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines without base areas.

What, then, are these base areas of guerrilla warfare? They are the strategic bases on which the guerrilla forces rely in performing their strategic tasks and achieving the objective of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out any strategic tasks or achieving the aim of the war. It is a characteristic of guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines that it is fought without a rear, for the guerrilla forces are severed from the country's general rear. But guerrilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas. The base areas, indeed, are its rear.

History knows many peasant wars of the "roving rebel" type, but none of them were able to succeed. In the present age of advanced communications and technology, it would be an even more groundless illusion to imagine that one can win victory by fighting in the manner of roving rebels. This roving rebel idea, however, exists among the impoverished peasants, and in the minds of guerrilla commanders it becomes the view that base areas are neither necessary nor important. Therefore, ridding the minds of guerrilla commanders of this idea is a prerequisite for deciding on a policy of establishing base areas. The question of whether or not to have base areas and of whether or not to regard them as important—in other words, the conflict between the idea of establishing base areas and that of fighting like roving rebels—arises in all guerrilla warfare, and, to a certain extent, the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare can be no exception. Therefore the struggle against the roving rebel ideology will be an inevitable process. Only when this ideology is thoroughly overcome and the policy of establishing base areas is initiated and applied will there be conditions favorable for the maintenance of guerrilla warfare over a long period.

Now that the "necessity and importance of base areas" have been made clear, let us move on to the following problems which must be understood and solved

19. VII → Chapter VI

when it comes to establishing the base areas. These problems are: the types of base areas, guerrilla zones and base areas, the conditions for establishing base areas, their consolidation and expansion, and the forms in which we and the enemy encircle each other.

1.[20] Types of Base Areas

Base areas in anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare are mainly of three types: those in the mountains, those on the plains, and those in the river-lake-estuary regions.

The advantage of setting up base areas in mountainous regions is obvious to everyone, and those that have been, are being, or will be established in the Changbai, Wutai, Taihang, Taishan, Yanshan, and Maoshan mountains[21] all belong to this type. These base areas will all be places where anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare can be maintained for the longest time and are important strongholds for the War of Resistance. We must *thoroughly* develop guerrilla warfare and set up base areas in all the mountainous regions behind the enemy lines.

Of course, the plains are somewhat less suitable than the mountains, but it is by no means impossible to develop guerrilla warfare or establish any base areas there. Indeed, the widespread guerrilla warfare in the plains of Hebei and of northern and northwestern Shandong proves that it is possible to develop guerrilla warfare in the plains. While there is as yet no evidence on the possibility of setting up base areas there and maintaining them for long, it has been proved that the setting up of temporary base areas is possible, and it should be possible to set up base areas for small units or for seasonal use. On the one hand, the enemy does not have enough troops at his disposal and is pursuing a policy of unparalleled brutality, and, on the other hand, China has a vast territory and vast numbers of people who are resisting Japan; the objective conditions for spreading guerrilla warfare and setting up temporary base areas in the plains are therefore fulfilled. Given competent military command, it should, of course, be possible to establish bases for small guerrilla units there, bases which are long term but not fixed. Broadly speaking, when the strategic offensive of the enemy is brought to a halt and he enters the stage of safeguarding his occupied areas, he will undoubtedly launch savage attacks on all the guerrilla base areas, and those in the plains will naturally be the first to bear the

20. 1 → Paragraph 1

21. Changhai mountain range, on China's northeastern border, became a base area for anti-Japanese guerrillas led by the Communist Party after the Japanese invasion in 1931. Bases in all the other areas mentioned here were set up in 1937 and 1938. The Wutai mountain range is situated on the borders between Shanxi, Hebei, and what was then the province of Chahar; the Taihang mountain range is situated on the borders between Shanxi, Hebei, and Henan; Mount Taishan is one of the chief peaks of the Tai-Yi mountain range in central Shandong; the Yanshan mountain range is situated on the border of Hebei and the then-province of Rehe; the Maoshan mountains are in southern Jiangsu.

brunt. The large guerrilla formations operating on the plains will be unable to keep on fighting there for long and will gradually have to move up into the mountains as the circumstances require, as for instance, from the Hebei plain to the Wutai and Taihang mountains, or from the Shandong plain to Mount Taishan and the Shandong peninsula in the east. But in the circumstances of our national war it is not impossible for numerous small guerrilla units to keep moving from one *xian* to another over the vast plains and adopt a fluid way of fighting, which means shifting their bases from place to place. It is definitely possible to conduct seasonal guerrilla warfare by taking advantage of the "green curtain" of tall crops in summer and of the frozen rivers in winter. As the enemy has no strength to spare now and will never be able to attend to everything even when he has the strength to spare, it is absolutely necessary for us to decide on the policy, for the present, of spreading guerrilla warfare far and wide and setting up temporary base areas in the plains and, for the future, of preparing to keep up guerrilla warfare by small units, if only seasonally, and of creating base areas which are not fixed.

Objectively speaking, the possibilities of developing guerrilla warfare and establishing base areas are greater in the river-lake-estuary regions than in the plains, though less than in the mountains. The dramatic battles fought by "pirates" and "water-bandits," of which our history is full, and the guerrilla warfare around Honghu Lake kept up for several years in the Red Army period, both testify to the possibility of developing guerrilla warfare and of establishing base areas in the river-lake-estuary regions. So far, however, the political parties and the masses who are resisting Japan have given this possibility little attention. Although the subjective conditions are as yet lacking, we should undoubtedly turn our attention to this possibility and start working on it. As one aspect in the development of our nationwide guerrilla warfare, we should effectively organize guerrilla warfare in the Hongze Lake region north of the Yangzi River, in the Taihu Lake region south of the Yangzi, and in all river-lake-estuary regions in the enemy-occupied areas along the rivers and on the seacoast, and we should create permanent base areas in and near such places. By overlooking this aspect we are virtually providing the enemy with water transport facilities; this is a gap in our strategic plan for the War of Resistance which must be filled in good time.

2.[22] Guerrilla Zones and Base Areas

In guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines, there is a distinction between guerrilla zones and base areas. Areas that are surrounded by the enemy but whose central parts are not occupied or have been recovered, like some *xian* in the Wutai mountain region, and also some places in the Taihang and Taishan mountain regions, are ready-made bases for the convenient use of guerrilla units in developing guerrilla

22. 2 → Paragraph 2

warfare. But elsewhere in these areas the situation is different, as for instance in the eastern and northern sections of the Wutai mountain region *(i.e., the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Region),* which include parts of western Hebei and southern Chahar, and in many places east of Baoding and west of Cangzhou. When guerrilla warfare began, the guerrillas could not completely occupy these places but could only make frequent raids; they are areas held by the guerrillas when they are there and by the puppet régime when they are gone, and are therefore not yet guerrilla bases but only what may be called guerrilla zones. Such guerrilla zones will be transformed into base areas when they have gone through the necessary processes of guerrilla warfare, that is, when large numbers of enemy troops have been annihilated or defeated there, the puppet régime has been destroyed, the popular masses have been roused to activity, anti-Japanese mass organizations have been formed, people's local armed forces have been developed, and anti-Japanese political power has been established. By expansion of the base areas we mean the addition of areas such as these to the bases already established.

In some places, such as eastern Hebei, for example, the whole area of guerrilla operations has been a guerrilla zone from the very beginning. The puppet régime is of long standing there, and from the beginning the whole area of operations has been a guerrilla zone both for the people's armed forces that have grown out of local uprisings and for the guerrilla detachments dispatched from the Wutai mountains. At the outset all they could do was to choose some fairly good spots in the region as temporary rear areas or temporary base areas. Not until the enemy forces are destroyed and the work of rousing the popular masses has progressed[23] will such places be transformed from guerrilla zones into relatively stable base areas.

Thus the transformation of guerrilla zone into base area is an arduous creative process, and its accomplishment depends upon the extent to which the enemy is destroyed and the popular masses are roused.

Many regions will remain guerrilla zones for a long time. In these regions the enemy will not be able to set up stable puppet régimes, however much he tries to maintain control, while for our part, however vigorously guerrilla warfare is developed, we will not be able to achieve the aim of establishing anti-Japanese political power. Examples of this kind are to be found in the enemy-occupied regions along the railway lines, in the areas near big cities, and in certain areas in the plains.

As for the big cities, the railway stations, and certain areas in the plains, which are controlled by strong enemy forces, guerrilla warfare can only extend to the fringes and not right into these places, which have relatively stable puppet régimes. This is another kind of situation.

Mistakes in our leadership or strong enemy pressure may cause a reversal of the state of affairs described above, which is to say that a base area may turn into a guerrilla zone, and a guerrilla zone may turn into an area under relatively stable

23. Has progressed → Has developed

enemy occupation. Such changes are possible, and they deserve special vigilance on the part of guerrilla leaders.

Therefore, as a result of guerrilla warfare and the struggle between us and the enemy, the entire enemy-occupied territory will fall into the following three categories: first, anti-Japanese bases held by guerrilla units and organs of Chinese political power;[24] second, areas held by Japanese imperialism and its puppet régimes; and, third, intermediate zones contested by both sides, namely, guerrilla zones. Guerrilla commanders have the duty to expand the first and third categories to the maximum and to reduce the second category to the minimum. This is the strategic task of guerrilla warfare.

3.[25] *Conditions for Establishing Base Areas*

The fundamental conditions for establishing a base area are that there should be anti-Japanese armed forces, that these armed forces should be employed to inflict defeats on the enemy, and that they should rouse the popular masses to action. Thus the establishment of a base area is first and foremost a matter of building an armed force. Leaders in guerrilla war must devote their energy to building one or more guerrilla units and must gradually develop them in the course of struggle into guerrilla formations or even into units and formations of regular troops. The building up of an armed force is the key to establishing a base area; if there is no such thing or if there is but it is weak, we will be in no position to deal with any of the problems. This constitutes the first condition.

The second indispensable condition for establishing a base area is that the armed forces should be used in coordination with the popular masses to defeat the enemy. All places under enemy control are enemy base areas, not guerrilla base areas. It is patently obvious that enemy base areas cannot be transformed into guerrilla base areas unless the enemy is defeated. Even in places controlled by the guerrillas, if there are enemy attacks *(and it is safe to say that the enemy will attack no matter what),* unless we defeat the enemy, the places under our control will come under enemy control, and it will be impossible to establish base areas.

Likewise, the third indispensable condition for establishing a base area is the use of all our strength, including the strength of our armed forces, to rouse the popular masses for struggle against Japan. It is in the course of this struggle that we shall arm the people and organize self-defense corps and guerrilla units. It is in the course of this struggle that we shall form mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children, merchants, and professionals. According to the degree of their political consciousness and fighting enthusiasm, we must organize these popular masses into the various organizations necessary for resistance to

24. Guerrilla units and organs of Chinese political power → Our guerrilla units and our organs of political power

25. 3 → Paragraph 3

Japan, and gradually expand them. Without organization, the popular masses cannot give effect to their anti-Japanese strength. It is in the course of this sort of struggle that open and hidden forces of Chinese traitors can be eliminated, a step which can be accomplished only by relying on the strength of the popular masses. What is particularly important in the course of this sort of struggle is to rouse the popular masses to consolidate, or to establish, local organs of anti-Japanese political power. Where the original Chinese organs of political power have not been destroyed by the enemy, we should consolidate them[26] on the basis of the support of the broad popular masses. Where the original Chinese organs of political power have been destroyed by the enemy, we should rebuild them on the basis of the efforts of the broad popular masses. They are organs of political power for carrying out the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and should unite all forces[27] to fight against our sole enemy, Japanese imperialism.[28]

Every base area for guerrilla war can be truly established only after three basic conditions are gradually fulfilled, namely, only after the anti-Japanese armed forces are built up, the enemy has suffered defeat, and the popular masses are roused to action.

In addition, mention must also be made of geographic and economic conditions. As for the former, we have already discussed three different categories earlier in dealing with "types of base areas," and here we need only mention one major requirement, which is that the area be extensive. In places surrounded[29] on all sides, or on three sides, mountainous regions naturally offer the best conditions for setting up base areas that can hold out for a long time, but the main thing is that there be enough room for the guerrillas to maneuver, that is, an extensive area. Given an extensive area, guerrilla warfare can be developed and sustained even in the plains, to say nothing of the river-lake-estuary regions. Generally speaking, *the mutually contradictory phenomena of* the vastness of China's territory and the enemy's shortage of troops provide guerrilla warfare in China with this condition. This is an important, even a primary condition, as far as the possibility of waging guerrilla warfare is concerned. For this reason, in small countries such as Belgium, because they lack this condition, the possibility of guerrilla warfare is small or nonexistent. But in China this condition is *naturally present,* not something that has to be striven for, nor is it a problem that awaits a solution; it is something provided by nature, waiting only to be exploited by man.

So far as their natural setting is concerned, the economic conditions resemble the geographic conditions. Because we are now discussing the establishment of base areas not in a desert, where no enemy is to be found, but behind the enemy

26. Consolidate them → Reorganize and consolidate them
27. Forces → Forces of the people
28. Japanese imperialism → Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, the Chinese traitors and reactionaries
29. Surrounded → Surrounded by the enemy

lines. Every place the enemy can penetrate already has its Chinese inhabitants, of course, and has long had an economic basis for subsistence, so that the question of choice of economic conditions in establishing base areas simply does not arise. Irrespective of the economic conditions, we should do our utmost to develop guerrilla warfare and set up permanent or temporary base areas in all places where Chinese inhabitants and enemy forces are to be found. In a political perspective, however, this is not the case. Here there is a problem, a problem of economic policy which is of immense importance to the establishment of base areas. The economic policy of the guerrilla base areas must follow the principles of the Anti-Japanese National United Front by equitably distributing the financial burden and protecting commerce. Neither the local organs of political power nor the guerrilla units must violate these principles, or the establishment of base areas and the maintenance of guerrilla warfare would be adversely affected. The equitable distribution of the financial burden means that "those with money should contribute money," while the peasants should supply the guerrilla units with grain within certain limits. The protection of commerce means that the guerrilla units should be highly disciplined and that the confiscation of shops, except those owned by proven Chinese traitors, should be strictly prohibited. This is no easy matter, but the policy is set and must be put into effect.

4.[30] The Consolidation and Expansion of Base Areas

In order to confine the enemy invading China to a few strongholds, that is, to the big cities and along the main communication lines, the guerrillas must do all they can to extend guerrilla warfare from their base areas as widely as possible and hem in all the enemy's strongholds, thus threatening his existence and shaking his morale while expanding the base areas. This is essential. In this context, we must oppose conservatism in guerrilla warfare. Whether originating in the desire for an easy existence or in overestimation of the enemy's strength, conservatism can only bring losses in the War of Resistance and is harmful to guerrilla warfare and to the base areas themselves. At the same time, we must not forget the consolidation of the base areas, the chief task being to arouse and organize the popular masses, *also including* the training of guerrilla units and local armed forces. Such consolidation is needed for maintaining protracted warfare and also for expansion, and in its absence forceful expansion is impossible. If we attend only to expansion and forget about consolidation in guerrilla warfare, we shall be unable to withstand the enemy's attacks, and consequently not only forfeit the possibility of expansion but also endanger the very existence of the base areas. The correct principle is "expansion with consolidation," which is a good method that "allows us to take the offensive or the defensive as we choose." Given a protracted war, the problem of consolidating and expanding base areas constantly arises for every

30. 4 → Paragraph 4

guerrilla unit. The concrete solution depends on the circumstances. At one time, the emphasis may be on expansion, which means to expand the guerrilla zones and increase the number of guerrillas. At another, the emphasis may be on consolidation, which means on organizing the popular masses and training the troops. Because the two differ in nature, and as military dispositions and other tasks will differ accordingly, an effective solution of the problem is possible only if we alternate the emphasis according to time and circumstances.

5.[31] Forms in Which We and the Enemy Encircle Each Other

Taking the War of Resistance as a whole, there is no doubt that we are strategically encircled by the enemy, because he is on the strategic offensive and is operating on exterior lines while we are on the strategic defensive and are operating on interior lines. This is the first form of the enemy's encirclement. We for our part encircle each of the enemy columns advancing on us along separate routes because we apply the policy of the offensive and of exterior-line operations in campaigns and battles by using numerically preponderant forces against these enemy columns advancing on us from exterior lines. This is the first form of our encirclement of the enemy. Next, if we consider the guerrilla base areas in the enemy's rear, each area taken singly is surrounded by the enemy on all sides, like the Wutai mountain region, or on three sides, like the northwestern Shanxi area. This is the second form of the enemy's encirclement. But if one considers all the guerrilla base areas together, and in their relation to the battlefronts of the regular forces, one can see that we in turn surround a great many enemy forces. In Shanxi, for example, we have surrounded the Datong-Puzhou railway line on three sides (the east and west flanks and the southern end) and the city of Taiyuan on all sides; and there are many similar instances in Hebei and Shandong. This is the second form of our encirclement of the enemy. Thus there are two forms of encirclement by the enemy forces and two forms of encirclement by our own—rather like playing a game of *weiqi.*[32] Campaigns and battles fought by the two sides resemble the capturing of each other's pieces and the establishment of strongholds by the enemy and of guerrilla base areas by us resembles moves to dominate spaces on the board. It is in the matter of "dominating the spaces" that the great strategic role of guerrilla base areas in the rear of the enemy is revealed. We are raising this question in the War of Resistance in order that the nation's military authorities and the guerrilla commanders in all areas should place on the agenda the development of guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines and the establishment of base areas wherever possible and carry this out as a strategic task. If, on the international plane, we can create an anti-Japanese front in the Pacific region, with China as one strategic

31. 5 → Paragraph 5

32. On Mao's use of *weiqi,* better known in the West under its Japanese name *go,* as a metaphor in discussing military tactics, see page 352 above, paragraph 54 of "On Protracted War."

unit, and the Soviet Union and other countries which may join it as other strategic units, we shall then have one more form of encirclement against the enemy than he has against us and bring about exterior-line operations in the Pacific region by which to *carry out the* encirclement and suppression of fascist Japan. To be sure, this is of little practical significance at present, but such a prospect is not impossible. *The world is in the midst of change, and the Japanese people are preparing for a great struggle!*

VIII.[33] *The Fourth Problem:* The Strategic Defensive and the Strategic Offensive in Guerrilla War

The fourth problem of strategy in guerrilla war concerns the strategic defensive and the strategic offensive. This is the problem of how the overall policy of offensive warfare, which was mentioned in the discussion of the first problem, is to be carried out in practice, when we are on the defensive and when we are on the offensive in guerrilla warfare against Japan.

Within the nationwide strategic defensive or strategic offensive (to be more exact, the strategic counteroffensive), small-scale strategic defensives and offensives take place in and around each guerrilla base area. By strategic defensive we mean our strategic situation and policy when the enemy is on the offensive and we are on the defensive; by strategic offensive we mean our strategic situation and policy when the enemy is on the defensive and we are on the offensive.

1.[34] Strategy and Defense in Guerrilla War[35]

After guerrilla warfare has broken out and grown to a considerable extent, the enemy will inevitably attack the guerrilla base areas, especially in the period when his strategic offensive against the country as a whole is brought to an end and he adopts the policy of safeguarding his occupied areas. It is essential to recognize the inevitability of such attacks, for otherwise the guerrilla leaders will be caught wholly unprepared, and in the face of heavy enemy attacks they will undoubtedly become alarmed and confused and their forces will be routed.

To wipe out the guerrillas and their base areas, the enemy frequently resorts to converging attacks. For instance, in each of the four or five "punitive expeditions" directed against the Wutai mountain region, the enemy made a planned advance in three, four, or even six or seven columns simultaneously. The larger the scale of the guerrilla fighting, the more important the position of the base areas, and the greater the threat to the enemy's strategic centers and vital communication lines, the fiercer will be the enemy's attacks. Therefore, the fiercer the enemy's attacks

33. VIII → Chapter VII

34. 1 → Paragraph 1

35. Strategy and defense in guerrilla war → The Strategic Defensive in Guerrilla War

on a guerrilla area, the greater the indication that the guerrilla warfare there is successful and is being effectively coordinated with the regular fighting.

When the enemy launches a converging attack in several columns, the overall guerrilla policy for smashing it takes the form of counterattack. This sort of attack can be easily smashed if each advancing enemy column consists of only one unit, whether big or small, has no follow-up units, and is unable to station troops along the route of advance, construct blockhouses, or build motor roads. In such instances the enemy is on the offensive and operating on exterior lines, while we are on the defensive and operating on interior lines. As for our dispositions, we should use our secondary forces to pin down several enemy columns, while our main force should launch surprise attacks (chiefly in the form of ambushes) in a campaign or battle against a single enemy column, striking it when it is on the move. The enemy, though strong, will be weakened by repeated surprise attacks and will often withdraw when he has gone halfway; the guerrilla units can then make more surprise attacks during the pursuit and weaken him still further. The enemy generally occupies the *xian* towns or other towns in our base areas before he stops his offensive or begins to withdraw, and we should encircle these towns, cutting off his grain supply and severing his communications, so that when he cannot hold out and begins to retreat, we can seize the opportunity to pursue and attack him. After smashing one column, we should shift our forces to smash another, and, by smashing them one by one, shatter the converging attack.

A big base area such as the Wutai mountain region forms a "military area," which is divided into four or five[36] "military subareas," each with its own armed forces operating independently. By employing the tactics described above, these forces have often smashed the enemy's attacks simultaneously or successively.

In our plan of operations against a converging attack by the enemy, we generally place our main force on interior lines. But when we have the strength to spare, we use our secondary forces (such as the *xian* or district guerrilla units, or even detachments of the main force) on exterior lines to disrupt the enemy's communications, and it is necessary to pin down the enemy's reinforcements. Should the enemy stay put in our base area, we may reverse the above-mentioned tactics, namely, leave some forces in the base area to invest the enemy while employing the main force to attack the region whence he has come and to step up our activities there, in order to induce him to withdraw and attack our main force; this is the tactic of "relieving the state of Zhao by besieging the state of Wei."[37]

In the course of operations against a converging attack, the local anti-Japanese self-defense corps and the mass organizations should all mobilize for action and in every way help our troops to fight the enemy. In the work of fighting the enemy, it

36. Four or five → Four or five, or even more

37. Refers to tactics similar to those used in a famous battle during the Warring States period. The state of Wei had invaded the state of Zhao, and Zhao's ally the state of Qi attacked Wei, whose troops withdrew from Zhao to defend their own state.

is important both to enforce local martial law and to "strengthen the walls and clear the fields."[38] The purpose of the former is to suppress Chinese traitors and prevent the enemy from getting information and of the latter to assist our own operations (by strengthening the walls) and prevent the enemy from getting food (by clearing the fields).[39]

When the enemy retreats, he often burns down the houses in the cities and towns he has occupied and razes the villages along his route, with the purpose of destroying the guerrilla base areas; but in so doing he deprives himself of shelter and food in his next offensive, and thereby harms himself. This is a concrete illustration of what we mean by one and the same thing having two contradictory aspects.

A guerrilla leader should not think of abandoning his base area and shifting to another, unless it proves impossible, after repeated operations, to smash the enemy's heavy converging attacks. In these circumstances he must guard against the emergence of pessimism. So long as the leaders do not blunder in matters of principle, it is generally possible to smash the converging attacks and hold onto the base areas in mountainous regions. It is only in the plains that, when confronted by a heavy converging attack, the following problem should be considered in light of the specific circumstances: leaving many small guerrilla units for scattered operations in the local area, while temporarily shifting large guerrilla formations to some mountainous region, so that they can return and resume their activities in the plains once the main forces of the enemy move away.

Generally speaking, the enemy cannot adopt the principle of blockhouse warfare employed in the days of the civil war,[40] because their forces are inadequate in relation to China's vast territory. But we should reckon with the possibility that the enemy may use it to some extent against those guerrilla base areas which pose a particular threat to their vital positions, and precisely in such circumstances we should be prepared to keep up guerrilla warfare in those areas. Since we have had the experience of being able to maintain guerrilla warfare during the civil war, there is not the slightest doubt of our greater capacity to do so in a national war. Although in point of relative military strength, the enemy can throw forces that are vastly superior in quantity as well as in quality against some of our base areas, there remain the insoluble national contradiction between us and the enemy and the unavoidable weaknesses of his command. Our victories are based on thorough work among the masses and flexible tactics in our operations.

38. To enforce local martial law and to "strengthen the walls and clear the fields" → To enforce martial law and, to the extent possible, to "strengthen the walls and clear the fields"

39. The *Selected Works* version adds here: "Clearing the fields" means harvesting the crops as soon as they are ripe.

40. Employed in the days of the civil war → Which the Guomindang employed in the days of the civil war

2.[41] *The Strategic Offensive in Guerrilla War*

After we have smashed an enemy offensive and before the enemy starts a new offensive, he is on the strategic defensive and we are on the strategic offensive.

At such times our operational policy is not to attack enemy forces that are entrenched in defensive positions and that we are not sure of defeating, but systematically to destroy or drive out the small enemy units and Chinese traitor forces in certain areas, which our guerrilla units are strong enough to deal with, and to expand our occupied areas, arouse the masses for struggle against Japan, replenish and train our troops, and organize new guerrilla units. If the enemy still remains on the defensive when these tasks are under way, we can expand our new areas still further and attack weakly garrisoned cities and communication lines and hold them for as long as circumstances permit. These are all tasks of the strategic offensive, and the purpose is to take advantage of the fact that the enemy is on the defensive so that we may effectively build up our own military and mass strength, effectively reduce the enemy's strength, and prepare to smash the enemy methodically and vigorously when he mounts an offensive again.

It is essential to rest and train our troops, and the best time for doing so is when the enemy is on the defensive. It is not a question of shutting ourselves off from everything else for rest and training, but of finding time for rest and training while expanding our areas of occupation, mopping up small enemy units, and mobilizing the popular masses. This is usually also the time for tackling the difficult problem of obtaining food supplies, bedding, clothing, and so on.

It is also the time for destroying the enemy's communication lines on a large scale, hampering his transport, and giving direct support to the regular forces in the campaigns.

At such times the guerrilla base areas, guerrilla zones, and guerrilla units are in high spirits, and the areas devastated by the enemy are gradually rehabilitated and revived. The people in the enemy-occupied territories are also delighted, and the fame of the guerrillas resounds everywhere. On the other hand, in the camp of the enemy and his running dogs, the Chinese traitors, panic and disintegration are mounting, while there is growing hatred of the guerrillas and their base areas, and preparations to deal with them are intensified. During the strategic offensive, therefore, it is impermissible for the guerrilla commanders to become so elated as to underrate the enemy and forget to strengthen unity in their own ranks and to consolidate their base areas and their forces. At such times, they must skillfully watch the enemy's every move for signs of any new offensive against us, so that the moment it comes they can wind up their strategic offensive in good order, turn to the strategic defensive, and thereby smash the enemy's offensive.

41. 2 → Paragraph 2

IX.[42] *The Fifth Problem:* Development into Mobile War

The fifth problem of strategy in guerrilla war against Japan is its development into mobile war, a development which is necessary and possible because the war is protracted and ruthless. If China could speedily defeat the Japanese bandits and recover its lost territories, and if the war were neither protracted nor ruthless, then it would not be necessary for guerrilla warfare to develop into mobile warfare. But as, on the contrary, the war is protracted and ruthless, guerrilla warfare cannot adapt itself to such a war except by developing into mobile warfare. Since the war is protracted and ruthless, it is possible for the guerrilla units to undergo the necessary steeling and gradually to transform themselves into regular *army* forces, so that their mode of operations is gradually regularized and guerrilla warfare develops into mobile warfare. The necessity and possibility of this development must be clearly recognized by the guerrilla commanders if they are to persist in, and systematically carry out, the policy of turning guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare.

In many places, such as the Wutai mountain region, the present guerrilla warfare owes its growth to the strong detachments sent there by the regular forces. The operations there, though generally of a guerrilla character, have contained an element of mobile warfare from the very beginning. This element will gradually increase as the war goes on. Herein lies the advantage that makes possible the swift expansion of the present anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare and its rapid development to a higher level; thus the conditions for guerrilla warfare are far superior to what they were in the Three Eastern Provinces.

To transform guerrilla units waging guerrilla warfare into regular forces waging mobile warfare, two conditions are necessary: an increase in numbers and an improvement in quality. Apart from directly mobilizing the people to join the forces, increased numbers can be attained by amalgamating small units, while better quality depends on steeling the fighters and improving their weapons in the course of the war.

In amalgamating small units, we must, on the one hand, guard against localism, whereby centralization is impeded,[43] and, on the other, guard against the purely military approach, whereby local interests are brushed aside.

Localism exists among the local guerrilla units and local governments, which are frequently preoccupied with local considerations to the neglect of the general interest, or which prefer to act each on its own because they are unaccustomed to acting in larger groups. Leaders of the main guerrilla units or of the guerrilla formations must take this into account and adopt the method of gradual amalgamation of part of the local units, allowing the localities to expand their guerrilla

42. IX → Chapter VIII

43. Centralization is impeded → Attention is concentrated exclusively on local interests and centralization is impeded

warfare;[44] they should draw these units into joint operations and then bring about their amalgamation without breaking up their original organization or reshuffling their cadres, so that the small groups may integrate smoothly into the larger group.

As against localism, the purely military approach represents the wrong viewpoint held in the main forces by those who are bent on expanding their own strength and who neglect to assist the people.[45] They do not realize that the development of guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare means not the abandonment of guerrilla warfare, but the gradual formation, in the midst of widespread guerrilla warfare, of a main force capable of conducting mobile warfare. Around this force there must still be numerous guerrilla units and extensive guerrilla operations. Such extensive guerrilla units *and guerrilla operations* are powerful auxiliaries to the main force and serve as inexhaustible reserves for its continuous growth. Therefore, if, *among the* leaders of a main force, the mistake is made of neglecting the interests of the local popular masses and the local government as a result of a purely military approach, it must be corrected in order that the expansion of the main force and the multiplication of the local armed units may both receive due attention.

To raise the quality [of the guerrilla units] it is imperative to raise their political and organizational level and improve their equipment, military technique, tactics, and discipline, so that they gradually pattern themselves on the regular forces and shed their guerrilla ways. Politically, it is imperative to get both the commanders and the fighters to realize the necessity of raising the guerrilla units to the level of the regular forces, to encourage them to strive toward this end, and to guarantee its attainment by means of political work. Organizationally, it is imperative gradually to fulfill all the requirements of a regular formation in the following respects: military and political organs, staff, and working methods, a regular supply system, a medical service, and so on. In the matter of equipment, it is imperative to acquire better and more varied weapons and increase the supply of the necessary communications equipment. In the matter of military technique and tactics, it is imperative to raise the guerrilla units to the level required of a regular formation. In the matter of discipline, it is imperative to raise the level so that uniform standards are observed, every order is executed without fail, and all slackness is eliminated. To accomplish all these tasks requires a prolonged effort, and it cannot be done overnight; but that is the direction in which we must go. Only thus can a main force be built up in each guerrilla base area, and mobile warfare emerge for more effective attacks on the enemy. Where detachments or cadres have been sent in by the regular forces, the goal can be achieved more easily. Hence all the regular forces have the responsibility of helping the guerrilla units to make progress.[46]

44. To expand their guerrilla warfare → To keep some of their forces and expand their guerrilla warfare

45. The people → The local armed units

46. Make progress → Develop into regular units

X.[47] *The Sixth Problem:* Command Relationships

The last problem of strategy in guerrilla war against Japan concerns command relationships. A correct solution of this problem is one of the prerequisites for the unhampered development of guerrilla warfare.

Since guerrilla units are a lower level of armed organization characterized by dispersed operations, the methods of command in guerrilla warfare do not allow as high a degree of centralization as in regular warfare. If any attempt is made to apply the methods of command in regular warfare to guerrilla warfare, its great flexibility will inevitably be restricted and its vitality sapped. *Therefore,* a highly centralized command is in direct contradiction to the great flexibility of guerrilla warfare and must not and cannot be applied to it.

Guerrilla warfare cannot, however, be successfully developed without some centralized command. In circumstances where extensive regular warfare and extensive guerrilla warfare are going on at the same time, their operations must be properly coordinated; hence the need for a command coordinating the two kinds of warfare, which is to say a unified strategic command by the national general staff and the war-zone commanders. In a guerrilla zone or guerrilla base area, where there are many guerrilla units, there are usually one or more guerrilla formations (sometimes together with regular formations) that constitute the main force, a number of other guerrilla units, big and small, which represent the supplementary force, and many armed units composed of people not withdrawn from production; the enemy forces there usually form a unified complex to concert their operations against the guerrillas. Consequently, the problem arises of setting up a unified or centralized command in such guerrilla zones or base areas.

Hence, as opposed both to absolute centralization and to absolute decentralization, the principle of command in guerrilla warfare should be centralized strategic command and decentralized command in campaigns and battles.

Centralized strategic command includes the planning and direction of guerrilla warfare as a whole by the state, the coordination of guerrilla warfare with regular warfare in each war zone, and the unified direction of all the anti-Japanese armed forces in each guerrilla zone or base area. Here lack of harmony, lack of unity, and lack of centralization is harmful, and every effort must be made to ensure all three. In general matters, that is, matters of strategy, the lower levels must report to the higher and follow their instructions so as to ensure concerted action. Centralization, however, stops at this point, and it would likewise be harmful to go beyond it and interfere with the lower levels in matters of detail such as the specific dispositions for a campaign or battle, and so on. For such details must be settled in the light of specific conditions, which change from time to time and from place to place and are quite beyond the knowledge of the distant higher levels of command.

47. X → Chapter IX

This is what is meant by the principle of decentralized command in campaigns and battles. The same principle generally applies in regular operations, especially when communications are inadequate. In a word, it means "guerrilla warfare waged independently and with the initiative in our hands within the framework of a unified strategy."

Where a guerrilla base area constitutes a military area divided into subareas, each comprising several *xian,* each of which is again divided into districts, the relationship between the various levels, from the headquarters of the military area and subareas down to the *xian* and district governments, is one of consecutive subordination, and every armed force must, according to its nature, be under the direct command of one of these. On the principle that has been enunciated, in the relationship of command at these levels matters of general policy should be centralized in the higher levels, while actual operations should be carried out in the light of the specific circumstances by the lower levels, which should have the right of independent action *(sometimes called making arbitrary decisions and taking peremptory action).* If a higher level has something to say about the actual operations undertaken at a lower level, it can and should advance its views as "instructions," but absolutely must not issue hard and fast "commands." The more extensive the area, the more complex the situation, and the greater the distance between the higher and the lower levels, the more advisable it becomes to allow greater independence to the lower levels in their actual operations and thus give those operations a character conforming more closely to the local requirements, so that the lower levels and the local personnel may develop the ability to work independently, cope with complicated situations, and successfully expand guerrilla warfare. For an armed unit or bigger formation which is engaged in a concentrated operation, the principle to be applied is one of centralization and its internal relationship of command, since the situation is clear [to the higher command]; but the moment this unit or formation breaks up for dispersed action, the principle of centralization in general matters and of decentralization in details should be applied, for then the specific situation cannot be clear [to the higher command].

Absence of centralization where it is needed means negligence by the higher levels or usurpation of authority by the lower levels, neither of which can be tolerated in the relationship between higher and lower levels, especially in the military sphere. If decentralization is not effected where it should be, that means monopolization of power by the higher levels and lack of initiative by the lower levels, neither of which can be tolerated in the relationship between higher and lower levels, especially in the relations of command in guerrilla warfare.[48] The above principles constitute the only correct orientation for solving the problem.

48. In guerrilla warfare → In the command of guerrilla warfare

The New Fourth Army Can Maneuver Freely in the Enemy's Rear

(June 2, 1938)

Comrade Xiang Ying:

We have taken note of your telegram of May 4.

1. Gu Zhutong[1] is relatively enlightened, and I hope that you will try to establish good contacts with him.

2. Since your territory has expanded, you are no longer worried about the lack of room for maneuver. I hope that, on the basis of concrete experience of war, you can send our troops to maneuver in all the regions in the enemy's rear where there are none of our friendly armies. In the future, when we have the time and the strength, we should be prepared to send small detachments not only to the large area to the north of Lake Tai and west of the Wusong River, but also to the area north of the Yangzi.

3. The overall goal of the enemy is to attack Wuhan. You can go all out in your actions in the enemy's rear.

4. As far as the weapons are concerned, instead of spending a huge amount of money to buy them from distant places, you can obtain large numbers of them from the localities as well as from the enemy.

5. Strengthen the instruction of the training battalion, and recruit more soldiers, so as to be prepared for the future expansion of our forces.

6. Lai Chuanzhu[2] can be appointed either as deputy brigade commander or brigade political commissar, or you can ask him to take charge of instruction for the training battalion for the time being. Please give some thought to this.

7. We have asked the Third Bureau to try to find a transmitter operator for you.

8. The document from Hankou has arrived.

Mao [Zedong]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 351–52, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. Gu Zhutong was at this time the commanding officer of the Guomindang army's Third Battle Area.

2. At this time Lai was chief of staff of the New Fourth Army.

Urgent Statement by Seven Persons, Including Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai

(June 3, 1938)

We have just heard the report of the Central Agency from Chongqing to the effect that the Control Commission of the Chinese Guomindang held the fourteenth meeting of its Standing Committee and adopted a resolution at 8:00 A.M. on the third, restoring party memberships to Chen Qi'ai[2] and twenty-six other persons, including the seven persons Zhou Enlai, Lin Zuhan,[3] Wu Yuzhang, Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Deng Yingchao,[4] and Ye Jianying. We are all members of the Chinese Communist Party. Although the two parties of the Guomindang and the Communist Party have announced their political cooperation, it still remains to be decided through negotiation as to whether the cooperative relations between the two parties are to be restored in line with the methods of 1924. Furthermore, regarding the restoration to us of the Guomindang party memberships, neither the Central Committee of our Party nor we ourselves were notified or given an opportunity to express our views in advance. We hereby solemnly declare that we really cannot accept the portion of this resolution of the Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Guomindang concerning us seven persons. This statement is issued jointly by the seven persons Zhou Enlai, Lin Zuhan, Wu Yuzhang, Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Deng Yingchao, and Ye Jianying.

Our source for this document is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, p. 177, which reproduces the text from Wu Yuzhang's[1] autobiography, as published in China in 1981.

1. Wu Yuzhang (1878–1966), a native of Sichuan, was an active member both of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Guomindang.

2. Chen Qi'ai (1888–1968), a native of Guangzhou, was at this time in San Francisco, after an active career in the Guomindang in the 1920s.

3. Lin Boqu (1886–1960), also known as Lin Zuhan, was a native of Hunan, who had joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, and also took part in the reorganization of the Guomindang in 1923–1924. At this time, he was chairman of the Border Region government.

4. Deng Yingchao (1903–1992), the wife of Zhou Enlai, was one of the few women to survive the Long March.

A Telegraphic Reply Thanking the Congress of the Communist Party of the United States

(June 8, 1938)

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of the United States, Chairman [William Z.] Foster of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and Secretary-General [Earl] Browder earlier sent a telegram of congratulations to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. After receiving this telegram, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party immediately dispatched a telegram of reply. The original text of the telegram is given below:

Transmitted through the *Daily Worker* of New York.

Chairman Foster of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, Secretary-General Browder, and the representatives of the Tenth National Congress:

On behalf of the Central Committee and all members of the Chinese Communist Party, we would like to express our respect to the vanguard of the American working class, the vanguard which works hard to defend the peace, progress, and democracy of the United States, and our appreciation to your Party and the American people for the assistance and sympathy you have given to the Chinese war of national liberation.

Support the close solidarity between the fraternal Chinese and American Parties, and between the peoples of the two countries! Down with the Japanese invaders! Long live the Communist Party of the United States! Long live an independent, free, and happy new China!

Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Wang Ming, Zhou Enlai, Luo Fu [Zhang Wentian], Bo Gu [Qin Bangxian], Xiang Ying, Chen Yun

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This telegram was first published in *Xinhua ribao,* June 8, 1938. Our source is *Mao Zedong ji,* Vol. 6, p. 147, which reproduces this text.

We Are Planning to Create a Base in the Daqing Mountains

(June 11, 1938)

Zhu [De] and Peng [Dehuai]; He [Long], Xiao [Ke] and Guan [Xiangying]:

The importance of the Daqing mountain range is just as you said in your telegram. What kind of troop units should be sent there, who should be the commander, and how they should operate are for you to decide on the basis of the situation. The only thing is that when you have just begun to set up a base there, the enemy, being fully aware of its importance, will certainly try to sabotage your effort in every possible way. Therefore, you should choose the best troops for this mission. The leaders should be both politically and militarily up to the task, and, in addition, they should be intelligent, alert, and able to endure hardships, as well as determined to set up a base area in this area. The Northern Shaanxi Cavalry Regiment now controls the large territory of a river valley in Mongolia. It is resisting the enemy's movement to the south in cooperation with the Mongolians in the Hangjinqi area about five hundred *li* north of Dingyan; hence it cannot be moved.

Mao [Zedong]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 353–54, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

To Wu Liangping[1]

(June 15, 1938)

Comrade Liangping,

I have received a letter from an American sympathizer and I want to ask you to draft a letter of reply. Apart from expressing thanks to her, the letter may describe the circumstances of the Eighth Route Army's participation in the anti-Japanese war, ask her to tell our American brothers and sisters to provide more assistance to us, and state that we and they stand by each other. How are you? Please let me know.

Salutations!

Mao Zedong

Our source for this letter is *Mao Zedong shuxin xuanji,* p. 129, where it is reproduced from the manuscript.

1. Wu Liangping was at this time editor of the Party's weekly organ *Jiefang* in Yan'an.

Freely Develop Guerrilla Warfare in North and Northwest China

(June 15, 1938)

Zhu [De], Peng [Dehuai], and Zhou [Enlai]:

I have taken note of Zhou's telegram.[1] The main direction of the enemy's attack is toward Wuhan. Consequently, for the time being it is unable to pay too much attention to North China and the Northwest, and this gives us the opportunity to develop guerrilla warfare freely and to seize some chances for mobile warfare. I have already proposed this in broad outline in my telegram of the 26th of last month.[2] At the moment, in order to cooperate with the campaign in Central China, to reduce the territory occupied by the enemy in North China, and to develop and strengthen the base area in North China, it is very necessary to attack the enemy on a large scale. The suggestion in Zhou's telegram is correct. My only concern is that the actual campaign should be based totally on the current actual conditions of the enemy and of ourselves. We should not become confused ourselves because of what the others say. We must also pay attention to this.

Mao [Zedong]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 355–56, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. The reference is to a telegram sent by Zhou Enlai to Mao, Zhu, and Peng earlier on the same day.
2. Mao's telegram of May 26 is translated above.

Conversation with the Delegates of the World Students' Federation, Messrs. Coleman, Garden, Ford, and Redmond

(July 2, 1938, in Yan'an)

First question: What are the significance and role of the border regions in China now? Please explain this to us, for we need very much to be clear about it.

Answer: A clear understanding of the nature of the border regions is essential in order to understand their significance and role in China. What kind of a place is a border region? One sentence is sufficient to describe it; it is a democratic anti-Japanese base.

First, as regards the popular masses, they all have their own organizations. So long as they are guided by the principle of resistance to Japan, they all enjoy freedom of speech, publication, assembly, and association. All organizations of the people, no matter whether they are workers', peasants', merchants', students', intellectuals', women's, or children's organizations, or even religious or professional organizations, have such freedoms. Moreover, the Communist Party and the border region governments actively support them and help them, so as to enable them to develop more widely. Here, only the activities of the Chinese traitors are restricted; no freedoms whatsoever are granted to them.

Next, the border regions have already become areas for participating directly in the War of Resistance. Part of the Eighth Route Army still remains here, and there are also some local armed forces. As regards these armed forces, the internal relationship between officers and soldiers and the external relationship between them and the people are imbued with a kind of democratic spirit which makes the officers and soldiers and the soldiers and civilians unite as one so as to become an invincible force in the anti-Japanese war.

Next, education in the border regions is equally anti-Japanese and democratic. You may see this spirit from the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University and the Northern Shaanxi Public School.

This interview was first published in *Jiefang,* no. 45, July 23, 1938. Our source is *Mao Zedong wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 129–36, which reproduces this text. The same version can also be found in *Mao Zedong ji,* Vol. 6, pp. 149–56. We have been unable to verify the names of the delegates.

Next, the economic field is likewise guided by the key principle of supporting the War of Resistance and is run in a democratic spirit. Examples are the relatively advanced cooperatives here. The peasants who have obtained land engage in agricultural production in the same spirit as well. It improves the livelihood of the people and serves the anti-Japanese cause at the same time. There are rents and taxes here, too, but there are no exorbitant levies or miscellaneous taxes. A unified progressive taxation system is in force, in conformity with the above key principle.

The next point, which is also the most important point, is that all levels of the government in the border regions are elected by popular vote. This shows that those people who say "The educationally backward workers and peasants cannot carry out a system of elections" are out of touch with reality. The results of the practice of popular elections here are not bad, as anyone with eyes to see can observe. When the people elect those they like to run government affairs, the government is run rather well. This system is much better than the system of appointing officials to manage affairs and is especially forceful and effective in mobilizing the strength of the people to participate in the anti-Japanese war. The only difference between it and the former soviets lies in the widening of the range of people who may vote and be elected. All workers, peasants, women, intellectuals, students, merchants, and property owners enjoy the right to vote or to be elected, so long as they are not against resistance to Japan, and have reached the age of eighteen.

Combining the anti-Japanese war and the democratic system in the various respects indicated above can yield remarkable results. Under this system, people of all walks of life, regardless of which professions they follow and which activities they engage in, can exercise their talents and display whatever gifts they have.

Such are the nature and characteristics of the border regions. Once these are understood, it is possible to comprehend their significance and role in the whole country. This system should likewise be adopted throughout the country, to combine the anti-Japanese war with the democratic system and to win victory in the anti-Japanese war through the wide application of the democratic system. If the people of the whole country have full freedom of speech, publication, assembly, and association; if officers and soldiers in the armies throughout the country unite as one, and if the civilians and soldiers also unite as one; if education throughout the country is carried out in a democratic spirit; if economic construction throughout the country mobilizes the power of the people and improves the livelihood of the people at same time; if an election system is instituted at all levels of the government throughout the whole country; if the people have representative organs at all levels of the government; and if, moreover, all these things serve the purpose of winning victory in the War of Resistance, then the day for defeating Japan is not faraway. The democratic system in other countries is a thing which has already taken shape in the course of history, but as yet it has not been carried out in China. The role of the border regions is to set an example for the people of the whole country to see and to make them understand that this system is the most conducive to resisting Japan and saving the country, and is the only correct road for resisting

Japan and saving the country. Such is the significance and role of the border regions in the whole country. The adoption of this system by the whole country requires that the people of the whole country genuinely understand it and believe in its feasibility; only then can it be instituted. Therefore, we welcome the people of all parties, groups, and those outside parties and groups to come and have a look. There are quite a few people who have come, and the number of youth and students is especially large. The fact that, with few exceptions, the majority of the people describe the system as good is heartening. The border regions are parts of China and are under the leadership of the central government. They are similar to other parts of China in this regard. But there is one difference, which is the fact that these regions have instituted a democratic system. This is the characteristic of the border regions, and we hope that this characteristic may spread all over China.

Now, there are some people who hold [one of] two incorrect viewpoints toward the border regions. One viewpoint states that nothing about the border regions is good. There are a few diehard elements who say this, and such statements obviously run counter to the facts. Another viewpoint claims that they are like a sacred paradise with no shortcomings at all. This way of putting it is also exaggerated. The correct formulation must be as follows. The democratic system and the anti-Japanese spirit here are excellent and worthy of emulation and consideration by the people of the whole country. But the work here is still limited by certain conditions. Material difficulties are one example. Much work still requires further efforts before it can improve. The situation is not that everything here is so wonderful that no further improvement is necessary. So we welcome criticisms from outside, which increase the efforts of those working here. This point should be made clear as well. Since you have come to visit Yan'an with good will, I welcome criticisms from all of you to point out shortcomings here, so that these shortcomings may be corrected for the benefit of the great cause of resisting Japan and saving the country.

Second question: What is the role of the Chinese Communist Party at present in the whole of China?

Answer: This question is very simple. Persevering in the War of Resistance, in the united front, and in the protracted war is the basic stand of the Chinese Communist Party at present. Its work and role in the whole country lie precisely here.

What does perseverance in the War of Resistance mean? There is such a question as whether to compromise or to persevere in the War of Resistance. We advocate resisting to the end and opposing any compromises. We are willing to continue the War of Resistance together with the Guomindang, other parties and factions, and the people of the whole country, with absolutely no wavering, and fight to the Yalu River until all the lost territory is recovered.

What does perseverance in the united front mean? It means that the whole country should unite to the end. Only firm adherence to the unity of the whole country can ensure perseverance in the War of Resistance. Although there is already unity of

the whole country, the unity should be strengthened further. It is insufficient merely to unite a few parties and factions. It is essential to unite the people of the whole country. Only when the people from all walks of life in the whole country are united in certain organizations, and their enthusiasm for the War of Resistance is mobilized, can the united front be regarded as consolidated and expanded.

What does perseverance in a protracted war mean? There are two types of person in China at present. One type of person says, "China will be destroyed, and we cannot wage a protracted war." Another type of person says, "China can drive out the Japanese imperialists quickly, so there is no need for a protracted war." In our opinion, both of these views are wrong. First, China will never be destroyed. The reason is that, though Japan is strong, it has congenital deficiencies and suffers from multifarious internal and external contradictions, and, though China is weak, it is a big country and also enjoys many excellent internal and external conditions. Therefore, although China may have lost many localities during a certain period of the war, it can still carry out the war resolutely and attain final victory. But it will also be difficult to defeat the Japanese very quickly, because even though there are possible conditions for winning victory, they cannot all manifest themselves within a very short time. Thus, whether it is a question of China's progress, the internal collapse of Japan, or international assistance, none of these factors can enable us to reach the goal before a relatively long time has elapsed. Hence, we should be prepared for a protracted war and should not hope for immediate victory.

So the present orientation should be as follows: persevering in the War of Resistance first; persevering in the united front second; and persevering in a protracted war third.

What is the Chinese Communist Party doing in the whole country? It is doing precisely these things. The Chinese Communist Party is ready to unite closely with every party and faction, and with the people of the whole country, and is determined to pursue this orientation. This is the role of the Chinese Communist Party in the whole country.

Third question: Does China have any factors that can reduce the duration of this protracted war?

Answer: To lessen the duration of the war, three factors must be strengthened. The first factor is the further consolidation and expansion of China's united front. This is fundamental. In the context of the orientation of the united front, all items of work must show considerable development and progress. The greater the improvement and progress the work makes, the more the length of the war can be reduced. The second condition is assistance from the people inside Japan. Now such assistance has already started. For example, their soldiers are unwilling to fight; some of them have committed suicide, some have surrendered, and some have distributed antiwar handbills. The antiwar thinking of the Japanese people is also on the rise. If the consciousness of the Japanese soldiers and people increases by one

degree, the length of the war may be shortened by one degree. There is still another condition, which is the assistance from various countries of the world. We need the help of the world's students, the world's peoples, and the governments of various countries. If these forms of assistance are more numerous and become available more quickly, then our war may be shortened. These three conditions are related to one another. If China speeds up progress and unity, this may cause the Japanese domestic forces supporting us and the forces in various countries of the world supporting us to grow faster. And if the forces in Japan and the countries of the world supporting us develop faster, this may also cause our internal anti-Japanese forces to expand and progress more rapidly. By dealing greater blows to the Japanese imperialists, China will also help the Japanese people and cause the liberation struggle of the Japanese people to develop more rapidly. The same applies to the world as well. The Chinese War of Resistance is also helping the people of the world in their opposition to the common enemies. Therefore, China, Japan, and the various antifascist forces of the world influence and help one another. World peace is indivisible, and the world is an integral whole. This is a characteristic of world politics at present. The extent to which the duration of the war is shortened depends on the extent of the existence and adequacy of these three conditions. This is also the task of the Chinese Communist Party, the task of various anti-Japanese parties and factions, and the task of the people of the whole country. At the same time, it is the task of the progressive political parties of Japan and of all the countries of the world, and of all the people. Our war is a protracted war, but we should do our utmost to secure the conditions for shortening the war as much as possible. Without these conditions, cutting down on the length of the war is a mere illusion.

Fourth question: After the final victory of the War of Resistance, what will be the main task of the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: In short, the main task of the Chinese Communist Party after the victory of the War of Resistance is to establish a democratic state of freedom and equality. In this state, there will be an independent and democratic government, a national assembly representing the people, and a constitution in conformity with the demands of the people. All the nationalities in this state will be equal and form a federal relationship on a basis of equality. Within this state, the economy will make upward progress; agriculture, industry, and commerce will develop greatly and will be run jointly by the state and the people. An eight-hour workday will be established; the peasants should be given land; a unified progressive taxation system will be adopted; peaceful trade with foreign countries will be carried out; and mutually beneficial agreements will be concluded. Within the country, the people will have complete freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, and belief. The talents of all outstanding persons can be developed. Science and culture in general can be enhanced, and illiteracy can be eradicated in the whole

country. Within this country, the army will not be in opposition to the people, but will be at one with them. Such a state is not yet a socialist state, and such a government is not a soviet government. They are a state and a government that carry out the democratic system completely and are guided by the principle of nondestruction of private property. This is a modern state for China, and China urgently needs such a state. Once it has such a state, China will be free from its semicolonial and semifeudal status and will turn into a state of freedom and equality; it will leave behind the old China and become a new China. The Communist Party is willing to ally with all parties, groups, and people of the whole country in a common effort to set up such a state. Such a state is the object of desire of the people of the whole country over the past several decades, and it is also what Mr. Sun Yatsen hoped for and strove for. The establishment of such a state cannot start only on the day after the Japanese are driven to the Yalu River. All types of work in the course of the War of Resistance are connected with the establishment of such a country. Nevertheless, much important work, such as basic economic construction and so forth, can be completed only after victory in the War of Resistance. During the War of Resistance, a primary condition for the establishment of such a state is to drive out the Japanese imperialists. Such a task belongs not only to the Communist Party, but also to the Guomindang and other revolutionary parties and factions, and to the people of the whole country. This is China's historical task.

Fifth question: What do you think are the main tasks of the Chinese students and youth in the War of Resistance? What are the main tasks of the movement for assisting China by the students and youth of the world?

Answer: The tasks of Chinese youth may be divided into general ones and particular ones. The general tasks are similar to those that have been mentioned above, namely, persevering in the War of Resistance, in the united front, and in the protracted war so as to expel Japanese imperialism and to set up a democratic republic of freedom and equality. This is the common task of all Chinese whatever their age or profession. It is only in the particular tasks that there are differences. What is the particular task of Chinese youth? It is to strive for special advantages for themselves, such as reforms in education and learning, the right to participate in the movement of saving the country while receiving an education, the right to organize student and youth groups and organizations for saving the nation from extinction, the right of young people over the age of eighteen to vote and to be elected, the right of poor students to attend schools free of charge, the possibility for large numbers of young people to go to the front, and so on.

As regards the main tasks of young people throughout the world to assist the Chinese War of Resistance, I think that, first and foremost, the World Students' Federation should help the majority of the youth and students of the world understand the necessity of jointly opposing Japan and assisting China, and also understand the link of such work with their own interests, for peace is indivisible and

worldwide fascist aggression is the enemy of world peace. Next, students are the bridge that connects the various peoples. Through students, the people of all nations should be made to realize the necessity of opposing Japan and helping China, and the relationship between this work and their own interests. The specific methods of assistance may include oral and written propaganda to persuade their peoples and governments to provide material assistance to us and to refuse to buy Japanese goods or to sell goods to Japan, and even organizing international anti-Japanese volunteer armies in order to get ready to come to China and join the war at an appropriate time, and so on and so forth.

The people of all China are grateful to you for coming and surveying the situation in China on behalf of the broad international student organizations and for offering us wide sympathy. On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, I salute you and hope that you will bring back the truth of the great Chinese anti-Japanese war to the students and people of the world when you return. We shall always unite with you in fighting for the freedom and equality of China, and for lasting peace and lasting happiness in the world.

Launch Guerrilla Warfare in the Relatively Weakly Defended Regions in the Enemy's Rear

(July 3, 1938)

Comrades [Peng] Xuefeng and [Zhu] Lizhi:[1]

We have received your telegram. On the whole, we are in agreement with your arrangements for guerrilla war. Generally speaking, however, guerrilla war should not be launched too early, and it should be launched in the relatively weakly defended areas in the enemy's rear. As far as the Funiu mountain range is concerned, we should go there right away to establish a basis for Party and mass work. In terms of cadres, we plan to send four hundred members of this graduating class of the Anti-Japanese University to Henan and northern Anhui. The only problem is that we have very few cadres with guerrilla experience. Right now we are still searching, and we may be able to send a few. Guo Zihua[2] of the Jiangsu-Shandong Border Region has already been in touch with Guo Hongtao[3] of the Shandong Provincial Committee.

Hongtao is now setting up a base area in Mengshan. In the future please inform him by telegraph of the development of guerrilla warfare in Henan at all times.

Mao [Zedong] Luo [Fu] [Zhang Wentian]
Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 357–58, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. Regarding Peng Xuefeng, see above, the note to the text of August 19, 1937. At this time, he was the head of the Military Department of the Henan Provincial Committee; Zhu Lizhi was the secretary of the Henan Provincial Committee.
2. Guo Zihua was the secretary of the Jiangsu-Shandong Special Committee.
3. Guo Hongtao was the secretary of the Shandong Provincial Party Committee.

Congratulatory Telegram from Comrade Mao Zedong to the People's Political Council

(July 5, 1938)

For the perusal of Mr. Wang Jingwei, speaker of the Wuhan People's Political Council, Mr. Zhang Boling, deputy speaker, and all the councilors:

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the anti-Japanese war, at a time when the whole country from top to bottom is united in absolute sincerity, fighting ceaselessly and unremittingly, and swearing to expel the ferocious enemy, but the enemy is still stepping up its attack endlessly, the fact that the People's Political Council is holding its meeting in Wuhan at this time will create a precedent for a constitutional government and set up an example of soliciting the will of the people at the very initial stage. This causes all our compatriots profound satisfaction. Although he has been chosen as a member of the council, Zedong is not able to come and personally listen to everyone's eloquent speeches and profound comments, because he has been caught up with so many trivial tasks. But I have already asked the other comrades to express fully my humble ideas that might be helpful regarding big issues such as the anti-Japanese war and building the country in their proposals, thus taking such an opportunity to make my small contribution. The [Japanese] bandits are so aggressive, and have brought such a tremendous calamity to us, that the Divine Land[1] seems to be falling apart like a sinking continent, but so long as the will of the people can be manifested, there is still a hope to reverse the great disaster. There are many ways to reverse it, but, according to my opinion, the following three ways are the most fundamental ones: first, persist in the anti-Japanese war; second, persist in the united front; and third, persist in a protracted war. If we make the right move and march forward forcefully, if we do not lose our courage or relax our will, there is absolutely no doubt that victory will belong to us. At the time of the opening day of your meeting, I would like to

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This telegram was first published in *Jiefang,* no. 46, July 23, 1938. Our source is *Mao Zedong ji,* Vol. 6, p. 161, which reproduces that version. In *Mao Zedong ji,* the document is dated July 6, but according to *Nianpu,* Vol. 2, p. 80, the telegram was sent on July 5, to arrive on the 6th.

1. Here the Chinese is *Shenzhou,* a poetic name for China.

express my sincere congratulations to you and extend national-revolutionary greetings to all of you in this telegram.

Mao Zedong

Our Views on the People's Political Council

(July 5, 1938)

The meeting of the People's Political Council is going to be held in a few days. We, seven members of the Chinese Communist Party, have been selected as councilors. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has already officially decided that the seven of us would accept the government's invitation to join the People's Political Council. As a result, a lot of news reporters, our colleagues on the council, our comrades in the Communist Party, and our friends in various places have kindly asked us about our views on the People's Political Council. In response, we would like to issue the following joint statement.

The fact that the meeting of the People's Political Council takes place in the current acute situation of the anti-Japanese war clearly indicates a further step in the political life of our country toward a democratic system, as well as progress in the unity and integration of all the parties, nationalities, social strata, and regions. Even though the People's Political Council is by no means a perfect plenipotentiary representative organ of the people in terms of the way it has been established or in terms of its functions and powers, these two defects will not deprive it of its utility and significance at present—its role in further uniting all kinds of forces in the country for the struggle to resist the Japanese and save the country, and its impact on our attempt to push the political life in our country toward the preliminary stage of an authentic democratization. For this reason, despite our continuous efforts to promote the establishment of a representative organ of the people elected by universal suffrage and endowed with full powers in the future, we Communists will participate in the People's Political Council with the most active, most enthusiastic, and most sincere attitude. At the same time, we also consider that to work actively for the People's Political Council is an important part of our job to reinforce the defense of Wuhan and consolidate our forces for the third stage of the anti-Japanese war and also contributes to laying down part of the foundations for the establishment of a representative organ of the people in the future. As representatives of the Chinese Communist Party, we join the People's Political Council with a sincere desire to stand side by side and strive together with the councilors and comrades who join the council as representatives of the Guomindang and all the other parties, or as independents, in the hope that we may discuss and work

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This document was first published in *Jiefang,* no. 47, August 1, 1938. Our source is *Mao Zedong ji,* Vol. 6, pp. 157–60, which reproduces this text.

out, in a friendly and harmonious way, all the concrete methods and measures that will help to guarantee the final victory of our anti-Japanese war and the successful construction of our country, and we may more effectively strike at and defeat the Japanese bandits and lay down a basis for transforming the Republic of China into a new country, advancing toward independence, liberty, and happiness.

In order to defeat the Japanese bandits and establish a new country that is independent, free, and happy, we must start our work on the military side, striving to strengthen the fighting capacity of the units on the front line, wage a large-scale guerrilla war of the people in the territory occupied by the enemy, and create a strong army equipped with modern weaponry. On the political side, we must improve our political organs, promote the establishment of popular organizations in districts, *xian*, and provinces, and widely mobilize and organize the broad popular masses to take an active part in the battle. On the economic side, we must create a national defense industry as quickly as possible, regulate the financial and banking management during wartime, increase industrial and agricultural production, and, at the same time, adopt various kinds of effective measures to guarantee and improve the people's livelihood. Moreover, all these military, political, and economic improvements depend on the continuous consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. All the above-mentioned ideas must be well known to the people of our country, since they have been repeatedly expounded in the documents and manifestos issued by the Chinese Communist Party in the past few years (such as the August 1 Statement in 1935, the Ten-Point Program for Resisting Japan and Saving the Country issued last September, the statement on current affairs issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party last December as well as the speeches and comments made by the leaders and members of our Party). While taking an active part in the work of the People's Political Council, we will faithfully carry out all the instructions from the Central Committee of our Party, and continually strive for the realization of all our Party's proposals during the period of the anti-Japanese war.

At the time when the first meeting of the People's Political Council is taking place, the iron heels of the enemy have already entered the Central Plains, and the enemy's gunfire is heard all over the region from the Yangzi to the Huai and from the Yellow River to the Han; Anhui, Jiangxi, Hunan, and Hubei are under the threat of the enemy's cavalry; and Wuhan has become a target on which the enemy is casting his anxious and greedy eyes. Under such circumstances, we believe that no issue is more urgent than how to defend Wuhan and win victory in the third stage of the anti-Japanese war.

At present, it is our belief that the most critical issues, for whose solution we must put forward a plan rapidly, are basically as follows: how to muster our military, human, financial, and material resources to defend our military, political, economic, and transportation center, Greater Wuhan, and effectively conduct the third stage of the anti-Japanese war; how to reform the current conscription system, which has been plagued with all sorts of abuses, and replace it with a method

of enlistment based on widescale political mobilization, so that our country's army can be replenished continuously by an adequate source of soldiers who have a strong national consciousness, and meanwhile the cause of creating a new army can be carried out quickly and effectively; how to find a concrete method for really achieving the goal of "whoever has money gives money"; how to guarantee a minimum level of improvement in the life of the people, so that those who have strength can help with their strength; how to mobilize and organize the popular masses on a large scale and, at the same time, unify the mass movements and mass organizations under the general principles of the anti-Japanese war and democracy; how to guarantee the people's freedom of speech, assembly, press, and association, and the legal rights of all the anti-Japanese parties as well; how to train the young people in a really effective way and enable them to take over the responsibilities as cadres in the anti-Japanese war and in the construction of our country so that the current situation in many youth training classes, with which the young people are disappointed, can be rectified; how to improve the political institutions at all levels, first of all, the institutions at the *xian* level and below; how to push forward local autonomy seriously, and so on. All these things are the pressing demands of the people all over the country and also the necessary measures to win the anti-Japanese war. We will express our ideas and present our proposals in the Consultative Council along with the people from all sides who share our viewpoints.

Today, when the enemy bandits are running rampant, our officers and soldiers at the front are fighting a bloody battle to defend the survival and independence of the Chinese nation. On this great and heroic national battlefield, thousands upon thousands of our officers and soldiers are helping one another, pointing their guns at the enemy with one heart and one mind, and gloriously shedding their warm blood together, regardless of which party they belong to or where they come from. We are persuaded that in this meetingplace of the People's Political Council, just as on the battlefields of our war for national liberation, all the members of the council will absolutely not be divided into "the ruling party" and "the opposition party," nor will there be partisan struggles between different parties and factions. On the contrary, all of us, without distinctions of party or region, will eliminate all misunderstandings and will together devote our efforts to helping win final victory in the anti-Japanese war. The reason is that, since the Provisional Congress of the Guomindang proclaimed the program for the anti-Japanese war and building the country, not only does our Party believe that the overall policy of the Guomindang during the war is basically similar to our Party's program during the anti-Japanese war, but other parties have also expressed agreement with it. The National Government and its policy of fighting a long-term anti-Japanese war in order to achieve the final victory of our nation and our country have won unanimous support from people all over the country. On such a foundation, we believe that the People's Political Council will be able to carry out its work successfully in a harmonious and friendly atmosphere.

Finally, we, the Communist councilors, will not dodge any of the responsibilities we have assumed before the people of the country simply because the People's Political Council has not been established on the basis of a general election by all the people. We are profoundly aware that the members of the People's Political Council are public servants, messengers, and representatives of the people. We will work hard in faithful accordance with the people's instructions and the people's will. We are resolved to strive for the realization of the wishes, desires, and demands of the Chinese people. It is our firm belief that to consolidate national unity and drive the Japanese bandits out of our country is the most pressing demand of the Chinese people today. We will not shy away from our duties, nor retreat before any difficulties, but will firmly and loyally strive, both in and outside the People's Political Council, to satisfy completely these most imperative demands. We hope that the people all over the country, individuals and organizations alike, will give us instructions and assistance, and if we commit errors, we also hope that they will criticize and blame us. We hope that, with the support, supervision, encouragement, and criticism of the people throughout the country, we and all the councilors will be able to fulfill the sacred responsibilities placed upon the People's Political Council and on every councilor as an organ of popular will and as representatives of the people.

Mao Zedong
Qin Bangxian [Bo Gu]
Wu Yuzhang
Deng Yingchao
Chen Shaoyu [Wang Ming]
Lin Zuhan
Dong Biwu

The Situation of the Enemy in Eastern Hebei, and the Requirements for Work in This Area

(July 8, 1938)

Nie [Rongzhen][1] and Peng [Zhen][2]:

According to a telegram from Tianjin, the enemy's attack on the guerrilla forces in Eastern Hebei, and the demands thus placed on the work in Eastern Hebei, are as follows. Please take note of this:

1. The enemy's plan of attack:

a. Set up defenses along the Great Wall, from Louyingguan to Malanyu and back to Ji *xian,* adopting the form of a big encirclement.

b. Deploy massive forces in Miyun, Changping, Shunyi, Tong *xian,* and Sanhe to complete the plan of encirclement, taking sure and steady steps in the hope of gradually tightening the encirclement, pushing our forces into the northern part of Ji *xian,* and annihilating them in large numbers.

c. At present there are four hundred of Okamura's troops stationed in Malanyu. Part of Miyazaki's column has arrived at Ji *xian* and Tong *xian.* About a company of Hitotsubashi's column, along with a cavalry regiment and over a hundred infantrymen of the puppet Manchurian troops under the command of Zhang Sicang, have arrived at Miyun from beyond the Pass. About one company of Miyazaki's column is stationed in Shunyi. A unit of Yamashita's army, about four hundred soldiers, is stationed in Changping, and a hundred soldiers are stationed in Ninghe.

d. Out of concern that the Japanese bandit forces are too weak to accomplish their task of encirclement, they are still considering more thorough methods.

e. Apart from one squadron, which has been dispatched to guard Ninghe, the rest of the Eastern Hebei garrison troops have not been moved for some reason. The defense corps do not fight outside the boundaries of their *xian,* and the actual strength of the garrison troops is insubstantial.

Our source for this text is *Wenxian he yanjiu,* no. 3, 1985, pp. 11–12.

1. See above, the note to the text of February 9, 1938.
2. See above, the note to the text of April 20, 1938.

2. The requirements for the work in the border area of Hebei and Rehe:

a. Our troops in Eastern Hebei must move more quickly toward the areas of Qian'an, Zunhua, and Lulong to expand their operations, because the enemy forces in these areas are relatively weak, our Party's strength is relatively great, and we can work in concert with uprisings in the south to break through the enemy's line of encirclement.

b. The destruction of the enemy's communications and transportation has been insufficient. More small units must be dispatched to sabotage transportation as well as telephonic and cable communications in Beining, Pingyu, and other places. They are making arrangements for this right now and request you to undertake it at the same time.

c. The Sixth Detachment must set up a base area outside the Great Wall gate. Only if we place every gateway to the Great Wall entirely under our control from the inside and the outside, and if at the same time we are able to begin establishing the Eastern Hebei base area, can we make it impossible for the enemy to fulfill his plan for mass annihilation.

d. Zhao Tong's unit must coordinate its actions with Wanping, pinning down the Japanese troops in Beiping so that they cannot move toward Eastern Hebei, and launching an attack on Beiping as the opportunity arises. At present, Beiping and Tianjin are weakly defended by the enemy forces, and there will yet be opportunities of which we can take advantage. Please consider this and act accordingly.

Inform Zhu [De] and Peng [Dehuai] as well.

Mao [Zedong] Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]

Our Overall Orientation in the Course of the War of Resistance

(August 6, 1938)

Chen [Shaoyu] [Wang Ming], Zhou [Enlai], Bo [Gu] [Qin Bangxian], Kai [Feng] [He Kequan], and Ye [Jianying]:

The key to the defense of Wuhan is to mobilize the popular masses. In military operations the emphasis must be placed on attacking the enemy's flanks and rear, so as to stop the enemy from moving forward and gain time. We must be sure to avoid any disadvantageous decisive battle with the enemy. Once it becomes in fact impossible to defend Wuhan, we should not hesitate to give it up. As most of the troops are currently much weaker in their fighting capacity than before, any further excessive losses in these troops will naturally provoke more and more discontent with Chiang [Kaishek] among all the commanders. The capitulationists and separatists will take advantage of this, and it will affect Chiang's position and cause anxiety about the ongoing War of Resistance as well. In the course of the War of Resistance, our overall orientation should be to consolidate Chiang's position, to support the War of Resistance, and to strike resolutely at the capitulationist faction. But the preservation of military strength is the foundation for carrying out this orientation. We hope you will pay more attention to this.

Luo [Fu] [Zhang Wentian] Chen [Yun]
Kang [Sheng] Wang [Jiaxiang]
Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi] Mao [Zedong]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 359–60, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

The Overall Orientation of the Work of the Fourth Column of the Eighth Route Army

(August 13, 1938)

Nie [Rongzhen] and Peng [Zhen]:

We received your telegram sent at 7:00 P.M. on the 8th.

The orientation according to which the main forces of the Song-Deng Column[1] step up their work and settle down in the present area of Pinggu, Zhao *xian,* and Miyun before gradually developing toward the southeast is correct. But Song and Deng must immediately send out about one battalion of forces, together with some cadres, to Yutian, Fengrun, and Luan *xian* in the east to cooperate with the operations of the guerrillas that have risen up there, and to assist those guerrillas in every possible way. For without the cooperation of a backbone detachment, those guerrillas will face the danger of being weakened or even wiped out by the enemy. We also want to inform you that as regards the Zhanggaofeng Incident,[2] it seems that it will most likely be solved peacefully.

Mao [Zedong] Wang [Jiaxiang]
Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 361–62, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. The reference is to the Fourth Column of the Eighth Route Army, commanded by Song Shilun, with Deng Hua as political commissar.

2. In late July and early August 1938, the Japanese Army engaged in provocations against the Soviet Army at Zhanggaofeng, where the Chinese, Soviet, and Korean boundaries converged. After a forceful response from the Soviet Army, the Japanese were defeated and sought peace. On August 10, an agreement was concluded in Moscow, and the two sides immediately ceased fighting.

The Monetary Policy of the Border Region

(August 17, 1938)

Nie [Rongzhen] and Peng [Zhen], and for the information of Zhu [De] and Peng [Dehuai]:

The monetary policy of the Border Region should be based on the following principles:

1. The Border Region should have a relatively stable currency so as to be prepared to carry on a protracted struggle against the Japanese invaders.

2. The number of notes in the Border Region should not exceed the demand of the market in the Border Region. Here we have to take into consideration the possible expansion or contraction of the Border Region.

3. The notes in the Border Region must have a reserve fund: first, goods, particularly industrial products; second, the currency of the puppet government; third, the currency of the National Government.

4. The Japanese bandits occupy the cities as well as the railway lines; we occupy the countryside. The source of industrial products for the Border Region is the territory occupied by the Japanese bandits; the market for the agricultural products of the Border Region is also the territory occupied by the Japanese bandits. Therefore, the Border Region should have proper policies for dealing with the trade with the outside, so as to support the monetary policy.

5. The military expenditure of the border region is very great, and the financial and monetary policy should have in mind the source of military expenditure in the future.

6. Before the final victory of the War of Resistance, the currency of the National Government is sure to continue to depreciate, and it may gradually disappear in North China. Miscellaneous currencies may depreciate even more, and the currency of the puppet government will also depreciate to a certain extent. If the number of Border Region notes is too big, it may also depreciate. The crucial point is that the exchange value of the Border Region currency should not fall below that of the currency of the puppet government.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 137–38, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

We suggest the following concrete measures:

1. Issue a certain number of Border Region notes (you should think about and decide on this number and inform us by telegram), buy the national currency, keep some of it, use most of it to buy industrial products, and use part of it to exchange for the currency of the puppet government.

2. As regards the miscellaneous currencies, we should try by all possible means to cause them to circulate to places outside the Border Region.

3. Is it possible to send part of the miscellaneous currencies to the General Headquarters and the 120th Division, and to bring some national currency to Yan'an? Please think about this and reply by telegram.

4. Increase the printing of Border Region notes, since printing them in the future will undoubtedly be more difficult than it is now.

Please think about and consider the above suggestions. We will wait until Peng Zhen's arrival in Yan'an before holding further detailed discussions and coming to a decision.

Mao Zedong　　Luo [Fu] [Zhang Wentian]
Wang [Jiaxiang]　　Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]

The Situation in Eastern Hebei and the Rapid Regularization of the Guerrilla Forces in Eastern Hebei

(September 10, 1938)

Nie [Rongzhen] and Song [Shilun], and to Deng [Hua] for transmittal to [Ma] Mingzhi:[1]

1. After a military meeting was held in Eastern Hebei,[2] a military area and five military subareas were established, and the persons responsible for each area were appointed. The commander and deputy commander of the Fourth Military Subarea are Central Committee members. In order to regularize the guerrilla forces in Eastern Hebei rapidly and get them to adopt the work-style of the Eighth Route Army, it seems necessary for the troops led by Song and Deng to scatter throughout all the military subareas, in units of regiments or battalions, and merge themselves with the guerrilla forces there to serve as the backbone. It will be better if the posts of commander and deputy commander of each military subarea are held both by officers of the Eighth Route Army and by cadres from the local areas. It would not seem appropriate to have no backbone forces or responsible cadres at all from the Eighth Route Army in each military subarea. Please consider this and decide.

2. As soon as each *xian* is recaptured in Eastern Hebei, interim *xian* magistrates must be appointed by the headquarters or chosen by the local people. Each military subarea should immediately appoint special staff to set up a government. This should not wait. As to the government of the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Border Region, it would be best for us to wait one or two more months, and then officially establish it.

Our source for this text is *Wenxian he yanjiu,* no. 3, 1985, p. 12.

1. Ma Mingzhi was at this time the secretary of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee.

2. The reference is to a meeting in mid-August 1938 between the Eighth Route Army columns of Song and Deng, and the Eastern Hebei United Anti-Japanese Army. On this occasion it was decided to establish a coordination committee for the military districts in Hebei, Chahar, Rehe, and Ningdu, in order to unify the command of the armies and the political work.

3. So far as the Central Committee members are concerned, if they are unable to cooperate with us sincerely, we must not promote them to positions which are too high nor casually allow them to occupy any important posts.

Zhu [De] Mao [Zedong]
Wang [Jiaxiang] Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]

Cheng Zihua Should Lead Our Troops to Attack the Area Northwest of Liulin

(September 11, 1938, midnight)

Chen [Guang] and Luo [Ronghuan], Cheng [Zihua], Zhou [Shidi] and Gan [Siqi], as well as [Chen] Qihan:

1. Enemy troops from Lishi, numbering about four thousand (the accuracy of this has yet to be verified), comprising a mixture of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, attacked and took Liulin and Jundu at seven o'clock this afternoon (the 11th), and also fired shots at our flood prevention units.[1] The Nineteenth Army, which was originally stationed in Liulin, retreated to the south of Liulin. We think it possible that this enemy force will attack and harass Suide and threaten Yan'an.

2. Our 718th Regiment has already taken Songjiachuan,[2] as well as the ferry crossings near it, and is confronting the enemy. The opposite bank at Jikou, as well as the area north of it, is guarded by our First Garrison Regiment. Zaolinping[3] and the area south of it is guarded by the Third Garrison Regiment.

3. We expect Comrade [Cheng] Zihua to lead a strong detachment to attack the area northwest of Liulin, harass and attack the enemy's flanks and rear, and destroy his communications with the rear. Meanwhile, Chen [Guang], Luo [Ronghuan], Zhou [Shidi], and Gan [Siqi] should also dispatch nearby troops on a forced march to seek the opportunity to attack the flanks and rear of this enemy. They should also actively destroy and cut off the enemy's communication lines to the rear, in order to cooperate with our garrison force on the west bank of the river to stop the enemy from crossing to the west. We await a telegraphic report regarding your deployments.

Mao [Zedong] Zhu [De]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 363–64, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. These places are located in west central Shanxi, near the Yellow River, which runs north and south here and marks the border with Shaanxi.

2. A township located on the other side of the Yellow River in Shaanxi, immediately opposite Jundu.

3. Zaolinping is a village in Shaanxi located southwest of Songjiachuan.

Overcome Difficulties, and Create the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Base Area

(September 26, 1938, noon)

To Nie [Rongzhen], and for transmittal to Song [Shilun], Deng [Hua], and all the comrades of the Eastern Hebei Special Committee:

1. Given the favorable situation marked by a nationwide, resolute commitment to the War of Resistance, and by the widespread guerrilla warfare in North China, as well as by other factors such as the cooperation of the Eighth Route Army both near and far, the support of the broad masses, the convenience of maneuvering in the great mountain range including Mount Wuling, Mount Yan, and Mount Wulong which extends for more than a thousand *li* from east to west, and the fact that the local Party organizations in Eastern Hebei have a rather solid basis, it should be possible, on the basis of all these conditions, to create a base area in the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Border Region, and organize a rather large army. But the environment is a severe one, and the job is difficult. It is necessary to maintain a high-level Bolshevik spirit, overcome all the difficulties in the struggle, hold firmly to the principle of the united front, build up a firm belief in victory in the protracted War of Resistance, and overcome the inevitable, complicated, and serious phenomena that will appear in the new armies that have risen in insurrection.

2. Take advantage of the opportune moment when the main force of the enemy is attacking Wuhan and the area along the [Bei]ping-Han[kou] and Tongpu[1] railway lines so that you can gain time and devote all your efforts to reorganizing your forces. First of all, you should establish the political system and the Party organization, strictly enforce discipline, and build a close relationship between the army and the people. But you should not abandon the necessary education in military affairs and in guerrilla operations.

3. Launch a struggle against the Chinese traitors in the military units and among the local residents, expose all the plots to sow dissension and sabotage unity, prevent spies from penetrating our forces for destructive purposes, and clean out the extremely bad elements from our troops in a patient and planned way.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 365–66, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. The Tongpu line ran from Datong to the vicinity of Baotou in what is now Inner Mongolia.

4. There must be a plan and a focus for the work of reorganizing the troops and creating base areas. At present, in our view, the main force should remain east of the White River in Miyun, Pinggu, Jixian, Xinglong, and Zhunhua,[2] while a small part of your force should go to the west of the White River to create a base area. With regard to the reorganization of the troops, particular attention should be paid at present to training the backbone army units and guerrilla detachments, and turning them into models of struggle and discipline, so that they become the core of the leadership in the struggle.

5. Maintain a close relationship between the army and the local Party organizations, strengthen solidarity within the Party, and place all the armies in Eastern Hebei under the unified command of Song and Deng. Run short-term military and political training classes at all levels, and train the cadres in rotation.

Mao Zedong　　Zhu De
Peng Dehuai　　Hu Fu [Liu Shaoqi]

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2. There are several "White Rivers" in China. The one referred to here rises in the north of Hebei, flows south and then east, and ends its course in the reservoir near Miyun, northeast of Beijing, which became celebrated in the course of the Great Leap Forward.

A Letter to Chiang Kaishek

(September 29, 1938)

To Mr. Kaishek[1] for his gracious perusal:

Enlai and all the comrades, on returning to Yan'an, spoke of your great kindness and expressed deep admiration for you.

You, sir, have been leading the whole nation in fighting an unprecedently great revolutionary war, and there is no one among our countrymen who fails to look up to you. In the War of Resistance, which has been going on for fifteen months, each setback has made us all the more fierce, and we have continued to exert ourselves. Although the ferocious thrust of the stubborn bandits has not yet been halted, the foundation for our triumph has already been laid. Future prospects are bright, and our hopes are boundless. As regards the situation in the War of Resistance, there is a trend toward gradually entering a new stage. On the one hand, this will be more difficult, but, on the other hand, it will certainly see more progress. We must unify the entire people, consolidate and expand the anti-Japanese front, persist in the protracted war, mobilize fresh forces, overcome our difficulties, and prepare for a counterattack. During this process, the enemy will surely take advantage of the events in Europe and the weaknesses of our country to carry out all sorts of plots to sabotage the unification and solidarity of our country. For this reason, my colleagues and I believe that our unification and solidarity are more important at this stage than at any other time. Only when all the parties and factions as well as the people of the whole country exert their very best efforts under your unified leadership to prevent and smash the enemy's plots of sabotage, clear away the pessimistic feelings among our countrymen, raise national consciousness and confidence in victory, and carry out the wartime policies that are necessary for this new stage can

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, pp. 185–86, where it is reproduced from a volume entitled *Jiang zongtong milu* (Secret Records of President Chiang), published in Taibei in 1974.

1. This usage, in which the given name of the recipient is preceded by *xiansheng,* "sir" or "Mr.," is frequently followed in semiformal writing of this kind. It implies a mixture of deference and familiarity. In the balance of the letter, Mao consistently addresses Chiang simply as *xiansheng*. This could most accurately be translated as "you, sir." The use of that expression half a dozen times in a short letter would be rather ponderous in English, so for the most part we have rendered it simply as "you," even though in three places Mao further underscores his respect by elevating the reference to Chiang to begin a new line of text.

we achieve our purpose of stopping the enemy's attack and preparing for a counterattack. Since the situation in Wuhan is so tense, we desire that Comrade [Zhou] Enlai not wait until the meeting is over,[2] but return to Wuhan immediately so that he can meet with you, sir, and discuss all these issues. Whatever is not fully stated here, Enlai will be entrusted to convey in person. It is Zedong's firm belief that long-term unity between the Guomindang and the Communist Party will certainly be capable of supporting the protracted war, and that even though the enemy is ferocious and stubborn, he will be defeated in the end. China, a nation with a population of 450 million, will surely be able, in the course of a long-term, bitter struggle, to overcome all difficulties, gather its strength, launch its counterattack, expel the obstinate bandits, and stand as a hero in East Asia. I am quite sure that you must have the same feelings and ambitions. I have here expressed my views. I respectfully wish you good health and extend to you national revolutionary greetings.

Respectfully yours,

Mao Zedong

September 29, the 27th Year of the Republic

2. The reference is to the Sixth Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee, which had just begun.

The Creation of a Base in the Hebei-Rehe Border Region Is of Strategic Significance

(October 2, 1938)

Nie [Rongzhen], Song [Shilun], and Deng [Hua], and the Committee of the Hebei and Rehe Border Region:

1. Building a base for the resistance to Japan in the Hebei-Rehe Border Region is of very great strategic significance. The column led by Song and Deng, and all the comrades in the Hebei-Rehe Border Region, must struggle resolutely for the accomplishment of this task. At present, when the enemy's main force is still attacking central and southern China, and the Eighth Route Army in Eastern Hebei is uniting with the whole Party and carrying out the correct policies and the correct strategy and tactics, it is entirely possible to create a base in the Hebei-Rehe Border Region. The present difficulties, as well as bad phenomena, such as the laxity in discipline among the guerrilla forces, can be overcome.

2. Nevertheless, the development of guerrilla warfare in Hebei and Rehe constitutes the greatest threat to the enemy. The enemy has controlled Hebei and Rehe for a relatively long time, and a relatively large number of Chinese traitors have been trained and organized. Apart from waging fierce attacks on the guerrilla detachments with armed forces, the enemy will necessarily order the traitors and spies to sneak into the guerrilla detachments, the Eighth Route Army, and even our Party for the purpose of instigating all kinds of plots and sabotage. It is particularly important, therefore, to maintain unity and consensus in the whole Party and the Eighth Route Army. Any potential clashes or incidents that manifest a lack of unity within the Party and the Eighth Route Army will naturally be utilized by the Japanese bandits, the Chinese traitors, and enemy spies, and will cause the most serious damage to us. For this reason, we issue the following calls:

a. Comrades Song and Deng must cooperate closely with each other.
b. The cadres of the Eighth Route Army must maintain close unity with the comrades in the local Party organizations and the guerrilla forces.
c. All military operations must be subject to the unified command of Song and Deng.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 367–68, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

d. The guerrilla forces led by the local Party organizations must be enlisted into the Eighth Route Army as soon as possible.
e. Establish an atmosphere of unity and harmony among our comrades. Any criticism of the leading comrades in the Eighth Route Army and the local Party organizations must be extremely cautious. Any disagreement can only be discussed within the leading organs or be reported to a higher level for a solution. It cannot be discussed or struggled over outside the leading organs. In particular, the members of the Communist Party must not criticize the Eighth Route Army and the Party organs among the masses.
f. Strengthen discipline in Party organizations in the army and in the localities, call on the entire Party to unite together, and carry on an arduous struggle.

3. As regards our work, we must immediately expand the Eighth Route Army, draw local guerrilla forces into it, run short-term training courses, reform the guerrilla units, and heighten discipline in the units. Organize and develop the Party in the units, establish the government, and reestablish order. Launch a large-scale mobilization within the Party and the army.

Mao [Zedong]	Zhu [De]
Peng [Dehuai]	Wang [Jiaxiang]
Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]	Yang [Shangkun]

Mobilize Our Forces on Every Hand to Defeat the Enemy's Encirclement of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Region

(October 2, 1938)

Nie [Rongzhen] and for transmittal to the Provincial Committee; Zuo [Quan], [Liu] Bocheng, Zhou [Shidi], and Gan [Siqi]:

1. The Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Region has already become one of the bases in North China and is, for the masses in territory occupied by the enemy, a guiding light for the struggle of resistance to Japan. It has also made it difficult for puppet régimes to establish their authority in an extensive or stable way. Militarily, it not only threatens important cities such as Beiping, Tianjin, and Zhangyuan[1] but also jeopardizes rail lines such as the [Bei]ping-Han[kou], Zheng-Tai [Shijiazhang-Taiyuan], and [Bei]ping-Sui[yuan] lines, and also the major transportation routes of Tongpu.[2] Consequently, it has drawn the enemy's serious attention and unceasing attacks, but this campaign of encirclement and attack is better planned and more sustained than any previous one.

2. We estimate that, because of the widespread development of guerrilla warfare in North China, assisted by the War of Resistance throughout the country, the enemy will not at the moment be able to gather a force of absolute superiority or to carry out a well-planned attack. Therefore, we should mobilize our forces on every hand to strive to overcome the enemy's encirclement and attack. There is, however, the possibility that Wutai, Fuping, Lingqiu, and Laiyuan, as well as some large towns, might be occupied by the enemy for a period of time. Consequently:

a. The core of all our work is to carry out a thorough campaign of political mobilization in our Party, government, and military, as well as among the people, in order to build up confidence in a victory through a protracted War of Resistance; to strive to endure; and to be prepared for an arduous struggle.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 369–71, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. Now Zhangjiakou.

2. The reference is to the area served by the Tongpu railway line, on which see, above, the note to the text of September 26, 1938.

b. Mobilize the masses to take part in the war; oppose the possible occurrence of phenomena such as wavering, compromise, and surrender; eliminate traitors and enemy agents; carry out the clearing of fields and emptying of houses; and bury grain and tools.

c. The army should attend to providing cover for the autumn harvest.

3. Based on the enemy's points of strength and weakness such as its building up of strongholds, its pushing forward step by step, its squeezing of the border region, its tenacity, and its lack of adequate force strength, we make the following suggestions on fighting tactics; please apply them flexibly as opportunities permit:

a. Concentrate our main force to a large extent in places where all conditions favor us (the enemy is weak, the topography favors us), and wait for the right opportunity.

b. Use small units to fight extremely irregular skirmishes against the enemy in order to delay, obstruct, and exhaust the enemy. Move relatively strong forces to the communication lines at the enemy's rear, and attack the enemy's transportation.

c. If the enemy has no weaknesses that we can take advantage of, and at times when it is not suitable for our main forces to concentrate together and strike or wipe out the enemy, wait until the enemy is enmeshed in a devastating cycle, and then move the main force behind the enemy. Gradually and on different routes use small units to lure the enemy in deep, thus rendering the enemy exhausted, careless, and frustrated. When the enemy changes direction or retreats, suddenly attack or pursue him.

4. [Liu] Bocheng should order the Zheng-Tai Railway Line Corps, as well as other corps nearby, to carry out the destruction of this railway line in a planned manner and then, when the opportunity arises, to send an appropriate number of troops across the railway line to proceed north along different routes and attack the enemy from behind. Zhou Shidi should immediately order all the corps along the Yanmenguan-Taiyuan line vigorously to attract the enemy troops in Yuanping, Xinkou, and Guancheng, and when the opportunity arises to cross the railway line and proceed east in order to attack from behind the enemy force that is advancing eastward.

Mao [Zedong] Zhu [De]
Peng [Dehuai] Wang [Jiaxiang]
Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi] Peng [Zhen]

On the New Stage

The New Stage in the Development of the National War of Resistance Against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front

(Report to the Enlarged Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, from October 12 to October 14, 1938)

Comrades, I am giving a report to the Enlarged Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. What do I intend to say? What I am going to say will be divided into the following parts: (1) from the Fifth Plenum to the Sixth Plenum; (2) a summary of the fifteen-month War of Resistance; (3) the new stage in the development of the National War of Resistance against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front; (4) the urgent tasks of our whole nation at present; (5) long-term war and long-term cooperation; (6) China's war against aggression and the world antifascist movement; (7) the role of the Chinese Communist Party in the national war; and (8) the Seventh National Congress of the Party. These are the problems I want to address.

Comrades, at our Enlarged Sixth Plenum, which is being held in critical circumstances of constant artillery fire throughout the country, and a threatening war in the whole world, what work do we want to accomplish? What is our purpose? We must definitely unite forever with all patriotic parties and all patriotic countrymen of all China, overcome new difficulties, and mobilize new forces. At present, we must stop the enemy's attacks. In the future, we must carry out our counterattacks, in order to reach the goal of driving out Japanese imperialism and establishing a republic of the Three People's Principles. We must absolutely be free; we must absolutely be victorious—such is our aim, and such is also the overall orientation of my report.

This document was first published in *Jiefang,* no. 57, November 25, 1938. Our source is *Mao Zedong ji,* Vol. 6, pp. 163–263, which reproduces this version. The same text also appears in *Central Committee Documents,* Vol. 11, pp. 557–662.

I. From the Fifth Plenum to the Sixth Plenum

1. The Convening of the Enlarged Sixth Plenum

It has been almost five years since the last plenum of the Central Committee of our Party, the Fifth Plenum convened in January 1934 in Jiangxi. Because the various members of the Central Committee were working in all sorts of different environments, inside China and abroad, we could not get together in one place. This time, except for a few comrades, the great majority of the members of the Central Committee are present; moreover, many comrades who play leading roles in various places throughout the country are also present, so that this plenum of ours has the largest number of participants of any meeting since the Sixth National Congress. Originally, we were preparing to hold the Seventh National Congress this year, but because of war and the resulting tension it has had to be postponed until next year. The current situation has, however, raised a lot of problems, for which we must find clear solutions, in order to strive for victory in the War of Resistance. Consequently, we have called this Enlarged Plenary Session of the Central Committee.

2. From the Fifth Plenum to the Sixth Plenum

During the past five years, our Party has experienced many significant events. The biggest and most important are the transition from a situation of opposition between the various parties, factions, and classes inside the country to an Anti-Japanese National United Front, and the transition from civil war to the War of Resistance against Japan.

The reason civil war took shape in the past lies in the unfortunate split in the united front between the Guomindang and the Communist Party that took place in 1927, which was caused by the historical circumstances at that time.

How did the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front come about? It resulted from new historical circumstances. All of us have already clearly understood that, since the September Eighteenth Incident, the enemy of the Chinese nation, Japanese imperialism, has completed the first step of invading the Four Eastern Provinces and has proceeded to prepare and carry out the second step of invading all of China. This unprecedented historical incident has brought about a change both in the internal and in the international situation. First, it has changed and is still changing the domestic relationships among all the strata, all the parties, and all the groups; at the same time, it has changed and is still changing international relationships. As a result, our Party, on the basis of these unprecedented historical developments and of the changed domestic and international relationships, and following the path first adopted long ago in 1933 (on three conditions, to conclude agreements on waging a war of resistance against Japan with any elements of the Guomindang prepared to cooperate with us), raised this path to the new policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Hence we have published

our declaration of August 1935, the December Resolution, the letter of August 1936 to the Guomindang, and the Resolution of September on a Democratic Republic. Moreover, on this basis, we were further able to insist on the principle of a peaceful solution to the Xi'an Incident, which took place in December of the same year, and to deliver in February 1937 a concrete proposal for united resistance to the Third Plenum of the Guomindang. Last May, a provisional congress was convened (entitled Congress of Delegates from the Soviet Areas, participants were representatives of the soviet and non-soviet areas and representatives of the Red Army), which passed the "Tasks of the Anti-Japanese National United Front During the Current Stage" and approved the redesignation of the Red Army as the National Revolutionary Army, and the transformation of the soviets into a democratic system. In this way, a change was effectively made from the state of civil war to a new period of beginning to establish the Anti-Japanese National United Front. At that time, the Chinese Guomindang also gradually altered its policy, moving gradually to a position of united resistance to Japan. If there had been no change in the Guomindang's policy, it would have been impossible to establish the Anti-Japanese National United Front. At that time, national salvation groups had been organized in many places, and other parties and factions had also put forward demands to resist Japan. Because of the change in the policies of both the Guomindang and the Communist Party, because of the leadership of Mr. Chiang Kaishek, because of the support of the military and the people of the whole country, and because of the coordination of other groups and parties, the steps of Japanese imperialism to invade and destroy China encountered unprecedented resistance from the entire nation. After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7 of last year, the whole of China, under the united leadership of the national leader and supreme commander, Chairman Chiang Kaishek, launched the sacred and righteous sound of cannons. All of China formed an unprecedented great anti-Japanese union, and an Anti-Japanese National United Front. In the second month after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, that is, in August of last year, our Party issued a Ten-Point Program for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation. In the meantime, the Eighth Route Army had completed its redesignation and had marched to North China to fight. On September 22, our Party published an open proclamation about going to save our country from national calamity on the basis of the Three People's Principles and the Guomindang's "being united in good faith." On the next day, the supreme leader of the Guomindang, the national government, and the National Revolutionary Army, Mr. Chiang Kaishek, gave a talk in which he recognized the legal existence of the Communist Party, and expressed his willingness to unite with it to save the country. Thereafter, the Anti-Japanese National United Front was fully established, with the Guomindang and the Communist Party as its foundation. In December, in order to consolidate and develop the Anti-Japanese National United Front, our Party further published a manifesto stating that we were willing not only to cooperate with the Guomingtang to resist Japan but also to cooperate in

building the state. Soon after that, the Red Army guerrilla forces in the south were redesignated as the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army, and marched to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangzi to fight. From this time forward, unity in resisting Japan has been progressing daily.

Comrades, this kind of change from the ten-year war between the two parties to the renewed cooperation of the two parties, and, moreover, a change that was executed under extremely difficult conditions, thereby laying the ground for the long-term cooperation between the two parties, has been completed only after passing through many difficulties and setbacks. But thanks to the efforts of the Central Committee and of the whole Party, they have been completed at last. The Communist International completely approves of this new political line of our Party (the resolution of the Communist International, *Xinhua ribao,* September 8). Moreover, for the sake of the victory of the Chinese nation, it has called on the Communist Parties and on the proletariat of all the countries in the world to support China's War of Resistance.

Comrades, if there had been no launching, establishment, and consolidation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front on the foundation of the Guomindang and the Communist Party, it would be impossible to launch such a great revolutionary War of Resistance against Japan, to sustain it, and to strive for victory. Now the people of all China and of the whole world have all understood that the Chinese nation has stood up! After being trodden upon, humiliated, invaded, and oppressed for the past hundred years, and especially after being in such an intolerable position of slavery since the September Eighteenth Incident, things have indeed changed. The people of all China, holding weapons in their hands, have marched to the battleground of the war of self-defense. The final victory of all China, namely, the dawn of freedom and emancipation for the Chinese nation, is already in sight.

We know that this current great national war of ours differs from all wars in the past history of China, because this war is a war that frees the Chinese nation from the status of semicolony and from the destruction of the state and the extinction of the race. Moreover, this war is taking place during the most progressive period in the history of the Chinese nation; at the same time, it is taking place in a period when Japanese imperialism is seeking a deadly road and heading for collapse, and also when progressive humanity throughout the world is preparing unprecedentedly broad and deep fighting forces to resist and defeat the despots, the German, Japanese, and Italian fascists, and to strive for a bright future of the world. The combination of these three factors—the combination of the three factors that have China's progress and continued progress as a basis—will guarantee that our War of Resistance will, without a doubt, ultimately be victorious, and that a free and liberated New China will definitely appear in East Asia and become an extremely important component part of the future bright world. Such a China will not only bring happiness to the 450 million Chinese but will also bring happiness to all humanity.

3. The Tasks of the Sixth Plenum

This Enlarged Sixth Plenum is meeting at a important juncture of the War of Resistance, which is entering a new phase in its development; the Enlarged Sixth Plenum has assumed a significant historical task.

It is entirely correct that, after more than a year of courageous fighting in the anti-Japanese war, the entire country has achieved great unity and great progress, and has struck heavy blows at Japanese imperialism. Even though much territory was lost, at the same time there were also many victories. This is an undeniable fact. As the war develops, primarily due to China's continuous progress, at the same time coupled with Japan's increased difficulties, and international support for us, the final victory will definitely belong to us, not to the enemy. This, too, can be predicted. Whoever fails to see the great achievements in the past and the victorious future will fall into the pit of pessimism and will be unable to extricate himself. But it is not enough to see only this side; the War of Resistance has another side, its negative side, which is the source of many of the difficulties before us. The conditions at present tell us that all of China's struggles, unity, progress, and victories for the past year have not been able to check the enemy's advance and do not have the force to counterattack the enemy. Wuhan is at present under threat from the enemy; the enemy will also attack Guangzhou, Changsha, the Northeast, and so on. Therefore, the people of our entire country are expecting the Communist Party to express its opinions. The new environment has posed a great many problems. Comrades, we must express our opinions and must solve the problems. Yes, our Party long ago expressed its opinions; and many fundamental problems have already been solved. But the new environment requires that we express new opinions and solve new problems.

What are the new problems?

How to add new forces on the present basis, to tide over the difficulties, to stop the enemy's attacks, and to prepare our counterattacks to reach the goal of driving the enemy out are the keys to current problems. These problems are being discussed and worried about by countless people in the whole country. Should we answer these questions? Beyond a doubt, we must.

These questions have arisen with reference to various aspects and generated many questions.

For example, what exactly has the fifteen months' experience of the War of Resistance proved? Has this experience of fifteen months proved that the War of Resistance is long-term or short-term? Is the strategic orientation to defeat the enemy in a protracted war or to defeat him quickly? Will the final victory be China's or the enemy's? Does the War of Resistance offer a way out, or is compromise the way out? If the war is protracted, then what method should be used to sustain the protracted war and achieve final victory? Does the experience of the last fifteen months provide a basis for clear answers to all these questions? Furthermore, can the basis of this past experience play a positive role in the new stage of the War of Resistance, allowing us to overcome new difficulties and achieve new victories? These are all important questions and belong to the same set of questions.

To take another example, how will the whole War of Resistance develop and change? What is actually the nature of the so-called New Stage? If we assume that Wuhan cannot be held, just what will the trend of the war be? What should be the direction of the future effort of the whole country, that is, the urgent task of the Chinese nation at the present time? What are the good methods that will enable us to tide over the difficult moments in the war? These are even more important problems, and they are problems of another kind.

To take another example, what will the future and the long-term prospects of the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party be like? What basis does the Communist Party have for talking about long-term cooperation? What is the method of the Communist Party for ameliorating the relationship between the two Parties? As for what is called cooperation not only in the War of Resistance but also in building up the country, what kind of state will actually be founded? What is the relationship between the Three People's Principles and communism? These are very important questions, too, and they comprise another set of questions.

To take yet another example, the world situation is so critical; what will its future trend be? What will be the positive and negative relationships between China's War of Resistance against Japan and the world movement against fascism? These are also important questions, and they are yet another kind of questions.

Furthermore, what is the place of the Chinese Communist Party in the national war? What should the attitude of members of the Communist Party be when they are struggling to apply the political orientation of their Party? What better methods does the Communist Party have for cooperating with other parties, and for maintaining links to the people, in order to make the difficult situation evolve into a favorable situation? What are the internal relations within the Communist Party like? What are the good methods for uniting the whole Party, in order for it to play its great role during the War of Resistance, and in particular during the present difficult situation? What will the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party actually be like? These are also important questions, and they are yet another set of questions.

Both within and without the Party, all these problems urgently demand a solution. For the last few months, we have been constantly encountering people who demanded answers to these questions.

Comrades, our country is a vast and complex country, and right now this country finds itself in a life-and-death struggle against a powerful imperialism. This struggle is now approaching a new stage in its development; it is in the period of transition to a new stage. Our Enlarged Sixth Plenum is being held during this time. The responsibility of the Enlarged Sixth Plenum is extremely heavy; we have to solve many problems.

II. Summary of the Fifteen Months of the War of Resistance

1. What Has the Experience of the Fifteen Months Proved?

Let us start from the experience of the fifteen months.

What has the experience of fifteen months of the War of Resistance given us? In my view, there are three main aspects. First, it has proved that the War of Resistance against Japan is long-term and not short-term; consequently, the strategic orientation of the War of Resistance is protracted war and not a war of quick decision. Second, it has proved that China's War of Resistance can achieve final victory, and that the view of the pessimists is unfounded. Third, it has proved that the single correct road for sustaining a long-term war and obtaining final victory, to which there is no alternative, lies in uniting the whole nation, striving to make progress, and relying on the popular masses to overcome difficulties and achieve victory.

2. The War of Resistance Against Japan Is Long-Term and Not Short-Term; the Strategic Orientation Is Protracted War and Not Quick Victory

When the War of Resistance began, many people, judging not from the basic comparison between the forces of the enemy and our own forces, but from certain one-time and superficial phenomena, imagined that the war would soon be resolved. For a time, the idea of a quick victory hovered around. Last year, however, on the October 10 holiday, Chairman Chiang clearly pointed out: "This War of Resistance cannot be resolved in a year or so, but must go through extreme bitterness and hardship before we can achieve the final victory." We also pointed out at a very early stage the long-term nature of the War of Resistance against Japan, and that it absolutely could not be resolved in a short time. "The result of the war will be that Japan will definitely be defeated, and China will definitely be victorious. The sacrifices will, however, be severe, and we will go through a very painful period." (Mao Zedong's Talk with Snow, July 16, 1936).[1] "It should be seen that this War of Resistance is an arduous and protracted war." (Decision on the Current Situation and the Tasks of the Party by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, August 15, 1937).[2] All these statements point out: the War of

1. For Snow's version of the passage referred to here, see Volume V, p. 259. The substance of the two sentences Mao cites is basically the same, but they are preceded by the statement that, if the Chinese People's Front is homogeneous, if international aid to China is considerable, and if revolution comes quickly in Japan, "the war will be short and victory speedily won." Two years later, he was less optimistic.

2. The reference is to paragraph 7 of a document drafted on August 15, 1937, and formally adopted at the Luochuan Conference on August 25. The Chinese text can be found in *Central Committee Documents,* Vol. 11, pp. 324–26. For a translation, see Saich, *Rise to Power,* p. 791.

Resistance against Japan is a long-term and not a short-term war; the strategic orientation is protracted war and not a war of quick decision. The fifteen-month experience of the War of Resistance has completely proved their correctness.

Where is the reason for this to be found? It is to be found in the fact that the enemy is strong, and we are weak; the enemy is in a dominant position, and we are in an inferior position; the enemy is an imperialist country, and we are a semicolonial country.

We pointed out long ago that defeating imperialist Japan requires three conditions. The first is progress by China, which is the basic and primary thing. The second is difficulties for Japan. The third is international support. Let us take a look at what these conditions have already been like during the fifteen months of the War of Resistance. In a word, there is already a basis, but it is still very far from reaching the necessary level.

Take the first condition (the basic and primary condition for defeating the enemy). As regards progress by China, after fifteen months there is indeed a basis, but only if there is continuous progress can the enemy finally be defeated. What we call progress by China includes every aspect—domestic politics, military affairs, Party affairs, mass movements, culture, education, and so on. The progress of these aspects has been very notable during the last fifteen months. Nevertheless, we still cannot stop the enemy's attacks and execute our counterattacks simply by using these already existing things. A counterattack requires a period of preparation, as well as an effort by the whole nation, in which all the vital forces in our nation are mobilized broadly and profoundly. Only thus will a counterattack and victory over the enemy become possible. Therefore, the doctrine of quick victory has no foundation. It leaves out of account the peculiarity that the enemy is strong and we are weak; it ignores the fact that the enemy is in a dominant position, while we are in an inferior position, and that the enemy is an imperialist country, while we are a semicolonial country. China possesses great hidden potential. If it is mobilized, it is sufficient to turn our defeat into victory, to turn weakness into strength, and to change fundamentally relations between the enemy and ourselves. But this depends upon our future efforts; it is not yet an established fact.

The same is true of the second condition, Japan's difficulties. During these fifteen months, the enemy dispatched a million troops; their casualties amounted to several hundred thousand, and their expenditures reached several hundred million;[3] day by day the edge was taken off their troops' spirit, and their finances and economy became impoverished. Various currents of world opinion have condemned them one after the other, and all of this is the result of Japan's brutal aggression and China's brave resistance. All these existing difficulties for the enemy are, however, still insufficient to stop his attacks and to benefit our counterattack. We must wait until the enemy has greater difficulties and we have made greater progress; it is only then that the opportunity will come to counterattack and defeat the enemy.

3. Most likely several hundred million yen, but not specifically stated.

Consequently, the theory of rapid victory has no basis either in the enemy's situation. The experience of these fifteen months has already proved this.

As regards the third condition, international support for us, we have not yet reached the most beneficial time. During the past fifteen months, we have gained widespread support from world opinion. The Soviet Union and other democratic countries, on the basis of resolutions by the League of Nations, have already provided us with a lot of help, proving that we are not isolated. Nevertheless, we must see that the various countries in the international peace front find themselves in differing circumstances. In capitalist countries, the people support us, but their governments adopt a neutral attitude to some degree. Their bourgeoisie takes advantage of war to do business; moreover, they are sending large quantities of munitions, and of raw materials for munitions, to Japan. The socialist countries differ fundamentally from the capitalist countries, as has already been shown concretely with regard to support for China. But the international situation does not yet allow them to provide support beyond the present level. Therefore, we must definitely not expect too much from international support for the time being. It is undoubtedly quite wrong to abandon the orientation of self-reliance and place our hopes principally in external support. The experience of these fifteen months has proved that the only correct way is to rely primarily on ourselves, but at the same time not to relax our striving to obtain external support. On this point, our past experience has also negated the theory of rapid victory.

In general, whether we look at the matter from the Chinese side, the enemy side, or the international side, our experience of the past fifteen months has proved that the views predicting rapid victory have absolutely no foundation. On the contrary, this experience has revealed the protracted and bitter nature of the war. Therefore, our strategic orientation absolutely cannot be toward a war of quick conclusion, but toward protracted war. To defeat the enemy in a protracted war—this is the only correct orientation for the War of Resistance against Japan. Those who did not believe in this orientation in the past have now received a clear lesson from experience, and they should not have any further doubts!

3. Final Victory Belongs to China; Pessimism Is Entirely Unfounded

Prior to the War of Resistance, the theory that weapons alone decide the outcome of war was very popular. It was believed that China was inferior in weapons to others and would surely lose the war if it were to fight, and China would surely become another Abyssinia. Although outwardly talk along these lines disappeared after the beginning of the war, secretly it continued to be prevalent. Whenever there is a critical moment in the war, such a view will manifest itself once again. It holds that China must stop fighting and carry on peace negotiations: China can fight no more, and if it continues the war it will surely perish. We, however, take the opposite view. We consider that, although China is indeed inferior to others in weapons, weapons can be strengthened by human efforts, and ultimately victory or defeat in a war is determined mainly by people, rather than by things. The

conclusion of a protracted war depends on the efforts of the whole nation. Assuredly China can gradually overcome its own defects, enhance its own strength, turn the passive into the active, turn the inferior situation into the superior. Meanwhile, the difficulties of the enemy must gradually increase, and in the international context aid to us must also gradually increase. Summing up all these factors, we will definitely be able to defeat Japanese imperialism in the end. Chairman Chiang long ago clearly declared, "Since the war has begun, the only way we have is to risk the life of the entire nation and sacrifice ourselves to the end; there is no reason to stop and compromise halfway through" (speech at Lushan in July of last year). "This War of Resistance is unavoidable in the course of the national revolution. The war of the invaded nation against the invaders for independence and survival is very different from the usual war among participants of equal strength. Therefore it does not depend upon weapons and military preparation, but relies instead on a strong and unyielding revolutionary spirit, and a strong and unshakable national consciousness" (open letter to the nation in December last year). The Chinese Communist Party also long since pointed out, "Japan's economy will crack under the strain of a long expensive occupation of China, and the morale of her forces will break under the trial of a war of innumerable but indecisive battles. The great reservoirs of human material in the Chinese people will still be pouring men ready to fight for their freedom into our front lines long after the tidal flood of Japanese imperialism has wrecked itself on the hidden reefs of Chinese resistance. All these and other factors will condition the war and will enable us to make the final and decisive attacks on Japan's fortifications and strategic bases and to drive Japan's army of occupation from China" (Mao Zedong's talk with Edgar Snow).[4] "We are confident that the War of Resistance which has already been launched will break through all the obstacles and continue to move forward, thanks to the efforts of our Party and the people of the whole country. . . . Provided only that we can truly organize the masses in their millions into the Anti-Japanese National Front, there will be no doubt regarding the victory of the War of Resistance" (Decision of the Chinese Communist Party in August of last year).[5] All these [statements] have been borne out by the experience of the past fifteen months. The absurd theories of people who are pessimistic or defeatist, and believe that China will be conquered because the enemy is too strong to be resisted, and that China cannot afford such a war, and compromise is the only way out, and so on, have already been proved completely wrong.

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4. This quotation is from Mao's interview with Snow on Japanese imperialism, July 16, 1936, already cited above. The version of this passage in the Chinese text of "On the New Stage" does not correspond precisely to Snow's English text as reproduced in Volume V, p. 266, but since the substance is essentially the same, and no independent record of these interviews in Chinese exists, we have inserted Snow's version here.

5. The reference is once again to the "Decision of the Central Committee on Present Conditions and the Party's Task," adopted on August 25, 1937. The quotations are taken from points 7 and 8 of this document. See *Central Committee Documents*, Vol. 11, pp. 324–26, and the translation in Saich, *Rise to Power*, pp. 791–92.

What are the reasons? Because it is only one aspect of the reality that the enemy is strong and we are weak; the enemy still has weak points, and China still has strong points.

What, then, are the weak points of our enemy? First, it is a relatively small country, it does not have enough troops or financial capability, and cannot afford a protracted drain [on these resources]. Because of its lack of military forces, and also because in the face of China's resolute resistance it must disperse and expend them, it will be impossible for Japan to occupy the whole of China. Moreover, even in the areas it does occupy, it can in reality hold only the big cities and the major roads, and some flat regions. The rest will still be under Chinese control. Second, the enemy's war is imperialist in character and is retrogressive. Its internal contradictions force it to carry out wars of aggression and, moreover, forced it to adopt an extremely barbaric policy of pillage. As a result, Japan's war has, on the one hand, become a war of absolute confrontation against the Chinese people as a whole, forcing all Chinese, no matter of which class, party, or faction, to unite together and fight this resistance war resolutely. On the other hand, it has also become a war of absolute confrontation against the broad popular masses in its own country. The eventual consequence of the Japanese imperialists' putting all their manpower and financial capacity into the war has been the gradual brewing of discontent among the people within the country and among the soldiers at the front. If the war continues to develop, there is no doubt that there will be a trend forcing the broad masses of its own people and of the ordinary soldiers to fight against the war itself in a resolute way. These have begun to be proved in the past fifteen months. This point, which exists on the side of the enemy itself, is the most important factor which will necessarily lead to its defeat. Third, it is precisely because the enemy's war is imperialist in character, or, to put it differently, because it aims to benefit itself at the expense of others, that it cannot fail to put it in a position of confrontation vis-à-vis those countries which have opposite interests. Apart from one or two fascist countries, all countries, and especially their broad popular masses, all disapprove of Japan's war of aggression. Thus, Japan is obliged to reduce its sphere of international activities and is becoming more isolated day by day. This has also begun to be proved in the past fifteen months.

Thus the small size of Japan as a country, which causes its deficiency in military force and financial capability; the retrogressive character of Japan's war; and Japan's isolated international status—these three combined at the same time represent the innate weaknesses and difficulties of the Japanese war. Moreover, these weaknesses and difficulties are still developing every day. The capitulationists and pessimists are blind to all this; they do not see these at all but, instead, see only one thing: the enemy is strong, and we are weak. So capitulationism and pessimism have no basis in the enemy's situation, and their policy of compromise can only be a policy of the destruction of the state. We believe in the theory of ultimate victory. Our views are based on abundant evidence in terms of the enemy's situation, and the experience of the past fifteen months has begun to verify them.

What are our advantages? In the first place, we are a big country with a vast territory and abundant resources, a large population, and large military forces. Although the enemy has occupied our major big cities and lines of communication, we still have large areas of land to serve as our base areas in sustaining a protracted war of resistance and striving for final victory. Even in the enemy-occupied regions, we still have many base areas for guerrilla warfare. This characteristic is utterly different from those that obtain in small countries such as Czechoslovakia and Belgium. This is our first advantage. In the second place, our Resistance War against Japan today is unlike the wars in all the periods of Chinese history. Our war is a national revolutionary war and a progressive war. Not only is the character of the war itself progressive, but this war is being waged on a progressive foundation without parallel in China's past. China in the fourth decade of the twentieth century is different from China in any other historical period. We have progressive people, progressive political parties, and a progressive army unlike those in any other historic periods. The national revolutionary War of Resistance against Japan that is being waged on this basis contains within itself great forces that can continue to develop and progress. This is the foundation that we have on our side and which will enable us to sustain a protracted war and win final victory. The experience of fifteen months has proved that the great, sacred national revolutionary war that is being waged on the original progressive basis has already pushed forward progress in the whole of China. The old, corrupt national tradition is being destroyed, new national progressive forces are growing, and a great process of unity, unification, progress, and development of the entire nation is moving forward to completion. China before the War of Resistance was different from China after the War of Resistance, and everyone with eyes can see this. Furthermore, it can already be predicted that China in the first period of the War of Resistance (at present, this period is still not over) will be different from China in the period after the War of Resistance. In the third place, moreover, our War of Resistance against the Japanese is not isolated. Even though the capitalist countries are still maintaining many of their contradictory policies, and even though the international situation may temporarily affect the degree of assistance from other countries, China's War of Resistance against the Japanese and the worldwide struggle against aggression and fascism are inseparably linked. It is not only the Chinese who are waging war against Japanese aggression; Europeans, Americans, Africans, Australians, and other Asians are also doing so. The sympathy and assistance from various nations all over the world in the past fifteen months have given us this conviction. China, which depends mainly on self-reliance, can at the same time cooperate with the assistance from the world, because the world today is no longer the world of the past. Progressive humanity throughout the world has become one entity bound together by a common cause, and the enemy's attempt to isolate us can only be in vain.

Thus, we are a very big country, our war is a progressive war, and, in addition, we have international assistance, and these three things are all combined at the same time. These are all favorable conditions for us, and they not only exist, but

are developing day by day. Here again, the capitulationists and pessimists are also blind. They see nothing of this and see only that we are a weak country, in an unfavorable situation, and that we are a semicolony. They murmur their nonsense of "The War of Resistance will lead to the destruction of the country," and "If we continue to fight the country will be destroyed." Among them, many bad elements, on the basis of such nonsense, are secretly carrying out their conspiracies of surrender and compromise. We are quite different. On the basis of those things that have been proved correct during the experience of the past fifteen months, we want to point out explicitly to the entire Party and the entire nation the strengths and weaknesses of our nation and of our war, the favorable and unfavorable conditions. Moreover, we must point out that the advantages and favorable conditions are predominant in the war as a whole, call on the whole nation to struggle hard, develop our strong points, strengthen our advantages, overcome our shortcomings and unfavorable conditions, and struggle for final victory. To whom will victory ultimately belong? We now give a definite answer: to China. On this basis we determine our policies: are we going to fight a resolute war of resistance, or are we going to waver and compromise? We give a definite reply: there must never be wavering and compromise, the only way out is a resolute war of resistance. It is obvious that neither the loss of the Four Northeastern Provinces, nor the subjugation of Austria, nor the partition of Czechoslovakia came about because of a war of resistance. It is the same now. Under the many favorable conditions for China, the War of Resistance is sure to prevail, but if we choose the path of compromise, the destruction of the state and the extinction of the race are unavoidable. For this reason, to oppose firmly the theory of compromise and pessimism, and call on all the people to fight to the very end is our one and only orientation.

In sum, the contradiction between the facts that the enemy is strong and we are weak has determined the long-term character of the war, and the strategic orientation of a protracted war. We are partisans of the theory of defeating the enemy in a protracted war, not of the theory of a quick victory. The enemy is small, and we are big; the enemy's war is retrogressive, while our war is progressive; the enemy's international position is relatively isolated, while we are relatively capable of obtaining foreign support. These pairs of contradictory contrasts also determine the fact that final victory in the war will belong to us, and not to the enemy. This is the second summary of the experience of the War of Resistance during the past fifteen months.

4. The Only Way to Sustain a Long-Term War and Strive for Final Victory Lies in Uniting and Gathering Together the Entire Nation, Striving to Advance, and Relying on the Popular Masses

The two basic points that the War of Resistance against Japan will be protracted, and that final victory belongs to China, have already been demonstrated by the experience in the past fifteen months of the War of Resistance. But what are the concrete plans for sustaining a long-term war and gaining final victory? Regarding this, there have been disagreements among our compatriots in the past. Many think that it will be all right to go on in the old way. They do not pay attention to uniting the whole country and do not pay attention to improvements in various matters such as military affairs, politics, culture, Party affairs, and popular movements. They even go so far as to increase friction and obstruct progress. In the past we have never approved of such ideas but, instead, have considered that only the unity and progress of the whole nation and reliance on the popular masses can sustain a long-term war and secure final victory. Otherwise, it will be impossible. In its "Program for the War of Resistance and Building the Country," the Guomindang explicitly points out: "If we want to ensure victory in the War of Resistance and success in building the country, though this depends on the efforts of the comrades in our party, it requires above all hard work, the union of hearts, and sharing of the burden by the people of the whole country." The Chinese Communist Party also pointed out a long time ago: "The most central task during the War of Resistance is to mobilize all the forces to win victory in the War of Resistance. Moreover, the central key to winning victory in the War of Resistance lies in developing the already mobilized War of Resistance into an all-out War of Resistance of the entire nation. Only such an all-out War of Resistance of the entire nation can lead to final victory" (Decision by the Chinese Communist Party in August of last year).[6] These [views] are absolutely correct; the experience of the past fifteen months has proved it.

Since the beginning of the War of Resistance, all the mutually opposing classes, parties, factions, and cliques have been united; all the different regions and armies have been unified under the command of the National Government and the Military Affairs Commission. Without this unity and solidarity, it would have been impossible to sustain the War of Resistance during the past fifteen months. And only because of the War of Resistance has it been possible to unite and rally around all sides. Such uniting as one constitutes the anti-Japanese national front. But the experience of the past fifteen months has also demonstrated to us the seriousness of the enemy's conspiracy to sabotage and the inadequacy of our internal unity. Why has the War of Resistance suffered so many setbacks? Why have we hitherto been unable to stop the offensives of the enemy and carry out our counteroffensive? Apart from the objective reasons, the inadequate strength of the united front and the fact that it has still not attained the necessary scope and solidity are the most important reasons. From this we learn that only by further uniting and consolidating the whole nation, and strengthening and consolidating the Anti-Japanese National United Front, can we sustain a protracted war and win final victory. This is the first point. Second, the resistance in the past fifteen months not only has pushed forward the unity of the whole nation, but has also exposed the various

6. This passage, like those cited above in sections I.2 and I.3, is taken from the August 25, 1937, "Decision of the Central Committee on Present Conditions and the Party's Task." See paragraphs 3 and 5 in *Central Committee Documents,* Vol. 11, pp. 324–25; translated in Saich, *Rise to Power,* p. 791.

respects in which this unity is inadequate. Moreover, while pushing forward progress in the various aspects such as military, political, cultural, Party affairs, and the people's movement, it also revealed the shortcomings in these respects. To sustain the protracted war and win final victory, we must mobilize all the vital forces in all social categories in the whole nation, and if we want to achieve this goal, it will be impossible to do so without striving to make progress in the domains of military affairs, politics, culture, party affairs, and people's movements. Without greater progress in these various aspects we will not be able to mobilize all the vital forces in the whole nation, nor will we be able to make further progress in uniting the whole nation as one. Third, the War of Resistance during the past fifteen months has also proved the greatness of the assistance from the popular masses to the forces of the War of Resistance; at the same time, it has also demonstrated that the mobilization of the strength of the popular masses has just begun, and as a result of the failure to obtain extensive assistance from the popular masses for the War of Resistance, it has suffered many setbacks. From this we must draw the lesson that our compatriots must better understand the basic point that the War of Resistance depends on the popular masses. By relying on the popular masses, we will be able to overcome all difficulties, and defeat all enemies, however powerful; if we are detached from the popular masses, we will not be able to succeed in anything. China's progress in the future must be fully expressed in mobilizing the forces of the popular masses.

In short, the only correct way to sustain a protracted war and win final victory lies in the firm and broad solidarity of the entire nation, in striving to advance by mobilizing the vital forces of the entire nation, and by relying on the popular masses to overcome difficulties. This is our third conclusion.

Comrades, persist in the War of Resistance, persist in the protracted war, and strive to unite and to make progress—this is the basic lesson of the past fifteen months of the War of Resistance, and it is also the overall orientation for the War of Resistance from this time forward. We can defeat the enemy, provided only that we and the entire nation adhere to this orientation and make extensive efforts over the long term. The War of Resistance against Japan is developing toward a new stage, during which there are many new tasks, but this overall orientation will not change. The experience of the past fifteen months constitutes the foundation on which we will observe the new situation and put forward new tasks.

III. The New Stage in the Development of the National Resistance War Against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front

1. The Study of the Laws of the War and of the United Front Is the Foundation for Policy Decisions

Comrades, after summarizing past experience, the important question is to look at the tendency of the development of the present situation. How will the War of Resistance against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front evolve from

the past basis? This is a question we must answer now; this is very important in solving our present problems. Because if we do not have a general estimate about the process of change and development of the War of Resistance against Japan, we can only be entangled by the war and let the war tie us hand and foot, instead of putting the war under our control, making adjustments and arrangements, creating the necessary conditions for the war, leading the war in the direction we desire, and achieving victory in the war. Therefore we must understand the laws of the War of Resistance against Japan, for only then can we exercise strategic guidance over it, and decide on all the strategies, tactics, policies, plans, and schemes which serve the war. The same is true of the Anti-Japanese National United Front; only when we have studied and understood its laws can we effectively push the united front onto the track of solid development and let it play its role as a pillar of victory in the war.

Let us first talk about the problem of war.

2. Specific Historic Conditions, and the Superiority or Inferiority of the Subjective Capacity, Determine the Process of Development of the War

Some wars in history have ended after a single stage. For example, the war between Japan and Russia in 1905 was over after the attack of the Japanese armies and the defeat and retreat of the Russian armies. Another example was the war between Italy and Abyssinia, which came to an end after the attack by Italy and the defeat of Abyssinia. The same was true of the Chinese war against the northern warlords, which began in 1926. This is one type. It is because, on the one hand, the strengths and weaknesses of the two sides and, on the other hand, the superiority and inferiority of their leadership capacity make them no match for each other. This is the first category of war. Wars of the second category end after two stages. Take the war between France and Russia, for instance. Napoleon went from attack to retreat; Russia went from retreat to attack. There were two stages for both sides. In ancient China, the famous battle of the Red Cliff between [the states of] Wu and Wei, and the battle at Feishui between [the states of] Qin and Jin were like this. Although the two sides were different in strength and weakness, the weak side was good at using other good and favorable conditions and provided correct leadership. Thus they followed the retreat with counteroffensives and defeated the enemy. But there is still the third category of war, for instance, the Seven Years' War, the Eight Years' War, the Thirty Years' War, and the Hundred Years' War in foreign countries or even the great European war of twenty years ago, lasting four years (especially as manifested on the Western front). All of these had three stages. Side A attacks, and side B retreats; this is the first period. Both sides are locked in stalemate, which lasts for quite a long time; this is the second period. Side B launches a counteroffensive, and side A retreats; this is the third period. There have been many such wars in Chinese history, too. The characteristic of this kind of war is that there is a relatively long or very long period of stalemate; this is also the

consequence of the specific historical conditions and of the characteristics of the cliques leading the war.

Which category does the Sino-Japanese war fall into? In my opinion, it falls into the third category. This is a result of the different historical conditions of the two sides and of the particular circumstances of the different leading cliques of the war on the two sides.

3. The Long-Term Character of the Sino-Japanese War Is Shown in the Three Stages of the War

The long-term character of the Sino-Japanese war will be manifested in the three stages of the enemy's offensive, stalemate, and retreat, on the one hand, and our defensive, stalemate, and counteroffensive, on the other. Because the enemy is strong and we are weak (the enemy is in a superior position, we are in an inferior position; the enemy is an imperialist country, we are a semicolonial country), the result is a first stage during which the enemy attacks and we are on the defensive. If we do not speak of retreat, but rather of defense, this is to express the idea of retreat through a strategic mobile defense, an attitude of step-by-step resistance, instead of a sudden and clear-cut retreat. Nonetheless, under the specific conditions that the enemy is a small, backward country which enjoys little assistance, while we are a big, progressive country, which receives much assistance, our heroic War of Resistance has also caused the enemy to suffer scattered difficulties and debilitating losses in the course of his offensive, so that he had to end his strategic offensive at a certain time and move to a stage of protecting and preserving his occupied territory militarily and attacking us politically and through economic blockade. During this period, though the enemy has been worn down, for the time being he has not yet been worn down sufficiently to lead to his defeat. Although we are resolutely waging the War of Resistance, and making progress in every respect, we are unable to change all at once to such an extent that we can launch a counteroffensive and drive the enemy out of our country. For all the above reasons, a second stage of stalemate between the two sides, or an intermediate stage, takes shape. Because during the second stage the enemy's difficulties and our progress are increasing daily, and also taking into account the fact that the international situation is favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy, these factors will eventually change the original situation in which the enemy is strong but we are weak, and the enemy is in a superior position but we are in an inferior position. Eventually, it will develop into a situation which will become more and more disadvantageous to the enemy and favorable to us. First will come a period of equilibrium between us and the enemy, and then a period when we are superior. Then we can move on to the third stage of our counteroffensive and the enemy's retreat.

The above views about the three stages constitute a prediction about the entire process of the war based on the contrast between the existing and possible future specific conditions on both sides. It is not yet a fact, but only a possible tendency. On the basis of our subjective efforts, we must create the necessary conditions for

such a possible tendency, and then we can change the possible tendency into reality. Nevertheless, relying on the existing conditions, plus correct guidance and the great strenuous efforts of the entire nation, we will be able to turn this possible tendency into reality.

4. People Who Believe in a Quick Victory and Those Who Believe in National Subjugation Are All Opposed to This Estimate

People who believe in a quick victory oppose the theory of three stages, and think that we can quickly start a counteroffensive, and no intervening period is necessary. This is wrong. There are many difficulties in the War of Resistance against Japan, we need a certain period of time in order to overcome these difficulties, and it is impossible to launch a counteroffensive quickly. The reason they believe in a quick victory is that they underestimate the strength of the enemy, on the one hand, and overestimate our own forces, on the other hand. Those who believe the nation will be subjugated are also against the theory of three periods. They think that stalemate as well as a counteroffensive are impossible and that China is only another Abyssinia. This is wrong. Unlike those who believe in a quick victory, they overestimate the strength of the enemy but underestimate our own strength. They see only darkness before them. They acknowledge that China will be subjugated and that our resistance and efforts are useless. In their view, it is impossible to reach a stalemate between the enemy and ourselves, let alone a counteroffensive and the defeat of the enemy. Thus, only if we oppose the theory of a quick victory, on the one hand, and the theory of national subjugation, on the other, can we persist in our theory of three stages. At present it is more important to oppose the theory of national subjugation than to oppose the theory of a quick victory. There are still some people who support a protracted war with their words, but are against the theory of three stages. This is not right either. Where are the so-called protracted war and the so-called long-term war reflected? They are manifested in the three stages of the war. If they support protracted or long-term war, but disapprove of the three stages, then the so-called protracted and long term are abstract things without any content or reality. Hence they cannot provide any real strategic guidance or any real policy in the War of Resistance. Actually, this idea also belongs to the theory of a quick victory, and is simply disguised as a version of "protracted war."

5. The Relationship Between the Theory of the Three Stages and the International Situation

When the Zhanggaofeng Incident[7] took place, a portion of public opinion was overjoyed. They thought that if war broke out between Japan and the Soviet Union,

7. See above, the relevant note to the text of August 13, 1938.

China could move to the counteroffensive without fighting a protracted war. According to this point of view, the theory of the three stages naturally could not hold water, and our predictions would be wrong. This is a kind of thinking that depends mainly on foreign assistance and is one variety of the theory of a quick victory. Nonetheless, the international situation does not develop according to the subjective wishes of these friends but, rather, according to its own laws. The major center of the world is in Europe, and the East is an important part of the area surrounding it. The major countries in the peace front and the major fascist countries in the world are just now quarreling endlessly about the crisis of war in Europe, and the problems in Europe are all tangled up. No matter whether it is the eve of war between the big powers in Europe or war breaks out, the big and small countries of Europe will all put the resolution of the problems in Europe at the top of their agenda, so for the time being the problems in the East must come second. Looking at the Sino-Japanese war from this perspective as well, the theory of a quick counteroffensive is not reasonable either. We must rely principally on ourselves. Not only are we not afraid of the three periods, but we are about to create three periods. The three stages represent the pattern of the Sino-Japanese war. This is based not only on the balance of strength between the enemy and ourselves but also on the international situation.

6. The Stage of Stalemate Is the Pivot of the War

The major characteristic of the three stages lies in the inclusion of a transitional middle stage. That is, first our resistance must try by every possible means to stop the offensive of the enemy. If the enemy's offensive cannot be stopped in a certain period of time and in a certain region, there will not be the so-called three stages that are different in character. Second, when the stage of the stalemate comes, we must try our best to prepare all the necessary conditions for our counteroffensive. If we cannot do this, we will not be able to proceed to the stage of the counteroffensive, it can only be a continuous stalemate, and there will be no so-called three stages. Here, to those who believe in a quick victory, we definitely say that only if there is such a transitional period can we unite the entire nation, overcome the difficulties, foster new forces, and, in conjunction with the difficulties of the enemy and international aid, carry out a counteroffensive and drive the enemy out of our country. Otherwise it is impossible. Looking at the problem from the point of view of self-reliance, we will unavoidably come to this conclusion. To those who talk about national subjugation and who are pessimistic, we confidently say that only this transitional stage is the pivot of the entire war. Whether China becomes a colony or is going to be liberated depends not on the loss of the big cities and important lines of communication in the first stage but, rather, on the level of effort of the whole nation. The loss of big cities and important communication lines is regrettable; it increases the strength of the enemy and reduces our strength. But many of the things that have not been lost can still serve as our resources in defeating the

enemy. It does no good to mourn the loss of treasures. The territory and the various active forces we preserved during the first period, especially the progress in fields such as military affairs, politics, culture, Party affairs, and people's movements, are the most valuable things, and they are the foundation for continued progress and preparation for a counteroffensive in the second stage. In spite of that, they are merely the foundations for continued progress and preparation for a counteroffensive; they cannot determine the counteroffensive. What will determine the counteroffensive are the forces which are added in the second stage. The counteroffensive will be empty talk without the addition of great newly emerging forces.

7. The Characteristics of the Three Stages: The First Stage

The characteristics of the three stages of the War of Resistance against Japan have already appeared. It is necessary to point out in a general way those that have not appeared but can be predicted, for they have an important influence on the guidance of the war and the making of policy.

What are the characteristics and important symbols of the first stage?

First, on the Chinese side: the formation of a national united front, the participation in the war by all the armies in the country, the resolute character of the War of Resistance, the publication by the Guomindang of the Guiding Principles for the War of Resistance and Building the Country, the meeting of the People's Political Council, the acquisition of legitimate status by the Chinese Communist Party and other parties, the creation of guerrilla warfare, the progress of all the country's armies, the development of the movements of the popular masses, and so on. These are all major events which denote progress on the Chinese side. Meanwhile, however, there are many disadvantageous events and bad phenomena, such as, for instance, the loss of major cities, important communication lines and major industries and businesses, the loss of territory and population, the imbalance of progress in the country (the progress in some regions is very slow), and the fact that generally speaking the political system has just begun to move toward democratization, the existence of diehard elements and of corruption, the brewing of the compromising tendency, and so on.

Second, on the enemy's side: the drain of military strength and financial capability, the condemnation by international opinion, the worsening of military discipline, the relative decline of the fighting capacity of the armies, the development of dissatisfaction among the people in the country and among the soldiers at the front, the defeat in the battle of Zhanggaofeng, the difficulty in organizing an army of Chinese traitors, and the incapacity of those that have been organized, and so on. These are all big events showing his difficulties. At the same time, however, there are things which show his capacity, namely, the firmness of his offense, the persistence of his military forces, the enlargement of his occupied territory, the persistence of his capacity for political organization, the strength of his conspiratorial agencies, and so on.

Third, on the international side: the growth of the movement to assist China, the increasing strength of the forces of the Soviet Union and its assistance to China, these are all things that favor China. Yet there are other also things: the development of the war in Europe, a certain tendency toward compromise between Britain and Japan, the assistance in military raw materials to our enemy by other countries. These are all disadvantageous to China.

Many of the above things concerning China, Japan, and the international situation are characteristics that have emerged in the past fifteen months during the first stage of the War of Resistance.

8. The Second Stage

Supposing that Wuhan cannot be defended, many new things will emerge in the situation of the war. Although the capture of Wuhan by the enemy in no sense represents the end of the old stage and the beginning of a new stage, from now on, when the enemy can still continue his offensive until he is forced to stop it, this period is still a transitional stage from the old stage to the new. In spite of that, after the loss of Wuhan becomes a fact, many new circumstances will manifest themselves.

After the loss of Wuhan, as well as during most of the time in the new stage, the basic situation that can be predicted will be, on the one hand, more difficulties, but, on the other hand, more progress. This is the primary characteristic of the new stage.

The increased difficulties will manifest themselves in the following respects: (1) Because of the loss of the principal large cities and important communication lines, the political power of the state and the battlefields will be separated geographically by the action of the enemy, and as a consequence many problems will arise; (2) extreme difficulties in finances and in the economy; (3) a certain degree of compromise between Britain and Japan (or, on the contrary, there may be further conflict between Britain and Japan if Japan insists on occupying alone and threatening Southeast Asia); (4) if the enemy attacks Guangzhou, China's most important communication line by sea may be cut off, and as a result international assistance may decrease temporarily and partially; (5) there is the possibility of the formation of a national puppet political régime and its possible influence on the anti-Japanese front; (6) the possibility that some faction in the anti-Japanese front may betray us, and an increase in the atmosphere of compromise; (7) an increase in pessimistic sentiments, and in phenomena of disagreement, and so on. These are all possible new events that may add new difficulties to the War of Resistance against Japan. To predict these difficulties will help us to overcome them by preparation and planning.

Progress will be expressed in the following respects: (1) The orientation of resolutely persisting in the War of Resistance put forward by Chairman Chiang and the Guomindang and their further political progress; (2) improvement of the relationship between the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party, the consolidation and enlargement of the Anti-Japanese National United Front; (3) progress in the work of reforming the army; (4) the expansion and development of guerrilla warfare; (5) progress in the democratization of the state; (6) greater development of the movements of the popular masses; (7) the carrying out of the new wartime financial and economic policies; (8) raising the level of culture and education in the anti-Japanese war; (9) the continuation of assistance from the Soviet Union and its possible increase, and a more friendly and intimate relationship between China and the Soviet Union, and so on.

The entire second stage is the stage of stalemate; it is the preparatory stage for a Chinese counteroffensive. The length of this period depends on the degree of change in the enemy's strength as well as our own and the evolution of the international environment. Nevertheless, we should prepare for a long war. If we can survive this hard and difficult journey, the smooth road to victory will come.

During the second stage, although the enemy and we are strategically in a stalemate, there will still be extensive warfare. This will manifest itself chiefly in defense at the front by the main forces, but extensive guerrilla warfare will develop in the enemy's rear. By then, the guerrilla warfare in many strategically important regions will become very bitter, and we must start to prepare for such difficulties now.

9. The Third Stage

The concrete situation cannot be predicted. But by then the preparations for our counteroffensive must have been completed; at the same time, the level of difficulties for the enemy will have greatly increased, and the international situation will greatly favor us. By then the situation of the war will not be one of strategic defensive or strategic stalemate, but one of strategic counteroffensive; it will not be a strategic internal front but a strategic external front. At that time there must be great progress in our domestic politics and new military technology. Otherwise, a counteroffensive will be impossible.

10. Defending Wuhan Is a Question of Gaining Time, Not One of Defending the City to the Death

The purpose of the struggle to defend Wuhan is to drain the enemy, on the one hand, and win time, on the other, so that the work in the whole country will make progress, and not a last-ditch defense of a strong point. When the time comes that the war situation has proved that giving it up will be more favorable to us, we should adopt the principle of giving up territory to preserve our military strength. Therefore we must avoid big and unprofitable decisive battles. Strategically decisive battles should not take place in the first and second stages. They will obstruct both persistence in the war of resistance and the preparation for a counteroffensive. Hence they must be avoided. It should be one of our orientations in a protracted war to avoid strategically decisive battles and to try our best to fight decisive

campaigns and battles under favorable conditions. To give up some of the cities which we cannot defend at certain times and under certain conditions is not only unavoidable, but it is an active policy to lure the enemy deep, disperse him, drain him, and wear him out. Under the general premise of persisting in the War of Resistance, without compromise or surrender, it is perfectly permissible, in accordance with the policy of a protracted war, to give up some strongholds at proper times, and we should not be surprised at this.

11. To Proceed from the Present to the Stage of Stalemate

This will benefit our preparation for a counteroffensive only when the enemy's offensive is stopped. But in order to achieve this objective, we must make a greater effort. Hence it is still a process of struggle to proceed from the present to the time when the enemy has to stop his strategic offensive and change into defending his occupied territory, and the period of stalemate will emerge, and there are many difficulties to be overcome before we can achieve this. Because after the capture of Wuhan the enemy will not stop his offensive. It is certain that he still wants to attack Xi'an, Yichang, Changsha, Hengzhou, Wuzhou, Beihai, Nanchang, Shantou, Fuzhou, and the nearby regions. If we want to stop the offensive of the enemy, we must continue to carry out strategic mobile defense warfare to confront this attempt of the enemy, and make the greatest efforts to fight persistent wars to drain the enemy as much as we can without suffering any losses to the enemy, so that the enemy will be forced to stop his offensive and shift the war situation into the phase of a stalemate, which is beneficial to us.

12. But the Situation of a Stalemate Will Come Soon

After the enemy has captured Wuhan, his weakness, resulting from an insufficient number of troops and the dispersal of his forces, will become even more apparent. If he still wants to attack Xi'an, Yichang, Changsha, Hengzhou, Wuzhou, Beihai, Nanchang, Shantou, Fuzhou, and other places, and occupy them by force, the extreme difficulties caused by the insufficiency and dispersal of his troops will surely reach their highest point during the period of this offensive. At this point, the phenomena of the stubborn resistance of our main forces at the front, and the threat of our guerrillas in the broad rear areas, when added to the insufficiency of the enemy's troops (they cannot be sufficient) and the dispersal of his troops (they cannot but be dispersed) will create great difficulties. This situation—on the enemy's side, insufficient forces and their dispersal, on our side, defense at the front, and threat to the enemy's rear—is to our great advantage and the enemy's great disadvantage. Of course, as far as the overall comparison between the strength of the enemy and our own is concerned, the fundamental situation that the enemy is strong and in a superior position and we are weak and in an inferior position has not changed; this can be changed only through the extremely hard efforts of our

entire nation in combination with the conditions abroad during a long stage of stalemate. But in his attack upon Wuhan, the enemy's strong forces have been deployed even more extensively. On the one hand, this further deployment of his strong forces has caused us losses, but, meanwhile, it has brought difficulties to the enemy himself. Since the morale of the strong forces of the enemy (which are at the same time his insufficient and dispersed forces) will decline after further extensive deployment, this will inevitably cause his general strategic offensive to reach a peak. We recognize that there will be some remaining strength in the enemy's attack, and, according to our best and most appropriate estimates, this remaining strength is still rather great. Hence, it is highly probable that he will attack places such as Xi'an, Yichang, Changsha, Nanchang, Wuzhou, and Fuzhou and their surrounding areas, and we must also be prepared for a possible attack on the whole of the railway between Guangdong and Wuhan and the highway between Xi'an and Lanzhou. In spite of that, this will only be a residual threat, compared to the overall strength of the enemy. In terms of its total national strength, Japan has to be on guard against the Soviet Union to the north, the United States to the east, Britain and France to the south, and the people within the country. It has only so much strength; here may be barely enough to be used in China. What is more, extensive wars that must be dealt with at the front and within its occupied territory still exist; the contradictions between Japan and the Soviet Union, between Japan and the United States, between Japan and Britain, and between Japan and France are increasing; the contradictions between the government and the people in the home country, between the officers and the soldiers at the front, and between the vast expenditures and the financial impoverishment are deepening. These are all things that will cause great concern for the enemy. We and the people of the whole country must see these things, not be shocked by the loss of major big cities and important communication lines, assist the government in adjusting the war in the whole country, make dispositions for the battles along the railway between Guangdong and Wuhan and the Longhai line, along the highway between Xi'an and Lanzhou, and in other strategic regions, make dispositions for guerrilla warfare in the enemy's great rear area, seize the weak points where the enemy's forces are insufficient and dispersed, imposing greater losses on him, and causing him to disperse his troops even more, and making the war turn victoriously and definitely into a new state of stalemate between the enemy and ourselves. This is the urgent task facing the whole nation at the moment.

13. The Strength of the Enemy Is Gradually Decreasing, but Our Strength Is Graduqlly Increasing

Has the enemy's strength increased or not? Compared to his original strength, there is no increase; on the contrary, his strength has decreased very greatly. The enemy's original military and economic strength has been greatly drained. During the past fifteen months of war, his military forces suffered casualties of several

hundred thousand, used up large quantities of weapons, ammunition, and matériel, suffered the destruction of several hundred airplanes and more than a hundred warships, and spent several billion yuan on military expenses. This drain is unprecedented in Japanese history. The enemy will have to use up a great deal more strength before he is forced to stop the strategic offensive. As far as this is concerned, his ally Hitler has been greatly worried for some time. And yet, is there no increase in the enemy's strength at all? Yes, there is. It consists in the occupation of the major big Chinese cities, important communication lines, and some parts of the countryside. The enemy has taken over the markets from the other countries and from the Chinese national capitalists, seized natural resources, instruments of production, and considerable manpower from China. This is the only purpose of the Japanese war. Temporarily it has added these things to itself. But the question is: can these things compensate for the losses already suffered in the war? No, they cannot; all the "investment" used up in the war is already gone, and the enemy will have to pay for new productive investment if he wants to get a return on it. Again the question is: leaving aside the inability of Japan to make a productive investment, if it could, could it really recover its losses in the war? Once again, no. Because the large-scale war will still be there in the future, Japan will still suffer losses every day. So long as widespread guerrilla warfare exists in the enemy's rear, such as the current guerrilla warfare in North China, it will be very difficult for Japan to recoup its losses. Because of the constant war, not only will it be unable to get any compensation for its previous losses, but in addition it will have to continue to pay for new losses. So long as we continue to pursue resolutely our War of Resistance, Japan's pitiful fate is largely assured. We say that, during the second strategic stage, that is, the stage of stalemate, Japan will gradually change from strong to weak, from superior to inferior. This continuous drain is one aspect of the situation which is already decided. Let us now talk about the Chinese side. In the final analysis, has China's strength increased or decreased? Our answer is that it has both decreased and increased. The reduction is in the quality and quantity of the original forces; it is shown in the drain of personnel and weapons in the military, the loss of population, industry, land, and natural resources. This is one important aspect that makes us feel difficulties. Nevertheless, it does not mean that there is no increase. The increase is in new quality and quantity and is manifested in the unity of the whole country, the progress of the military, the progress of politics, the progress of culture, and the increase in the degree of consciousness and organization of the people. Although the main forces have retreated, the guerrilla war is moving forward. Although some places have been lost, other places have made progress. The problem is that the level of increase today is far from adequate. Today it is not enough to stop the enemy's offensive, still less will it be sufficient to carry out our counteroffensive in the future. Consequently there has arisen the necessity of exerting widespread and protracted efforts to increase the new forces. What is more, this increase means the greater mobilization of the vital forces in all strata of the whole nation and greater progress in all aspects of the Party, the government, the army, and the people. This is entirely possible, relying

on broad and protracted efforts now and in the future. Relying mainly on the growing forces nurtured by ourselves, combined with the increase in the difficulties of the enemy and the enhancement of the international assistance to us, the overall situation between the enemy and ourselves will be changed from the present situation in which the enemy is superior and we are inferior, first to a balance between the enemy and ourselves, and then further to a situation in which we are superior and the enemy is inferior. This is a fundamental problem that must and can be resolved during the long period of stalemate.

14. The Enemy Occupies the Cities and We Occupy the Countryside, so the War Is Protracted, but in the End the Countryside Is Capable of Defeating the Cities

The question is as follows: now that the enemy has occupied China's principal cities and lines of communication, and bases himself on the cities to oppose us, while we base ourselves on the countryside to oppose the enemy, can the countryside defeat the cities? The answer is that it is difficult, but it can be done. The protracted character of the War of Resistance against Japan results not only from the fact that the enemy is an imperialist country, while we are a semicolonial country, but also from the fact that this imperialist country has occupied our cities, and we have to withdraw to the countryside to resist it. Consequently, the war has a protracted character. Here the theory of a quick victory is completely unfounded. At the same time, the problem of China's cities and countryside today is qualitatively different from that of the cities and the countryside in foreign capitalist countries. In capitalist countries, the cities rule the countryside in substance as well as in form, and once the head constituted by the cities is cut off, the four limbs of the countryside cannot continue to survive. It is impossible to conceive of a protracted peasant war in the countryside against the cities in countries such as Britain, America, France, Germany, Japan, and Italy. Such a thing is also impossible in a small semicolonial country. In a big semicolonial country like China, it would also have been very difficult several decades ago. Such a possibility has, however, now emerged in a big semicolonial country such as China, but very obviously three interrelated conditions are required. The first is that it should be a semicolonial country. In a semicolony, although the cities have a leadership function, they cannot rule the countryside completely, for the cities are too small and the countryside is too extensive, and the vast human and material resources are to be found in the countryside, rather than in the cities. The second condition is that it should be a big country. If you lose part of it, there is still another part remaining. The enemy is controlling a big country with few troops, and if you add to this our resolute resistance, the enemy is forced into a situation where he experiences the difficulties of having an insufficient military force and of having this force split up. Thus, not only do we get a main anti-Japanese base area, or a great rear area, including, for example, Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan, which the enemy cannot capture, but we also obtain large bases for guerrilla activities in the enemy's rear—for example,

North China, Central China, and South China—which the enemy is unable to occupy completely. The third condition is given by present circumstances. If China had been conquered militarily by a great imperialist country several decades ago, as England conquered India, we could scarcely have avoided losing our state (*wang guo*).[8] But today things are different, mainly because China has progressed: there are new political parties, new armies, and new people, and this is the basic force for defeating the enemy. Less important is the retrogression of the enemy and the fact that the process of the social and economic development of Japanese imperialism has come to the brink of decline, and the development of Japanese capitalism has created and is still creating the conditions which will send it to the tomb. Still less important is the change in the international situation and the fact that the old world is on the brink of death, and the new world has seen the light of dawn. I have already explained these points in detail in *On Protracted War.* To sum up, in today's big semicolonial countries such as China, there exist many favorable conditions which will help us in organizing a resolute, prolonged, and widespread war of resistance against the enemy who has occupied our cities. If we wage war on many interlocking fronts, encircle the cities and isolate them, meanwhile gradually increasing our own strength over a long period, and so transform the relations between the enemy and ourselves; and if we coordinate these tactics with changes in the international situation—in this case, we will be able to drive out the enemy progressively and regain control of the cities. There is not the slightest doubt that it is difficult, even in China today, for the countryside to oppose the cities, because in general the cities are concentrated, whereas the countryside is scattered. Since the enemy occupied our big cities and important communication lines, our administrative areas and the battlefields have been separated territorially, and this has created many difficulties for us. This determines the protracted and bitter character of the War of Resistance against Japan. Nevertheless, we must state that the countryside can defeat the cities because of the existence of the above-mentioned three interrelated conditions. In the conditions prevailing during the civil war, a very small portion of the countryside carried on a protracted war against the cities, even at a time when all the imperialist countries together were opposing communism. Who would venture to say that under the conditions of the national war, and, moreover, at a time when the imperialist camp is divided, the greater part of the Chinese countryside cannot carry on a protracted war against the enemy in the cities? There is not the slightest doubt that this is possible. Moreover, there is a great difference between what we call the countryside today and the countryside at the time of the civil war. Not only is the area much greater, but we still possess, in the broad rear area made up of provinces such as Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan, a number of

8. The threat of "losing one's state" (*wang guo*) and becoming "slaves without a country" had been eloquently denounced by Li Dazhao, one of the two principal founders of the Chinese Communist Party (see *Marxism and Asia,* pp. 206–8), and was often mentioned by Mao in the 1920s and 1930s.

cities and industrial enterprises, we still have contacts with foreign countries, and we can still engage in construction. Relying on the maintenance of the broad rear and the building of base areas for guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear, nurturing our forces over the long term, and weakening the forces of the enemy, and, in addition, coordinating our actions with favorable future international conditions, we will be able to launch a counteroffensive and take back the cities. In his open letter to the citizens of last December, Chairman Chiang pointed out: "The heart of China's protracted war of resistance, the source of its ultimate victory, is to be found neither in Nanjing nor in any other big city, but lies in reality in the villages of the whole country and in the firmness of heart of the people." This is absolutely correct; although the war is difficult, a victorious future awaits us.

15. The Crisis of Compromise Exists in Grave Form, Yet It Can Be Overcome

We said a long time ago that some of the people who are affected by an irrational fear of Japan have been attempting all the time to shake the determination of the government in the War of Resistance and advocate so-called peaceful compromise. In the past, this tendency appeared after the fall of Nanjing, and now they are ready to start something again. This is a reflection of the enemy's conspiracy within the anti-Japanese front. This threat exists seriously, and our compatriots must pay full attention to it and not let the pro-Japanese faction take advantage of it to carry out their conspiracy. What the pro-Japanese elements are attempting and what the enemy is attempting is the same and is necessarily concentrated on opposition to Chiang and to the Communists. If they are allowed to take advantage and to carry out their conspiracy, the future of the Resistance War will be called into question. Therefore, the whole nation should be on guard against the enemy's conspiracy and the threat of sowing dissension among ourselves, automatically and consciously oppose this conspiracy, and not relax our vigilance for a moment. Can this crisis be overcome? Yes, it can. After the Guomindang, the Communist Party, and all the patriots have united as one, made the necessary efforts, overcome the danger of compromise, expelled the demons and ghosts who are helping the enemy, and resolutely pursued the War of Resistance, this is not only absolutely necessary, but absolutely possible as well. Because in the final analysis, the pro-Japanese faction does not have a great deal of strength, and the strength of the anti-Japanese faction is greater than that of the pro-Japanese faction.

16. The New Situation of Guerrilla Warfare During the Stage of Stalemate

During the new stage, while the main forces are defending the front, guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear will temporarily become the major form. Yet the guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear during the new stage of stalemate between ourselves

and the enemy will be developing in a new form. Then what is the new form of guerrilla warfare? First, it will still develop extensively in vast areas. This is because we have a great deal of territory, and as regards the enemy, his troops are insufficient and dispersed. So long as we can persist in the orientation of developing guerrilla warfare and guide it correctly, it is impossible for the enemy to restrict our development fundamentally. But, second, in some of the important strategic regions, for example, in North China and the lower reaches of the Yangzi, we will meet with a savage offensive from the enemy, and it will be very difficult for us to maintain large bodies of troops in the plains. Accordingly, the hilly regions will become our major base areas, and the guerrilla troops in some regions will have to reduce their numbers temporarily. We should begin to prepare now for the arrival of this situation. At the moment, in order to support the fighting of the main forces at the front, and prepare for the transition to the new stage, we should divide the guerrilla warfare generally into two regions. One is the region in which the guerrilla warfare has been fully developed, as in North China, where the major orientation is to consolidate the foundations that have already been built to get ready to defeat the enemy's cruel attack in the new stage and sustain the base area. The other is the region in which guerrilla warfare has not yet been fully developed or is just beginning to develop, for example, in Central China, where the major orientation is to develop guerrilla warfare as quickly as possible to avoid the difficulty in developing guerrilla warfare after the enemy swings back. In the future, in order to coordinate with the defense at the front, and to give the main forces a chance for rest and reorganization, in order to nurture our forces and prepare for the strategic counteroffensive, we must try our best to sustain the guerrilla warfare to defend the base areas. During the long period of holding out, train our guerrilla troops into an active and strong army, pin down the enemy, and help the battle at the front. Generally speaking, the guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear in the new stage will be much more difficult compared with the previous period. We must first see this difficulty, admit this difficulty, and never lose our heads because of the easy development in the previous period, since the enemy will surely turn back to attack the guerrilla forces. It can, however, be sustained. Every leader working in the enemy's rear must have such self-confidence, because the condition of guerrilla warfare in a national war, no matter how strong the enemy is, is far better than that during the civil war. Here, winning over and disintegrating the puppet troops to isolate the Japanese bandits is a very important task.

17. The New Stage in the Development of the War of Resistance Against Japan Is at the Same Time the New Stage in the Development of the Anti-Japanese National United Front

The above remarks have been devoted entirely to the problem of the form of the War of Resistance against Japan. In what follows I am going to talk about the situation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

The time when the War of Resistance against Japan has developed to a new stage is simultaneously the time when the Anti-Japanese National United Front has developed to a new stage. Because more difficulties will be encountered in the new stage than before, the Anti-Japanese National United Front should also adapt to accommodate this situation and show its great strength in fighting against all difficulties and defeating them. So that, during the present transitional period and in the new stage in the future, the Chinese national united front does not show its inability to deal with difficulties but shows, instead, its great power in overcoming difficulties, we must earnestly consolidate as well as enlarge the united front. A protracted war can be sustained only with a lasting united front; the protracted character of the war and that of the united front can never be separated.

18. The Guomindang Has a Bright Future

The Guomindang and the Communist Party are the foundation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, but of these two it is the Guomindang that is the first great party. Without the Guomindang, it would have been inconceivable to launch and sustain the War of Resistance. The Guomindang has its own glorious history, of which the main achievements are the overthrow of the Qing; the establishment of the Republic; opposition to Yuan Shikai; the establishment of the Three Policies of uniting with Russia, with the Communist Party, and with the workers and peasants; and carrying out the great revolution of 1926–1927. Today it is once more leading the great War of Resistance against Japan. It enjoys the historic heritage of the Three People's Principles; it has had two great leaders in succession—Mr. Sun Yatsen and Mr. Chiang Kaishek; and it has a great number of loyal and patriotic party members. All this should not be underestimated by our compatriots and constitutes the result of China's historical development.

In the conduct of the War of Resistance against Japan and the establishment of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, the Guomindang occupies the position of leader and backbone. During the past fifteen months all the anti-Japanese parties in the nation have made progress, and the progress of the Guomindang is also outstanding. It called together the Provisional Representative Assembly,[9] issued the Program for the War of Resistance and Building the Country,[10] summoned the People's Political Consultative Conference, began to organize the Three People's Principles Youth League, recognized the legitimate existence of all parties and factions, and their joint [participation in] resisting the Japanese and building the country, instituted democratic rights to a certain extent, carried out some reforms in military affairs and in the political institutions, adapted foreign policy to meet the demands of the War of Resistance against Japan, and so on. These are all major

9. The reference is presumably to the gathering of over four hundred leading figures at a conference at Lushan summoned by Chiang Kaishek in the spring of 1937.

10. Cited above by Mao in section II.4.

events with historical significance. Provided only that it acts in accordance with the great premise of persisting in the War of Resistance and maintaining the united front, one can foresee a bright future for the Guomindang.

Until the present, however, many people still have an incorrect perception of the Guomindang. They are suspicious of the future of the Guomindang. The issues which arouse their suspicion of the Guomindang are whether it can continue the War of Resistance, whether it can continue to progress, and whether it can become a national union in the War of Resistance against Japan and in building the country. These three questions are closely linked and cannot be separated. Then what are our views? We think that the Guomindang has a bright future. On the basis of all the subjective and objective conditions, it can continue the War of Resistance, continue to progress, and become a national union in the War of Resistance against Japan and in building the country.

The political orientation of all China and of the Guomindang has basically been determined by the firmness of the enemy's offense, the serious blows and looting inflicted by the enemy on every stratum in China, the anger of armies throughout the country against the enemy and their courage in the War of Resistance, the upsurge of the anti-Japanese movement of the people in the whole country, the existence of a favorable international situation, and other facts. First, any party or faction, including the Guomindang, the Communist Party, and the other anti-Japanese political parties and groups, cannot do otherwise than to continue the War of Resistance. Whoever does not pursue the War of Resistance will have one way out—to become a Chinese traitor. There is no other way out but this. Second, any party or faction, so long as it continues the War of Resistance, must continue to make progress. It is true that political progress in our country is neither rapid nor universal, and as a result we have suffered losses in the war. On the other hand, precisely because of the losses we have suffered, we cannot do otherwise than seek progress in politics, military affairs, culture, Party affairs, people's movements, and every other domain in the future, so that we can resist the enemy and regain the lost territory. Whether it be the ruling party, the Guomindang, or any other party or faction, they will all have to continue to make progress. Third, one of the important links in progress within the country is the democratization of the organizational form of the Guomindang, in order that it may itself be transformed into a national alliance for resisting Japan and building the country, and the best organizational form for the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Does this possibility exist? I think it does. Given the general trend of the War of Resistance against Japan, if the Guomindang refuses to open its doors to the broad popular masses, and to accept all the patriotic parties and factions, as well as the patriotic individuals, in a great organization, it will be impossible for it to fulfill the difficult task of continuing the War of Resistance and defeating the enemy. In its history of more than fifty years, whenever the Guomindang has encountered a great revolutionary struggle, it has always changed itself into a revolutionary national union. Two instances of this are the most striking and the most endowed

with historical significance. In the first instance, from the founding of the Tongmenghui to the 1911 Revolution for the purpose of opposing the Qing dynasty and setting up a republic, Mr. Sun Yatsen united all the anti-Manchu revolutionary parties and factions (from the Restoration Society to the Gelaohui [Elder Brother Society]). During this period its party members accomplished many heroic deeds; they worked ceaselessly and unremittingly and were full of vigor, and as a result they were successful in the 1911 Revolution. The second time, from 1924 to 1927, for the purpose of opposing the imperialists and the warlords, they united with the workers and the Communist Party within the country, and with the socialist Soviet Union abroad, established the well-known "Three Great Policies." As a result they founded the Huangpu Academy, established the party's army, and achieved victory in the Northern Expedition. All of these things manifested not only the development of the united front policy of the Guomindang but the development of the Three People's Principles. Today is the third historical opportunity for the Guomindang to become a revolutionary national union, in order to fight against Japanese imperialism and establish a republic of the Three People's Principles. It can and must change itself into a national alliance to resist Japan and build the country. This great movement is already beginning. [The Guomindang] has recognized the legal existence of the Communist Party and the other parties and factions, admitting the Eighth Route Army to the ranks of the National Revolutionary Army, and proclaimed explicitly in the program for resisting Japan and building the country: "In striving for victory in the War of Resistance and success in building the country, it is true that we must rely on the efforts of our party members, but we must particularly rely on the hard work and unanimous sharing of the burden by all the people of the nation." These facts, in addition to the convocation of the People's Political Consultative Conference and the organization of the Three People's Principles Youth League, have all shown the beginning of its efforts in turning itself into a national alliance in the War of Resistance against Japan and in building the country. The question now is: what attitude should the Communist Party adopt toward this movement of the Guomindang to enlarge its organization? Should we approve or disapprove? We say that at any time we will support the Guomindang in expanding and developing itself into a revolutionary national alliance. In 1924, when the Guomindang was reorganizing, we adopted a policy of support. Today, when the national crisis is far more serious, we will do all we can to assist them. The reason is that the larger the friendly armies resisting Japan, the better, for the development and progress of the Communist Party alone is insufficient to repel Japanese imperialism. Although the Communist Party, which is in the position of the number-two party, has launched and persisted in the united front of all parties and armies, and has in addition opened its doors wide to all the revolutionary comrades, in order that all may strive to win victory in the anti-Japanese war, if the Guomindang, which occupies the position of the number-one party, remained in its old state as in the past, it would be extremely harmful to the War of Resistance and to the united

front. We would not be able to win victory in the War of Resistance, the whole nation would be in danger, and the Communist Party and the proletariat would not be able to escape this danger either. Consequently, the Communist Party not only will not oppose but places strong hopes in and resolutely assists the efforts of the Guomindang to enlarge and consolidate its organization, carry out inner-Party democracy, and change itself into a revolutionary national alliance, in order to benefit the continuation of the War of Resistance, and gain final victory.

19. Yet There Are Still Obstacles in the Future Prospects of the Guomindang, and They Must Work Hard to Overcome Them Before Any Progress Can Be Made

The bright future of the Guomindang exists, and its progress and development are possible. Mr. Chiang Kaishek and the majority of the Guomindang are leading the Guomindang and pushing it forward. As everyone knows, however, there are still a few conservative elements in the Guomindang who are obstructing the speed and extent of the progress of their party. Because of the existence of these elements, and their collusion with many conservative elements in society, they have created a countercurrent in the mainstream of the national-revolutionary war and are stubbornly resisting the vessel of progress, forcefully obstructing the democratization of the country, obstructing the carrying out of all the necessary progressive causes of the War of Resistance, obstructing the carrying out of many of the very good orientations and methods proposed by Mr. Chiang Kaishek in his past declarations, talks, speeches, and orders, obstructing the application of the Guomindang's program for the War of Resistance and building the nation, obstructing the application of the laws and decrees of the National Government, and obstructing the development of the movements of the popular masses. These are all facts and are all major reasons why the progress of the Guomindang is neither rapid nor universal and why the War of Resistance has met with so many disadvantages. They are opposed to the progress and development of the Guomindang, and even advocate compromise. If these elements get the upper hand, the cause of national liberation in China will suffer a very great setback. Thus we must pay serious attention to the matter. Nonetheless, we firmly believe that this conservative force cannot persist forever, that it has not obtained and is unlikely to obtain the upper hand. Such people are a countercurrent and by no means the main stream. Under the leadership of Chairman Chiang, with the efforts of the majority of the Guomindang and the support of all the people of the country, this conservative tendency can be overcome. The Communist Party resolutely supports the progress of the Guomindang, and, as far as the conservative elements obstructing progress are concerned, we hope that they will turn over a new leaf and make progress together with us. We hope these people will change. "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and the moon"; when they have changed back,

all will be well.[11] Actually we have seen many conservative elements making progress in the process of the War of Resistance. In the future there are sure to be many more people awakened by the lessons of the War of Resistance and making progress together with the broad masses. This is the character of being able to change of the conservative elements in the War of Resistance against Japan. But there might also be a few people who will become even worse and are willing to be washed away by the gigantic waves of the War of Resistance. This is another aspect of their changeable nature. Toward people of this kind, we should show no pity at all.

20. The Other Parties and Factions Also Have a Bright Future

Under the general premise of persisting in the War of Resistance and maintaining the united front, all those parties and factions that have joined the Anti-Japanese National United Front have a future of further development. We are willing to establish lasting cooperation with all of them and to help them as much as possible. This applies equally to the Third Party, the National Youth Party, the National Social Party, the National Salvation Association, and any other groups, parties, and factions. Clearly, when we say that, under the general premise of persistence in the War of Resistance and maintaining the united front, all parties will have a bright future, this includes efforts to overcome the conservative tendency in every party. If there exists a conservative tendency which will harm the War of Resistance and the united front, and it is allowed to develop, that will present a danger that we might forfeit our bright future. This applies in the same way to the Guomindang, the Communist Party, or any other party; we must all pay full attention to it.

21. The Characteristics of China's Anti-Japanese National United Front

For reasons rooted in Chinese history, today's Anti-Japanese National United Front in China is different from any of the united fronts in foreign countries, such as the Popular Front. Nor is it the same as the united front in Chinese history, such as the First United Front between the Guomindang and the Communist Party. It has the characteristics of today's China. To understand these characteristics is of the very

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11. The quotation is from the Confucian *Analects*, Book XIX, Chapter XXI (Legge, Vol. I, p. 346). In the clause which follows, Mao summarizes the sense of the second sentence in the original, which continues, "He has his faults, and all men see them; he changes again, and all men look up to him." Mao made use of the same passage from the *Analects* in a speech of 1959 after the Lushan Plenum, to illustrate the point that all men make mistakes, but these can be corrected. See S. Schram (ed.), *Chairman Mao Talks to the People* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), pp. 153–54.

greatest significance as regards consolidating and enlarging the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

What, then, are these characteristics? To sum up, there are eight in all, namely: the entire nation is resisting Japan; the long-term nature [of the united front]; [its] imbalance; the existence of armies; fifteen years of experience; the fact that the majority of the popular masses are still not organized; the Three People's Principles; and new international circumstances.

First of all, there is the fact that the entire nation is resisting Japan. This characteristic determines the basic nature of our united front. On the one hand, the objective for which our united front was established and developed is to fight the invasion of our national territory by an alien race, Japanese imperialism. On the other hand, our united front is a vast organization comprising all the different parties and factions, all the different classes, all the different armies, and all the different nationalities making up our nation. It is because it is directed against invasion by an alien race that the components of this organization could be so extensive. Because the composition of this organization is so extremely broad, it has great strength; but at the same time there is inevitably considerable friction between participants in this united front, and this must be properly adjusted before the goal of uniting against the foreigners can be achieved. These most fundamental characteristics of our united front—resistance to invasion by an alien race as the political purpose and the extremely large size of the components of the organization—are different from the popular front in France and Spain, nor were they to be found during the national front during the first great revolution (the cooperation at that time between the Guomindang and the Communist Party). As a result, today's united front has developed many special contents and results. This is the first characteristic and strong point of today's united front, although at the same time, its complex organization inevitably embodies some defects.

The second characteristic is its long-term nature. This results from the first characteristic. Since this united front makes use of national war to fight against Japanese imperialism, and since Japanese imperialism is a strong imperialism, this gives rise to the long-term character of the War of Resistance against Japan and also to the long-term character of the united front. I will deal further with this in section V of my report, for it is the point of departure for all our policies. This point, too, differs from the first period of cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party.

The third characteristic is imbalance. For historical reasons, there is an imbalance of political power between all the parties and factions and between all the classes and strata. At the same time, this imbalance is reflected in the distribution of regions. The Guomindang is the first big party that has real strength; the Communist Party comes second, and the other parties follow. This phenomenon has resulted in many special things.

The fourth characteristic is that there are armies. Both the Guomindang and the Communist Party have armies—this is the result of the special historical conditions, and it is not a defect but an advantage. The fact that the two parties have

armies creates the best possible basis for the two parties to fulfill their responsibilities of division of labor and cooperation in the course of the anti-Japanese war, and there will also be more benefits in observing and emulating one another's work. This point is similar to [the situation in] Spain, but different from [that in] France, nor is it the same as in the first cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party. It is also one of the factors that make possible long-term cooperation between the two parties.

The fifth characteristic is the fifteen years of experience. The conclusion from the four years of the first cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist party from 1924 to 1927, the nine-year split between the Guomindang and the Communist Party from 1927 to 1936, and now the renewed cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, from these fifteen years of experience of cooperation, split, and then again cooperation, has taught a profound lesson to both the Guomindang and the Communist Party, to the other parties and factions, and to the people of the whole country. The conclusion is: they should only cooperate, and not split. This is also one of the foundations for long-term cooperation. No other country in the world has had this kind of valuable experience, nor did we have it during the first period of cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party.

The sixth characteristic is that the majority of the popular masses are not yet organized. This is a Chinese peculiarity; the various countries in the West are not like this. It is a defect, because as a result the united front lacks an already existing organized mass foundation. But at the same time, all the parties can, on the basis of a division of labor, set out to organize the popular masses. They should not always crowd together and create friction, for some of the as-yet unorganized popular masses are just waiting to be organized to meet the urgent demands of the War of Resistance.

The seventh characteristic is the Three People's Principles. The Three People's Principles are the political foundation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. They are the basis, not only for cooperation against Japan but also for cooperation to build the country. The nationalism of the Three People's Principles will lead this cooperation to strive for the liberation of the whole nation; their People's Rights will lead this cooperation to the establishment of a thoroughly democratic country; their people's livelihood is even more capable of leading this cooperation for a very long time. The political program and political thought of the Three People's Principles guarantee the lasting character of the united front.

The eighth characteristic is to be found in new international circumstances. The political and economic conditions in the world today are different from those in the first period of cooperation and in the period of civil war between the two parties. Today only some imperialist countries, such as Japan, Germany, and Italy, are against the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, and the Anti-Japanese National United Front. The other imperialist countries, because of the contradictions between them and Japan, are not at all opposed to our united front at present but, on the contrary, adopt an attitude of help and support.

All the progressive people in every country support and assist us, and the Soviet Union supports and assists us even more sincerely. This kind of new international environment has a great impact upon our long-term cooperation.

Only if we profoundly study and understand the above-mentioned characteristics can we adopt a proper attitude in politics, in policy, and in our work. We should not deal with political problems and problems in our work by treating the head when the head aches and treating the foot when the foot hurts. Instead we should solve the problems correctly on a scientific basis. Victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, and the strengthening and enlargement of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, requires this kind of scientific foundation.

22. The New Situation of the United Front

In the new period of the War of Resistance against Japan the Anti-Japanese National United Front must appear with a new look in order to deal with the new prospect of the war. This new look refers to the extensive development and high degree of consolidation of the united front. The lessons of uniting for the War of Resistance in the past fifteen months will make every party understand the necessity of this kind of development and consolidation. As regards development, it is to enlarge the organizations of all the parties and of the popular masses. As regards consolidation, it means that every party adopts new policies and new work to reduce the friction between one another, to achieve true and sincere unity, and to go together to the aid of the country. There are many difficulties in the new period of the Resistance War. Only if every party in the united front enlarges and develops its organization, and consolidates to a high degree its internal relationships as well as the relationships between different parties, will it be possible to carry out new political tasks, overcome new difficulties, and achieve the goal of stopping the enemy's offensive and preparing for our counteroffensive. This is the new situation of the united front in the new situation of the War of Resistance against Japan. Thanks to the joint efforts of every party, and the ardent support of the people of the whole country, it is absolutely possible that such a new situation will arise.

IV. The Current Urgent Task of the Whole Nation

According to the summary of the War of Resistance in the past and the predictions regarding the current War of Resistance and the new stage in the development of the united front, what should the current urgent tasks facing the whole nation be? How should they differ from those in the past?

The general tasks should be: persist in the War of Resistance and in the protracted war, consolidate and enlarge the united front in order to overcome the difficulties, stop the enemy's offensive, prepare forces, carry out our counteroffensive, and achieve our goal of ultimately driving the enemy out of our country.

To take them separately, there are the following concrete tasks. Every component in the organization of the Anti-Japanese National United Front should support the government, and, moreover, under the leadership of the government, mobilize the entire nation to carry them out. Communist Party members should become models in carrying out these tasks.

1. Highly Encourage National Self-Esteem and Self-Confidence, Persist in the Resistance War to the Very End. Overcome Pessimistic Sentiments, Oppose the Attempt at Compromise

We reckon that, under the new situation in the War of Resistance, there must be some people among whom, because of the losses of major big cities and communication lines, the financial and economic difficulties, and the delay in receiving international assistance, there arises and grows a pessimistic sentiment regarding the future of the War of Resistance. What is more, the Japanese bandits, Chinese traitors, and pro-Japanese elements will surely take advantage of this sentiment and spread the atmosphere of peace and compromise, attempting to shake our determination to resist. Therefore, the first task of the whole nation is to display national dignity and national self-confidence to a high degree, overcome the pessimistic sentiment among some of the people, resolutely support the government's policy of continuing the War of Resistance, oppose any attempts at surrender and compromise, and persist in the Resistance War to the very end. This task is more important than in any of the past periods.

For this aim, we must mobilize the newspapers, magazines, schools, propaganda organs, cultural and artistic societies, the political organs in the military, the popular masses, and all other possible forces to carry out extensive propaganda and agitation among the officers and soldiers at the front, the service troops in the rear, the people in the occupied territories, and the popular masses in the whole nation. We must firmly carry out this policy as planned, advocate a War of Resistance to the very end, oppose surrender and compromise, clean up pessimistic sentiments, repeatedly point out the possibility and certainty of a final victory, point out clearly that compromise means subjugation, but resistance is our only way out, and call on the entire nation to unite together, fearing neither difficulties nor death. We are determined to achieve freedom, we are determined to win victory, to achieve the objective of the pursuit of the War of Resistance by the whole nation, united as one.

For this purpose all the propaganda and agitation should deal with the following aspects. On the one hand, use the models already created and being created in the national revolution (heroic resistance, laying down one's life for the nation, [the Battle of] Pingxingguan, the Battle of Tai'erzhuang, the eight hundred brave soldiers, the progress of guerrilla warfare, generous donations, patriotism of the overseas Chinese, etc.), and make them known far and wide to the front and the

rear region, within the country and abroad. On the other, expose, clean up, and eliminate the negative characteristics which exist and grow within the national front (compromising tendencies, pessimistic sentiments, the phenomenon of corruption, etc.). On yet another hand, make public to the whole nation the specific examples of all the enemy's cruel and brutal behavior, denounce them to the whole world, to achieve the objective of raising the national consciousness and carrying forward national dignity and confidence. We must be aware that the deficiency of this kind of consciousness and self-confidence will greatly affect the primary task of overcoming the difficulties and preparing for a counteroffensive.

2. Support Chairman Chiang, Support the National Government, Support Cooperation Between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, Oppose Discord and Splits, Oppose Any Government of Chinese Traitors

In the new environment, the enemy's policy is sure to concentrate on opposing Chiang and opposing communism, setting up a nationwide government of Chinese traitors, attempting to overthrow Chairman Chiang and the National Government, and sabotaging the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party and national unity. To counter this policy of the enemy, the second task of the entire nation is to call on the whole country unanimously and truly to support Chairman Chiang, support the National Government, support the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, support national unity, oppose any of the deeds of the enemy that will hurt Chairman Chiang, the National Government, cooperation between the Guomidang and the Communist Party, or national unity. Oppose the rule of China by any government of Chinese traitors.

For this purpose, we must adjust the relationship between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, adjust the relationship between the center and the localities, adjust the relationships between different armies in the War of Resistance, and adjust the relationship between the government and the people. Among these relationships, we should encourage the spirit of justice and fair and mutual assistance and love, reduce friction and the phenomenon of disagreements, oppose the behavior of using difficulties to make trouble for the government. Call on the whole nation to pay serious attention to the instigation of discord among us by the enemy, Chinese traitors, and the pro-Japanese elements, and their plots and conspiracy to create complaints and disagreements and to encourage friction among us. We must make sure that the prestige of Chairman Chiang and the National Government is not affected, make sure that the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party and the unity of the entire country become closer day by day, set up a firm and strong center that will continue the resistance in a difficult environment to confront the enemy and the government of Chinese traitors, overcome difficulties, and prepare for the counteroffensive.

3. Increase the Fighting Capacity of the Main Forces, Defend Central China, South China, and the Northwest, and Stop the Enemy's Offensive

In order to counter the enemy's current attack on Wuhan and his attempt to continue to attack South China and the Northwest, the third task of the whole nation is to raise the fighting capacity of the main forces, reorganize the troops we now have, organize and add new troops, fight for the purpose of defending Central China, South China, and the Northwest, and stop the enemy's offensive. To achieve this goal, as regards China's main forces, they must first develop mobile warfare accompanied by necessary and possible positional defense, resist the enemy bit by bit, and drain the enemy's strength. Second, we must set up possible military factories in the rear area, and also increase our manufacturing capacity, to provide the front with weapons and ammunition. Third, we must conscientiously carry out in the military the political work of the national revolution, carry out education in politics, culture, and entertainment, and raise the brave and enduring fighting spirit of the whole army. Fourth, improve the lives of the soldiers on the basis of the present material conditions, set up economic committees in the companies, and let the soldiers manage the mess. Fifth, encourage self-discipline, eliminate the system of beating and cursing, and encourage friendship and unity between the officers and the soldiers to improve relations between the officers and the soldiers. Sixth, carry out fair trade, treat people politely, do not collect grain by force, do not force people to become porters or soldiers; instead, use the method of political mobilization to solve the problems of grain, porters, and new recruits, in order to improve relations between the army and the people. Seventh, between the different armies at the front, between the different armies at the front and in the rear, we should enhance the spirit of friendship and mutual assistance, help and collaborate with one another in wartime, inspect and learn from one another at work, eliminate such bad phenomena as looking on at one another and envying one another, in order to improve relations among different armies. Eighth, reorganize the troops we have now, reinforce them where there are vacancies; meanwhile, organize and add new troops and speed up education and training to help in the protracted war. Use all these methods to raise the fighting capacity of the principal forces, to fight for the defense of Central China, South China, and the Northwest, and to strive to stop the enemy's offensive and prepare for our counteroffensive.

4. Develop the Guerrilla Warfare Extensively in the Enemy's Rear, Establish and Consolidate Our Base Areas, Reduce the Enemy's Base Areas, and Cooperate in the Fighting of the Main Forces

In the light of the fact that the enemy's goal is to continue to attack us, while at certain times it will divert some of its troops to launch guerrilla attacks in an attempt

to strengthen its occupied territory, and make the Chinese counteroffensive very difficult, the fourth task of the whole nation is to develop guerrilla warfare in a broad area in the enemy's rear, to establish many base areas, and consolidate the existing bases; use them to restrict the area occupied by the enemy; at present, to fight together with the main forces to halt the enemy's advance, and in the future to fight to carry out the counteroffensive in coordination with the main forces. One of the important characteristics of the national War of Resistance against Japan in semicolonial China is the popularity and protractedness of guerrilla warfare. Without this kind of guerrilla warfare, we will not be able to pin down large numbers of the enemy's troops and forcefully assist the fighting of the main forces at the front to stop the enemy's offensive, nor will we be able to restrict the enemy's occupied territory within a certain region so that it cannot occupy the entire area completely. We will not be able to set up many anti-Japanese strongholds in the enemy's rear, persist in guerrilla warfare, and further cooperate with the counteroffensive of the main forces in the future. Hence, we must first develop guerrilla warfare broadly in all the areas in the enemy's rear, set up many base areas for guerrilla warfare, and strengthen those that have already been set up. Second, we must learn from the example in North China and leave behind or send enough regular troops to every strategic region in the enemy's rear, and use them as the backbone in sustaining long-term guerrilla warfare. These troops should gradually master the tactics of guerrilla warfare, strengthen the political work, develop the movements of the popular masses, and establish base areas. Furthermore, they should help the popular masses and guerrillas in the enemy's rear and gradually raise them to the path of the regular army and regular warfare. Third, every war zone and every rear area of the enemy must mobilize all the men and women and their enthusiasm in defending the nation and their native *xian.* Apart from mobilizing them in large numbers to join the guerrillas not participating in production, and to serve as reinforcements for the regular army units left behind in the enemy's rear, we should organize them into semimilitary people's anti-Japanese self-defense units. The people's anti-Japanese self-defense units should become the universal and regular militia system in every war zone and in the enemy's rear area. They are not withdrawn from production. Fourth, we must help the people to organize large numbers of guerrillas. These are withdrawn from production. Every *xian* and every district should have them, and they will become widespread small armies that make surprise attacks on the enemy and defend the locality. Fifth, we must set up political work in the guerrilla units and strengthen their political, cultural, and entertainment education to increase their fighting capacity. Sixth, we must set up correct military and political systems in the guerrilla units, carry out the policy of equal treatment for officers and soldiers, and of economic openness. Seventh, reform the bandit troops and let them join the anti-Japanese war; eliminate the bandits in the rear of our armies which are being used by the enemy. Eighth, the supply of arms and ammunition in the guerrilla war is a very important problem. On the one hand, in the great rear area we must try our best

to help [the guerrillas]; on the other hand, every base area for guerrilla warfare must try by every possible means to set up small military factories, to the point that they can make their own ammunition, rifles, and hand grenades, so that guerrilla warfare need not worry about the lack of arms and ammunition. Ninth, on the basis of the enemy's situation and our strategic requirements, divide up once again the war districts and political districts in the enemy's rear, so that they will suit the new war situations. Tenth, on the basis of the strategic requirements, we must unify the leadership of the various units and administrative areas in the enemy's rear, in order to concentrate the forces resisting the enemy, and eliminate internal contradictions; but at the same time, we should oppose the warlord behavior of mutual annexation.

5. Raise the Level of Military Technology, Set Up a Mechanized Corps, and Prepare Strength for the Counteroffensive

The main reason the enemy could gradually enter deep into our country with an army smaller than ours, apart from political causes on our side, is our technological backwardness. In light of the enemy's strength and our weakness [in this domain], the fifth task of the whole nation is to raise the level of our military technology, increase the number of planes, cannons, tanks, and so on, and the number of persons trained to use them, in order to prepare strength for the counteroffensive. For this purpose, we should, on the one hand, start this work now, using the productive capacity that we have now, and which we can increase in the future, beginning with partial manufacture and repairs, and doing this work conscientiously. On the other hand, try by every possible means to import weapons of a new type from foreign countries and to use them to improve gradually the equipment of the army and set up a real modern mechanized corps. Without any doubt, we should look at the problem from a realistic point of view. At present, the weapons that are actually in use are large numbers of primitive weapons. Consequently, we should call on all the troops and the armed people in the country to believe that primitive weapons can also defeat the enemy, enhance their political spirit, improve their tactics, and develop guerrilla warfare to compensate for the lack of new technology. If we do not work especially hard on this aspect, we will be neglecting the practical problem at present and will not be able to overcome the current difficulties. In the future, in preparing for the strategic counteroffensive, this cannot be done unless we raise the new technology and build new-type armies. We should be aware that, without a sufficient number of troops equipped with modern new technology, it is impossible to carry out the counteroffensive and regain our lost territory. Moreover, if we do not draw attention to this point and begin applying it seriously on a feasible scale, we will see only the present and forget the future, and will not be able to overcome the difficulties on our way to the future. In a country like China that is rich in manpower and material resources, provided only that the political conditions are improved,

and the method of mobilization is progressive, and there is help from foreign countries, it is never impossible to improve technological equipment gradually.

6. Carry Out Democratic Politics Under Centralized Leadership, Establish Close Relations Between the Government and the People, and Bring into Full Play the Utmost Capacity of the Anti-Japanese Political Régime

The enemy is taking advantage of our weakness, not only in military matters but also in the political domain; it is taking advantage of the fact that our political system has not been democratized, so that it cannot establish close links with the broad masses of the people. In order to remedy this weakness, the sixth task of the whole nation is to establish a democratic system under centralized leadership. If there is no progress in this respect, it will be impossible ultimately to achieve final victory over the Japanese bandits. Democratic politics is the locomotive that mobilizes all the vital forces of the nation. With this system, the enthusiasm of the people throughout the country for resisting Japan will be mobilized to an incalculable extent and will become an inexhaustible source of power. The completion of the great process of thorough unification and unity of our whole nation can take place only on the basis of the establishment of a democratic system. As regards this point, we should have plans based on the reality in every field. First, the meeting of the People's Political Council has already taken the first step toward democratization of the state. Afterward, we should guarantee that the work of this council will proceed openly and smoothly, and that all its resolutions and decisions will be carried out. In addition, on the basis of the scheme already approved by this council, we should conscientiously set up local political councils in every province and at all levels, to push forward democratic politics. Second, guarantee the full implementation of the people's freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and freedom of belief which are laid down in the Guiding Principles for the War of Resistance and Building the Country. This kind of freedom is within the sphere of the War of Resistance and Building the Country. Only if we fully guarantee this freedom will it contribute to bringing into play universally the forces for resisting Japan and building the country. The problem here is to assure the application of the laws and decrees of the central government in every locality without any arbitrary restrictions by the locality. The freedoms that should be restricted are only those which will harm the War of Resistance against Japan and the building of the country, for example, the freedom of the Chinese traitors and the pro-Japanese elements. The freedom of all others should not be restricted. Third, put into effect as many democratic systems as possible from the war zones and the enemy's rear. For instance, popularly elect the local governments at all levels before the appointment by the higher levels. Governments at every level in the war zones adopt the democratic centralized committee system. In addition, we should set up people's representative organs at all levels.

The governments in the war zone can add some necessary departments; change the form of government documents; eliminate embezzlers, the corrupt, and the incompetent; recruit activists in the War of Resistance against Japan; and reduce salaries and encourage simple livelihood, in order to adapt ourselves to the difficult, complex, and fluid environment in the war districts. Under the unified leadership of the central government, the local governments in the war zones have the right to issue special laws that apply only to the particular locality. All the male and female citizens in the war zones except the Chinese traitors have the right to vote and to be elected. They all have freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and freedom of armed resistance to Japan. All the anti-Japanese parties and factions in the war zones have open and legal status, and so on. In the war zones, especially in the enemy's rear, it is impossible to sustain the long and bitter War of Resistance against Japan without these political reforms. All the above methods are for the purpose of linking the government intimately with the people and increasing the strength of the government, so that it can play the greatest possible role in the War of Resistance against Japan. Without a doubt, all local governments in the country should be under the leadership of the central government. They should not show any sign of disrespect toward the central government because of the geographic separation of the administrative area by the enemy. The entire nation should carry out the democratic system according to the laws of the central government, and at the same time the entire nation should be unified around the central government.

7. Enlarge the Unified Movement of the Popular Masses, Make Every Effort to Assist the War

The seventh task of the whole nation is to enlarge all kinds of movements of the popular masses, unify them, and make every effort to assist the war. Everything in this long and difficult War of Resistance against Japan comes from the popular masses. Without a widely developed united nationwide movement of the popular masses, it is impossible to sustain the war for a long period. This is especially the case in the war zones and in the enemy's rear. Just now, the War of Resistance against Japan is meeting with new difficulties, and only by mobilizing the popular masses can we overcome these difficulties. In the whole country, particularly in the war zones and in the enemy's rear, we should speedily do the following. One, guarantee the freedom of all anti-Japanese organizations and movements of the popular masses, establish the legal position of movements of the popular masses. Two, give material help to the organizations of the popular masses, and respect their independence. Three, set up earnestly all kinds of national salvation leagues of workers, peasants, young people, women, merchants, professionals, intellectuals, and children which are participated in by the broad masses. Moreover, on the basis of region and profession, let them establish unified organizations. Four, mobilize the popular masses and let them take part actively all kinds of work in the

War of Resistance, actively assisting the government and the army. This is particularly urgent and cannot be delayed in the war zones.

8. Improve the Livelihood of the People, Stimulate the Enthusiasm of the People in the Resistance War and Production

In the past we were very weak in dealing with the problem of improving the livelihood of the popular masses, and consequently we were unable to stimulate the enthusiasm of the broad masses of the toiling people for the Resistance War and for production. This was extremely disadvantageous to perseverance in a protracted war. Therefore, in the future, the eighth task of the whole nation is to carry out the following policies, which are intended to improve the livelihood of the popular masses. First, give preferential treatment to the family members of the anti-Japanese soldiers and the disabled anti-Japanese soldiers. Second, assist the refugees from natural disaster and war, and the unemployed workers in the war zones. Third, start an appropriate campaign to reduce rent and interest in the war zones and in the enemy's rear. Fourth, redistribute grain and important daily necessities. Fifth, make an appropriate increase in wages, and improve the benefits of the workers and employees. Sixth, admit the right of the workers and peasants to collective contracts with their employers and landlords. Seventh, stop the abuse, beating, and cursing of the workers and apprentices by the employers, landlords, masters, and overseers. These preliminary improvements in their lives should definitely increase the support of the poor workers and peasants for the government and their enthusiasm for joining the war and for taking part in production. Not only will the mobilization and support for the war be greatly improved, but the quantity and quality of the industrial and agricultural production and the circulation of commerce will be greatly increased and raised, and the national financial budget will be satisfactorily resolved on the new agricultural, industrial, and commercial foundations.

9. Carry Out the New Wartime Financial and Economic Policies, Tide Over the Difficulty in the War

After the fall of the major big cities and lines of communication, there will necessarily be great difficulties for the national finances and economy. Without new and effective methods, we cannot pull through this difficult moment in the war. Nevertheless, provided that we carry out the new policy, and mobilize the strength of the people, we will be able to overcome any difficulties. Accordingly, the ninth task facing the whole nation is to carry out a new wartime financial and economic policy. Its main points are as follows. First, the purpose of the new policy is to guarantee all the necessary supplies for the anti-Japanese armed forces, meet the people's demand for daily necessities, and struggle against the enemy's economic blockade and economic sabotage. Second, reestablish national defense industries in the interior in a planned way, starting from the small-scale and most urgent

branches, and gradually developing and improving them, and drawing in the capital of the government, the people, and foreign countries. In addition, mobilize the workers politically, guarantee their minimum material benefits, and improve the system of factory management, so as to increase productivity. This is not only necessary but possible. Third, using a combination of political mobilization and government decrees, develop national agricultural and handicraft production, organize spring plowing and autumn harvest campaigns, and thus cause the national agriculture and handicraft to develop in a new guise. We should take care to protect agricultural tool, livestock, and handicraft workshops, and guarantee the economic self-sufficiency of the separated districts. Fourth, protect the free operation of private industrial and commercial enterprises, and at the same time pay attention to developing cooperative ventures. Fifth, on the basis of the principle of "those who have money give money," revise all the old taxes into a unified progressive tax and abolish the vexatious system of apportionment, in order to ease the burden on the people and increase the revenue. Sixth, using a combination of political mobilization and government decrees, collect [contributions to] national salvation bonds and public grain for national salvation. In addition, mobilize the people to donate funds and grain for the combat troops to complement their financial income. Seventh, fight in a planned way against the enemy's policy of issuing puppet currency and sabotaging the national currency; allow the separated districts to set up their local banks and issue local paper currency. Eighth, strenuously encourage the movement for honesty and cleanliness, revise the method for paying soldiers, and, on the basis of the minimum standard of living, establish a payment system which will be broadly egalitarian. Ninth, the national bank should start giving out low-interest loans to help develop the production and circulation of goods. Tenth, restore and develop the postal and communication services in the war zones. The above are only general indications. We must have the determination to reform the old system carefully and apply the new system, and persist in this. Only thus can we eliminate the new difficulties and sustain the protracted war. The heart of the matter lies in organizing the activism of the broad masses of the ordinary people and allowing them to contribute to the victory of the war. China's War of Resistance is proceeding under special circumstances. The major big cities and lines of communication have been occupied by the enemy, and the main support of the War of Resistance is the countryside and the peasants. The peasants have great strength to support the war, but we should carry out the necessary political and economic reforms. The various new policies we are talking about here are being proposed on the basis of this special situation.

10. Carry Out a Resistance War Education Policy, and Let Education Serve the Protracted War

Under the principle that everything serves the war, we should make all the cultural and educational institutions meet the demands of the war. Hence, the tenth task of the whole nation is to carry out the following cultural and educational policies.

First, revise the school system, eliminate courses that are neither urgent nor necessary, and change the system of management on the basis of the principle that teaching should focus on the courses that are needed in the war, and bring into play the students' enthusiasm in their study. Second, establish, enlarge, and strengthen all kinds of cadre schools to train large numbers of anti-Japanese cadres. Third, extensively develop education for the popular masses, organize a variety of continuation schools, literacy campaigns, drama campaigns, singing campaigns, and sports campaigns. Publish all kinds of popular local newspapers at the front and in the enemy's rear, to raise the national culture and national consciousness of the people. Fourth, organize free primary education, in order to educate the next generation in our national spirit. All the above should be carried out through a combination of political mobilization and government decrees. The emphasis should be on mobilizing the people to educate themselves, but the government should give proper guidance, regulation, and possible material assistance. It is far from sufficient to fulfill the great task of raising the national culture and national conscientiousness simply to depend on a few schools and newspapers run by the government with a limited budget. Ever since the War of Resistance began, the educational system has been undergoing changes. Especially in the war zones, striking progress has been made. In spite of that, there have still been no changes in the overall system adequate to the demands of the War of Resistance. This is not a good thing. The great War of Resistance must be accompanied by a great Resistance War education movement. The phenomenon of a lack of cooperation between the two must be eliminated as soon as possible.

11. Strive to Obtain International Assistance, Concentrate All Our Strength to Fight Against Japanese Imperialism

Starting from the principles of protracted war and concentrating all our strength to fight against Japanese imperialism, we cannot neglect organizing all possible foreign aid. Therefore, the eleventh task at present is as follows. First, resolutely oppose the views of some people who advocate the so-called policy of following the German and Italian line, for this is in fact a kind of procedure for preparing to surrender to the enemy. Second, strive to increase the material assistance to us from the democratic countries and the Soviet Union, and at the same time do our utmost to induce all the countries in the League of Nations to approve the resolution imposing sanctions against Japan. Third, set up certain agencies to collect systematically information regarding the atrocities of the enemy armies, prepare specific documents and reports, and publicize them abroad to arouse the attention of the whole world, and induce them to take action to punish the Japanese fascists. Fourth, select representatives from all the parties, factions, and popular bodies, organize them into international propaganda groups, and let them travel from country to country to arouse the sympathy of the people and governments of every country, and induce them to cooperate with the diplomatic activities of our government. Fifth, protect all those foreigners in China whose countries are sympathetic to us, and their peaceful business and missionary activities. Sixth, take care to protect the interests of the overseas Chinese, and, moreover, through the efforts of the overseas Chinese, push forward in every country the movement to oppose Japan and aid China. We must do all these things energetically, regardless of the level of assistance from these countries, of whether it may temporarily not have increased or even have partially decreased, or of whether the resolution of the League of Nations remains just a few good-sounding words. In accordance with the long-term nature of the War of Resistance, our foreign policy orientation should also be focused on the long term, emphasizing not our immediate interests, but assistance in the future. Such a far-sighted view is essential.

12. Establish an Anti-Invasion United Front of the Chinese and Japanese Soldiers and People, and of the Oppressed Nations in Korea, Taiwan, and Elsewhere, to Fight Together Against Japanese Imperialism

The war of aggression by Japanese imperialism does not threaten only the Chinese people. At the same time, it threatens all the soldiers and people of Japan and the oppressed nations of Korea and Taiwan. If we want to cause the Japanese invasion to fail, the broad masses of soldiers and people of the two great nations of China and Japan and the oppressed nations of Korea and Taiwan should undertake vast and persistent common efforts, and establish a joint anti-invasion united front. In pursuit of this objective, the twelfth task facing the whole nation is as follows. First, put forward this orientation of an anti-invasion united front to the great masses of people and soldiers in the two countries, and the nations of Korea and Taiwan, and call on them to struggle for it. Second, the government should issue an order to the effect that all the officers and soldiers in the anti-Japanese armies and the anti-Japanese guerrilla units should learn the necessary number of appropriate Japanese words. Senior political departments should prepare and send out Japanese teachers to different armies to teach, start from a few words to being able to lecture the Japanese officers and soldiers on some principles. Teach all the anti-Japanese officers and soldiers to make oral propaganda to all the enemy soldiers and junior officers, supplemented by propaganda through writing and pictures. Gradually help them to change by persuasion, make them agree to setting up a joint anti-invasion united front, turn the million-strong Japanese invading army into an army friendly to us, which will withdraw from China and overthrow Japanese fascism. Third, respect and give preferential treatment to enemy captives, educate them, through them influence the others to work hard for the establishment of an anti-invasion united front. Fourth, find a way to organize anti-invasion cultural workers within Japan to come to China and join this struggle. Fifth, protect the honest Japanese residents in China. Sixth, teach the great masses of soldiers and people. On the one hand, we should raise our national dignity. On the

other hand, we should correct some of the wrong ideas in the army as well as among the people, distinguish Japanese imperialism from the Japanese people, distinguish enemy officers from the soldiers, and also distinguish the senior officers from the junior officers. After we have carried out the above orientation and methods, and made extensive and resolute efforts, this anti-invasion united front can be established. China's victory will depend mainly on the increase in its own strength; but, at the same time, the enemy's difficulties and international assistance must be obtained to supplement this. As regards the enemy's difficulties, apart from the gradual drain resulting from our persistence in the protracted war, and the gradual isolation of the enemy resulting from our strenuous diplomatic activity, the policy of building a joint anti-invasion united front with the Japanese soldiers and people and the nations of Korea and Taiwan is a part that cannot be omitted. The longer the Japanese war of aggression lasts, the more likely there will be a foundation to set up such a united front.

13. Unite All China's Nationalities, Stand Together Against Japan

Our Anti-Japanese National United Front does not consist only of all the parties and factions and all the classes in the country; it also includes all the nationalities in the country. In response to the enemy's conspiracy to split all the minority nationalities in our country, which has already been carried out and will continue to be carried out, the thirteenth task at the moment is to unite all the nationalities as one and resist the Japanese bandits together. For this purpose, we must pay attention to the following points. First, give the Meng [Mongolian], Hui [Muslim], Zang [Tibetan], Miao, Yao, Yi, Fan, and all the other nationalities equal rights with the Han. Under the principle of joint resistance to Japan, they have the right to manage their own affairs, while at the same time uniting with the Han to establish a unified state. Second, in the regions where various minority nationalities live together with the Han, the local governments should set up committees made up of members of the local minority nationalities as one department of the provincial and *xian* governments. These committees manage the affairs concerning them, mediate in relations among different nationalities, and have some seats in the provincial and *xian* governments. Third, respect the culture, religion, and customs of all the minority nationalities. Not only should we not force them to learn to read and write Chinese, but we should support and assist them in developing their own culture and education in their own languages and using their own form of writing. Fourth, correct the existing Han chauvinism, and encourage the Han to deal with the other nationalities on an equal basis, so that all the nationalities will daily become more friendly and intimate with one another. At the same time, forbid any insulting and contemptuous language, literature, and behavior directed at them. As regards the above policy, on the one hand, the various minority nationalities should unite among themselves and strive to bring about its realization, and, on

the other hand, the government should spontaneously carry it out. Only thus can the relations among all the nationalities in the country be thoroughly improved, and the goal of uniting to fight against the intruders be truly achieved. The old hesitant and slow method will not work.

14. Rigorously Carry Out the Campaign Against Traitors, Strengthen Both the Front and the Rear

In the new situation, Chinese traitors, enemy spies, Trotskyites, and pro-Japanese elements will surely be even more rampant than before and carry out their conspiracies of spreading rumors, insults, division, and sabotage. Hence the fourteenth task at present lies in applying the following methods to carry out resolutely the campaign against traitors. First, arouse the vigilance of all the soldiers and people at the front as well as in the rear, and watch closely the activities of Chinese traitors, enemy spies, Trotskyites, and pro-Japanese elements. In accordance with the laws of the government, execute them without the slightest mercy. Second, be careful to protect state secrets. Execute for high treason those renegades who leak state secrets. Third, add a chapter on treason to the school textbooks, carry out the education to raise the level of vigilance. Fourth, set up counterespionage departments at all levels to manage the work of counterespionage in the military; set up counterespionage small groups in the organizations of the popular masses and in the people's self-defense teams. Emphasize education in counterespionage among the national police forces so that, under the close watch of the people, these traitors and spies have nowhere to hide. Ever since the War of Resistance began, we have suffered countless losses because of these traitors and spies. The generals and soldiers at the front are amazed at the large number of Chinese traitors and the magnitude of the losses caused by them to the war effort and long ago unanimously demanded such a policy. Even in the rear, the leaking of national secrets and guiding in of the cruel bombardments by enemy planes have already aroused the anger and hatred of Heaven and man. If the traitors and spies are not eliminated in a protracted War of Resistance, we can hardly expect this war to be victorious. To mobilize the national revolutionary vigilance of the broad popular masses, forcefully carry out the above methods for combating treason, and turn it into a vast campaign is a serious task that is indispensable in gaining final victory. We should point out: the campaign against traitors must take care to distinguish the ringleader from the subordinate, the conscious participant from one who has been deceived, and those who are resolute from those who are wavering. They should be treated differently, the former more severely, the latter let off more lightly. In addition, we should pay attention to winning the latter over and persuading them to turn toward the good. We must absolutely not treat everyone in the same way. We must also pay attention to the reliability of the evidence, not make use of inquisition by torture, and be strictly on guard against framing a case against anyone. The goal of the campaign against

traitors is to eliminate the real traitors and spies, and this goal can be attained only through correct policies and methods.

15. Develop the Guomindang and the Communist Party, as Well as All Anti-Japanese Parties; Strengthen the United Front, and Support a Protracted War

All the urgent tasks dealt with above require that the various parties belonging to the Anti-Japanese National United Front propel the whole nation forward, to carry them out resolutely under the unified leadership of Chairman Chiang. It is impossible to attain this goal without developing the organizational capacity of all the parties participating in the united front. The present force of all parties without exception is too small, and to develop greatly the Guomindang and the Communist Party in particular is an urgent task at present. In this task of development, every party should support and assist the development of the other parties, instead of envying one another and obstructing one another. We must be aware that so long as it is an anti-Japanese party, the development of any party will benefit the War of Resistance against Japan. Without a doubt, the Guomindang and the Communist Party constitute the basis of the united front, and, of these two parties, the Guomindang is the backbone. We recognize this fact. Therefore, we firmly support Chairman Chiang and the National Government and Guomindang under his leadership. Moreover, we call on the whole nation to give him their unanimous support. To recognize and support this backbone but, at the same time, to develop every party are related and not conflicting policies.

In terms of the number, I think that the Guomindang should expand to over five million, while the Communist Party plus the other parties should expand to over one million. In a great nation with a population of 450 million people, during the great period of the War of Resistance, it is not only necessary but entirely possible to attract several million outstanding elements to join these anti-Japanese parties. If this really happens, the Anti-Japanese National United Front will be expanded, and as a result will be further consolidated, and there will be ample guarantees for carrying out all the tasks to defeat the enemy. We will not need to worry any more about achieving the fundamental objective of sustaining the protracted war and long-term cooperation, to expel the Japanese invaders and build a new China of the Three People's Principles.

V. The Protracted War and Long-Term Cooperation

Let us now focus on the question of the long-term characteristics of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, and give those who are especially concerned about relations between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, and who have already have had many questions, a complete answer. This has great significance in terms of strengthening and enlarging the Anti-Japanese National United Front,

strengthening and expanding cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, carrying out smoothly the current urgent tasks, and tiding over a difficult moment in the war.

This problem includes the following points: the protractedness of the war determines the protractedness of cooperation; cooperation during the war determines cooperation after the war; the contents and major conditions of long-term cooperation; the Three People's Principles and communism; the organizational form of long-term cooperation; the policy of mutual assistance and mutual accommodation in long-term cooperation; and the problem of a democratic republic. All these are questions that many people are concerned about, and we must give explicit answers to all of them.

1. The Protracted Character of the War Determines the Protracted Character of Cooperation

Because the War of Resistance against Japan is protracted, the entire Anti-Japanese National United Front can and must be long-lasting. In this process, cooperation between the two major parties—the Guomindang and the Communist Party—also can and must be long-term. This is the starting point for all our policies. Therefore, whatever happens, our policy is to demand a long-term national united front and long-term cooperation. Whatever happens, we demand unanimous support for a unified government and oppose discord and division. Only such policies will help us pull through the difficulties of the war, face up to the enemy's sabotage, beat back Japanese imperialism, and, finally, after the war is over, carry out the task of building a new China. This is fundamentally different from the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party from 1924 to 1927. At that time, it was short-term cooperation; this time it is long-term cooperation.

2. Cooperation During the War Determines Cooperation After the War

What we call long-term cooperation means cooperation not only during the war but also after the war. The War of Resistance against Japan is protracted, and the cooperation during the war can already be described as long-term. Yet it is not enough that we hope to continue this cooperation; we definitely must continue this cooperation. What guarantees do we have? The guarantee is that cooperation during the war determines cooperation after the war. The major parties in the anti-Japanese united front—the Guomindang and the Communist Party—must share the difficulties as well as a common fate and strive to make progress. Moreover, only after long-term efforts can they defeat Japanese imperialism; otherwise they cannot. When the war is over, these two parties that have shared adversities and made progress together will have a basis for continued cooperation. It can already

be predicted that domestic and international conditions then will be more favorable for cooperation. Without a doubt, cooperation during the war must have different contents at different periods, and cooperation after the war will have even more new contents. But the cooperation during the war will determine that they can cooperate after the war. This is not a groundless prediction.

3. The Content and Major Conditions for Long-Term Cooperation

So-called long-term cooperation means the long-term national united front. Every class, from capitalists to workers, every political party, from the Guomindang to the Communist Party, every nationality, from the Han nationality to the small nationalities like the Miao and Yao, every army, from the Central Army to the Eighth Route Army, every government, from the National Government to the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Government—with the sole exception of the national traitors—all of these are included and, moreover, are always included. In the national united front during the protracted war, some people certainly cannot survive the hard struggle, and when personal interest surpasses the national interest they will become national traitors. Thus the national united front must continuously exclude these national traitors. Yet, after the exclusion of these, it still remains the national united front. The reason lies in the major conditions of long-term cooperation and in the first instance in the barbarism and protracted character of the war. Because the barbarism of the enemy's war gravely threatens the survival of every class of the whole nation, this forces the upper classes to resist Japan together with the other classes. It is inevitable that some among the upper class will withdraw from the anti-Japanese front, but broadly speaking, the remainder of the upper class are oppressed and have no way out but to revolt. Besides, because this barbaric war is long, it determines that cooperation will also be long-term. These facts constitute one aspect that determines the long-term cooperation. Yet there is a second aspect, which requires all the parties to the cooperation, first of all, the Guomindang and the Communists Party, to adopt correct policies and conduct necessary work. What kind of policies and work? They should be the policies and work that are decided and carried out on the basis of the long-term war and long-term cooperation. They should be the policies and work that take account of the present as well as the future, take account of this class as well as that class, take account of this party as well as that party, take account of this army as well as that army, take account of this nationality as well as that nationality. Otherwise, the policies are wrong, and the work is poorly done, everything is in a mess from within the united front itself, and the cooperation will not last long. So, on the one hand, the barbarism and long-term character of the enemy's war and, on the other hand, the correct policies and necessary work in the united front will ensure that the Chinese national united front not only should be, but also can be long-term. It is a national front and not a people's front. It includes cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party during and after the war, instead of cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party that is expected to split and lead to a civil war after this war is over.

4. The Three People's Principles and Communism

The Three People's Principles are the political foundation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and of the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party. But what is the relationship between the Three People's Principles and communism? What kind of attitude should Communist Party members adopt toward the Three People's Principles? Even down to the present day, some people are still not clear about this, so it is necessary to explain the matter once again.

Already in May 1936 at our Party's provisional congress we adopted the following outline on "resolutely carrying out the Three People's Principles":[12]

> Does the Communist Party agree with the Three People's Principles? Our answer is: "Yes, we do." The Three People's Principles have undergone changes in the course of their history. The revolutionary Three People's Principles of Mr. Sun Yatsen won the people's confidence and launched the great victorious revolution of 1924–1927 because they were resolutely applied as a result of cooperation with the Communist Party. On the other hand, as a result of turning on the Communist Party (during the party purge) and pursuing an opposite policy, the people's confidence was lost, the revolution was defeated. . . . Now that there are extremely grave national and social crises . . . , the people of the whole country and the patriots within the Guomindang are urgently demanding cooperation between the two parties. Consequently, it is completely in keeping with the historical requirements of the Chinese revolution that the essence of the Three People's Principles should be revived and restored; that the two parties should resume their cooperation, in accordance with the principle of Nationalism, or the struggle for national independence and liberation in dealing with foreign countries, the principle of People's Rights, or the attainment of internal democracy and freedom, and the principle of People's Livelihood, or the promotion of the people's welfare, and that they should lead the people to put these principles resolutely into practice. This ought to be clearly grasped by every member of the Communist Party. Communists will never abandon their ideal of socialism and communism, which they will attain by going through the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Communist Party has its own party and political program. Its party program is one of socialism and communism, which is different from the Three People's Principles. Even its democratic revolutionary political program is more thorough that that of any other party in China, although it is basically not in conflict with the Three People's

12. The reference is to point 11 of Mao's "Outline of a Political Report at the Party Congress of the Soviet Regions," entitled "The Tasks of the Chinese National United Front Against Japan at the Present Stage," delivered not in May 1936 but on May 3, 1937. We reproduce the relevant passages from Volume V, pp. 644–45, as Mao delivered them at that time, indicating omissions by ellipses. For the variants between this text and the revised version which appears in the *Selected Works*, see the full text in Volume V.

> Principles as proclaimed by the Guomindang at its first and second congresses. Therefore, far from rejecting the Three People's Principles, we are ready staunchly to put them into practice; moreover, we ask the Guomindang to implement them together with us, and we call upon the entire nation to put them into effect, so that the Guomindang, the Communist Party, and the people of the whole country shall unite and fight for these three great objectives of national independence, people's rights and freedom, and the livelihood and happiness of the people. ("The Tasks of the Chinese National United Front Against Japan at the Present Stage," p. 11)[13]

On September 22 last year, in the declaration of the establishment of cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party by our Party's Central Committee, we stressed: "Mr. Sun Yatsen's Three People's Principles being what China needs today, our Party is ready to fight for their complete realization."[14]

Why does a Communist political party adopt such an attitude? Clearly, national independence, democratic freedom, and the happiness of people's livelihood are precisely the general objectives the Communist Party wants to realize in the national-democratic stage of the revolution. They are also the general objectives the people of the whole country want to realize instead of the things that are demanded by a certain party alone. If you will just have a look at the documents and political guiding principles of the Communist Party since its foundation, you will understand this. Therefore, in the past, not just during the first cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party from 1924 to 1927, our Communist Party resolutely carried out the Three People's Principles. Even after the unfortunate breakup of the cooperation between the two parties in 1927, none of our deeds violated the Three People's Principles. At that time, we were firmly opposed to imperialism, and this was in conformity with nationalism; we carried out the political system of people's representative congresses, and this corresponded to democracy; we also applied the agrarian system of land to the tillers, which fitted in with the people's livelihood. At that time, none of our actions went beyond the fundamental concept of private ownership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In order to carry out thoroughly this task of the democratic stage, all Communist Party members should, without the slightest doubt, in accordance with their own consistent revolutionary general principles, and their own resolutions and declarations, earnestly and sincerely carry out the Three People's Principles, together with the Chinese Guomindang, the other parties in the country, and all the

13. As can be seen from the previous note, the title of Mao's report of May 3, 1937, is given correctly here, but the reference at the end should be to section 11, not page 11.

14. The declaration in question was, in fact, drafted by the Chinese Communist Party on July 4, 1937. September 22 is the date on which the Guomindang finally agreed to publish it. The next day, Chiang Kaishek made a statement recognizing the legal status of the Chinese Communist Party. The appearance of these two documents marked the formal beginning of Guomindang-Communist collaboration. The text of the Communist statement can be found in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung,* Vol. 3 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 147, where it is quoted in an editorial written by Mao dated October 5, 1943.

people of the country. Whoever does not loyally believe in and carry out the Three People's Principles is saying one thing and meaning another, or thinking in one way and behaving in another, and is not a loyal Marxist. In China, all loyal Marxists have at the same time the two responsibilities of current practical tasks and great future ideals. Furthermore, we must be aware that only when the present assignments are fulfilled as thoroughly as possible will we have the basis and foundation for developing into the future period of great ideals. The so-called great future ideals refer to communism, which is the perfect social system for mankind. Mr. Sun Yatsen once believed that only when it was realized could the social problems of the future be resolved. "Present practical tasks" refers to the Three People's Principles. This is the basic task in the current stage of "seeking equal international status, equal political status, and equal economic status." It is the common demand of the Guomindang, the Communist Party, and the people of the whole country. Therefore, just as they study communism, Communist Party members should carefully study the Three People's Principles. They should study the theory of the Three People's Principles from a Marxist perspective, study how the Three People's Principles can be concretely applied, study how to use the authentic ideas of the Three People's Principles to teach the popular masses about the Three People's Principles, teach them so that they will proceed from understanding to active application, and struggle hard to defeat Japanese imperialism and build a new China of the Three People's Principles.

5. The Organizational Form of Long-Term Cooperation

To guarantee long-term cooperation, we must also solve the problem of the organizational form of the cooperation. We have already refuted the doctrine of a single party. No matter whether in terms of past history, the present tasks, or the nature of Chinese society, the doctrine of a single party is groundless. It can never be carried out and will not work. It violates the great objective of uniting as one to resist Japan and build the country; it produces much harm but no benefit. Well, then, does the coexistence of all the parties and their mutual union in an Anti-Japanese National United Front require a kind of common organization? Yes, it does. The absence of such a unified common organization will be disadvantageous to resistance against Japan, and even more disadvantageous to long-term cooperation. Hence every party should study it carefully and find a unified common organizational form that best fits in with long-term cooperation. Let us now consider this.

Because of the historic peculiarities of Chinese politics and economics, as well as of the various parties, it appears from today's perspective that the Anti-Japanese National United Front may have the following three organizational forms.

In the first kind, the Guomindang itself becomes a national league. Every party joins the Guomindang, while maintaining its independence, but this is different from the first cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party. If the Guomindang agrees that Communists can join it, what should be our attitude?

First, we approve of this method because it is one of the best unified organizational forms of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and will benefit resistance to Japan and the building of the country. Not only the Communist Party but also any other anti-Japanese party or faction can join the Guomindang. If the Guomindang approves, we will certainly never object. If the matter is handled in this way, we may adopt a method different from that in the cooperation in the year 13 [of the Republic]. To begin with, all those Communist Party members who join the Guomindang should do so openly, and a list of their names should be handed over to the leading organs of the Guomindang. Second, do not accept any Guomindang members into the Communist Party. If there are some people who want to join, they should be persuaded not to do so, taking into account the situation as a whole. Third, if our young Party members are allowed to join the Three People's Principles Youth League with the approval of the Guomindang, we would do the same thing, not organizing secret groups in the league, and not admitting nonmembers of the Communist Party into our Party. With this method, everybody will live in peace, and this will be beneficial rather than harmful. This is the first kind of organizational form of the united front.

The second kind of organizational form of the united front is that all the parties together organize a national union and support Mr. Chiang Kaishek as the supreme leader of this union. Every party will send its representatives on a basis of equality to form central as well as various local joint committees to work hard to carry out the common guiding principles and deal with matters of common interest. This is another very good organizational form, which we approve. We proposed it long ago, but unfortunately it has not been adopted.

The third kind of organizational form of the united front is the present method. There are no written regulations, nothing is fixed, but when something occurs the parties discuss it together to solve the problems concerning them both. But this form of organization is not sufficiently close, and many problems cannot be properly and promptly solved. For instance, the application of many overall political policies and the adjustment of friction at the lower levels are all delayed because there is no fixed organization, so these problems persist. Hence this method is not advantageous for long-term cooperation. Nevertheless, if the first and second methods are impossible, this method will have to be continued temporarily.

In sum, the problem of the form of organization for long-term cooperation during the protracted war is an important issue. We strongly support a kind of unified form so that it will benefit long-term cooperation.

6. The Policy of Mutual Assistance and Mutual Accommodation in Long-Term Cooperation

We have said already that a protracted war requires a long-term united front. This is the starting point for all our policies. Consequently, in their work, and in their relations with allied parties, Communist Party members should pay attention everywhere and at all times to this long-term characteristic. They should resolutely and bravely perform all work which will benefit long-term cooperation and absolutely never do anything which will harm long-term cooperation.

Here there arises the problem of mutual assistance and mutual accommodation among different parties. As regards mutual assistance, for example, every party wants to develop and be strengthened, but apart from developing and strengthening itself, every party should support and assist the development and strengthening of its allied parties. What kind of attitude should Communist Party members adopt toward the development and strengthening of the Guomindang? In a word, to support and assist. The reasons are that the development and strengthening of the Guomindang will benefit the War of Resistance against Japan, benefit the whole nation, and consequently benefit the toiling people and the Communist Party as well, as I have already said. Now that the Guomindang is organizing the Three People's Principles Youth League, what attitude should Communists take toward this? Without a doubt, we will adopt the attitude of support and assistance. We hope that the Three People's Principles Youth League will develop extensively on the basis of Mr. Chiang Kaishek's declaration about it, and that the development of this league will have a bright future. Precisely because of [our] support and assistance, we hope that there will be some revision and adjustment regarding certain articles in its present rules. Otherwise good motives will not necessarily lead to good results. The Three People's Principles Youth League should become a unified organization for all the masses of young people throughout the country to unite in and save the country. It should absorb individual young people and youth groups of every party, every faction, and every sphere, so that it becomes a vast body in which the entire younger generation will receive education and training for the national revolution. Therefore, organizationally it should be democratized, politically it should bring into play the spontaneous and conscious spirit of the league members, bring into play the initiative of the masses of young people. This is our attitude toward and understanding of the Three People's Principles Youth League.

Mutual assistance is not mutual harm. Hurting others to benefit oneself is wrong in terms of individual morality, and even more wrong in terms of national morality. Therefore, unreasonable friction, even going so far as to seize and kill people, is absolutely wrong under any circumstances. Communist Party members must absolutely never treat our allied parties in this way. Moreover, if our allied parties treat us like this, we will never remain silent. It is only right and fair to oneself as well as to others if a serious attitude is adopted in dealing with irrational actions. To point out one another's mistakes is virtue between friends, and it is also the style that should be encouraged between political parties.

Are there any mutual accommodations in the united front? Yes, there are. We once made some political concessions, that is, we stopped confiscating the land, reorganized the Red Army, changed the system in the soviet areas. These were a kind of political concessions, a necessary step in order to set up the united front

and to unite all the people to fight against the enemy together. Our allied parties made some concessions, too, such as recognizing the legitimate status of the Communist Party and so on. This kind of policy of mutual accommodation for the purpose of united resistance to Japan and long-term cooperation is very good and very correct. Only those who are politically muddle-headed or people with something else in their minds could say the Communist Party surrendered to the Guomindang or vice versa.

Now we also advocate that all the parties in the united front will not recruit party members, organize branches, or conduct secret activities in the other parties. We consider that such a policy is necessary. Naturally it is different now from the past. Previously, in the period of civil war, apart from the open war between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, they both used secret means to conduct activities to sabotage each other. After the establishment of cooperation, there certainly should not be any motives or actions for sabotaging each other, but the method of secretly recruiting party members and organizing branches in the other's party must also be terminated, in order to reassure both sides. Only this is compatible with the goal of long-term cooperation in a protracted war. Now we formally declare to our comrades of the Guomindang: we will halt all activity to recruit party members and organize branches in your party, and we will continue this policy no matter what kind of common organizational forms the united front may take. But meanwhile, we hope that you will do the same. After the two sides have come to an agreement, if any lower-ranking party members violate it, the leading institutions of the violator are responsible for dealing with the matter.

Apart from this, in communications between the comrades from the two sides, they should adopt the attitudes of modesty, respect, and discussion instead of arrogance, contempt, and arbitrary action to improve bilateral relations. This is also necessary.

Communist Party members should be the first to carry out all these things which we have said. Even though some people on the other side may not have treated us in accordance with the same policy, methods, and attitude, we will proceed with our policy. After we have done so for some time, those on the other side who fail to understand for a time will be able to see.

Communist Party members should persist in their stands regarding all the causes on behalf of the country and the people. From beginning to end, they should walk consistently in the direction of defeating the Japanese bandits and building a new China. Whoever violates this stand, this orientation, no longer qualifies as a Communist Party member. But Communist Party members must also have the spirit of mutual assistance and mutual accommodation; they must have the spirit of respecting our allied parties and solving problems with the comrades of our allied parties by negotiating with a modest and amiable attitude. Wherever there are comrades of our allied parties, we should solve the relevant problems through negotiations with them, instead of being arbitrary and dictatorial. Without this spirit, we will not be able to strengthen unity and solidarity, nor will it be possible

to achieve the so-called cause of the country and the people and the objective of defeating the Japanese invaders and building a new China. Consequently, we should never regard the necessary policy of mutual accommodation as negative behavior. Not only is mutual assistance positive, but mutual accommodation is positive as well, for necessary accommodation is the indispensable condition for strengthening the cooperation between the two parties and seeking better unity and greater progress.

7. The Question of a Democratic Republic

Although our Party published the resolution on founding a democratic republic as early as September 1936, and although the comrades of the Central Committee have repeatedly explained this matter, many people outside our Party still do not understand our proposal. This is a question related to the future of the War of Resistance. What will be the outcome of the War of Resistance? In the last analysis, what does the so-called War of Resistance and building the nation mean in the view of the Communist Party? What kind of country do we want to build? This is a real question. To explain it again will help to strengthen the confidence of all the parties and factions in long-term cooperation.

What kind of country do we want to build? To answer in a single sentence, we want to build a republic of the Three People's Principles.

What we call a democratic republic is actually a republic of the Three People's Principles; its nature is that of the Three People's Principles. According to Mr. Sun Yatsen's formulation, it is a country "that seeks equal international status, equal political status, and equal economic status." First, this country is a nationalist country. It is an independent country, which will not tolerate any foreign interference and, at the same time, will not interfere in any foreign countries. That is to say that China's original semicolonial status will be changed, and it will become independent. At the same time, no matter how strong and prosperous it has become, it will never become imperialist, but it will have peaceful relations in a spirit of equality with all the friendly countries that respect the independence of China, on a basis of coexistence and mutual benefit. As regards the nationalities within the country, it will give them equal rights and set up a unified government based on the principle of voluntariness. Second, this country is a country of people's rights.[15] All the people in the country have equal political status; all the government officials and civil servants are elected by the people. The political system is one of democratic centralism. A national assembly and local assemblies made up of the people's representatives will be established. Regardless of class, sex, nationality, belief, and cultural level, all citizens over eighteen except criminals have the right to vote and to stand for election. The state gives the people freedom of speech, publica-

15. Mao here uses Sun Yatsen's term of *minquan* ("people's rights"), which can equally well be translated "democracy" or "democratic."

tion, assembly, association, belief, residence, and migration, and further protects them politically and materially. Third, this is a country of people's livelihood. It does not deny private ownership. Yet it guarantees that workers have jobs and their working conditions are improved; peasants have land, and heavy taxes and high rent and interest rates are abolished; students can go to schools, and the poor people will have a chance to receive education; all the other classes have work to do, so they will be able to show their talents. In a word, the state will see to it that everybody has clothing, food, a chance to receive education, and work. What we call a democratic republic is such a country, a genuine Republic of China of the Three People's Principles. It is not a soviet, nor is it socialism.

Against whom must we struggle if China wants to become such a country? We must struggle against Japanese imperialism. Japanese imperialism has deprived us of our independence, and we must demand our independence from it. Japanese imperialism treats us as slaves, and we must demand freedom from it. Japanese imperialism makes us suffer from hunger and cold, and we must demand food from it. How shall we make these demands? Use guns against them. In short, when we have driven out Japanese imperialism, we will have an independent, free, happy new Republic of China of the Three People's Principles.

VI. China's War to Resist Invasion and the World Antifascist Movement

1. China and the World Cannot Be Separated

China is already closely united with the world. The Sino-Japanese war is one part of the world war, and the victory of the Chinese War of Resistance against Japan cannot be considered independently, apart from the world. In the new situation of the War of Resistance, it is possible that part of foreign assistance may be temporarily reduced. This increases the significance of Chinese self-reliance. At all times China must depend primarily on self-reliance. But China is not and never can become isolated. The fact that China is intimately linked with the world is also our standpoint, and it must be our standpoint. We are not and never can be isolationists. China could not have been isolated a long time ago, and now that a worldwide imperialism has intervened in China by war, all the people of China are concerned about the relationships between the world and China. They are particularly concerned about the changes in the situation in Europe. Therefore, it is quite meaningful for us to analyze the current international situation.

2. The Second World War to Redivide the World Has Already Begun

The nature of capitalist imperialism is not only in contradiction with the broad masses of the people in their own countries, but is in contradiction with the colonies and semicolonies and with the socialist countries, and, moreover, there are

contradictions between the various imperialist countries themselves. The most acute expression of this last type of contradictions in history was the world war twenty years ago. The consequence of that war between two groups of imperialist countries was the birth of a new international situation. As a result of the new political and economic developments in the world after that war, the world has been brought again to the brink of a new great war. After the invasion of the Four Eastern Provinces by the Japanese bandits in the East, and Hitler's rise to power in the West, a new war to redivide the world has already begun. The slogan "Fascism means war" is absolutely correct. Under these circumstances, on the one hand, Japan, Germany, and Italy have set up an invasion front, carrying out invasions on a large scale. On the other hand, the democratic countries are preparing for a war in the name of peace to protect the advantages they have already obtained, but as yet they have not been willing to use force to stop the invaders. In particular, the appeasement policy of Great Britain has helped the invaders. Under these circumstances, China's Four Eastern Provinces were first sacrificed, then Abyssinia was conquered by Italy, and Spain encouraged the arrogance of the rebel army. China is again facing a new large-scale invasion by the Japanese bandits, and then very recently Austria and Czechoslovakia were sacrificed to Hitler one after the other. Six hundred million people in the entire world have been drawn into this war, and its scope has been extended to Asia, Africa, and Europe. This is the current situation of the new world war.

3. The Characteristics of the World War at Present

As a result, on the one hand, of the resolute determination of the fascist countries—Japan, Germany, and Italy—to carry out invasions and, on the other hand, of the reluctance of the democratic countries to impose sanctions by force, especially the British policy of appeasement, the current situation of the new world war exhibits characteristics different from those of the First World War, namely, the invasion of the neutral countries first and the adoption of different forms of war. China, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, and Czechoslovakia are either semi-independent or small countries. Japan, Germany, and Italy first chose these fat little morsels and swallowed them. In their invasion of these neutral countries, the invaders used three particular forms of war. The first kind was that of Japan's war against China and Italy's war against Abyssinia. These were open and large-scale wars, yet they were carried out without a declaration of war, thus opening a new era in the history of war. The purpose of using this method of undeclared war lies in the fact that the invaders, taking advantage of the reluctance of the democratic countries to impose sanctions, and particularly Britain's policy of appeasement, temporarily avoided direct clashes, thus facilitating their operations to capture the neutral countries first. The second kind is the form of invasion of Spain by Italy and Germany. They adopted the method of assisting the rebel army. This is a repetition of an old method in history; there were such examples in history. The third kind is the form Hitler

used to invade Austria and Czechoslovakia; there was no appearance of war (there was no shooting), but there was the reality of war. He sent out large and strong military forces, and they occupied all of Austria and part of Czechoslovakia. In addition, he brought the rest of Czechoslovakia under his control. This is the best method for subjugating a people's country without fighting a war. The adoption of these three methods results entirely from the fact that, on the one hand, the aggressors themselves do not have sufficient strength, so it is wise to avoid direct conflict with the big powers. Consequently, they use clever methods of waging war, in an attempt to first make themselves stronger, while simultaneously the great powers are being weakened, after which they will fight against them. On the other hand, it was the result of the fact that none of the democratic countries was willing to stop the aggressors, and especially of British cowardliness and appeasement. In reality, this kind of policy assisted the aggressors, and made it easier for them to invade the neutral countries.

4. British Appeasement Will Lead the Fascist Countries to Carry Out Larger-Scale Wars

Just now, the British conservative cabinet headed by [Neville] Chamberlain is gradually carrying out its so-called policy of the cooperation of the four big powers. After the Munich Agreement, it is possible that the political situation in Europe may temporarily take a turn for the worse. The policies of the majority of the British Conservative Party have always been based on the principle of rejecting the Soviet Union and appeasing Germany and Italy, because they fear the strength and prosperity of the Soviet Union and fear that they themselves may become involved in the war too soon. They fear the movements of their own people and the independence movements in the colonies, and they had long ago resolved to sacrifice Spain, Austria, and Czechoslovakia to fulfill their goal of excluding the Soviet Union and appeasing Germany and Italy. In the past, because of the lack of unity within the Conservative Party itself, the active policy of the French Popular Front, and the criticism by both domestic and international public opinion, they did not succeed in this. Now, taking advantage of the reluctance of the people of Britain and of all Europe to fight wars, and of the rightism of the French Flandin faction,[16] under Hitler's threat of force, the Munich Agreement was signed. This agreement is the consequence of British appeasement. If Britain does not change its policy, it will inevitably lead the fascist countries to launch adventurist wars on an even larger scale. Although war between the big powers may not break out immediately, the process, restricted for the time being to the invasion of neutral countries, is still continuing. Ultimately it will certainly lead all the big powers into an unprecedented cruel war. There can be no doubt as to this future prospect.

16. The reference is to the partisans of Pierre-Etienne Flandin, a rightist political figure of this period.

"To lift a stone only to drop it on one's own foot"—this is the inevitable consequence of Chamberlain's policy.

5. The Majority of Humanity Throughout the World Is Gradually Being Mobilized

As regards all of the capitalist countries, because of the general economic crisis, capitalism has entered a dead end from which there is no escape. The war involving 600 million people affects the whole world, and new and larger wars are threatening mankind. As regards the socialist country, on the other hand, everything looks bright, progressive, strong, and prosperous. In the contrast between these two opposites, the majority of the human race in this world have gradually found the direction to protect and liberate themselves. They are gradually uniting on an unprecedentedly large scale and in unprecedented depth and are preparing to fight. World War I, the strength and prosperity of the socialist country in the past twenty years, the decline of the capitalist countries, the wars of aggression by the fascist countries in the past six or seven years, China's great War of Resistance against Japan, the people's war in Spain, and even Chamberlain's policy of appeasement and so on, gradually taught Great Britain, France, and other countries, and the people of the whole world a lesson. These events made them understand that organizing and fighting is the only way out, that only by uniting as one all the people in the world who are seeking liberation for themselves, only if there is a united front between the people of the world and the oppressed nations will there be a way out. This great process of awakening the people of the world, organizing them, fighting, and forming a united front is moving forward, but it can succeed only after great and arduous efforts. The war threat of fascism and the appeasement of Chamberlain will, in the end, encounter great resistance. This is undoubtedly also a future prospect; it is an inevitable consequence of the fascist war and Chamberlain's policy as well.

6. Cooperation Between the Chinese Resistance to the War of Aggression and the Worldwide Antifascist Movement

Everyone is aware of what has happened in the past. To some extent, all the democratic countries are assisting China, mainly because of their people's sympathy for China. The assistance from the Soviet Union is especially active. Now, because of the deep penetration by the offensive of the Japanese bandits, the contradictions between Britain, America, France, and the Soviet Union, on one side, and Japan, on the other, have deepened. Although Britain may practice appeasement in the East as it has in the West, in an attempt to preserve more or less its commerce with the Japanese-occupied territory, and under the illusion that Japan will reduce its threat to Southeast Asia, compromise to some extent with Japan, a fundamental compromise will be very difficult, at least for the time being. This is because of the

Japanese policy of unilateral occupation, as a result of which the problem of the East differs to some degree from the problem of the West in terms of the specific current situation. The deep penetration of Japan's offensive has deepened the contradictions between Japan and America, the friendship between the Soviet Union and China is increasing, and there is a possibility of further intimacy between China, America, and the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, we must, first, not forget the differences between the capitalist countries and the socialist countries. Second, we must not forget the differences between the government and the people in the capitalist countries. Third, it is even more important not to forget the differences between the present and the future, and we should not expect too much from the former. We should strive to win every possible assistance at present, and, to some extent, this is not only a possibility but a reality. But it is not appropriate to expect too much. The coordination between the Chinese national liberation movement and foreign assistance is mainly coordination in the future with the progressive nations and the people's antifascist movements in the entire world. While taking self-reliance as the principle policy, we should not abandon the effort to win foreign aid. Such should be the basis on which we place ourselves.

VII. The Place of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War

1. The Nature of the Question

Comrades, the prospects ahead of us are bright. China[17] must defeat Japanese imperialism and can defeat it.[18] There is, however, a difficult road ahead between the present and that bright future. We, and the entire nation,[19] who are fighting for a bright China, must fight *the dark forces of* the Japanese bandits step by step and can defeat them only after a long struggle. *What is the role of Communist Party members in this war? In what way should they act so that they may truly be said to have exerted their utmost efforts?*[20] We have also summed up the experience gained since the outbreak of the War of Resistance, appraised the present situation, and defined the urgent tasks confronting the whole nation. We have also discussed the theory[21] of sustaining a long war by means of long-term cooperation,[22] as well as the methods for doing so, and we have analyzed the international situation. What

17. China → We
18. And can defeat it → And must build a new China, and we can definitely achieve this goal
19. We, and the entire nation → The Chinese Communist Party and the people of the whole country
20. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the following sentence: "We have already said a good deal about problems relating to various aspects of this war."
21. Theory → Reasons
22. Cooperation → The Anti-Japanese National United Front

then remains? Comrades, there is one more point,[23] namely, the question of what role the Chinese Communist Party should play in the national war, or how Communists should understand their own role, strengthen themselves, and close their ranks, for only thus can they be considered to have done their utmost in the national war.[24]

2. Patriotism and Internationalism

Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? He can be, and should be,[25] depending on the historical conditions.[26] There is the patriotism[27] of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism. With respect to the Japanese aggressors and Hitler,[28] Communists resolutely oppose *this so-called patriotism.* The Japanese Communist Party and the German Communist Party are all defeatists with regard to the war[29] and use every possible means to bring about the defeat of the wars of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler,[30] the more complete the defeat the better. This is what the Japanese and German Communists should be doing, and it is precisely what they are doing. The reason is that the wars launched by the Japanese aggressors and Hitler are harming their own people as well as the people of the world. For us, patriotism and internationalism are closely linked.[31] Our slogan is: "Fight to defend the motherland against the aggressors." For us defeatism is a crime and *to go all out to assist Chairman Chiang and the National Government*[32] *is a sacred duty,* an inescapable duty. *Here, there cannot be the slightest bit of negativism.* The reason is that only by fighting in defense of the motherland can we save the whole nation from flood and fire.[33] And only by achieving national liberation will there be emancipation for the proletariat

23. Point → Question
24. For only thus can they be considered to have done their utmost in the national war → For only thus can they lead this war to victory and not to defeat
25. He can be, and should be → We hold that he not only can be but should be
26. Depending on the historical conditions → The specific content of patriotism is determined by the historical conditions
27. Patriotism → "Patriotism"
28. Hitler → Hitler's so-called patriotism
29. To the war → To the war waged by their countries
30. Here the revised version inserts: for this is in the interest of the Japanese and German peoples
31. For us, patriotism and internationalism are closely linked → China's case is different, because it is the victim of aggression. Chinese Communists must therefore combine patriotism with internationalism. We are at once internationalists and patriots
32. To go all out to assist Chairman Chiang and the National Government → To strive for victory in the War of Resistance
33. Save the whole nation from flood and fire → Defeat the aggressors and achieve national liberation

and other working people.[34] Patriotism is the application of internationalism in national revolutionary wars. For this reason, Communists must use their initiative to the full, march bravely and resolutely to the battlefront of the national revolutionary war, and train *every* gun on the Japanese aggressors. *Not the slightest negativism is permitted. It is imperative that we exert ourselves to the utmost to assist friendly parties and friendly forces. There must be no inclination to sit and observe the course of victory and defeat.* For this reason, immediately after the September Eighteenth Incident, 1931, our Party issued the slogan of[35] resisting the Japanese aggressors by a war of national defense, and later proposed *and upheld* an Anti-Japanese National United Front, ordered the Red Army to reorganize as part of the anti-Japanese National Revolutionary Army and to march to the front, and instructed Party members to take their place in the forefront of the war and defend the motherland to the last drop of their blood. *Such actions,* such patriotism, are all legitimate; *they are appropriate and necessary.* Far from running counter to internationalism, they are precisely its manifestation[36] in China. Only those who are politically muddle-headed or have ulterior motives *close their eyes and* talk nonsense about our having made a mistake and abandoned internationalism.

3. Communists Should Set an Example in the National War

For the above reasons, Communists should show a high degree of initiative in the national war and show it concretely, that is, they should play an exemplary vanguard role in every sphere. *This* war of ours is being waged under adverse circumstances. *The reason for the emergence of such adverse circumstances lies in the fact that up until this moment the extensive dynamic forces of our nation have only just begun to be mobilized.* National consciousness, national self-respect, and national self-confidence are not sufficiently developed among the majority of the popular masses, the majority of the popular masses are unorganized, our military power is weak, the economy is backward, the political system has not been democratized,[37] phenomena of corruption and pessimism exist, and a lack of unity and solidarity is to be found within the united front; *all these* are *the main reasons* for the formation of such adverse circumstances. For these reasons, Communists must consciously shoulder the great responsibility of uniting the entire nation so as to achieve progress.[38] Here the exemplary vanguard role of the Communists is

34. Will there be emancipation for the proletariat and other working people → Will it be possible for the proletariat and other working people to achieve their own emancipation. The victory of China and the overthrow of the invading imperialists will, at the same time, aid the people of foreign countries
35. Slogan of → Call for
36. Manifestation → Realization
37. Has not been democratized → Is undemocratic
38. Achieve progress → Put an end to all such undesirable phenomena

of vital importance. In the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, they should set an example in fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work, and fostering internal unity and solidarity. In their relations with friendly parties and armies, Communists should take a firm stand of unity and solidarity,[39] uphold the program of the united front, and set an example in carrying out the tasks of resistance. They should be true in word and resolute in deed, free from arrogance and sincere in consulting and cooperating with the friendly parties and armies, and should be models in interparty relations within the united front. Every Communist engaged in government work should set an example of absolute integrity, of freedom from favoritism in making appointments, and of hard work for little remuneration. Every Communist working among the popular masses should be their friend and not a boss over them, an indefatigable teacher and not a bureaucratic politician. At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work, *among other things, are examples which* will command respect. Communists should work in harmony with all progressives outside the Party and endeavor to unite the entire people to do away with whatever is undesirable. It must be realized that Communists form only a small section of the nation and that there are large numbers of progressives and activists outside the Party with whom we must work. It is entirely wrong to think that "we alone are good and no one else is any good." As for people who are [politically] backward, Communists should not slight or despise them, but should *respect them*, befriend them, unite with them, convince them, and encourage them to go forward. The attitude of Communists toward any person who has made mistakes in his work should be one of persuasion in order to help him change and start afresh and not one of exclusion, unless he is incorrigible. Communists should set an example in being practical as well as farsighted, because it is only by being practical that they can fulfill the appointed tasks, and only farsightedness can prevent them from losing their bearings in the march forward. Communists should therefore set an example in study; at all times they should learn from the masses as well as teach them. Only by learning from the people, from actual circumstances, and from the friendly parties and armies, and by knowing them well, can we be practical in our work and farsighted as to the future. In a long war and in adverse circumstances, the dynamic energy of the whole nation can be mobilized in the struggle to *raise the level of the backward,* to overcome difficulties, defeat the enemy, and build a new China only if the Communists play an exemplary vanguard role to the best of their ability together with all the advanced elements among the friendly parties and armies and among the masses.

39. Solidarity → Resistance to Japan

4. Unite the Whole Nation and Combat Enemy Agents in the National Front[40]

The one and only policy orientation in order to carry out the central task of overcoming difficulties and defeating the enemy[41] is to unite the whole nation, consolidate and expand the united front,[42] and mobilize the vital forces of *the various strata of* the whole nation. However, there are enemy agents already playing a disruptive role *or who seek to sneak in and do so* within our national united front, namely, the Chinese traitors, Trotskyites, and pro-Japanese elements *who are hidden, but publicly appear to resist Japan.* Communists must always be on the lookout for such agents, expose their criminal activities on the basis of factual evidence, *in view of the concrete circumstances*, and *at the same time* warn the *friendly parties and armies and the broad masses of the* people not to be duped by them. Communists have an important responsibility to sharpen[43] their political vigilance toward these national [i.e., Chinese] agents. The expansion and consolidation of the national united front is inseparable from the exposure and weeding out of enemy agents.[44]

5. Expand the Communist Party and Prevent Infiltration by Enemy Agents

To overcome the difficulties, and defeat the enemy,[45] the Communist Party must expand its organization and become a great mass party by opening its doors to the masses of workers, peasants, and young activists who are truly devoted to the revolution, who believe in the Party's ideology, support its policies, and are willing to observe its discipline and work hard. Here no tendency toward closed-doorism should be tolerated. But, at the same time, there must definitely be no slackening of vigilance against infiltration by enemy agents. The Japanese imperialist secret services are ceaselessly trying to disrupt our Party and to smuggle undercover traitors, Trotskyites, pro-Japanese elements, degenerates, and careerists into its ranks in the guise of activists. Not for a moment should we relax our vigilance and our strict precautions against such elements. We must not close the doors to our Party for fear of enemy agents, our set policy being boldly to expand our Party. But, at the same time, while thus boldly expanding, we must not relax our vigilance against enemy agents and careerists who will avail themselves of this opportunity to sneak in.[46] Our general policy in developing the Party[47] is: "Expand the Party boldly but do not let a single undesirable make his way in."

40. National front → Nation
41. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "and building a new China"
42. United front → Anti-Japanese National United Front
43. Have an important responsibility to sharpen → Must understand the importance of sharpening
44. Here the *Selected Works* version adds the following sentence: It is entirely wrong to pay attention only to one aspect and forget the other.
45. Defeat the enemy → Defeat the enemy, and build a new China

6. Maintain Both the United Front and the Independence of the Party

If there were only one class, one party in China, then there would no longer be the need for the so-called united front. The so-called united front is predicated on the existence of more than two classes and parties. It is only by firmly maintaining the *Anti-Japanese* National United Front that we can defeat the enemy.[48] *Moreover, this policy must be adhered to over a long period.* This is our firmly established orientation.[49] But, at the same time, every party and group in the united front must preserve its ideological, political, and organizational independence; this holds good for the Guomindang, the Communist Party, or any other party or group. *What is* the Principle of People's Rights in the Three People's Principles? In interparty relations, it permits both alliance and unity of the various parties and factions, and their independent coexistence.[50] To speak of unity alone while denying independence is *an idea* which abandons the Principle of Democracy, and to this neither the Communist Party nor any other party would agree. There is no doubt that *within the united front independence cannot exceed union but has to give way to union,* and that independence within the united front is *only and can only be a* relative *thing.* Otherwise, *it cannot count as maintaining a united front.* It would undermine the general policy of unity against the enemy. But, *at the same time,* this relative independence must not be denied; ideologically, politically, and organizationally, each party must have its relative freedom.[51] Also, unity against the enemy[52] and the united front would be undermined if this relative *independence or* freedom were denied or voluntarily abandoned. This should be clearly understood by all members of the Communist Party as well as of the friendly parties.

The same is true of the relationship between the class struggle and the national struggle. It is an established principle that in the War of Resistance everything must be subordinated to the interests of resistance, and that class struggle must be subordinated to the interests *and requirements* of the national struggle but absolutely

46. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: If we pay attention only to one aspect, and forget the other aspect, we will commit errors.
47. Our general policy in developing the Party → The only correct policy
48. That we can defeat the enemy → That we can overcome the difficulties, defeat the enemy, and build a new China
49. This is our firmly established orientation → This is beyond all doubt
50. Both alliance and unity of the various parties and factions, and their independent coexistence → Both the mutual union of the various parties and factions, and their independent existence
51. Each party must have its relative freedom → Each party must have its relative independence, that is, relative freedom
52. Unity against the enemy → The overall policy orientation of unity against the enemy

should not run counter to them. But, *at the same time,* under conditions of the existence of class society, you cannot eliminate class struggle; there is no way to eliminate it.[53] The theory which seeks to deny *fundamentally* the existence of class struggle is a distorted theory.[54] We do not deny the class struggle; we adjust it. The policy of mutual help and mutual concessions which we advocate is applicable not only to relations between parties and factions but *basically* also to class relations. In order to unite against Japan, we must carry out an appropriate policy of adjustment in class relations, a policy which does not leave the toiling masses without political and material safeguards, but also gives consideration to the interests of the rich, thereby meeting the *general* demand of solidarity against the enemy.[55]

7. Consider the Situation as a Whole, Think in Terms of the Majority, and Work Together with Our Allies

In leading the masses, *participating in the united front, and* waging a struggle against the enemy, Communists must *not ignore the spirit of* considering the situation as a whole, thinking in terms of the majority, and working together with their allies. They should grasp the necessity[56] of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for the part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a whole, again the part must give way to the whole. This is what is meant by considering the situation as a whole. Communists must never detach themselves from the majority of the masses or neglect them by leading only a few progressive contingents in an isolated and rash advance. *This cannot succeed.* Instead, they must *at all times* forge close links between the progressive elements and the broad masses. This is what is meant by thinking in terms of the majority. Wherever there are allies,[57] in handling matters, they should cooperate with the allies.[58] It is wrong to indulge in arbitrary decisions and peremptory actions and to ignore our allies. *All these are things that cannot be ignored in the art of leadership and the spirit of work of the Communist Party member.* A good Communist should[59] be good at considering the situation as a whole, good at thinking in terms of the majority, and

53. You cannot eliminate class struggle; there is no way to eliminate it → The existence of the struggle of one class against another is a fact; there are some people who deny this fact, deny the existence of class struggle, but this is erroneous

54. Is a distorted theory → Is utterly wrong

55. Here the *Selected Works* text adds the following sentence: It is bad for the War of Resistance to pay attention only to one side and neglect the other.

56. Necessity → Principle

57. Allies → Democratic parties or individuals willing to cooperate with us

58. In handling matters, they should cooperate with the allies → The proper attitude for Communists is to talk things over with them and work together with them

59. Should → Must

good at working with his allies. He who violates these points is not a good Party member.[60]

8. Cadre Policy

The Chinese Communist Party is a party leading a great revolutionary struggle in a nation several hundred million strong, and it cannot fulfill its historic task without a large number of leading cadres who combine ability with political integrity. In the last seventeen years our Party has trained a good many talented leaders, so that we have core cadres in military, political, cultural, Party, and mass work; all honor is due to the Party and to the nation for this achievement. But, *at the same time,* the present core is not yet strong enough to support the vast edifice of our struggle, and it is still necessary to train people of ability on a large scale. Many talented people and leaders[61] have come forward, and are continuing to come forward, in the great *national revolutionary* struggle. We have the responsibility for organizing and training them, for taking good care of them, and for making proper use of them. "Once the political line has been laid down, cadres are the decisive factor."[62] *We should not forget this truth. Here, it is imperative to rely on the original cadre basis, but not to be complacent about it.* Therefore, it should be our fighting task to train large numbers of new cadres in a *persistent and* planned way.

Our concern should extend to non-Party cadres as well as to Party cadres. There are many capable people outside the Party whom we must not ignore. The duty of every Communist is to rid himself of aloofness and arrogance and to work well with non-Party cadres, sincerely unite with them,[63] *while offering them well-intentioned assistance*, have a warm, comradely attitude toward them, and enlist their initiative *and talents* in the great cause of resisting Japan and reconstructing the nation. *It is wrong to be conceited and to look down upon other people.*

We must be good at judging cadres. *In judging the strengths and weaknesses and the good and bad qualities of a cadre, we must not just observe his performance but also his essence.* We must not confine our judgment to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the correct[64] method of judging cadres. *Here, carelessness or willfulness cannot resolve the problem.*

We must be good at using cadres. In the final analysis, the leaders' responsibilities *and work* consist of two things: to supply ideas, and to use cadres well. Such things as drawing up plans, making decisions, giving orders and directives, *drafting*

60. He who violates these points is not a good Party member → We have had serious shortcomings in this respect, and we must still make an effort to do better

61. Talented people and leaders → Activists

62. The formula is Stalin's.

63. Sincerely unite with them → Give them sincere help

64. Correct → Principal

announcements, writing books, and making speeches are all in the category of "supplying ideas." To put the ideas into practice, we must unite the cadres and push them to go into action; this comes into the category of "using the cadres." *These two things are known in Chinese custom as "employing people in the administration."* Throughout our national history there have been two sharply contrasting lines on the subject of the use of cadres, *reflecting the opposition between the depraved and the upright,* one being to "appoint people on their merit," and the other to "appoint people by favoritism." The former was the policy of sagacious emperors and worthy ministers in making appointments; the latter was that of despots and traitors.[65] *Today, when we talk about the question of making use of cadres, it is from a revolutionary standpoint, fundamentally different from that of ancient times, and yet there is no getting away from this standard of "appointing people on their merit." It was utterly wrong in the past, and is still utterly wrong today, to be guided by personal likes and dislikes, to reward fawning flatterers and to punish the honest and forthright.* The criterion Lenin and Stalin[66] apply in cadres policy is whether or not a cadre is resolute in carrying out the Party line, submits to Party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to work independently, and is active, hard-working, not concerned with personal gain, *and so on.* This, and nothing else.[67] *Here,* the cadres policy of Zhang Guotao was the exact opposite. In Zhang Guotao's domain, he adopted precisely the policy of rewarding those who curried favor with him and penalizing those who were upright.[68] He gathered a personal clique around himself *and harbored ulterior motives. His petty factional activities had a long and deep history. But it is this cadres policy of his which treats the individual instead of the political principles of the party as the center which turned to its opposite in achieving its goals. All the cadres left him. In the end Zhang Guotao was the only one who remained.* He betrayed the Party[69] and decamped.[70] This is an important lesson for us. *The political and economic backwardness of a semicolonial, semifeudal society, as reflected within the Party, are the sources of the evil tendencies of liberalism, self-aggrandizement, and factional activity. Taking into consideration the existence of such sources, upholding the organizational line and cadres policy of Lenin and Stalin,* opposing the dishonest and unfair *evil* tendencies, and consolidating the unity of the Party on the basis of the *correct line*—these are the responsibilities of the Central Committee as well as comrades of the whole Party.[71]

65. The former was the policy of sagacious emperors and worthy ministers in making appointments; the latter was that of despots and traitors → The former is the honest and the latter the dishonest way

66. Lenin and Stalin → The Communist Party

67. This, and nothing else → This is what "appointing people on their merit" means

68. In Zhang Guotao's domain, he adopted precisely the policy of rewarding those who curried favor with him and penalizing those who were upright → He carried out the line of "appointing people by favoritism"

69. He betrayed the Party → He formed a small clique and, in the end, betrayed the Party

70. Regarding Zhang Guotao, see Volume V, *passim,* and section IV of the Introduction to this volume. As indicated there, he fled to Hankou in April 1938 and placed himself under the protection of the Guomindang.

We must know how to take good care of cadres. *The cadres who have emerged through the fostering of the Party and hard struggle are the treasure of the nation and the pride of the whole Party and should be respected and taken care of by comrades of the whole Party. The various levels of leading organs on the other hand have the responsibility to realize the goal of taking care of them by concrete methods. What are such methods?*[72]

First, give them guidance. This means allowing them a free hand in their work so that they have the courage to assume responsibility *and are not afraid of making mistakes, but,* at the same time, giving them timely *and appropriate* instructions *concerning the work environment, orientation, and methods* so that, guided by the Party's political line, they are able to make full use of their initiative.

Second, raise their level. This means giving them the opportunity to study *theory and methods, and* educating them so that they can enhance their ideological[73] understanding and their leadership[74] ability *compared with the past.*

Third, check up on their work, *not doing it every day, but doing it at the right moment,* and help them sum up their experience, correct their mistakes, *and expand on their achievements. This is necessary.* To assign work without checking up and to take notice only when serious mistakes are made—that is not the way to take good care of cadres.

Fourth, *transform them. This means* with regard to those cadres who *have shortcomings*, have made mistakes, *or have incorrect ideas*, use primarily the method of persuasion, and the method of struggle when there is no alternative, so as to help them change their ways.[75] Here patience is essential. *In cases of mistakes which do not involve major principles, but must be pointed out or they will not be overcome*, it is wrong to adopt the methods of inappropriately and lightly applying to people labels such as "opportunists," *"petty-bourgeois consciousness," and so on,* or to begin "waging struggles" against them.

71. Opposing the dishonest and unfair *evil* tendencies, and consolidating the unity of the Party on the basis of the *correct line*—these are the responsibilities of the Central Committee as well as comrades of the whole Party. → Taking warning from this and from similar historical lessons, the Central Committee and the leaders at all levels must make it their major responsibility to adhere to the honest and fair way in cadres policy and reject the dishonest and unfair way, and so consolidate the unity of the Party.

72. What are such methods? → There are several ways of doing so.

73. Ideological → Theoretical

74. Leadership → Working

75. Use primarily the method of persuasion, and the method of struggle when there is no alternative, so as to help them change their ways. → In general, use the method of persuasion with cadres who have made mistakes, and help them correct their mistakes. The method of struggle should be confined to those who make serious mistakes and nevertheless refuse to accept guidance.

Fifth, help them with their difficulties. When cadres are in difficulty as a result of problems such as illness, straitened circumstances, or domestic or other troubles,[76] *the leading organs of the Party should show warm and kind comradely concern toward them. It is wrong to adopt an apathetic and cold attitude. In cases of illness, they must be given treatment and nursed back to health. As for their circumstances, try to make them compatible with the requirements of work. Even in the case of domestic troubles, to the extent possible efforts should be made to help them seek a resolution. To give priority to the cadres in all these areas to the extent permitted by material resources and the environment has great significance for realizing the goal of enhancing the work spirit of the cadres and achieving the unity of the whole Party.*

9. Party Discipline

The Party's experience of struggle during the past seventeen years, particularly since the Fifth Plenum, demonstrates the necessity of continuing to uphold iron discipline within the Party, the Eighth Route Army, and the New Fourth Army. Discipline is the guarantee that the line will be carried out. Without discipline, the Party will be unable to lead the masses and the army in victorious struggle. In the past, as a result of overcoming tendencies disruptive of discipline such as that of Zhang Guotao, the smooth pursuit of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and the War of Resistance were assured. In the future, this order must also be firmly upheld. Only thus will it be possible to unite the whole Party, overcome new difficulties, and obtain new victories. Here, it is intolerable to ignore several fundamental principles:[77]

1. the individual is subordinate to the organization;
2. the minority is subordinate to the majority;
3. the lower level is subordinate to the higher level;
4. the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

These principles constitute the concrete application of the Party's system of democratic centralism. Whoever violates them violates *the Party's democratic centralism and does great damage to* Party unity *and the Party's revolutionary struggle. Because of this, the various leading organs at the different levels of the Party should provide the necessary education on discipline to the whole Party and particularly to new Party members in accordance with the above basic principles. Past* experience proves that some people violate Party discipline through not knowing what it is. Some others, like Zhang Guotao *and his ilk*, violate it knowingly, and take advantage of some[78] Party members' ignorance to achieve their treacherous purposes. Hence it is necessary to educate members in Party discipline so that the rank-and-file Party members will not only get into the habit of observing discipline themselves but also exercise supervision over the leaders so that they, too, observe it.[79] *Party discipline is compulsory in nature. But at the same time, it must be formulated on the basis of the political awareness of Party members and cadres. It is by no means one-sided commandism.* For this reason, leading organs, from the Central Committee level to the local level, should draft certain Party rules which will be treated as part of the Party's law and discipline.[80] *Once they are formulated, they must be strictly applied,* so as to unify the actions of the leading bodies at all levels *and to become examples for the whole Party.*

76. Here the *Selected Works* text adds the following two sentences: We must be sure to give them as much care as possible. This is how to take good care of cadres.

77. In the *Selected Works* version of this text, the preceding paragraph set in italics is replaced by a single sentence: In view of Zhang Guotao's serious violations of discipline, we must affirm anew the discipline of the Party.

10. Party Democracy

Finding itself confronted as it is by the present great struggle, the Chinese Communist Party demands that all its leading bodies and all its members and cadres should give the fullest expression to their initiative, which alone can lead the struggle to victory. What we call giving expression to their initiative *cannot be just an empty phrase,* but must be demonstrated concretely in the creative capacity of the leading bodies, the cadres, and the Party rank and file, in their readiness to assume responsibility, in the exuberant vigor they show in their work, in their courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions, and criticize defects, and in the comradely supervision that is maintained over the leading bodies and the leading cadres *and so on and so forth.* Otherwise, the so-called initiative will be an empty thing. But the exercise of such initiative depends on the democratization of the inner-Party life *and system. If such democratic life is absent or deficient,* it is impossible to reach the goal of bringing initiative into play. Only in an atmosphere of democracy can large numbers of able people be brought forward.

Because our country down to the present still does not have democratic life, and this is reflected within the Party, there has arisen the phenomenon of inadequate democratic life.[81] This phenomenon *truly* hinders the entire Party from

78. Some → Many

79. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: thus preventing the recurrence of cases like Zhang Guotao's.

80. For this reason, leading organs, from the Central Committee level to the local level, should draft certain Party rules which will be treated as part of the Party's law and discipline. → If we are to ensure the development of inner-Party relations along the right lines, besides the four most important articles of discipline mentioned above, we must work out a set of fairly detailed inner-Party rules.

81. Because our country down to the present still does not have democratic life, and this is reflected within the Party, there has arisen the phenomenon of inadequate democratic life. → Ours is a country in which small-scale production and the patriarchal system prevail, and taking the country as a whole, there is as yet no democratic life; consequently, this state of affairs is reflected in our Party by insufficient democracy in Party life.

exercising its initiative to the full. Similarly, it has led to insufficient democratization[82] in the united front and in the mass movements. For these reasons, education in democracy must be carried on within the Party so that members can understand what is meant by democratic life, what is meant by the relationship between democracy and centralism, and the way in which democratic centralism should be put into practice. Only in this way can we really extend democracy within the Party, and at the same time avoid ultrademocracy and laissez-faire.[83]

It is also essential to extend democracy in our Party organizations in the army to the degree necessary to stimulate the initiative of the Party members and increase the combat effectiveness of the troops. *At the same time*, however, there should be somewhat less democracy in the Party organizations in the army than in the local Party organizations; it is meant to strengthen discipline and increase combat effectiveness, not to weaken them.[84] *The local Party, too, should also benefit from the consolidation of Party discipline and the enhancement of the Party's combat effectiveness, and not the reverse.*

The extension of inner-Party democracy should be seen as an essential step in the consolidation and development of the Party, and as a *useful and* important weapon enabling it to be lively and dynamic in the great struggle, to be more than equal to its tasks, to develop new strength, and to surmount the difficulties of the war.

11. Our Party Has Consolidated Itself and Grown in Strength Through the Struggle on Two Fronts

Broadly speaking, in the last seventeen years our Party has learned to use *this* Marxist weapon[85]*—the method of struggle on two fronts in ideology, in politics, and in work,* opposing Right opportunism, on the one hand, and opposing Left opportunism, on the other.

Before the Fifth Plenum,[86] our Party fought Chen Duxiu's Right opportunism and Li Lisan's Left opportunism.[87] It made great progress thanks to the victories in these two inner-Party struggles. After the Fifth Plenum, there were two further historic inner-Party struggles, namely, at the Zunyi Conference and in connection with the expulsion of Zhang Guotao.[88]

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82. Democratization → Democratic life

83. Laissez-faire → Laissez-faire, which destroys discipline

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

85. Marxist weapon → Marxist-Leninist weapon of ideological struggle

86. Fifth Plenum → Fifth Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee

87. Li Lisan's Left opportunism → Comrade Li Lisan's "Left" opportunism. Regarding the rivalry and conflict between Mao and Li in 1930, see the Introduction to Volume III, *passim.*

88. Regarding the Zunyi Conference, see the Introduction to Volume V, pp. xxxvii–xxxix.

Because the Zunyi Conference corrected serious errors of a Left-opportunist character—errors of principle committed in the fight against the enemy's Fifth Encirclement and Suppression campaign—and united the Party and the Red Army, it enabled the Central Committee and the main forces of the Red Army to bring the Long March to a triumphant conclusion, to advance to a forward position in the resistance to Japan, and to carry out the new policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. By combating Zhang Guotao's Right opportunism, the Baxi and Yan'an Meetings[89] (the fight against the Zhang Guotao line began at the Baxi Meeting and ended at the Yan'an Meeting) succeeded in bringing all the Red forces together and in strengthening the unity of the whole Party for the heroic struggle against Japan. Both kinds of opportunist mistakes arose during the civil war,[90] and their characteristic was that they were errors committed during the war.

What are the lessons which have been derived from these two inner-Party struggles? They are:

1. The tendency to Left impetuosity, which disregards both the subjective and the objective factors, is extremely harmful to a revolutionary war and, for that matter, to any revolutionary movement—it was among the serious errors of principle which were manifested in the struggle against the enemy's Fifth Encirclement and Suppression campaign, and which arose from ignorance of the characteristics of China's revolutionary war. *It should be pointed out that the errors made then were not errors in the general line, but errors of principle of a serious nature, involving the carrying out of the general line in the tactics and pattern of the war.*

2. The opportunism of Zhang Guotao, however, was Right opportunism in the revolutionary war and was a combination of a retreatist line, warlordism, and anti-Party activity. It was only with the overcoming of this brand of opportunism that the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army and *especially* its large numbers of cadres and Party members, men of intrinsically fine quality and with a long record of heroic struggle, were able to free themselves from its toils and return to the correct line of the Central Committee.

3. Striking results were achieved in the great organizational work of the period of the Central Soviet Area[91]—in army building, government work, mass work, and Party building. Had it not been for the support rendered by such organizational work to the heroic fighting at the front, we could not have kept up the bitter

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89. Regarding Mao's negotiations with Zhang Guotao during a halt in Baxi in early September 1936, at a difficult moment in the Long March, see the Introduction to Volume V, pp. xlv–xlvii. (Zhang and his armies remained farther south, and there was no face-to-face contact on this occasion.) After Zhang came to Yan'an and met with Mao in 1937, he became vice-chairman of the Border Region government but had no real power. As noted above, he sought refuge with the Guomindang in the spring of 1938.

90. During the civil war → During the revolutionary civil war

91. Organizational work of the period of the Central Soviet Area → Organizational work of the ten years of the Agrarian Revolutionary War

struggle.[92] At that time,[93] however, serious errors of principle were made in the Party's cadre policy and organizational principles, errors which showed themselves in the tendency toward sectarianism, in punishmentism, and in excesses in the policy of ideological struggle. They resulted both from our failure to eliminate the vestiges of the former *Li* Lisan line and from the political mistakes in matters of principle committed at the time. These errors, too, were corrected at the Zunyi Meeting, and the Party was thus able to make the turn to a *wholly* correct cadre policy and organizational principles. As for Zhang Guotao's organizational line, it violated all Party principles, disrupted Party discipline, and carried factional activity to the point of opposition to the Party, the Central Committee, and the Communist International. The Central Committee did everything possible to overcome Zhang Guotao's evil line and to frustrate his anti-Party activity, and also tried to save Zhang Guotao himself. But as he stubbornly refused to change,[94] resorted to double-dealing, and subsequently even betrayed the Party,[95] firm measures had to be taken to expel him. This expulsion[96] won the support not only of all Party members but of all people loyal to the cause of national liberation. The Communist International has already endorsed[97] the decision and denounced Zhang Guotao as a deserter and renegade.

These lessons and achievements have furnished us with the prerequisites for uniting the whole Party now and in the future, for strengthening its ideological, political, and organizational unity, and for successfully waging the War of Resistance and *constructing the Anti-Japanese National United Front.* Our Party has consolidated itself and grown strong through the struggle on two fronts.

12. The Present Struggle on Two Fronts

From now on, it is of paramount importance to wage a political struggle against Rightist pessimism in the *new* circumstances of the War of Resistance, although it is still necessary to keep an eye on "Left" impetuosity. On questions of the united front and of Party and mass organization, we must continue the fight against the "Left" tendency toward closed-doorism if we are to achieve long-term cooperation,[98] expand the Party, and broaden the movement of the popular masses. At the same time, we must also pay attention to[99] the Right opportunist tendency toward

92. Bitter struggle → Bitter struggle against Chiang Kaishek
93. At that time → In the latter part of that period
94. To change → To correct his mistakes
95. Even betrayed the Party → Even betrayed the Party and threw himself into the arms of the Guomindang
96. Expulsion → Disciplinary action
97. Already endorsed → Also endorsed
98. If we are to achieve long-term cooperation → If we are to achieve cooperation with the various other anti-Japanese parties and groups
99. Pay attention to → Take care to combat

unconditional cooperation and expansion, or otherwise they will hinder cooperation and development, or turn them into capitulationist cooperation and unprincipled expansion.

Struggle on two fronts[100] must suit the concrete circumstances of *the reality of* each case, and we must never approach a problem abstractly.[101] *There is a difference between pointing things out in a general way and concrete application.* The bad old habit of "putting hats" on people, that is, the abstract application of this method, is no good.[102]

In the struggle against deviations, we must give serious attention to opposing two-faced behavior. As Zhang Guotao's career shows, the greatest danger of such behavior is that it may develop into factional activity. To comply in public but oppose in private, to say yes and mean no, to say nice things to a person's face but play tricks behind his back—these are the essence of[103] double-dealing. Sharpening the vigilance of cadres and Party members against such behavior is an important requirement for strengthening Party discipline.[104]

13. Study

Generally speaking, all Communist Party members who have a certain capacity for study should study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, study the history of our nation, and study the circumstances and trends of current movements; moreover, they should serve to educate members with a lower cultural level. The cadres in particular should study these subjects carefully, while the Central Committee and senior cadres should give them even more attention. It is not possible to lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless there is revolutionary theory, a knowledge of history, and an understanding of the practical movement.[105]

The theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin are universally applicable. We should not regard their theories as dogma but as a guide to action. We do not study

100. Struggle on two fronts → Ideological struggle on two fronts
101. Abstractly → Subjectively
102. The bad old habit of "putting hats" on people, that is, the abstract application of this method, is no good. → We must absolutely not approach a problem subjectively or permit the bad old habit of "putting hats" on people to continue.
103. The essence of → All forms of
104. Sharpening the vigilance of cadres and Party members against such behavior is an important requirement for strengthening Party discipline. → Only by sharpening the vigilance of cadres and Party members against such behavior can we strengthen Party discipline.
105. It is not possible to lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless there is revolutionary theory, a knowledge of history, and an understanding of the practical movement. → No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history, and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.

struggle.[92] At that time,[93] however, serious errors of principle were made in the Party's cadre policy and organizational principles, errors which showed themselves in the tendency toward sectarianism, in punishmentism, and in excesses in the policy of ideological struggle. They resulted both from our failure to eliminate the vestiges of the former *Li* Lisan line and from the political mistakes in matters of principle committed at the time. These errors, too, were corrected at the Zunyi Meeting, and the Party was thus able to make the turn to a *wholly* correct cadre policy and organizational principles. As for Zhang Guotao's organizational line, it violated all Party principles, disrupted Party discipline, and carried factional activity to the point of opposition to the Party, the Central Committee, and the Communist International. The Central Committee did everything possible to overcome Zhang Guotao's evil line and to frustrate his anti-Party activity, and also tried to save Zhang Guotao himself. But as he stubbornly refused to change,[94] resorted to double-dealing, and subsequently even betrayed the Party,[95] firm measures had to be taken to expel him. This expulsion[96] won the support not only of all Party members but of all people loyal to the cause of national liberation. The Communist International has already endorsed[97] the decision and denounced Zhang Guotao as a deserter and renegade.

These lessons and achievements have furnished us with the prerequisites for uniting the whole Party now and in the future, for strengthening its ideological, political, and organizational unity, and for successfully waging the War of Resistance and *constructing the Anti-Japanese National United Front.* Our Party has consolidated itself and grown strong through the struggle on two fronts.

12. The Present Struggle on Two Fronts

From now on, it is of paramount importance to wage a political struggle against Rightist pessimism in the *new* circumstances of the War of Resistance, although it is still necessary to keep an eye on "Left" impetuosity. On questions of the united front and of Party and mass organization, we must continue the fight against the "Left" tendency toward closed-doorism if we are to achieve long-term cooperation,[98] expand the Party, and broaden the movement of the popular masses. At the same time, we must also pay attention to[99] the Right opportunist tendency toward

92. Bitter struggle → Bitter struggle against Chiang Kaishek
93. At that time → In the latter part of that period
94. To change → To correct his mistakes
95. Even betrayed the Party → Even betrayed the Party and threw himself into the arms of the Guomindang
96. Expulsion → Disciplinary action
97. Already endorsed → Also endorsed
98. If we are to achieve long-term cooperation → If we are to achieve cooperation with the various other anti-Japanese parties and groups
99. Pay attention to → Take care to combat

unconditional cooperation and expansion, or otherwise they will hinder cooperation and development, or turn them into capitulationist cooperation and unprincipled expansion.

Struggle on two fronts[100] must suit the concrete circumstances of *the reality of* each case, and we must never approach a problem abstractly.[101] *There is a difference between pointing things out in a general way and concrete application.* The bad old habit of "putting hats" on people, that is, the abstract application of this method, is no good.[102]

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the letter of Marxism-Leninism but, rather, the standpoints and methods by which Marx and Lenin observed and resolved problems.[106] *Only this guide to action, these standpoints and methods, constitute revolutionary science and the only correct policy which leads us to recognize the objects of the revolution and guide revolutionary movements.* The Chinese Party's[107] mastery of Marxism[108] is now much better[109] than it used to be, but can still not be called extensive or deep. *In this regard, we appear inadequate compared to some fraternal parties abroad. Yet* ours is the task of leading a great nation of 450 million in an unprecedented and historic struggle. For us, therefore, the task of spreading and deepening the study of theory[110] presents a big problem demanding an early solution, which can be resolved only through concentrated effort. Let us exert ourselves. Following[111] this Enlarged Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee, there will be an all-Party emulation in study which will show who has really learned something, and who has learned more and learned better. *Our work has not been done too badly. But if we do not deepen our study of theory, we will not be able to do an even better job, and only if we do an even better job will we be victorious. Therefore the study of theory is the condition for victory.* As regards those who shoulder the main responsibilities of leadership, if in China there are one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism which is systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow, that will be tantamount to defeating Japanese imperialism.[112] Comrades, we must definitely study Marxism.

Another of our tasks is to study our historical heritage and use the Marxist method to sum it up critically. The history of this *great* nation of ours goes back several thousand years. *It has its own laws of development,* its own *national* characteristics, and many precious treasures. As regards all this, we are mere schoolboys. Today's China is an outgrowth of historic China. We are Marxist historicists; we must not mutilate history. From Confucius to Sun Yatsen, we must sum it up critically, and we must constitute ourselves the heirs to this precious legacy. *Conversely, the assimilation of this legacy itself becomes a method that* aids considerably in guiding the present great movement. A Communist is a Marxist internationalist, but Marx-

106. We do not study the letter of Marxism-Leninism but, rather, the standpoints and methods by which Marx and Lenin observed and resolved problems. → Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems.

107. The Chinese Party's → Our Party's

108. Marxism → Marxism-Leninism

109. Much better → Somewhat better

110. Theory → Marxist-Leninist theory

111. Let us exert ourselves. Following → I hope that following

112. That will be tantamount to defeating Japanese imperialism → Our Party's fighting capacity will be much greater and our task of defeating Japanese imperialism will be more quickly accomplished

ism must take on a national form before it can be put into practice.[113] *There is no such thing as abstract Marxism, but only concrete Marxism. What we call concrete Marxism is Marxism that has taken on a national form, that is, Marxism applied to the concrete struggle in the concrete conditions prevailing in China, and not Marxism abstractly used.* If a Chinese Communist, who is a part of the great Chinese people, bound to his people by his very flesh and blood, talks of Marxism apart from Chinese peculiarities, this Marxism is merely an empty abstraction. Consequently, the *sinification of Marxism*[114]—that is to say, making certain that in all its manifestations it is imbued with Chinese characteristics, using it according to Chinese peculiarities—becomes a problem that must be understood and solved by the whole Party without delay. We must put an end to foreign formalism. There must be less repeating of empty and abstract refrains; we must discard our dogmatism and replace it with a new and vital Chinese style and manner, pleasing to the eye and to the ear of the Chinese common people. To separate internationalist content from national form is the way of those who understand nothing of internationalism, and we must link the two inseparably. As regards this question, serious shortcomings still persist in our ranks and must be resolutely eliminated.

What are the characteristics of the present movement? What are its laws? How is it to be directed? These are all *the most* practical questions. To this day we do not yet understand everything about Japanese imperialism or about China. The movement is developing, new things have yet to emerge, and they are emerging in an endless stream. To study this movement in its entirety and in its development is a great task to which we should pay constant attention *with our eyes wide open.* Whoever refuses to study these problems seriously and carefully is *nothing but a Spanish Don Quixote plus a Chinese Ah Q,*[115] but no Marxist. *How shall we study? We should use the Marxist tool—dialectical materialism. With whom do we study? We have many teachers—the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists, the landlords, Japanese imperialism, and the whole world. They are all the objects of our study and, at the same time, our teachers. We should learn something, more or less, from them.*

Complacency is the enemy of study. We cannot really learn anything until we rid ourselves of complacency. Our attitude toward ourselves should be "to learn without satiety," and toward others "to instruct without being wearied."[116]

113. Marxism must take on a national form before it can be put into practice → We can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and acquires a definite national form. The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies precisely in its integration with the concrete revolutionary practice of all countries. For the Chinese Communist Party, it is a matter of learning to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of China.

114. The sinification of Marxism → Applying Marxism concretely in China

115. Ah Q was the central character in the most celebrated of Lu Xun's short stories. In a series of episodes, he is repeatedly worsted but persuades himself that he was the victor because of his moral superiority.

116. The quotations are from the *Analects* of Confucius, VII, II (Legge, Vol. I, p. 195).

14. From Uniting the Whole Party to Uniting the Whole Nation

Great struggle requires great strength. It is our established policy orientation to unite the whole nation and to mobilize all the dynamic forces of the whole nation to join this struggle. In order to reach this goal, unity within the Chinese Communist Party *plays a major role* and is the most fundamental prerequisite.[117] *After the Zunyi Meeting and the correction of Zhang Guotao's mistakes, our Party has now entered the period of greatest unity since the meeting of its Sixth National Congress. Now, within our Party, there is identity of views, both within the Central Committee and in the whole Party, whether it be regarding the political line, strategic policy, the estimate of the current situation, or the formulation of our tasks. This identity of views on political principles is the basic condition for unity. With regard to the mutual relations between Party members, cadres, and leaders, which are customarily called personnel matters, we have also learned many correct and appropriate methods. We have created an atmosphere of working together with one accord under correct political principles and established better mutual relations. Because of the vastness of the territory, the complexity of the circumstances, and the differences among the departments, it is difficult to avoid having differing views, and there should be differing views. The true practice of inner-Party democracy permits the putting forth and discussion of all sorts of different viewpoints. It is also precisely the democratic method which assures an exchange of views and leads to the summarizing of these views to form a conclusion, thereby bringing about a unified policy orientation of the whole Party. Here, we have also gradually learned the Marxist method of looking at questions in an objective and many-sided way, but not with subjectivity, prejudice, willfulness, or partiality. This also assures the unity of the Party. We are scientific Marxists. The style of conceit and willfulness is a useless thing.* Seventeen years of tempering have enabled the Chinese Communist Party *and its leaders* to acquire a thoroughly seasoned style.[118] *All these things can assure the unity of the Central Committee and of the whole Party.* Thus we are able to form a unified[119] nucleus and *center of gravity* for the whole nation[120] to push the Resistance War to victory.[121] Comrades, let the whole Party unite! Let the whole nation unite! Victory will certainly be ours![122]

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117. Is the most fundamental prerequisite → Is the most fundamental prerequisite for uniting the whole nation to win the War of Resistance and build a new China

118. Seventeen years of tempering have enabled the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders to acquire a thoroughly seasoned style. → Seventeen years of tempering have taught the Chinese Communist Party many ways of attaining internal unity, and ours is now a much more seasoned Party.

119. Unified → Powerful

120. For the whole nation → For the people of the whole country

121. To push the Resistance War to victory → In the struggle to win victory in the War of Resistance and to build a new China

122. Let the whole Party unite! Let the whole nation unite! Victory will certainly be ours! → So long as we are united, we can certainly reach this goal.

VIII. Summoning the Seventh National Congress of the Party

Now I will talk about the last issue, the question of summoning the Seventh National Congress.

Comrades, for reasons determined by the circumstances, it is already ten years since the Sixth National Congress of our Party in 1928. The Politburo meeting last December decided to prepare for the Seventh Congress, but the preparatory work has not yet been completed, and consequently it will be difficult to hold it this year. The present enlarged plenum should discuss the question of speeding up this preparatory work and decide to summon the congress in the not-too-distant future. The political significance of this congress will be great. It will summarize the experience of the past, especially the experience of the War of Resistance throughout the country, and the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It will discuss the domestic and international political situations. It will discuss how to take another step forward in uniting the entire nation, uniting the Guomindang and the Communist Party, as well as all the other parties, and further enhancing and enlarging the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It will discuss the policies, methods, and plans for winning final victory in the War of Resistance, in the context of a protracted war and long-term cooperation. It will discuss how to mobilize the working class and the toiling people throughout the country to take part more actively in the War of Resistance. Furthermore, we should discuss how the Party, in the new circumstances, will further unite and strengthen itself, and consolidate its links with the Guomindang, the other parties, and the people of the whole country, in order to carry out smoothly the general orientation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Apart from these political and organizational problems, the Seventh Congress should elect the new Central Committee, elect numerous leading comrades enjoying the highest prestige in the entire Party to the Central Committee, and strengthen the leadership over the work of the whole Party. Comrades, the significance of this congress is so great that when this Enlarged Sixth Plenum is over and you go back to your places of work, you must, on the basis of efforts at greatly enlarging and strengthening the Party, according to democratic methods, choose the proper time to carry out the elections, so that the best cadres and Party members and those most trusted by the Party members and the masses, will have the opportunity to be elected as delegates to this congress. As a result, the Seventh Congress will be able to gather together the best representatives of the Party in one hall, thereby guaranteeing the success of this congress. We are confident that this national congress will definitely be able to succeed, and to inflict on the war of aggression of Japanese imperialism the most solemn and serious, most forceful answer. Let Japanese imperialism tremble before our national congress, let it tumble into the Eastern Sea. The Chinese nation will definitely be victorious.

That is all for my report.

Undertake Long-Term, Arduous Struggle to Create the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Base Area

(October 15, 1938)

To the comrades in the Hebei-Rehe Region, as well as Comrades Song and Deng:[1]

1. You should persevere in the hard struggle in the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Border Region, create a base area, train backbone troops, be prepared for a protracted [struggle], overcome all the difficulties you meet with in the course of development with the greatest determination, and fight to the end for the accomplishment of the above tasks.

2. Consolidate the troops, use all effective methods to raise the confidence of victory of the troops in a protracted War of Resistance, raise their conscious political discipline, and raise the political activism of the commanders. Establish the work of the national salvation office and strengthen its leadership, accept the participation of all the soldiers in the company so that they will be able to assist in work such as the management of education, enforcing discipline, and eliminating the bad elements.

3. Develop the Party on a big scale, recruit progressive elements into the Party, and set up Party branches and Party activity in the company, so that it becomes the core leading the struggle in the company. Any neglect of the development and work of the Party is most harmful to the current task of stabilizing and raising the fighting capacity of the forces.

4. Under the present circumstances of a lack of cadres, you may transfer more than one-third of the new troops to the area of eastern and western Zaitang[2] and Wei *xian,* and assign them to the units of Yang Chengwu and Wang Zhen,[3] who will be responsible for consolidating and reorganizing them. Nie [Rongzhen] should

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 414–15, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. Song and Deng are Song Shilun and Deng Hua, who were at this time the commander and political commissar of the Fourth Column of the Eighth Route Army.

2. These districts have now been incorporated into the city of Beijing.

3, Yang Chengwu and Wang Zhen were at this time commander and political commissar respectively of the First Branch Army of the Eighth Route Army in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Base Area, and of the Thirty-fifth Brigade of the 120th Army of the Eighth Route Army.

designate Yang and Wang's troops to take responsibility for screening during the transfer, and Song and Deng should send out troops to cover and escort them.

5. Song and Deng's units, as well as the local forces left in eastern Hebei, should be commanded and led by Song and Deng. On the basis of the aforementioned tasks and principles of consolidation, you should sustain the long-term hard struggle in the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Border Region and create base areas. We may send a few battalion and regimental commanders and ten company commanders to work with you there.

Mao [Zedong] Zhu [De]
Peng [Dehuai] Wang [Jiaxiang]
Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]

To Liu Yi[1]

(October 30, 1938)

Comrade Liu Yi:

I am replying only today to your letter of August, and I don't know whether it will still be of any help in dealing with your problem. Are you still in the Third Brigade? Because I have been busy, I have put off replying until today. I am sorry!

You were sincere in your intentions. If it is true that, as the Party comrades in the Northern Shaanxi Public School and the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University have said, your behavior satisfies the qualifications for Party membership, and it is merely that you have no one to serve as your witness for your joining and then leaving the Guomindang, while, on the other hand, you have been here in Yan'an for as long as nine months and have no other problems that can possibly prevent you from joining the Party, then in my opinion you should be allowed to join the Party. The way to resolve this problem is for you to take this letter to the responsible comrades of the Third Brigade and discuss the matter with them. Show them your original letter too, and ask that they give final consideration to your problem. If the problem still cannot be solved, you may take this letter to Director Zhang of the Political Department.[2] There are reasons for the defects you pointed out, and you can send your letter to the Political Department for their reference. Finally, I must inform you that only Party members and those whose level of study and cultivation are relatively high can be admitted to the Academy of Marxism-Leninism. Here I conclude my reply, with

Salutations

Mao Zedong

Our source for this letter is *Mao Zedong shuxin xuanji,* pp. 130–31, where it is reproduced from the manuscript.

1. Liu Yi (1913–), a native of Zhejiang, was at this time a clerical worker in political instruction in the First Detachment of the Sixth Brigade of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University.

2. The reference is to Zhang Jichun (1900–1968), a native of Hunan, who at this time was head of the Political Department at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University.

The Question of Independence and Autonomy Within the United Front[1]

(November 5, 1938)

Help and Concessions Should Be Positive, Not Negative

For the sake of long-term cooperation, it is necessary for all political parties and groups in the united front to help each other and make mutual concessions, but such help and concessions should be positive, not negative. We must consolidate and expand our own Party and army and, at the same time, should assist friendly parties and armies to consolidate and expand; the people want the government to satisfy their political and economic demands, and, at the same time, give the government every possible help to prosecute the War of Resistance; the factory workers demand better conditions from the owners, and, at the same time, work hard in the interests of resistance to Japan; for the sake of unity against foreign aggression, the landlords should reduce rent and interest, and, at the same time, the peasants should pay rent and interest. All these are principles and policies of mutual assistance; they are positive, not negative or one-sided. The same holds true for mutual concessions. Each side refrains from undermining the other and from organizing secret [party] branches within the other's party, government, and army. For our part, we organize no secret [party] branches inside the Guomindang and its government or army, thereby setting the Guomindang's mind at rest, to the advantage of the resistance to Japan. The saying "Refrain from doing some things in order to be able to do other things" exactly meets the case.[2] A national war of resistance against Japan would have been impossible without the reorganization of the Red Army, the change in the administrative system in the Red areas, and the abandonment of the policy of armed insurrection. By giving way on the latter we have achieved the former; negative measures have yielded positive results. "To

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Our source for this document is the 1991 revised edition of *Mao Zedong xuanji,* Vol. 2, pp. 537–40. No contemporary text is available.

1. This is an extract from Mao Zedong's concluding remarks at the Sixth Plenum.

2. This is a slightly modified citation of a line from *Mencius,* IV, II, III, 8 (Legge, Vol. 2, p. 321). Legge renders the original: "Mencius said, 'Men must be decided on what they will not do, and then they are able to act with vigour *in what they ought to do.*'"

fall back the better to leap forward"—that is Leninism.[3] To regard concessions as something purely negative is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. Indeed there have been instances of purely negative concessions—the Second International's doctrine of collaboration between labor and capital resulted in the betrayal of a whole class and a whole revolution. In China, Chen Duxiu and then Zhang Guotao were both capitulators; we must strenuously oppose capitulationism. When we make concessions, fall back, turn to the defensive, or halt our advance in our relations with either allies or enemies, we should always see these actions as part of our whole revolutionary policy, as an indispensable link in the general revolutionary line, as one turn in a zigzag course. In a word, they are positive.

The Identity Between the National and the Class Struggle

To sustain a long war by long-term cooperation or, in other words, to subordinate the class struggle to the present national struggle against Japan—such is the fundamental principle of the united front. Subject to this principle, the independent character of the parties and classes and their independence and initiative within the united front should be preserved, and their essential rights should not be sacrificed to cooperation and unity but, on the contrary, must be firmly upheld within certain limits. Only thus can cooperation be facilitated, indeed only thus can there be any cooperation at all. Otherwise cooperation will turn into amalgamation, and the united front will inevitably be sacrificed. In a national struggle, the class struggle takes the form of national struggle, thus demonstrating the unanimity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt cooperation; on the other hand, the demands of the national struggle (the need to resist Japan) should be the point of departure for all class struggle. Thus in the united front unity and independence, the national struggle and the class struggle, become as one.

"Everything Through the United Front" Is Wrong

The Guomindang is the party in power and so far has not allowed the united front to assume an organizational form. Comrade Liu Shaoqi has rightly said that if "everything through" were simply to mean through Chiang Kaishek and Yan Xishan, it would mean unilateral submission, and not "through the united front" at all. Behind the enemy lines, the idea of "everything through" is impossible, for there

3. This is a quotation from Lenin's "Conspectus of Hegel's *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*." See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), pp. 279–80. In fact, Lenin is here discussing not politics, but the process of cognition. This is reflected in the fact that immediately after the words just quoted, he cites the more familiar French version of this maxim, *"Reculer pour mieux sauter,"* adding in parentheses after *"sauter," "savoir."*

we have to act independently and with the initiative in our own hands while keeping to the agreements that the Guomindang has approved (for instance, the Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction). Or we may act first and report afterward, anticipating what the Guomindang might agree to. For instance, the appointment of administrative commissioners and the dispatch of troops to Shandong Province would never have occurred if we had tried to get these things done "through [the united front]." It is said that the French Communist Party once put forward such a slogan, but that was probably because in France, where a joint committee of the parties already existed and the Socialist Party was unwilling to act in accordance with the jointly agreed program and wanted to have its own way, the Communist Party had to put forward such a slogan in order to restrain the Socialist Party, and certainly it did not do so to shackle itself. In the case of China, the Guomindang has deprived all other political parties of equal rights and is trying to compel them to take orders from itself alone. If we raise this slogan as a demand that "everything" done by the Guomindang must go "through" us, it would not work, and would be ridiculous. If we have to secure the Guomindang's consent beforehand for "everything" we do, what if it does not consent? Since the policy of the Guomindang is to restrict our growth, there is no reason whatever that we should propose such a slogan, which simply binds us hand and foot. At present there are things for which we should secure prior consent from the Guomindang, such as the expansion of our three divisions into three army corps—this is to report first and act afterward. There are other things that the Guomindang can be told after they have become accomplished facts, such as the expansion of our forces to over 200,000 men—this is to act first and report afterward. There are also things, such as the convening of the Border Region assembly, which we shall do and not report for the time being, knowing that the Guomindang will not agree at present. There are still other things which, for the time being, we shall neither do nor report, for they are likely to jeopardize the whole situation. In short, we certainly must not split the united front, but neither should we allow ourselves to be bound hand and foot, and hence the slogan "everything through the united front" should not be put forward. If "everything must be subordinate to" is interpreted as "everything must be submitted to" Chiang Kaishek and Yan Xishan, then that slogan, too, is wrong. Our policy is one of independence and initiative within the united front, a policy both of unity and of independence.

Problems of War and Strategy[1]

(November 6, 1938)

I. China's Characteristics and Revolutionary War

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and all other countries.

But while the principle remains the same, its application by the party of the proletariat finds expression in varying ways according to the varying conditions. Internally, capitalist countries practice bourgeois democracy, not feudalism, when they are not fascist or not at war; in their external relations, they are not oppressed by, but themselves oppress, other nations. Because of these characteristics, it is the task of the party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggle, and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism. In these countries, the question is one of a long legal struggle, of utilizing parliament as a platform, of economic and political strikes, of organizing trade unions and educating the workers. There the form of organization is legal and the form of struggle bloodless (nonmilitary). On the issue of war, the Communist Parties in capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries; if such wars occur, the policy of these parties is to bring about the defeat of the reactionary governments of their own countries. The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing. But such insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless, until the majority of the proletariat is determined to rise in arms and fight, and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat. And when the time comes to launch such an insurrection and war, the first step will be to seize the cities, and then advance into the countryside, and not the other way around. All this has been done by Communist Parties in capitalist countries, and it has been proved correct by the October Revolution in Russia.

China, however, is different. The characteristics of China are: that it is not an independent and democratic country, but a semicolonial and semifeudal country;

Our source for this document is the 1991 revised edition of *Mao Zedong xuanji,* Vol. 2, pp. 541–57. No contemporary text is available.

1. This is another portion of Mao's concluding remarks at the Sixth Plenum, delivered on November 6, 1938.

that internally it has no democratic system, but is under feudal oppression; and that in its external relations it has no national independence, but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Here, the basic task of the Communist Party is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse.

When imperialism is not making armed attacks [on our country], the Chinese Communist Party either wages civil war jointly with the bourgeoisie against the warlords (lackeys of imperialism), as in 1924–1927 in the wars in Guangdong Province and the Northern Expedition, or unites with the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie to wage civil war against the landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie (also lackeys of imperialism), as in the Agrarian Revolutionary War of 1927–1936. When imperialism launches armed attacks, the Party unites all classes and strata in the country opposing the foreign aggressors to wage a national war against the foreign enemy, as it is doing in the present War of Resistance against Japan.

All this shows the difference between China and the capitalist countries. In China war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization. Other forms such as mass organization and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of a war all organization and struggle are in preparation for the war, as in the period from the May Fourth movement of 1919 to the May Thirtieth movement of 1925. After war breaks out, all organization and struggle is coordinated with the war either directly or indirectly, as, for instance, in the period of the Northern Expedition, when all organization and struggle in the rear areas of the revolutionary army were coordinated with the war directly, and that in the northern warlord areas was coordinated with the war indirectly. Again in the period of the Agrarian Revolutionary War all organization and struggle inside the Red areas was coordinated with the war directly, and outside the Red areas indirectly. Yet again in the present period, the War of Resistance, all organization and struggle in the rear areas of the anti-Japanese forces and in the areas occupied by the enemy is directly or indirectly coordinated with the war.

"In China armed revolution is fighting armed counterrevolution. That is one of the specific features and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution."[2] This thesis of Comrade Stalin's is perfectly correct and is equally valid for the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, and the present War of Resistance

2. The quotation is from Stalin's speech to the Chinese Commission of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International on November 30, 1926, which appears under the title "The Prospects of the Revolution in China," in Stalin, *Works* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), Vol. 8, p. 379. The "armed revolution" hailed by Stalin in 1926 was, of course, as Mao goes on to state, the Northern Expedition, under the command of Chiang Kaishek, against the Northern warlords.

against Japan. They are all revolutionary wars, all directed against counterrevolutionaries, and all waged mainly by the revolutionary people, differing only in the sense that a civil war differs from a national war, and that a war conducted by the Communist Party differs from a war it conducts jointly with the Guomindang. Of course, these differences are important. They indicate the breadth of the main forces in the war (an alliance of the workers and peasants, or of the workers, peasants, and bourgeoisie) and whether our antagonist in the war is internal or external (whether the war is against domestic or foreign foes, and, if domestic, whether against the Northern warlords or against the Guomindang); they also indicate that the content of China's revolutionary war differs at different stages of its history. But all these wars are instances of armed revolution fighting armed counterrevolution; they are all revolutionary wars, and all exhibit the specific features and advantages of the Chinese revolution. The thesis that revolutionary war "is one of the specific features and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution" fits China's conditions perfectly. The main task of the Party of the Chinese proletariat, a task confronting it almost from its very inception, has been to unite with as many allies as possible and, according to the circumstances, to organize armed struggles for national and social liberation against armed counterrevolution, whether internal or external. Without armed struggle the proletariat and the Communist Party would have no standing at all in China, and it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task.

Our Party did not adequately understand this point during the five or six years from its foundation in 1921 to its participation in the Northern Expedition in 1926. It did not then understand the supreme importance of armed struggle in China or seriously prepare for war and organize armed forces, or apply itself to the study of military strategy and tactics. During the Northern Expedition, it neglected to win over the army but laid one-sided emphasis on the movement of the popular masses, with the result that the whole mass movement collapsed the moment the Guomindang turned reactionary. For a long time after 1927 many comrades continued to make it the Party's central task to prepare for insurrections in the cities and to work in the White areas. It was only after our victory in repelling the enemy's Third "Encirclement and Suppression" campaign in 1931 that some comrades fundamentally changed their attitude on this question. But this was not true of the whole Party, and there were other comrades who continued as they had in the past, and did not think along the lines presented here.

Experience tells us that China's problems cannot be settled without armed force. An understanding of this point will help us in successfully waging the War of Resistance against Japan from now on. The fact that the whole nation is rising in armed resistance in the war against Japan should inculcate a better understanding of the importance of this question in the whole Party, and every Party member should be prepared to take up arms and go to the front at any moment. Moreover, our present session has clearly defined the direction for our efforts by deciding that the Party's main fields of work are in the battle zones and in the enemy's rear. This is also an excellent antidote to the tendency of some Party members to be

willing only to work in party organizations and in the movements of the popular masses, but to be unwilling to study or participate in warfare, and to the failure of some schools to encourage students to go to the front, and other such phenomena. In most of China, Party organizational work and popular mass work are directly linked with armed struggle; there is not, and cannot be, any Party work or mass work that is isolated and stands by itself. Even in rear areas remote from the battle zones (such as Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan) and in some enemy-occupied areas (such as Beiping, Tianjin, Nanjing, and Shanghai), Party organizational work and work with the popular masses are coordinated with the war, and can and should exclusively serve the needs of the front. In a word, the whole Party must pay great attention to war, study military matters, and prepare to fight.

II. The War History of the Guomindang

It will be useful for us to look at the history of the Guomindang and see what attention it pays to war.

From the start, when he organized a small revolutionary group, Sun Yatsen staged armed insurrections against the Qing dynasty. The period of the Tongmenghui was replete with armed insurrections, right up to the armed overthrow of the Qing dynasty by the 1911 Revolution. Then, during the period of the Chinese Revolutionary Party, he carried out a military campaign against Yuan [Shikai]. Subsequent events such as the southern movement of the naval force, the northern expedition from Guilin, and the founding of the Huangpu Military Academy were also among Sun Yatsen's military undertakings.

After Sun Yatsen came Chiang Kaishek, who brought the Guomindang's military power to its zenith. He values the army as his very life and has had the experience of three wars, namely, the Northern Expedition, the civil war, and the War of Resistance against Japan. For the last ten years Chiang Kaishek has been a counterrevolutionary. He has created a huge "Central Army" for counterrevolutionary purposes. He has held firmly to the vital point that whoever has an army has power and that war decides everything. In this respect we ought to learn from him. In this respect both Sun Yatsen and Chiang Kaishek are our teachers.

Since the 1911 Revolution, all the warlords have clung to their armies for dear life, setting great store by the principle "Whoever has an army has power."

Tan Yankai, a clever bureaucrat who had a checkered career in Hunan, was never a civil governor pure and simple but always insisted on being both the military governor and the civil governor. Even when he became president of the National Government first in Guangdong and then in Wuhan, he was concurrently the commander of the Second Army.[3] There are many such warlords who understand this peculiarity of China's.

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3. Regarding Mao's fluctuating assessment of Tan, from the May Fourth period to the late 1920s, see Volumes I and II of this edition, *passim*.

There have also been parties in China, notably the Progressive Party, which did not want to have an army; yet even this party recognized that it could not get government positions without some warlord backing. Among its successive patrons have been Yuan Shikai, Duan Qirui,[4] and Chiang Kaishek (to whom the Political Science Group, formed out of a section of the Progressive Party, has attached itself).

A few small political parties with a short history, such as the Youth Party,[5] have no army, and so have not been able to get anywhere.

In other countries there is no need for each of the bourgeois parties to have an armed force under its direct command. But things are different in China, where, because of the feudal division of the country, those landlord or bourgeois groupings or parties which have guns have power, and those which have more guns have more power. Placed in such an environment, the party of the proletariat should see clearly to the heart of the matter.

Communists do not fight for personal military power (they must under no circumstances do that, and let no one ever again follow the example of Zhang Guotao), but they must fight for military power for the Party, for military power for the people. As a national War of Resistance is going on, we must also fight for military power for the nation. Where there is naïveté on the question of military power, nothing whatsoever can be achieved. It is very difficult for the laboring people, who have been deceived and intimidated by the reactionary ruling classes for thousands of years, to awaken to the importance of having guns in their own hands. Now that Japanese imperialist oppression and the nationwide resistance to it have pushed our laboring people into the arena of war, Communists should prove themselves the most politically conscious leaders in this war. Every Communist must grasp this truth: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."[6] Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party. Yet, having guns, we can create Party organizations, as witness the powerful Party organizations which the Eighth Route Army has created in northern China. We can also create cadres, create schools, create culture, create movements of the popular masses. Everything in Yan'an has been created from the barrels of guns. All things grow out of the barrel of a gun. According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad; it is Marxist. The guns of

4. Duan Qirui was the leader of the Anfu clique.

5. The Chinese Youth Party, or *Étatistes*. Regarding the *Étatistes*, see Volume II, pp. 268 and 304.

6. This maxim, which is often thought to date from 1938, had in fact been put forward by Mao in slightly different words at the "August 7 Emergency Conference" in 1927. See Volume III, pp. 31 and 36.

the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the laboring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed. We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.

III. The War History of the Chinese Communist Party

Our Party failed to grasp the importance of engaging itself directly in preparations for war and in the organization of armed forces for a period of three or four years, that is, from 1921 (when the Chinese Communist Party was founded) to 1924 (when the First National Congress of the Guomindang was held), and it still lacked adequate understanding of this issue in the 1924–1927 period and even later; nevertheless, after 1924, when it began to participate in the Huangpu Military Academy, it entered a new stage and began to see the importance of military affairs. Through helping the Guomindang in the wars in Guangdong Province and participating in the Northern Expedition, the Party gained leadership over some armed forces. Then, having learned a bitter lesson from the failure of the revolution, the Party organized the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, and the Guangzhou Uprising, and entered on a new period, the founding of the Red Army. That was the crucial period in which our Party arrived at a thorough understanding of the importance of the army. Had there been no Red Army and no war fought by the Red Army in this period, that is, had the Communist Party adopted Chen Duxiu's liquidationism, the present War of Resistance against Japan would have been inconceivable or could not have been sustained for long.

At its emergency meeting held on August 7, 1927, the Central Committee of the Party combated Right opportunism in the political sphere, thus enabling the Party to take a great stride forward. At its fourth plenary session in January 1931, the Sixth Central Committee nominally combated "Left" opportunism in the political sphere, but in fact itself committed the error of "Left" opportunism anew. The two meetings differed in their content and historical role, but neither of them dealt seriously with the problems of war and strategy, a fact which showed that war had not yet been made the center of gravity in the Party's work. After the central leadership of the Party moved into the Red areas in 1933, this situation underwent a radical change, but mistakes in principle were again committed on the problem of war (and all other major problems), bringing serious losses to the revolutionary war. The Zunyi Meeting of 1935, on the other hand, was mainly a fight against opportunism in the military sphere and gave top priority to the question of war, and this was a reflection of the war conditions of the time. Today we can say with confidence that in the struggles of the past seventeen years the Chinese Communist Party has forged not only a firm Marxist political line but also a

firm Marxist military line. We have been able to apply Marxism in solving not only political but also military problems; we have trained not only a large core of cadres capable of running the Party and the state, but also a large core of cadres capable of running the army. These achievements are the flower of the revolution, watered by the blood of countless martyrs, a glory that belongs not only to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people but also to the Communist Parties and the peoples of the whole world. There are only three armies in the whole world that belong to the proletariat and the laboring people, the armies led by the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, of China, and of Spain, and as yet Communist Parties in other countries have had no military experience; hence our army and our military experience are all the more precious.

In order to carry the present War of Resistance against Japan to victory, it is extremely important to expand and consolidate the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and all the guerrilla forces led by our Party. Acting on this principle, the Party should dispatch a sufficient number of its best members and cadres to the front. Everything must serve victory at the front, and the organizational task must be subordinated to the political task.

IV. Changes in the Party's Military Strategy in the Civil War and the National War

The changes in our Party's military strategy are worth studying. Let us deal separately with the two processes, the civil war and the national war.

The civil war can be roughly divided into two strategic periods. Guerrilla warfare was primary in the first period and regular warfare in the second. But the regular warfare was of the Chinese type, regular only in its concentration of forces for mobile warfare and in a certain degree of centralization and planning in command and organization; in other respects, it retained a guerrilla character and, as regular warfare, was on a low level and not comparable with the regular warfare of foreign armies or, in some ways, even with that of the Guomindang army. Thus, in a sense, this type of regular warfare was only guerrilla warfare raised to a higher level.

The process of the War of Resistance against Japan can also be roughly divided into two strategic periods, so far as our Party's military tasks are concerned. In the first period (comprising the stages of the strategic defensive and strategic stalemate), it is guerrilla warfare which is primary, while in the second (the stage of strategic counteroffensive) it is regular warfare that will be primary. The guerrilla warfare of the first period of the War of Resistance, however, differs considerably in content from that of the first period of the civil war, because the dispersed guerrilla tasks are being carried out by the regular (regular to a certain degree) Eighth Route Army. Likewise, the regular warfare of the second period of the War of Resistance will be different from that of the second period of the civil war because we can assume that, given up-to-date equipment, a great change will take

place both in the army and in its battle operations. Our army will then attain a high degree of centralization and organization, and its operations will lose much of their guerrilla character and attain a high degree of regularity; what is now at a low level will then be raised to a higher level, and the Chinese type of regular warfare will change into the general worldwide type. That will be our task in the stage of the strategic counteroffensive.

Thus we see that the two processes, the civil war and the War of Resistance against Japan, and their four strategic periods contain three changes in strategy. The first was the change from guerrilla warfare to regular warfare in the civil war. The second was the change from regular warfare in the civil war to guerrilla warfare in the War of Resistance against Japan. And the third will be the change from guerrilla warfare to regular warfare in the War of Resistance against Japan.

The first of the three changes encountered great difficulties. It involved a twofold task. On the one hand, we had to combat the Right tendency of localism and guerrillaism, which consisted in clinging to guerrilla habits and refusing to make the turn to regularization, a tendency that arose because our cadres underestimated the changes in the enemy's situation and our own tasks. In the Central Red Area it was only after much painstaking education that this tendency was gradually corrected. On the other hand, we also had to combat the "Left" tendency of overcentralization and adventurism, which put undue stress on regularization, a tendency that arose because some of the leading cadres overestimated the enemy, set the tasks too high, and mechanically applied foreign experience regardless of the actual conditions. For three long years (before the Zunyi Conference), this tendency imposed enormous sacrifices on the Central Red Area, and it was corrected only after we had learned lessons for which we paid in blood. Its correction was the achievement of the Zunyi Conference.

The second change in strategy took place in the autumn of 1937 (after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident), at the juncture of the two different wars. Our enemy was a new one, Japanese imperialism, our ally was our former enemy, the Guomindang (although it still harbored feelings of hostility toward us), and the theater of war was the vast expanse of North China (which was temporarily our army's front but would soon be the enemy's rear, and would remain so for a long time). In this special situation, our change in strategy was an extremely serious one. In this special situation we had to transform the regular army of the past into a guerrilla army (as regards its dispersed operations, and not as regards its organized and disciplined character), and transform the mobile warfare of the past into guerrilla warfare, so that we could adapt ourselves to the kind of enemy facing us and to the tasks before us. But this change was, to all appearances, a step backward and therefore necessarily very difficult. Both underestimation and morbid fear of Japan, tendencies likely to occur at such a time, did actually occur among the Guomindang. When the Guomindang changed over from civil war to national war, it suffered many needless losses mainly because of its underestimation of the enemy, but also because of its morbid fear of Japan (as exemplified by Han Fuqu

and Liu Zhi).[7] On the other hand, we have effected the change fairly smoothly and, instead of suffering losses, have won big victories. The reason is that the great majority of our cadres accepted the correct guidance of the Central Committee in good time and skillfully sized up the actual situation, even though there were serious arguments between the Central Committee and some of the army cadres. The extreme importance of this change for persevering in, developing, and winning the War of Resistance against Japan as a whole, as well as for the future of the Chinese Communist Party, can be seen immediately if we think of the historic significance of anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare in determining the fate of the national liberation struggle in China. In its extraordinary breadth and protractedness, China's anti-Japanese guerrilla war is without precedent, not only in the East but perhaps in the whole history of mankind.

The third change, from guerrilla warfare to regular warfare against Japan, belongs to the future development of the war, which will presumably give rise to new circumstances and new difficulties. We need not discuss it now.

V. The Strategic Role of Guerrilla Warfare Against Japan

In the anti-Japanese war as a whole, regular warfare is primary and guerrilla warfare supplementary, for only regular warfare can decide the final outcome of the war. Of the three strategic stages (the defensive, the stalemate, and the counteroffensive) in the entire process of the war in the country as a whole, the first and last are stages in which regular warfare is primary and guerrilla warfare supplementary. In the intermediate stage, guerrilla warfare will become primary and regular warfare supplementary because the enemy will be holding on to the areas he has occupied and we will be preparing for the counteroffensive but will not yet be ready to launch it. Although this stage will possibly be the longest, it is still only one of the three stages in the entire war. If we take the war as a whole, therefore, regular warfare is primary and guerrilla warfare supplementary. Unless we understand this, unless we recognize that regular warfare will decide the final outcome of the war, and unless we pay attention to building a regular army and to studying and directing regular warfare, we shall be unable to defeat Japan. This is one aspect of the matter.

All the same, guerrilla warfare has its important strategic place throughout the war. Without guerrilla warfare and without due attention to building guerrilla units

7. Han Fuqu (1890–1938), who had served under Feng Yuxiang (regarding Feng, see Volume V, p. 460, note 1) until May 1929, was governor of Shandong from 1930 to 1938. Liu Zhi (1892–1971) was governor of Henan from 1930 to 1935. After the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, Han was appointed deputy commander of the Fifth War Zone and commander of the Third Group Army. Liu became deputy commander of the First War Zone and commander of the Second Group Army, made up of Chiang Kaishek's personal forces. Both of them fled without offering any resistance in the face of the Japanese invasion of Shandong. Han Fuqu was arrested and executed on January 24, 1938.

and guerrilla armies and to studying and directing guerrilla warfare, we shall likewise be unable to defeat Japan. The reason is that, since the greater part of China will be converted into the enemy's rear, in the absence of the most extensive and persistent guerrilla warfare the enemy will entrench himself securely without any fear of attacks from behind, will inflict heavy losses on our main forces fighting at the front, and will launch increasingly fierce offensives; thus it will be difficult for us to bring about a stalemate, and the very continuation of the War of Resistance may be jeopardized. But even if things do not turn out that way, other unfavorable circumstances will ensue, such as the inadequate building up of strength for our counteroffensive, the absence of supporting actions during the counteroffensive, and the possibility that the enemy will be able to replace his losses. If these circumstances arise and are not overcome by the timely development of extensive and persistent guerrilla warfare, it will likewise be impossible to defeat Japan. Hence, though guerrilla warfare occupies a supplementary place in the war as a whole, it does have an extremely important place in strategy. In resisting Japan it is undoubtedly a grave error to neglect guerrilla warfare. This is the other aspect of the matter.

Given a big country, guerrilla warfare is possible; hence there was guerrilla warfare in the past too. But guerrilla warfare can be persevered in only when led by the Communist Party. That is why guerrilla warfare generally failed in the past and why it can be victorious only in modern times and only in big countries in which Communist Parties have emerged, as in the Soviet Union during its civil war and in China at present. Considering the present circumstances and the general situation with respect to the war, the division of labor between the Guomindang and the Communist Party in the anti-Japanese war, in which the former carries on frontal regular warfare and the latter carries on guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines, is both necessary and proper, and is a matter of mutual need, mutual coordination, and mutual assistance.

It can thus be understood how important and necessary it was for our Party to change its military strategy from the regular warfare of the latter period of the civil war to the guerrilla warfare of the first period of the War of Resistance. The favorable effects of this change can be summed up in the following eighteen points:[8]

1. Reduction of the areas occupied by the enemy forces;
2. Expansion of the base areas of our own forces;
3. In the stage of the defensive, coordination with operations at the regular front, so as to pin down the enemy;
4. In the stage of stalemate, maintenance of a firm hold on the base areas behind the enemy lines so as to facilitate the training and reorganization of troops at the regular front;

8. In the Chinese text, these eighteen points make up a single paragraph; we have separated them for the sake of readability.

5. In the stage of the counteroffensive, coordination with the regular front in recovering lost territory;
6. The quickest and most effective expansion of our forces;
7. The widest expansion of the Communist Party, so that a Party branch may be organized in every village;
8. The broadest development of the movements of the popular masses, so that all the people behind the enemy lines, except for those in his strongholds, may be organized;
9. The most extensive establishment of organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power;
10. The widest development of anti-Japanese cultural and educational work;
11. The most extensive improvement of the people's livelihood;
12. The most effective disintegration of the enemy troops;
13. The most extensive and enduring impact on popular feeling and stimulation of morale throughout the country;
14. The most extensive impetus to progress in the friendly armies and parties;
15. Adaptation to the situation in which the enemy is strong and we are weak, so that we suffer fewer losses and win more victories;
16. Adaptation to the fact that China is large and Japan small, so as to make the enemy suffer more losses and win fewer victories;
17. The quickest and most effective training of large numbers of cadres for leadership; and
18. The most effective solution to the problem of provisions.

It is also beyond doubt that in the long course of struggle the guerrilla units and guerrilla warfare will not remain as they are but will develop to a higher stage and evolve gradually into regular units and regular warfare. Through guerrilla warfare we shall build up our strength and turn ourselves into a decisive element in the crushing of Japanese imperialism.

VI. Pay Attention to the Study of Military Matters

All the issues between two hostile armies depend on war for their solution, and China's survival or extinction depends on its victory or defeat in the present war. Hence our study of military theory, of strategy and tactics, and of army political work brooks not a moment's delay. Although our study of tactics is still inadequate, our comrades who are engaged in military work have achieved a great deal in the past ten years and, on the basis of Chinese conditions, have brought forth much that is new; the shortcoming here is that there has been no general summing up. But so far only a few people have taken up the study of the problems of strategy and the theory of war. First-rate results have been achieved in the study of our political work, which, in wealth of experience and in the number and quality of its innovations, ranks second only to that of the Soviet Union; here, too, the shortcoming is

insufficient synthesis and systematization. The popularization of military knowledge is an urgent task for the Party and the whole country. We must from now on pay much attention to all these things, but most important of all is the theory of war and strategy. I deem it imperative that we arouse interest in the study of military theory and call upon the whole Party to study military matters attentively.

Zhang Yunyi May Lead Two or Three Battalions to Cross the River and Operate on the Other Side

(November 10, 1938)

To Xiang [Ying], and to be forwarded to Zhou [Enlai] and Ye [Jianying]:

1. Bai Chongxi has allowed Comrade Zhang Yunyi[1] of the New Fourth Army to lead a battalion to the north of the Yangzi River to operate within Anhui. Has he been sent out or not?

2. Central Anhui is now most convenient for our army's operations. Could the New Fourth Army send two or three battalions to join with Comrade Zhang Yunyi and cross the river under his command? From now on, which unit will provide for the expenses of the third and fourth detachments and the Eighth Regiment? How will the money be delivered to them? Under which unit's command will they be? What will their relationship with the Central Plains Bureau[2] be?

We look forward to your response by telegraph to the above points.

Mao [Zedong] Wang [Jiaxiang]
Hu [Fu] [Liu Shaoqi]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 434–35, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. Zhang Yunyi was at this time chief of staff of the New Fourth Army, and commander of the Third Detachment.

2. The Central Plains Bureau was established on November 9, 1938, with Liu Shaoqi as its secretary.

Persist in Long-Term Guerrilla Warfare in the Daqing Mountains

(November 24, 1938)

To Zhou [Shidi] and Gan [Siqi], and for transmittal to Li Jingquan:

1. The Daqing mountain range is not far from Outer Mongolia to the north, and the enemy regards it as important.[1] Since guerrilla warfare has yet to commence in Chahar and Rehe, it is also isolated. We would like to establish a base area of the Hebei-Chahar-Shanxi type there, and although this is not possible today, if we persist in long-term guerrilla warfare, it will become entirely possible to establish a guerrilla base area, and, moreover, this is a central task.

2. Therefore, every policy there should take as its starting point the characteristics of long-term guerrilla warfare.

a. In organizing defections of puppet-régime troops, we should avoid scattered outbursts that are too early or unnecessary. Only when it is estimated that sentiment in favor of defection is irrepressible, or when it has already broken out, or in case of military necessity, should you resolutely proceed. In general, though, work should conform to the principle of long-term thinking.

b. Before and after troops defect, you should make them aware of the difficulty of material conditions as well as the arduous nature of the struggle. After troops defect, generally strive to bring them nominally under the command of the Eighth Route Army, and then transform or reorganize them during a process of struggle. It is best to strive to bring them close to northwestern Shanxi or the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Region, but do not insist. Doing favors for others will end up increasing our difficulties in the future.

c. Toward large groups of bandits or spontaneous anti-Japanese armed troops of a semibandit nature, you should adopt the approach of having high-level contacts and influencing, motivating, and helping them to progress. Do not create antagonisms and thus increase the difficulties of the guerrilla teams

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Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 436–38, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. The Daqing mountain range is roughly a hundred miles south of Outer Mongolia, but to the Japanese that no doubt appeared close in strategic terms.

and local work. In dealing with scattered bandits, you may eliminate them, but you must still be courteous to them; do not kill people indiscriminately.

d. Toward Yu Jingyi's self-defense force,[2] out of consideration for his relationship with Fu [Zuoyi], you should adopt the approach of having high-level contacts and helping and encouraging them to progress. Do not adopt an orientation of splitting and undermining.

3. On Suiyuan matters, you must pay attention at all times to the united front with Fu Zuoyi. Regarding the united front with the local upper strata of Suiyuan, tactics to use against puppet régimes and such, you must not act contrary to this characteristic of the long-term guerrilla war.

4. Another basic task is to unite the Mongol and Han peoples together in resistance to Japan. Use our correct minority nationalities policy to change China's traditional erroneous policy. Make ourselves into a model with which to push forward and influence the Guomindang. The first thing is to turn Fu Zuoyi around.

a. Out of consideration for the national consciousness of the Mongols, and the Mongols' faith in the nobility, toward Prince De[3] we should still adopt the tactic of trying to win him over, and continue to carry out the slogan of asking Prince De to turn around and resist Japan.

b. Toward Mongols who request the return of land invaded and occupied by Han, you should make the Han set up a contract to buy the land at a commensurate price or pay rent on it as leased land. Local government should handle each case separately and justly in light of the specific circumstances, according to the principle of uniting the Mongols and the Han together in resistance to Japan.

c. Respect the customs, habits, and religion of the Mongols, and develop their culture; do not violate the interests of the Mongols, especially in buying horses. You must conscientiously educate the troops on this.

d. Recruit the intellectuals among the Mongols, train Mongol cadres; work on the Mongol people.

5. You should develop and conduct work in the direction of the Suiyuan-Chahar border region as well as the area south of the railway. Multiply local guerrilla teams as much as possible, and cultivate local cadres as well as leaders of the masses.

Mao [Zedong] Wang [Jiaxiang]
Yang [Shangkun] He [Long]
Guan [Xiangying]

2. Yu Jingyi (also known as Yu Cunhao) was at this time deputy commander of the Guomindang's Suiyuan Anti-Japanese Self-Defense Army of the Popular Masses.

3. Regarding Demchukdonggrub (1902–1966), commonly known in Chinese as De Wang or Prince De, see above, the relevant note to the text of November 16, 1937.

Central Tasks of the Central Hebei Region

(November 24, 1938)

1. According to our assessment of the future development of the situation in North China, the central task of the Central Hebei region is to consolidate the existing armed forces, rely on the power of the masses, and persist in protracted guerrilla warfare.

2. In order to carry out the above tasks, we have made the following decisions:

a. We will send Comrade Cheng Zihua to lead a group of cadres to Central Hebei; Zihua will serve as political commissar of the Lü column.[1] Strengthening the regularization of this unit is a central task at this time.

b. We have decided to send He [Long] and Guan [Xiangying], leading one unit, to Central Hebei, to strive to expand the 120th Division.

3. Upon arrival in Central Hebei, one unit of the 120th Division can push forward and influence the process of regularization of the local forces in particular, and the Party in Central Hebei should devote its utmost strength to helping expand the 120th Division. The specific plan will be decided on according to the actual situation after Guan has arrived at Wutai and discussed it with Nie [Rongzhen] and Peng [Zhen].

4. After He and Guan have arrived in Central Hebei, Lü's unit will come under their command, but the organizational system will still be under the supervision of the Nie region.[2]

Mao [Zedong] Wang [Jiaxiang]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 439–40, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. The reference is to the Third Column of the Eighth Route Army in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Military Area, commanded by Lü Zhengcao.

2. The reference is to the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Military Area, of which Nie Rongzhen was commander and political commissar.

Opinions Concerning Work in the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Area

(November 25, 1938)

We have the following opinions concerning work in the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar area:

1. The Song [Shilun] and Deng [Hua] columns have penetrated deeply into eastern Hebei for several months of bitter fighting; they have coordinated and encouraged the eastern Hebei uprising led by the local Party organizations, restored a Chinese régime in eastern Hebei, aroused the masses, and set up the eastern Hebei guerrilla area. They have expanded our army's political influence in the far rear of the enemy and dealt a blow to the enemy; thus generally speaking they have registered achievements. But they did not protect and develop this victory to the full extent possible; they did not unite very well with the local Party organizations and military units; they did not handle the situation there very calmly. This resulted in withdrawal from the area and rather heavy losses to the army and the armed units of the masses.

2. Having assessed the military and political circumstances of the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar area, we believe that area enjoys many favorable conditions, which can support guerrilla warfare, and make it possible to create guerrilla bases. But there are also numerous difficulties, and [these goals] can be achieved only through protracted and arduous struggle. It has therefore been decided to organize a Hebei-Rehe-Chahar assault force of the Eighth Route Army, to send Comrade Xiao Ke to take up this work, and to establish a military-political committee exercising unified leadership over the army and over the work of the local Party and government. The military-political committee must have the participation of the leaders of the local Party and army. The Northern Bureau is to propose a name list after Xiao Ke and Peng Zhen arrive in the Hebei-Chahar-Shanxi [area] and then submit it to the Center for approval.

3. Xiao will set out from Yan'an in the next few days and go to the Hebei-Chahar-Shanxi command organ via northwestern Shanxi. He [Long], Xiao [Ke], and Guan [Xiangying] will be responsible for establishing it [the committee] with a set of cadres sent from Yan'an.

Our source for this document is *Wenxian he yanjiu,* no. 3, 1985, p. 15.

4. At present, the two detachments should each choose an appropriate location south of the Ping-Sui road for reorganization, training, and recruitment, the main tasks being the following:

a. Strengthen political work, boost troop morale, and make a work review, mainly based on our assessment of Song and Deng's work, the main point being to review the lessons of our experience.
b. Intensify cadre education, collect some veteran soldiers and have them run instruction teams, and have cadres among the troops do mobile training classes or temporary group training.
c. Tighten military and political organization, rectify discipline, and eliminate the habits of guerrilla warfare.
d. Send political-work staff to carry out recruitment and expansion work in nearby areas and to purchase weapons, especially ammunition.
e. During this period of rest and reorganization, you should avoid combat when it is unnecessary or when there is no assurance of victory. If the enemy attacks, use mountainous areas to counterattack when conditions are favorable; if absolutely necessary, you may approach the Hebei-Chahar-Shanxi border.

5. The two detachments should unite as one; when they are close together, there should be centralized command. They should set up collective leadership so as to complete the task of rest and reorganization.

6. You must keep in touch with eastern Hebei; if the local cadres of eastern Hebei cannot deal with this, you must immediately send a unit back there for this work.

From Mao [Zedong], Wang [Jiaxiang], and Yang [Shangkun] to Zhu [De], Peng [Dehuai], and Nie [Rongzhen], and to be transmitted to Song [Shilun] and Deng [Hua]

It Is Appropriate That Chen Guang and Luo Ronghuan Should Lead the Division Headquarters and the Main Forces of Chen Guang's Brigade to Shandong and Northern Anhui

(November 25, 1938)

Comrade [Peng] Dehuai:

The result of our consideration is that we think it suitable for Chen [Guang] and Luo [Ronghuan][1] to lead the division headquarters as well as the main force of the Chen brigade (the two main-force regiments) to Shandong and northern Anhui. For the time being, the Chen brigade's supplementary regiment will be left in the area of southwestern Shanxi; also, all the guerrillas will be brought together, organized into one regiment, and put under the command of Chen Shiju,[2] following which a detachment from the 129th Division will be transferred to relieve them. While moving east, Chen [Guang] and Luo [Ronghuan] should spread out in the large area between the old and new beds of the Yellow River, including to the east and west of the [Tian]jin-Pu[kou] railway line and to the north and south of the Jiao[zhou]-Ji[nan] railway line. [Yang] Shangkun and [Deng] Xiaoping believe this to be feasible. What is your opinion? Please let us know.

Mao [Zedong] Wang [Jiaxiang] Teng [Daiyuan]

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, pp. 441–42, where it is reproduced from a copy in the Central Archives.

1. Chen Guang and Luo Ronghuan were at this time the acting division commander and political commissar of the 115th Division.

2. Chen Shiju was the chief of staff of the 343rd Brigade of the 115th Division.

To Deng Baoshan[1]

(December 5, 1938)

My dear friend Baoshan:

In recent days, word has again been spreading of an invasion of the Northwest by the enemy; I expect that you, sir, have already learned of this. The enemy's planned invasion will come sooner or later, so not the least negligence in preparation may be countenanced. I expect that a wise man such as you, sir, must have the same feeling. We are sending Comrade Chen Qihan[2] specially to report to you, general, on our defense plans and to submit to you the report, resolutions, declaration, and such documents of our humble Party's Sixth Plenum, for your reference. I entreat you please to convey to Qihan any instructions you may have.

I respectfully wish you serenity in times of war.

Submitted by your younger brother, Mao Zedong

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong shuxin xuanji,* pp. 132–33, where it is reproduced from the manuscript.

1. Deng Baoshan (1896–1968) of Tianshui, Gansu Province. During the War of Resistance against Japan, he was commander of the Guomindang Twenty-first Army Group, as well as commander of the New First Army, and commander-in-chief of the Shanxi-Shaanxi-Suiyuan Border Region.

2. Chen Qihan (1897–1981) was born in Xingguo, Jiangxi Province. At the time he was the Suide garrison commander in the rear army corps of the Eighth Route Army.

Appeal at the Evening Meeting for Cadres Doing Inspection Work in the Yan'an Party, Government, Army, and Mass Associations

(December 13, 1938)

(Special report by our correspondent:) The Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held an evening meeting on the 13th for cadres doing inspection work in the Party, government, army, and mass organizations in Yan'an. Comrade Mao Zedong attended and led [the meeting], and delivered a report on behalf of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He called upon every organ to overcome all the present difficulties, add new forces, and halt the enemy assault under the circumstances of the new stage of the War of Resistance, so as to prepare to carry out our counteroffensive. He asked all agencies working in the rear to delve deeply into the work of inspection with a fighting spirit, in order to take on the work tasks of each agency. He also pointed out five aspects of our work of inspection:

1. Each agency should stand at its own post, shouldering its own tasks. Work spirit should be given more urgency.
2. Study harder, studying Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary movement, and the history of China, from the cadres at the various levels of the Central Committee studying relatively advanced theories to the staff members of all organs learning to read and write.
3. Actively promote the production movement. Everyone in every administrative organ, every army unit, and every association must participate in the production movement in order to overcome the present difficulties.
4. Strengthen and consolidate united front work.
5. Make life within the whole Party healthier.

Next, he explained that the purposes of our inspection work are:

(1) To sum up past work, expand on the achievements of past work, and correct shortcomings. (2) To determine future tasks.

He called on all agencies to begin the inspection from the bottom up on the 15th of this month and to finish it on January 15, and conduct a general inspection before January 25.

This document first appeared in *Xin Zhonghua bao,* December 29, 1938. Our source text is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 9, pp. 371–72, which reproduces this version.

Finally, Comrade Mao Zedong presented concrete methods for the inspection. It is reported that, over the past few days, all administrative organs, associations, and army units have been applying themselves to carrying this out, responding to Comrade Mao Zedong's call!

To Yang Lingde[1]

(December 14, 1938)

Mr. Lingde:

I have received both your letters. This reply was delayed by the convening of the Sixth Plenum; I would like to convey my apologies for this. I did, however, instruct Comrade Gao Gang[2] some time ago to order that the organ involved release Mr. Yuan Chenying,[3] and I expect that you have already received word of this. Not only did I not know about this matter, but Gao Gang and [Cheng] Fangwu[4] did not know either. I deeply apologize for the way that the organ involved handled this so hastily based on material from northwestern Shanxi. If in the future you learn of any shortcomings on our part, I entreat you to inform us, so that we may make improvements; I earnestly pray you will do so. This reply is made with respectful salutations.

Submitted by Mao Zedong

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong shuxin xuanji,* pp. 134–35, where it is reproduced from the manuscript.

1. Yang Lingde (1905–) was a native of Inner Mongolia. He was then a reporter for *Dagongbao* stationed at Yulin, Shaanxi Province.

2. Gao Gang (1905–1954) was at this time in charge of the Chinese Communist Party's Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Committee.

3. Yuan Chenying, Yang Lingde's nephew, went to study at the Northern Shaanxi Public School at the beginning of 1938. He was wrongly arrested that year, but was soon released.

4. Regarding Cheng, see, above, the relevant note to the text of April 1, 1938.

Part IIA: Lectures

On Dialectical Materialism (Lecture Notes)

Chapter 1: Idealism and Materialism

This chapter will discuss the following questions:

1. the struggle between two armies in philosophy;
2. the difference between idealism and materialism;
3. the source of the emergence and development of idealism;
4. the source of the emergence and development of materialism.

1. The Struggle Between Two Armies in Philosophy

The whole history of philosophy is the history of the struggle and development of the two mutually opposed philosophical schools of idealism and materialism. All philosophical trends of thought and schools are metamorphoses of these two fundamental schools.

All the various philosophical theories have been created by persons belonging to a definite social class. The ideas of these people have, moreover, been historically determined by a particular social life. All philosophical doctrines express the needs of a given social class and reflect the level of development of the productive forces of society and the historical stage in humanity's knowledge of nature. The fate of a philosophy is determined by the degree to which it satisfies the needs of a social class.

Our primary source for chapter 1 and for chapter 2, sections 1 through 10 of this text is *Mao Zedong ji*, Vol. 6, pp. 265–305, which reproduces the earliest available version, published in April and May 1938 in *Kangzhan daxue*. For chapter 2, section 11, and chapter 3, we have followed *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan*, Vol. 5, pp. 220–280. In a few instances, we have made use of other sources, cited in the notes, which contain variants of particular interest, but we have made no attempt at a systematic comparison of the available versions of this text. The translation in Nick Knight (ed.), *Mao Zedong on Dialectical Materialism. Writings on Philosophy, 1937* (Armonk, NY, M.E. Sharpe, 1990), pp. 84–229, contains very detailed notes regarding the differences between the various sources. With the kind permission of Nick Knight, we have based our translation of chapter 2, paragraphs 7 to 10, of "On Dialectical Materialism," and of the ensuing sections, subsequently revised by Mao and published under the titles "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," on his versions in the work just cited, with some modifications by the editors of the present series. The translation of Chapter 1 and of Chapter 2, paragraphs 1 to 6, takes as its starting point a version prepared some years ago by Stuart Schram, but the text has been revised substantially, taking Nick Knight's rendering into account.

The social origins of idealism and materialism lie in a social structure marked by class contradictions. The earliest appearance of idealism was the product of the ignorance and superstition of a primitive and barbaric human race. Subsequently, the forces of production developed, thereby spurring the development of scientific knowledge as well. Logically, idealism should then have declined, and materialism should have risen to replace it. And yet, from ancient times to the present, idealism has not only not declined but, on the contrary, has developed and carried on a struggle for supremacy with materialism, from which neither side has emerged the victor. The reason lies in the fact that there are class divisions in society. On the one hand, the oppressing classes, in pursuit of their own interests, cannot but develop and consolidate their idealist doctrines. On the other hand, the oppressed classes, likewise in their own interest, cannot but develop and consolidate their materialist doctrines. Both idealist and materialist doctrines exist as weapons in the class struggle, and, so long as classes have not been eliminated, the conflict between idealism and materialism cannot be eliminated. Idealism, in the process of its historical development, represents the ideology of the exploiting classes and serves reactionary purposes. Materialism, however, is the worldview of the revolutionary class; it has grown and developed in the midst of an incessant struggle against the reactionary philosophy of idealism. Consequently, the struggle between idealism and materialism in philosophy has reflected from beginning to end the struggle of interests between the reactionary classes and the revolutionary classes. Whether or not the philosophers are aware of it, a given philosophical tendency always approximates the political orientation of their own class. Any philosophical tendency always directly or indirectly fosters the fundamental political interests of the class to which its authors belong. In this sense, a given philosophical tendency is, in the final analysis, a manifestation in a particular guise of the policy of the social class to which the philosophers belong.

The distinguishing characteristic of Marxist philosophy—that is, of dialectical materialism—is its effort to explain clearly the class nature of all social consciousness (including philosophy). It publicly declares a resolute struggle between its own proletarian nature and the idealist philosophy of the propertied classes. Moreover, it subordinates its own special tasks to such general tasks as overthrowing capitalism, organizing and building a proletarian dictatorship, and building a socialist society. The tasks of philosophy during the present stage in China are subordinate to the general tasks of overthrowing imperialism and the semifeudal system, the thorough realization of bourgeois democracy, the establishment of a completely new Chinese democratic republic, and preparing the transformation by peaceful means to a socialist and a communist society. Philosophical theory and political reality must be closely linked.

2. The Differences Between Idealism and Materialism

Wherein lies the basic difference between idealism and materialism? It lies in the opposite answers given by the two to the fundamental question in philosophy, that

of the relationship between spirit and matter (that of the relationship between consciousness and existence). Idealism considers spirit (consciousness, concepts, the subject) as the source of all that exists in the world, and matter (nature, society, the object) as subordinate to it. Materialism recognizes the independent existence of matter apart from spirit and considers spirit subordinate to it. A confusing variety of opinions on all questions arises from the opposite answers given to this basic question.

According to idealism, the world is either a synthesis of our perceptions of all kinds or the spiritual process created by our reason or the world's reason; it regards the external material world either as a completely fabricated illusion or as the material external trapping of spiritual elements. Idealism regards the knowledge of humankind as emanating spontaneously from the subject and as the product of spirit itself.

Materialism, on the contrary, considers the unity of the universe to derive from its materiality and holds that spirit (consciousness) is one of the natural characteristics of matter which emerges only after matter has developed to a certain stage. Nature, matter, and the objective world exist apart from spirit and are independent of it. Human knowledge is a reflection of the objective external world.

3. The Source of the Emergence and Development of Idealism

Idealism regards matter as the product of spirit, thus turning the real world upside down. What is the source of the emergence and development of such a philosophy?

As stated previously, the earliest occurrence of idealism was a product of the ignorance and superstition of a primitive and barbaric human race. But afterward the development of production brought about the conditions for the primacy of idealism among the various currents of philosophical thought, namely, the division between manual and mental labor. With the development of the productive forces of society, the division of labor appeared; the further development of the division of labor saw the emergence of persons devoting themselves entirely to mental labor. But during the period when the forces of production were weak, the division between the two did not reach the stage of complete separation. When classes appeared, private property emerged, and exploitation became the foundation for the existence of the ruling class, a great transformation occurred. Mental labor then became the privilege of the ruling class, while manual labor became the fate of the oppressed classes. The [members of the] ruling class began to examine the relationship between themselves and the oppressed classes in an upside-down fashion; it was not the laborers who furnished them with the means of existence but, rather, they who provided the laborers with those means. Hence, they despised manual labor and developed idealist conceptions. To eliminate the distinction between manual labor and mental labor is one of the preconditions for eliminating idealist philosophy.

Among the social roots which have made possible the development of idealist philosophy, the principal one was the conscious expression of the interests of the

ruling class by that philosophy. The dominance of idealist philosophy in all spheres of culture must be explained in the light of this. The final elimination of idealist philosophy can come only after the elimination of classes and the establishment of communist society.

The source which has enabled idealism to develop and deepen, and given it the capacity to struggle with materialism, must be sought in the process of human cognition. When humans employ concepts to think, there exists the possibility of drifting into idealism. Humans cannot but use concepts when thinking, and this can easily lead us to divide our knowledge into two aspects. One aspect relates to individual and particular things, and the other relates to generalized concepts (such as the conclusion "Yan'an is a city"). The particular and the general are inseparably linked; once separated, they depart from objective truth. Objective truth is expressed in the unity of the general and the particular. Without the particular, the general could not exist, and without the general, there could be no particular. To separate the general from the particular, that is, to treat the general as an objective entity and to regard the particular only as a form of existence of the general—such is the method adopted by all idealists. All idealists substitute consciousness, spirit, or concepts for objective entities which exist independently of human consciousness. Starting from this premise, idealism stresses the dynamic role of human consciousness in social practice. The idealists cannot point out the materialist truth that consciousness is limited by matter, but maintain that only consciousness is active, whereas matter is merely an inert composite entity. Urged on, moreover, by their own class nature, the idealists then use every method to exaggerate the dynamic role of consciousness. They develop this aspect one-sidedly, expanding it without limit so that it becomes the dominant aspect of intelligence. They conceal the other aspect, leaving it subordinate. This artificially expanded role for consciousness is established as a general worldview to the extent of transforming it into a god or an idol. Idealism in economics greatly exaggerates an inessential aspect of exchange, raising the law of supply and demand to the status of the fundamental law of capitalism. Many people have observed the active role that science plays in the life of society, but they fail to realize that this role is determined and limited by definite social relations of production and come to the conclusion that science is the motive force of society. Idealist historians regard heroes as the makers of history. Idealist statesmen regard politics as something omnipotent. Idealist military strategists practice the methods of desperate combat [*pinmingzhuyi zuozhan*]. Idealist revolutionaries advocate Blanquism.[1] The diehards say that the only way to revive our nation is to restore the old morality.[2] All this results from the excessive exaggeration of conscious activity (*zhuguan nengdongxing*). Our thought cannot reflect a phenomenon in its entirety at one stroke, but is constituted of knowledge which, in a dialectical process, approximates reality and is lively and infinitely variegated. Idealism is founded on the specific properties of thought and has exaggerated this individual aspect; it is thus unable to achieve a correct reflection of this process and only succeeds in distorting it. Lenin said: "Human knowledge is not a straight line, but a curve. Any segment of this curve can be transformed into an independent, complete, straight line, and this straight line may lead to confusion. Rectilinearity and one-sidedness, to see the trees and not the forest, woodenness and petrification, subjectivism and subjective blindness—such are the epistemological roots of idealism." "Philosophical idealism is a one-sided exaggeration of one of the fragments or aspects of knowledge until it becomes a deified absolute, divorced from matter, from nature. Idealism is thus a religious doctrine. This is very true."

1. Blanquism refers to the political doctrine of Louis-Auguste Blanqui (1805–1881), who held that the majority of the people were incapable of recognizing their true interests, because of prolonged subjection to class society and religion. Revolution must therefore take the form of an insurrection carried out by a small elite, which would subsequently educate the people.

Pre-Marxist materialism (mechanistic materialism) did not stress the thought process in the development of knowledge, but attributed to thought merely a passive role, as the mirror that reflects nature. Mechanistic materialism adopted an unreasonable attitude toward idealism, ignoring the causes of its epistemology and, consequently, was incapable of overcoming it. Only dialectical materialism correctly points out the active role of thought and, at the same time, points out the limitation imposed upon thought by matter. It points out that thought arises from social practice and, at the same time, actively shapes practice. Only this kind of dialectical theory of "the unity of knowledge and action" can thoroughly overcome idealism.

4. The Origins of the Emergence and Development of Materialism

The recognition that matter exists independently and apart from consciousness in the external world is the foundation of materialism. Humanity created this foundation through practice. Through the practice of productive labor, class struggle, and scientific experiment, humanity gradually broke away from superstition and wishful thinking (idealism), gradually recognized the essence of the world, and in so doing arrived at materialism.

Obliged to submit to natural forces, and capable of using only simple tools, primitive humans could not explain changes in the environment and, consequently, sought help from the gods. This was the origin of religion and idealism.

2. This sentence does not appear in the version as published in *Kangzhan daxue*. We have taken it from the text in *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan*, Vol. 5. It is also found in the text of Mao's lectures as published in a slim volume entitled *Bianzhengfa weiwulun* (n.p.: Zhongguo chubanshe, March 1946). The Red Guard version in *Mao Zhuxi wenxuan* replaces "The diehards say" with "Chiang Kaishek says."

But in the lengthy process of production, humans came into contact with the natural world surrounding them, acted upon it, and, in transforming nature, created things to be used for clothing, food, and shelter, adapting the natural world to the interests of humanity, and causing humans to believe deeply that matter exists objectively.

In the social existence of humanity, reciprocal relations and influences arise between individuals, and in class society class struggle also takes place. The oppressed class considers the situation, estimates its own strength, and makes plans. When their struggle is successful, this makes them confident that their views are in no sense the product of an illusion, but the reflection of an objectively existing material world. The fact that the oppressed class fails when it adopts the wrong plans, and succeeds when it corrects those plans, makes this class understand that it can achieve its goal only when its subjective plans are based on a correct understanding of the material nature of the objective world and the fact that it is governed by laws.

Scientific history has proved to humans the material nature of the world and the fact that it is governed by laws, made them aware of the futility of the illusions of religion and idealism, and led them to materialist conclusions.

In sum, the history of humanity's practice over a long period comprises the history of its struggle with nature, the history of class struggle, and the history of science. Because of the necessities of life and struggle, humans have reflected on the reality of matter and its laws, demonstrated the correctness of materialist philosophy, and discovered the ideological instrument for their own struggle: materialist philosophy. The higher the level to which social production develops, the greater the development of the class struggle, and the more scientific knowledge reveals the "secrets" of nature, the greater the development and consolidation of materialist philosophy. Thus humanity can be liberated gradually from the twofold oppression of nature and society.

The bourgeoisie, during the period of its struggle against the feudal classes and at a time when the proletariat did not yet constitute a threat, had already discovered and, moreover, employed materialism as an instrument in its own struggle; it was already convinced that objects in the environment were material products and not spiritual products. It was only when the bourgeoisie itself became the ruling class and the struggle of the proletariat threatened it that it abandoned this "useless" instrument and took up once again another—the philosophy of idealism. Living evidence of this is the change in thought before and after 1927—from materialism to idealism—by the spokesmen of the Chinese bourgeoisie, Dai Jitao and Wu Zhihui.[3]

3. This last sentence is absent from the version in *Kangzhan daxue*. It appears in the *Bujuan* text, as well as in the 1946 Zhonghua chubanshe text, in an undated pamphlet published in Dalian at about the same time, and in the Red Guard version. Mao is here using the "change in thought from materialism to idealism" to connote the break between the Marxist materialism of the Communists and the "idealism" of the Guomindang which culminated in the rupture of 1927. Dai Jitao (1891–1949) had shown some sympathy for Communism in 1919–1920, and in 1923 Wu Zhihui (1864–1953) had taken the side of science in the controversy between science and philosophy raging at that time. Both men had been very close to Sun Yatsen and had been among the witnesses to Sun's deathbed testament in 1925. During Sun's life, they had tolerated the Guomindang-Communist alliance, but after Sun's death, both attacked the Communists, and Wu Zhihui participated in the Anti-Communist Western Hills Conference of late 1925.

The gravediggers of capitalism, the proletarians, "are intrinsically materialist." But because the proletariat is the most progressive class in history, its materialism is different from that of the bourgeoisie. It is more thorough and profound, and it alone is dialectical and not mechanistic. The proletariat has assimilated the entire practice of humanity throughout its history, and through its spokesmen and leaders Marx and Engels, it has created dialectical materialism, which maintains not only that matter is divorced from human consciousness and exists independently of it but also that matter changes. Dialectical materialism has become a thoroughly systematic and completely new worldview and methodology. This is the philosophy of Marxism.

Chapter 2: Dialectical Materialism

Within this general topic I intend to discuss the following issues:

1. the revolutionary weapon of the proletariat—dialectical materialism;
2. the relationship between the philosophical heritage of the past and dialectical materialism;
3. the unity of worldview and methodology in dialectical materialism;
4. the question of the object of philosophy;
5. on matter;
6. on motion;
7. on time and space;
8. on consciousness;
9. on reflection;
10. on truth;
11. on practice.

In what follows I shall give a summary account of my views on these questions.

1. Dialectical Materialism Is the Revolutionary Weapon of the Proletariat

This question has already been discussed in chapter 1; here I shall discuss it once again in simple terms.

Dialectical materialism is the worldview of the proletariat. The proletarians then proceed to use dialectical materialism as a mental weapon in their struggles and as the philosophical foundation for all of their views. Only when we adopt the standpoint of the proletariat in order to understand the world can we correctly and completely grasp the worldview of dialectical materialism. Only when we start from such a standpoint can we achieve true and objective knowledge of the real world. This is because, on the one hand, only the proletariat is the most progressive and most revolutionary class; on the other hand, only dialectical materialism is a most authentic and most revolutionary worldview and methodology, uniting a high level and rigorous scientific nature and a thorough and uncompromising revolutionary nature.

The Chinese proletariat, having assumed at the present time the historical task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, must make use of dialectical materialism as its mental weapon. If dialectical materialism is used by the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese Communist Party, as well as the broad revolutionary elements consisting of all those who are prepared to adopt the standpoint of the proletariat as a most correct and most revolutionary worldview and methodology, they will then be in a position correctly to understand the changes which emerge in the course of the revolutionary movement, to put forward revolutionary tasks, to unite their own ranks and those of their allies, to defeat reactionary theories, to adopt a correct line of action, to avoid errors in their work, and to achieve their aims of liberating China and building up China. The study of dialectical materialism is even more indispensable for the cadres who lead the revolutionary movement because the two erroneous theories and methods of work of subjectivism and mechanism frequently subsist among the cadres and, as a result, frequently cause the cadres to go against Marxism and to lead the revolutionary movement onto the wrong path. If we wish to avoid or correct such deficiencies, the only solution lies in conscious study and understanding of dialectical materialism, in order to arm one's brain anew.

2. The Relationship Between the Philosophical Heritage of the Past and Dialectical Materialism

Modern materialism is not simply the successor of the various philosophical doctrines of the past. It was born and developed in the struggles against the dominant philosophies of the past, and the struggles for the elimination of idealism and superstition. Marxist philosophy—dialectical materialism—is not only the successor to the highest product of idealism—the doctrine of Hegel; at the same time, it has also overcome the idealism of the latter doctrine and transformed its dialectics in a materialist direction. Nor is Marxism simply the continuation and completion of the materialist developments of the past. At the same time, it opposes the narrowness of all the materialist doctrines of the past, that is, mechanistic and

intuitive materialism (mainly French materialism and Feuerbach's materialism).[4] Marxist philosophy—dialectical materialism—continues the heritage of the scientific culture of the past. At the same time, it causes this heritage to undergo a revolutionary transformation in order to form a most correct, most revolutionary, and most complete philosophical science, such as has never existed in history.

After the May Fourth movement in China in 1919, as a consequence of the conscious appearance of the Chinese proletariat on the political stage, and the raising of its scientific level, a Marxist philosophical movement arose and developed in China. In its first period, however, the level of understanding of materialist dialectics within the materialist current of thought was rather weak, and mechanistic materialism, influenced by the bourgeoisie, as well as the subjectivism of the Deborin clique,[5] were its principal components. After the defeat of the revolution in 1927, the level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism progressed, and dialectical materialist thought gradually developed. Just recently, because of the severity of the national and social crisis, and also because of the influence of the movement to expose and criticize [deviations] in Soviet philosophy, a broad movement of materialist dialectics has developed in China's intellectual circles.

Because of the backwardness of the evolution of Chinese society, the philosophical current of dialectical materialism developing in China today has resulted not from taking over and reforming our own philosophical heritage, but from the study of Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, if we wish to make the dialectical materialist current of thought penetrate deeply and continue to develop in China, give firm direction to the Chinese revolution, and lead it onto the road of complete victory, then we must struggle with all the outworn philosophies now existing in China, raise the flag of criticism on the ideological front throughout the whole country, and thereby liquidate the philosophical heritage of ancient China. Only thus can we attain our goal.

3. The Unity of Worldview and Methodology in Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism is the worldview of the proletariat. At the same time, it is the method of the proletariat for taking cognizance of the surrounding world and

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4. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872) was a materialist philosopher whose view that religion was a projection of human wishes and a form of alienation attracted much attention. His critique of Hegel and of religion had a significant influence on the young Marx, reflected in the "Theses on Feuerbach" of 1845.

5. Abram Deborin (1881–1963) was the leading figure in Soviet philosophy from the death of Lenin in 1924 until Stalin replaced him with M. Mitin in 1931. He was greatly influenced by Hegel's *Philosophical Notebooks,* and as a result was denounced following his fall as a Menshevik idealist. For a delayed echo to these attacks, see, below, note 105, on p. 619.

the method of revolutionary action of the proletariat. It is the unity of worldview and methodology. The idealists of the revisionist faction of Marxism hold that the whole substance of dialectical materialism lies in its methodology. They divide methodology from the view of philosophy in general. They divide the dialectical method from materialism. They do not understand that Marxist methodology—dialectics—is not like idealist dialectics such as that of Hegel, but is materialist dialectics, and that Marxist methodology cannot be separated, even to the slightest degree, from its worldview. For their part, the mechanistic materialists simply take Marxist philosophy and regard it as a worldview like that of philosophy in general, separate it from dialectics and, moreover, hold that this worldview corresponds to the various conclusions of the physical sciences. They do not understand that Marxist materialism is not simple materialism, but dialectical materialism. These two fragmentary viewpoints regarding Marxist philosophy are both erroneous. Dialectical materialism is the unity of worldview and methodology.

4. The Question of the Object of Materialist Dialectics—What Does Materialist Dialectics Serve to Study?

Lenin regarded materialist dialectics (looked at from the standpoint of the science of Marxist philosophy) as the science dealing with the principles of the development of the objective world (as reflecting this objective universe in the various domains of dialectics) and of the principles of the development of knowledge. He said, logic is not a science which deals with the external forms of thought, but it is a science which deals with the principles of development of all material, natural, and spiritual phenomena. In other words, it is a science which deals with the principles of the development of the concrete content of the whole universe and with the development of the knowledge of this content. That is to say, logic is the content, summation, and conclusion of the history of our knowledge regarding the world. Although Lenin emphasized the significance of materialist dialectics considered as the methodology of all science, this is because dialectics has emerged from the history of the knowledge of the world. Because of this he said, "Dialectics is the history of knowledge."

I have just presented Lenin's definition of materialist dialectics considered as a science, and of its object. What he means by this is, first, that materialist dialectics, like any other science, has its object of study, and this object is the most general principles of the development of nature, history, and human thought. Moreover, in carrying out such studies, the task of materialist dialectics is not to proceed from the thoughts in our heads regarding the relationship between various existing phenomena, but to derive the relationship between phenomena from observations of these phenomena themselves. There is a fundamental difference between this conception of Lenin's and the approach of the Menshevik idealists, who viewed the study of categories (in fact, divorced from concrete science and concrete knowledge) as the object of materialist dialectics. Because the Menshevik idealists endeavor to set up a compartmentalized philosophical system divorced from the knowledge of historical and social science, and from recent developments in the natural sciences, in this way they have in reality abandoned materialist dialectics. Lenin's second point is that each branch of science (mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, physics, biology, economics, and the other natural and social sciences) constitutes a particular aspect of the study of the development of the material world and of the knowledge of this world. As a result, the principles of each branch of science are narrowly limited by each concrete object of research. This is not true of the principles of materialist dialectics, which correspond to all that is valuable and general in the content of all the concrete sciences—that is, the sum, conclusion, further elaboration, and generalization of all mankind's other scientific knowledge. Thus the concepts, judgments, and principles of materialist dialectics consist in various extremely broad laws and rules (including in themselves the most general principles of all sciences and therefore applicable to the nature of the material world). This is one aspect, and in this perspective materialist dialectics constitute a worldview, but in another perspective materialist dialectics are the foundation of the logic and epistemology of all true scientific knowledge emancipated from utopianism, clericalism, and metaphysics. Hence it is the only correct and objectively based methodology for the study of the concrete sciences. Our statement that materialist dialectics, or dialectical materialism, represents the unity of worldview and methodology thus receives further elucidation. Thus we can also understand the errors of the distorters and vulgarizers of Marxist philosophy who deny the right of philosophy to exist.

As regards the question of the object of philosophy, Marx and Lenin both opposed turning philosophy into something detached from actual reality and making it into a thing endowed with its own independent nature. They pointed out the necessity of a philosophy derived from the analysis of real life and real relationships. They opposed the methods of the Menshevik idealists based purely on theoretical concepts and theoretical studies. What we refer to as the philosophy which has developed from the analysis of real life and of real relationships is precisely the theory of development known as materialist dialectics. Marx, Engels, and Lenin all explained materialist dialectics as the theory of development. Engels called materialist dialectics the theory "which deals with the general laws of development of nature, society, and thought." Lenin regarded materialist dialectics as "the most many-sided, the richest in content, and the most profound theory of development." They all considered that "apart from this theory, all formulations of the principles of development are narrow, impoverished in content, and cut in two the concrete development of nature and society." (Lenin) As for the reason materialist dialectics can be called the most many-sided, the richest in content, and the most profound of all theories of development, this is because materialist dialectics reflects most many-sidedly, with the richest content, and most profoundly the contradictions and discontinuities of the process of natural and social transformation, and for no other reason.

Under the heading of the object of philosophy we must still solve another problem, namely, the problem of the unity of dialectics, logic, and epistemology.

Lenin emphasized the unity of dialectics, logic, and epistemology, saying that "the principal questions dealt with by them show that the three names are superfluous, and that we are really dealing with one thing." He was fundamentally opposed to the practice of the Marxist revisionists, who dealt with the three as completely separate and independent theories.

Materialist dialectics is the only scientific epistemology, and it is also the only scientific logic. Materialist dialectics studies the origin and development of our knowledge of the outside world. It studies the transition from not knowing to knowing, and from incomplete knowledge to more complete knowledge; it studies how the laws of the development of nature and society are daily reflected more profoundly and more extensively in the mind of humanity. This is precisely the unity of materialist dialectics with epistemology. Materialist dialectics studies the most general laws of the development of the objective world. It studies the reflection and representation of the most highly developed aspects of the material world in thought. Thus, materialist dialectics studies the principles governing the appearance, development, diminution, and reciprocal transformations of all the processes and phenomena of real things. At the same time, it studies the representations in human thought which reflect the principles of development of the objective world. This is precisely the unity of materialist dialectics and logic.

If we wish to understand thoroughly why dialectics, logic, and epistemology are all one thing, let us now consider how materialist dialectics solves the problem of the relationship between things logical and things historical, and we will then see this clearly.

Engels said: "The superiority of Hegel's method of thought, as compared to the methods of thought in philosophy in general, lies fundamentally in its greater feeling for history. Although its form is abstract and idealist, the development of his thought often parallels the development of world history. Moreover, history is by the nature of things the confirmation of thought." History often advances in a discontinuous and confusing fashion. Because such circumstances occur, if one wants to follow history, then not only must one frequently pay attention to many unimportant materials but the process of thought may be unavoidably interrupted. In such cases, the only appropriate method is the logical method, but in science this logical method is also the historical method; it has merely been relieved of its historical expression and the chance nature inherent in history, that is all. A full measure of attention was accorded by Marx, Engels, and Lenin to such thinking, marked by "the unity of logical development and historical development." "The sphere of logic is outwardly determined by innumerable particular contingencies of life." A sphere is a distinct stage. This will help us to take cognizance of this linkage between two nets. "The practical activity of humanity? If we take the consciousness of humanity and employ it millions of times in complex and increasing fashion, in all different sorts of logical forms, these forms will then take

on so-called universal significance." "Only when the practice of the human race is repeated many millions of times can it constitute the theoretical form as determined by the consciousness of humanity. These forms will have the tenacity of prejudices because they reflect the conclusions of many millions of experiences, and only then do they attain universality." The above words of Lenin make clear the peculiarities of the logic of materialist dialectics. It is not like formal logic, which unreservedly regards its laws as empty forms existing independently of their content, and without any regard for their content; nor is it like Hegelian logic, which regards its laws as existing independently from the material world. The essence of the concept of development consists in regarding laws as the reflection in and transplanting to our minds (moreover, further elaborated in our minds) of the manifestations of the movement of matter. Hegel took his stand on the unity of existence and thought. He regarded the unity of dialectics, logic, and epistemology as the unity of idealism. In Marxist philosophy, on the contrary, the unity of dialectics, logic, and epistemology is founded on a materialist basis. Only by using materialism to arrive at a solution of the problem of the relations between existence and thought, only by taking one's stand on the theory of the reflection, can one arrive at a thorough solution to the problems of dialectics, logic, and epistemology.

Marx's *Capital* must be accounted the best example of the use of dialectical materialism to solve the problem of the interrelationship between theoretical and historical things. *Capital* includes the first explanation of the historical development of capitalist society; at the same time, it also contains the logical development of this society. What is analyzed in *Capital* is the dialectics of the development of all economic patterns as reflected in the birth, development, and decay of capitalist society. The materialist nature of the solution to this question lies in the use of objective material history as a basis, and in treating concepts and categories as a reflection of this real history. The unity of the theory and history of capitalism, the unity of the logic and epistemology of capitalist society, are expressed in exemplary fashion in *Capital*. From this we can understand a little of the path followed by the unity of dialectics, logic, and epistemology.

5. On Matter

The materialist line whereby Marxism has continued and developed philosophy has correctly solved the problem of the relationship between thought and being and, in a consistently materialist manner, has pointed out the material nature of the world, the real objective existence of matter, and the fundamental nature of matter as compared to consciousness (or the dependent relationship between consciousness and being).

The material nature of the world and its objective existence is a premise for the recognition of the fundamental nature of matter in relation to consciousness. The very first condition for belonging to the materialist camp consists in recognizing

the independent existence of the material world, separate from human consciousness—the fact that it existed before the appearance of humanity and has continued to exist since the appearance of humanity, independently and outside human consciousness. To recognize this point is a fundamental premise of all scientific research.

How shall we demonstrate this? The proofs are extremely numerous. Humanity is constantly in contact with the external world and must, moreover, struggle fiercely against the pressure and resistance of the outside world (nature and society). Moreover, we not only must but can overcome this pressure and resistance. All these real circumstances of the social practice of humanity, as manifested in the historical development of human society, are the best proof [of the existence of the material world]. Throughout the course of the 10,000-*li* Long March, the Red Army had no doubts about the objective existence of the regions it traversed, the Yangzi and Yellow Rivers, the snow-covered mountains, and the grasslands, or the enemy armies which did battle with it, and so on; neither did it doubt the objective existence of the Red Army itself.[6] China doubts neither the objective existence of Japanese imperialism which has invaded our country, nor that of the Chinese people themselves. The students of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University also do not doubt the objective existence of this university and of the students themselves. All these things are material things which exist objectively and independently, separate from our consciousness. This is the fundamental viewpoint of all materialism, and it is also the materialist viewpoint of philosophy.

The materialist viewpoint of philosophy is not the same as the materialist viewpoint of the natural sciences. If we say that the materialist viewpoint of philosophy consists in pointing out the objective existence of matter, what we call matter refers to the whole world existing independently outside (this world acts on people's senses, stimulates their consciousness, and is, moreover, reflected in consciousness). This formulation is not subject to change throughout all eternity; it is absolute. The materialist viewpoint of the natural sciences consists in the study of the structure of matter such as, for example, the previous theory of the atom and the more recent theory of the electron. These formulations change in accordance with the progress of the natural sciences. They are relative.

To distinguish the materialist view of philosophy from the materialist view of the natural sciences, in accordance with dialectical materialism, is a necessary condition for thoroughly realizing the materialist line in philosophy, and has great significance in the struggle against idealism and mechanistic materialism.

On the basis of the discovery of the theory of the electron, the materialists have exploded the false theory of the annihilation of matter. The partisans of this latter theory do not know that the progress of scientific knowledge regarding the structure of matter has demonstrated the correctness of the theory of dialectical materi-

6. This long sentence, absent from the text of Mao's lectures as published in *Kangzhan daxue*, appears in the two pamphlet editions cited above, and also in the Red Guard version.

alism regarding matter. Because certain attributes of matter expressed in the old concept of matter (weight, hardness, impenetrability, inertia, etc.), following the discoveries of modern natural science, that is, the discovery of the theory of the electron, have been shown to be applicable only to certain forms of matter and do not exist in other forms of matter. Facts such as these have done away with the superficiality and narrowness of the concept of matter as formulated in the old materialism and serve precisely to demonstrate the correctness of a concept of matter which recognizes the existence of the world. Originally, the view of matter of dialectical materialism saw the unity of the material world as the unity of the multiplicity of matter. There is not the slightest contradiction between this view of matter and the fact of eternal and universal movement by which matter is transformed from one form to another. The ether, electrons, atoms, molecules, crystals, cells, social phenomena, the phenomena of thought—all these are various stages in the development of matter. They are all temporary forms in the history of the development of matter. Scientific research penetrates profoundly into the discovery of various forms of matter (the discovery of the multiplicity of matter). This merely enriches the content of the concept of matter of dialectical materialism. Where can there be any contradiction in this? It is necessary to distinguish the view of matter of philosophy from the view of matter of the natural sciences, because they are not of the same breadth or narrowness, but they are not mutually contradictory because matter in the broad sense includes matter in the narrow sense.

The view of matter of dialectical materialism does not recognize all those things in the world which are called immaterial (independent spiritual things). Matter exists eternally and universally, it is limited neither in space nor in time. If we say that there exists in the world a thing "which was like this in the past and which is like this everywhere" (referring to its unity) it is nothing but the objectively existing matter spoken of in philosophy. If we consider this thing known as consciousness in the light of thoroughgoing materialism (that is, in the light of materialist dialectics), then what we call consciousness is nothing but a form of the movement of matter, a particular characteristic of the material brain of human beings; it is that particular characteristic of the material brain which causes the material processes outside consciousness to be reflected in consciousness. From this we see that when we distinguish matter from consciousness and when, moreover, we oppose them one to the other, this is only conditional; that is, it has meaning only from the standpoint of epistemology. Because consciousness or thought is only a property of matter (of the brain), the opposition between knowledge and existence, that is, between matter that knows and matter that is known,[7] cannot be much greater. Thus the opposition between the subjective and the objective has

7. This phrase does not appear in the text as published in *Kangzhan daxue*. We have taken it from the version in *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan*, Vol. 5, p. 204; it also appears in the two brochures cited above and in the Red Guard collection.

not the slightest meaning, apart from epistemology. If, apart from epistemology, we oppose idea and matter, this is nothing else but a betrayal of materialism. In the world there is nothing but matter and its various manifestations. This finds expression in the fact that the subject itself is also material, in the so-called material nature of the world (matter is eternal and universal), the objective reality of matter, and the fundamental character of matter as compared to consciousness. In a word, matter is everything in the universe. "All power belongs to Sima Yi."[8] We say, "All power belongs to matter." This is the source of the unity of the world.

The above is the theory of matter of dialectical materialism.

6. On Movement (on Development)

The first fundamental principle of dialectical materialism lies in its view of matter, that is, in the recognition of the material nature of the world, of the objective reality of matter, and of the fundamental character of matter, as opposed to consciousness. This principle of the unity of the world has already been explained above in discussing matter.

The second fundamental principle of dialectical materialism lies in its theory of movement (or theory of development). This means the recognition that movement is the form of existence of matter, an inherent attribute of matter, a manifestation of the multiplicity of matter. This is the principle of the development of the world. The combination of the principle of the development of the world with the principle of the unity of the world, set forth above, constitutes the whole of the worldview of dialectical materialism. The world is nothing but a material world in a process of unlimited development (or the material world is developing without limit).

Dialectical materialism's view of movement can admit neither (1) thinking about movement apart from matter, nor (2) thinking about matter apart from movement, nor (3) simplifying the movement of matter. Dialectical materialism's theory of movement has been established in a clear and resolute struggle against these idealist metaphysical and mechanistic viewpoints.

Dialectical materialism's theory of movement is in opposition first of all to philosophical idealism, and to the theological concepts of religion. The fundamental nature of all philosophical idealism and religious theology derives from their denial of the unity and material nature of the world, and in imagining that the movement and development of the world takes place apart from matter, or took place at least in the beginning apart from matter, and is the result of the action of spirit, God, or divine forces. The German idealist philosopher Hegel held that the

8. The best-known figure in Chinese history named Sima Yi was Cao Cao's famous general in the era of the Three Kingdoms, but we have not been able to find any reference to this particular saying.

present world results from the development of the so-called world idea.[9] In China the philosophy of the *Book of Changes,* and the metaphysics of the Song and the Ming, all put forward idealist views of the development of the universe. Christianity says that God created the world; Buddhism and all of China's various fetishist religions attribute the movement and development of all the myriad phenomena of the universe to spiritual forces. All these doctrines which ponder movement apart from matter are fundamentally incompatible with dialectical materialism. Moreover, not only idealism and religion but all forms of materialism prior to Marx, and all the present-day anti-Marxist mechanistic materialists, in discussing natural phenomena are partisans of a materialist theory of movement, but as soon as they talk about social phenomena there is none that does not abandon material causation and have recourse to spiritual causation.

Dialectical materialism resolutely condemns all these erroneous views of movement and points out their historically limited nature—limitations of class status and limitations imposed by the level of scientific development—and establishes its own conception of movement on the basis of a consistently materialist position, founded on a proletarian class stand and the highest level of scientific development. Dialectical materialism first points out that movement is a form of the existence of matter, that it is a category inherent in matter (it is not set in motion by outside forces). To imagine movement without matter is quite as unthinkable as to imagine matter without movement. This sharply opposes the materialist conception of movement to the idealist or spiritualist conception of movement.

To consider[10] matter separately from movement corresponds to the metaphysical concept of the immobility of the universe or absolute equilibrium. Such people imagine that matter is eternally unchanged, that matter exhibits no such thing as progress. They imagine that absolute immobility is the normal or original state of matter. Dialectical materialism resolutely combats such ideas. It holds that movement is the most universal state of matter, that it is an inherent and inseparable attribute of matter, and that movement is thus absolute. Dialectical materialism recognizes that all forms of matter have the possibility of relative rest or equilibrium; moreover, it considers that this is the most important condition for distinguishing matter and, hence, for distinguishing life (Engels).[11] But dialectical

9. Here Mao employs the Chinese expression *li'nian*, formerly used in translating Plato, Kant, and Hegel, in the sense of "idea" in rendering Hegel's term *Weltgeist.*

10. The text as published in *Kangzhan daxue* has "think and investigate" (*si kaocha*), and the 1946 brochure published by the Zhongguo chubanshe repeats this rather odd formulation, which has been changed or corrected in *Mao Zedong ji*, Vol. 6, p. 285, to read simply "investigate" (*kaocha*). The version in *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan*, Vol. 5, p. 206, has simply "consider" (*sikao*), and this reading appears in the brochure published in Dalian, as well as in the Red Guard text. We follow this latter version.

11. The reference is to Engels's *Dialectics of Nature*, pp. 92–93.

materialism also considers that rest or equilibrium are merely one element of movement, that they are merely one particular circumstance of movement. The error of thinking about matter separately from movement consists in exaggerating this component of rest or equilibrium, of using it to hide or replace the whole, of generalizing a particular circumstance of movement and transforming it into an absolute. A sentence which the metaphysical thinkers of ancient China loved to repeat—"Heaven changes not, likewise the Way changes not"[12]—corresponds to such a theory of the immobility of the universe. These thinkers also recognized movement in the universe and in social phenomena, but they did not recognize transformations in their basic nature. In their view, the basic nature of the universe and of society was eternally unchanging. The reason they adopted this attitude is to be found primarily in their class limitations. If the feudal landlord class had recognized that the basic nature of the universe and of society is subject to movement and development, then most certainly they would have been pronouncing in theory a death sentence on their own class. The philosophies of all reactionary forces are theories of immobility. Revolutionary classes and the popular masses have all perceived the principle of the development of the world and consequently advocate transforming society and the world. Their philosophy is dialectical materialism.

Apart from this, dialectical materialism also does not recognize a simplified view of movement, that is to say, reducing all movement to a single form, namely, to mechanical motion. This is a peculiarity of the old materialist view of the universe. The old materialism (French materialism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the nineteenth century German materialism of Feuerbach) did, in fact, recognize the eternal existence and eternal movement of matter (they recognized the unlimited character of movement), but they nevertheless did not find a way out of the metaphysical view of the universe. This is not to say that their explanations in the domain of social theory also corresponded to an idealist theory of development, but in the theories of the natural sciences they reduced the unity of the material universe to a certain superficial category; they reduced it to one form of movement, mechanical movement, and they saw the cause of this type of movement in outside forces, just as a machine is set in motion by outside forces. They did not explain matter and movement, and the complexity of their interrelationships, whether from the standpoint of their nature or from the standpoint of internal causality. Moreover, they explained things on the basis of simplified externally perceived forms, and on the basis of causes relating to external forces, and in this way they, in reality, lost sight of the multiplicity of the world. They reduced all movement in the world to displacement from one point to another and to quantitative increase and decrease. A given material object is at a certain point at a certain instant, and at another instant it is at another point. This is called movement. If there is transformation, this transformation is merely the transformation of quantitative increase or decrease. There is no qualitative change. Change is cyclical. It is the result of recurrent birth. Dialectical materialism, on the contrary, does not regard movement simply as displacement or as cyclical movement, but regards it as of unlimited complexity, regards it as a transformation from one form to another, as the unity and movement of the matter in the world. Engels said, "Each of the higher forms of motion is necessarily connected with mechanical (external or molecular) forms of motion. For example, just as chemical action is not possible without change of temperature and electric changes, so too is organic life impossible without mechanical (molecular), thermal, electric, chemical, etc., changes. This naturally cannot be denied. But the presence of these subsidiary forms does not exhaust the essence of the main form in each case."[13] These words are absolutely in conformity with reality. Indeed, even simple mechanical movement cannot be explained from a metaphysical viewpoint, for we must know that all the forms of movement are dialectical, although the profundity and complexity of their dialectical nature varies greatly. Mechanical movement is also dialectical movement. In reality, when a certain material object is at a certain point at a certain time, it both is and is not at a certain point; what we call being in a certain place, what we call rest, is merely a certain circumstance of motion and remains fundamentally motion. A material object moves in a limited time in a limited space. All material objects are constantly overcoming such limitations, emerging from the bounds of time and space, and engaging in endless movement. Moreover, mechanical movement is merely one form of the movement of material objects. In the present real world, it never exists in absolute independence, but is always linked to other forms of movement. Heat, chemical reactions, light and electricity, and so on down to organic and social phenomena are all qualitatively different forms of the movement of matter. The epoch-making great achievements of the natural sciences at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century lay precisely in the discovery of the laws of transformation and movement. It was shown then that the movement of matter in general consists in transformation from one form to another, this new transformed aspect being fundamentally different from the old aspect. The cause of the transformation of matter is to be found not without, but within. It is not because of the impulsion of external mechanical forces, but because of the existence within the matter in question of two components different in their nature and mutually contradictory which struggle with each other, thus giving an impetus to the movement and development of the matter. As a result of the discovery of the laws of such movement and transformation, dialectical materialism is capable of enlarging the principle of the material unity of the world, extending it to the history of nature and society. Thus, not only is it possible to investigate the world considered as matter in perpetual motion, but the world can also be investigated as matter endlessly in motion from a lower form to a higher form. That is, it is possible to investigate the world as development and process. To

12. The quotation is from Dong Zhongshu, a scholar of the second century B.C. who wrote on the *Spring and Autumn Annals.*

13. The quotation is from Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 328.

sum up in a single sentence, "the unified material world is a process of development." Thus the cyclical theory of the old materialism is smashed. Dialectical materialism has profoundly and comprehensively observed the forms of movement of nature and society. It holds that the process of development of the world, taken as a whole, is eternal (it has no beginning and no end), but at the same time each concrete historical form of movement is temporary (having a beginning and an end). That is, it appeared under certain conditions and will disappear under certain other conditions. Dialectical materialism holds that the process of development of the world proceeds by a lower form of movement giving birth to a higher form of movement, thus demonstrating its historical nature and temporary nature, but, at the same time, no form of movement participates in an eternal flux (a flux without beginning or end). In accordance with the principle of the struggle of opposites (the cause whereby objects cause themselves to move), in general, any given form of movement reaches a higher stage than its predecessors. It continues to move forward, but, at the same time, as far as each form of movement is concerned (as far as each concrete process of development is concerned), transformations or movements both forward and backward may occur. Movements forward and backward are linked and, taken as a whole, they constitute a complex and cyclical movement. Dialectical materialism holds that a new form of movement comes into being as the antithesis (the opposite) of the old form of movement, but, at the same time, the new form of movement necessarily preserves many elements of the old form of movement. A new thing is born out of an old thing. Dialectical materialism holds that the appearance of a new form, a new characteristic, or a new category of things arises from a rupture in the continuity and the passage through a leap resulting from a clash and a breakthrough, but, at the same time, the continuity and the reciprocal links between things can definitely not be absolutely demolished. Finally, dialectical materialism holds that the world is inexhaustible (unlimited), and this is true, not only of the world as a whole but also of its parts. Are not electrons, as well as atoms, manifestations of a complex yet inexhaustible world?

The fundamental forms of the movement of matter also determine the various basic disciplines of the natural sciences. Dialectical materialism investigates the development of the world as a progressive movement from the inorganic to the organic, and from thence to the highest form of the movement of matter (society). The relationships between the categories of these forms of movement have become the corresponding sciences (this is the basis for the relationship between the categories of the inorganic sciences, the organic sciences, and the social sciences). Engels said, "*Classification of the sciences*, each of which analyzes a single form of motion, or a series of forms of movement that belong together and pass into one another, is therefore the classification, the arrangement, of these forms of movement themselves according to their inherent sequence, and herein lies its importance."[14]

14. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 330. Emphasis in original.

The world as a whole, including human society, embraces various qualitatively different forms of matter in movement. Because of this we must not forget the question of the various concrete forms of matter in movement. There are no such things as so-called matter in general and movement in general. In the world there are only many different forms of concrete matter and movement. "Expressions like matter and movement are nothing but *shorthand expressions* in which we comprehend many different sensuously perceptible things according to their common properties" (Engels).[15]

What we have just discussed is the theory of the movement of the world, or the principle of the development of the world, in accordance with dialectical materialism. This doctrine is the essence of Marxist philosophy. It is the worldview and methodology of the proletariat. If the proletariat and all revolutionaries take up this consistently scientific weapon, they will then be able to understand this world and transform this world.

7. On Time and Space

Motion is a form of the existence of matter, and space and time are also forms of the existence of matter. Matter in motion exists in space and time, and, moreover, the motion of matter is itself the premise for these two forms of existence of matter, space and time. Space and time cannot be separated from matter. The sentence "matter exists in space" says that matter itself possesses the capacity of expansion; the material world is a world in which the capacity of expansion exists internally. It does not suggest that matter is situated in a space which is a nonmaterial void. Neither space nor time are independent nonmaterial things; neither are they subjective forms of our perceptions. They are forms of existence of the objective material world; they are objective and have no existence apart from matter, nor does matter exist apart from them.

The view that sees space and time as forms of the existence of matter is the thoroughgoing materialist viewpoint. This conception of time and space is in fundamental opposition to the various idealist conceptions of time and space listed below:

1. The Kantian conception of time and space, which considers that time and space are not objective realities but forms of intuition of humankind.
2. The Hegelian conception of time and space, which incorporates a conception of time and space as developing, increasingly approaching the absolute Idea.
3. The Machian conception of time and space,[16] which considers that time and space are "categories of sense perception" and "instruments for the harmonization of experience."

15. Ibid., p. 313.

16. Ernst Mach (1838–1916) was an Austrian physicist and philosopher, who developed the concept of empiro-criticism.

None of these idealist viewpoints recognizes the objective reality of time and space or recognizes that, in their own development, the concepts of time and space reflect materially existing forms. These incorrect theories have all been refuted one by one by dialectical materialism.

On the question of time and space, dialectical materialism not only struggles against these idealist theories listed above, it also struggles against mechanical materialism. Of particular note is Newtonian mechanics, which treats space and time as unrelated and static insubstantial entities and which situates matter within this insubstantial context. Dialectical materialism, in opposition to this theory of mechanics, points out that our conception of time and space is a developmental one. "There is nothing in the world but matter in motion, and matter in motion cannot move otherwise than in space and time. Human conceptions of space and time are relative, but these relative conceptions go to compound absolute truth. These relative conceptions, in their development, move toward absolute truth and approach nearer and nearer to it. The mutability of human conceptions of space and time no more refutes the objective reality of space and time than the mutability of scientific knowledge of the structure and forms of matter in motion refutes the objective reality of the external world" (Lenin).[17]

This is the conception of time and space held by dialectical materialism.

8. On Consciousness

Dialectical materialism considers consciousness to be a product of matter, that it is one form of the development of matter and a specific characteristic of a definite form of matter. This materialist and historicist theory of consciousness is in fundamental opposition to the viewpoint of all idealisms and mechanical materialisms on this question.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, consciousness originated in the development from the inorganic world without consciousness to the animal world possessing rudimentary forms of consciousness; there then developed humankind which possessed high-level forms of consciousness. Such high-level forms of consciousness not only cannot be separated from the advanced nervous systems which came with physiological development; they cannot be separated from the labor and production which come with the development of society. Marx and Engels have emphatically pointed out the dependent relationship which consciousness has to the development of material production and the relationship between consciousness and the development of human language.

So-called consciousness is a particular characteristic of a definite form of matter; this form of matter is composed of a complex nervous system, and this type of nervous system can occur only at a high stage in the evolution of the natural world.

17. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirocriticism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950), p. 203.

The entire inorganic world, plant kingdom, and rudimentary animal kingdom—none of these has the ability to comprehend those processes which occur either within or without them; they are without consciousness. It is only the animal being that possesses an advanced nervous system that has the ability to comprehend processes; that is, which has the ability to reflect internally or comprehend these processes. The objective physiological processes of the nervous system of human beings function in line with the subjective manifestation of the forms of consciousness that they adopt internally; these are themselves all objective things, are certain types of material process; however, these simultaneously also constitute subjective psychological functions in the substance of the brain.

There is no such thing as a special mind devoted exclusively to thought, there is only thinking matter—the brain. This thinking matter is matter of a particular quality, matter which has developed to a high degree following the development of language in human social life. This matter possesses the particular characteristic of thought, something possessed by no other type of matter.

Vulgar materialists, however, consider thought to be matter secreted from within the brain; this viewpoint misrepresents our conception of this problem. It must be understood that the behavior of thought, emotion, and will is weightless, nor does it possess the capacity to expand; and yet consciousness, together with weight, the capacity to expand (*shenzhangxing*), and so on are all matter with different characteristics. Consciousness is an intrinsic condition of matter in motion; it reflects the particular characteristics of the physiological processes which occur with matter which is in motion. These particular characteristics cannot be separated from the objective processes of nerve function, but they are not identical with such processes. The confusion of these two and the repudiation of the particularity of consciousness—this is the viewpoint of vulgar materialists.

Similarly, the mechanistic theory of sham Marxism echoes the viewpoint of certain bourgeois right-wing schools of thought within psychology; this in actuality has also completely overturned consciousness. They understand consciousness as a physicochemical physiological process and consider that the study of the behavior of this advanced substance can be carried out through the study of objective physiology and biology. They do not understand the qualitatively particular characteristics of the essence of consciousness and do not recognize that consciousness is a product of the social practice of humanity.[18] For the concrete historical identity of object and subject, they substitute the equality of object and subject and the one sided mechanistic objective world. These viewpoints, which confuse consciousness with a physiological process, are tantamount to the abolition of the fundamental question of philosophy of the relationship between thought and existence. The idealism of the Mensheviks' attempts to employ a compromise theory, one which reconciles materialism and idealism, as a substitute for Marxist epistemology. They oppose the principle of dialectics through the principles of the "synthesis" of objec-

18. The last two sentences are from the version in *Bujuan* (Knight, note 65, p. 130).

tivism and subjectivism and the "mutual assistance" of these two methods, but this principle of dialectics is both nonmechanistic objectivism and nonidealist subjectivism and represents the concrete historical identity of objective and subjective.

Finally, there is another singular ideology, Plekhanov's animist view on the problem of consciousness, which is fully expressed in his celebrated dictum "a stone also possesses consciousness." According to this viewpoint, consciousness does not occur in the process of development of matter, but exists in all matter from the very beginning; there is only a difference of degree between the consciousness of humans, low-level organisms, and a stone. This antihistorical viewpoint is fundamentally opposed to the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, which considers consciousness the ultimately occurring particular characteristic of matter.

Only dialectical materialism's theory of consciousness is the correct theory on problems of consciousness.

9. On Reflection

To be a thoroughgoing materialist, it is insufficient simply to acknowledge the material origins of consciousness; the knowability of matter by consciousness must also be acknowledged.

The question of whether or not matter can be known is a complex one; it is a question which all philosophers of the past have felt powerless to deal with. Only dialectical materialism is able to provide the correct solution. On this question, the standpoint of dialectical materialism has been in opposition to agnosticism and is different from straightforward realism.

The agnosticism of Hume and Kant isolates the subject of knowledge from the object and considers that it is not possible to transcend the limits which isolate the subject; between the "thing-in-itself" and its outward form exists an impassable chasm.

The straightforward realism of Machism equates the object with sense perceptions and considers that the truth is already established in final form in sense perceptions. At the same time, Machism not only does not understand that sense perceptions are a result of the effects of the external world, it, moreover, does not understand the active role of the subject in the process of cognition, namely, the transformative work of the sense organs and thinking brain of the subject, on the effects of the external world (such that two forms—impressions and concepts—are made manifest).

It is only the theory of reflection of dialectical materialism which has positively answered the problem of knowability to become the "soul" of Marxist epistemology. This theory has clearly demonstrated that our impressions and concepts not only arise from objective things but also reflect them. It demonstrates that impressions and concepts are neither a product of the spontaneous development of the subject as the idealists suggest nor the label given objective things as suggested by the agnostics; they are, rather, the reflection of objective things, a photographic image and sample copy of them.

Objective truth exists independently and does not depend on the subject. Although it is reflected in our sense perceptions and concepts, it achieves form gradually rather than instantaneously. The viewpoint of straightforward realism, which considers that objective truth achieves final form in sense perceptions and that we gain it thus, is a mistaken one.

Although objective truth does not achieve final form at once in our sense perceptions and concepts, it is not unknowable. The reflection theory of dialectical materialism opposes the viewpoint of agnosticism and considers that consciousness can reflect objective truth in the process of cognition. The process of cognition is a complex one; in this process, when the as-yet unknown "thing-in-itself" is reflected in our sense perceptions, impressions, and concepts, it becomes a "thing-for-us." Sense perceptions and thought certainly do not, as Kant has stated, isolate us from the external world; rather, they are what links us with it. Sense perceptions and thought are reflections of the objective external world. Mental things (impressions and concepts) can be no other than "material things, altered and transformed, within the brain of humanity" (Marx). In the process of cognition, the material world is increasingly reflected in our knowledge more closely, more precisely, more multifariously, and more profoundly. It is the task of Marxist epistemology to carry on a struggle on two fronts against Machism and Kantianism, and to expose the errors of strident realism and agnosticism.

The reflection theory of materialist dialectics considers that our capacity to know the objective world is limitless; this view is in fundamental opposition to the viewpoint of the agnostics who consider the human capacity for knowledge to be limited. However, there are definite historical limits on each approach we make to absolute truth. Lenin referred to it thus: "The *limits* of approximation of our knowledge to objective, absolute truth are historically conditional, but the existence of such truth is *unconditional* and the fact that we are approaching near to it is also unconditional. The contours of the picture are historically conditional, but the fact that this picture depicts an objectively existing model is unconditional."[19] We acknowledge that human knowledge is subject to the limitations of historical conditions and that truth cannot be achieved at once. But we are not agnostics and recognize that truth becomes complete in the historical movement of human knowledge. Lenin also stated: "The reflection of nature in man's thought must be understood not 'lifelessly,' not 'abstractly,' *not devoid of movement, not without contradictions*; but in the eternal *process* of movement, the arising of contradictions and their solution."[20] The movement of knowledge is complex and replete with contradictions and struggle. This is the viewpoint of the epistemology of dialectical materialism.

The antihistorical standpoint of all those philosophies which, epistemologically, do not treat knowledge as a process is consequently a narrow one. This narrow

19. The quotation is from Lenin, *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism*, pp. 152–53.
20. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic*," *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 195.

viewpoint in the empiricism of sensationalism[21] has created a deep chasm between sense perceptions and concepts; in the rationalist school, it has caused concepts to become divorced from sense perceptions. It is only the epistemology of dialectical materialism (reflection theory) which treats knowledge as a process and, in so doing, thoroughly eliminates this narrow viewpoint; it does so by attributing to knowledge a material and dialectical status.

Reflection theory points out: The process of reflection is not limited to sense perceptions and impressions and exists in thought (in abstract concepts); knowledge is a process of motion from sense perceptions to thought. As Lenin has said: "Knowledge is the reflection of nature. But this is not a simple, not an immediate, not a complete reflection, but the process of a series of abstractions, the formation of concepts, laws, etc."[22]

At the same time, Lenin has pointed out: "The process of knowledge involving a movement from sense perceptions to thought is accomplished through a leap." Lenin, here, has clearly expounded the dialectical materialist viewpoint of the interrelationship between experiential and rational elements in cognition. Many philosophers do not comprehend the sudden change that occurs within the process of the movement of knowledge, that is, the process of movement from sense perceptions to thought (from impressions to concepts). Consequently, to understand this transformation, which is produced by contradiction and adopts the form of a leap, namely, to comprehend that the identity of sense perceptions and thought is a dialectical identity, is to have comprehended the most important element of the essence of Lenin's reflection theory.

10. On Truth

Truth is objective and relative; it is also absolute—this is the viewpoint on truth of materialist dialectics.

First of all, truth is objective. To have recognized the objective existence of matter and the origin of consciousness in matter is to recognize the objective character of truth. So-called objective truth, that is, the objectively existing material world, is the only source of the content of our knowledge or concepts; there is no other source. It is only idealists who deny that the material world exists independently of human consciousness—this fundamental principle of idealism maintains that knowledge or concepts emerge subjectively and spontaneously and without any objective content. Because of this, it acknowledges subjective truth and rejects objective truth. This is, however, at odds with reality, for any knowledge or

21. Sensationalism (*ganjuezhuyi*) is the doctrine that knowledge is derived solely from the senses.

22. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *The Science of Logic*," in *Collected Works* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), Vol. 38, p. 182.

concept which fails to reflect the laws of the objective world is not scientific knowledge or objective truth; it is superstition or wishful thinking which subjectively engages in self-deception and the deception of others. All practical activity of humanity which has as its purpose the transformation of the environment is subject to the direction of thought (knowledge), regardless of whether it be productive activity, activity involving class struggle or national struggle, or any other forms of activity. If this thought does not conform to objective laws, that is, if objective laws are not reflected in the brain of the person undertaking the action and do not constitute the content of his thought or knowledge, then that action will certainly not be able to achieve its purpose. The errors made by so-called subjective guidance within the revolutionary movement are indicative of this sort of situation. Marxism became revolutionary scientific knowledge precisely because it correctly reflected the actual laws of the objective world; it is objective truth. All thought that opposes Marxism is therefore incorrect because it is not founded on correct objective laws and is completely subjective wishful thinking. There are those who say that what is universally accepted is objective truth (the subjective idealist Bogdanov[23] stated this view). According to this viewpoint, then, religion and prejudice are also objective truth because, although religion and prejudice are in fact erroneous views, they are frequently widely accepted by a majority of people, and sometimes correct scientific thought cannot overturn these erroneous widely held beliefs. Materialist dialectics is fundamentally opposed to this viewpoint; it considers that it is only scientific knowledge which correctly reflects objective laws which can be designated as truth. All truth must be objective. Truth and falsity are absolutely in opposition. The only way to determine whether any knowledge is truth is to see whether it reflects objective laws. If it does not conform to objective laws, even though it is acknowledged by the general populace or by certain wildly extravagant theories within the revolutionary movement, it can only be treated as erroneous.

The first problem of the theory of truth of materialist dialectics is the question of subjective and objective truth. Its response is to deny the former and recognize the latter. Its second problem is the question of absolute and relative truth. Its response is, while recognizing both, it does not one-sidedly accept or reject either aspect; moreover, it points out that the relationship between them is correct, that it is dialectical.[24]

It is absolute truth it acknowledges when materialist dialectics acknowledges objective truth. This is because when we say the content of knowledge is a reflection of the objective world, that is the same as acknowledging the object of our knowledge is that external absolute world. "All true knowledge of nature is knowledge of

23. Regarding Bogdanov, see, below, the relevant note to the "Notes on a Course of Dialectical Materialism" by Shirokov and others.

24. We have taken this paragraph from *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, p. 218.

the eternal, the infinite, and hence essentially absolute" (Engels).[25] However, objective absolute truth does not instantaneously and completely become the knowledge that we have; rather, through the introduction of countless relative truths in the limitless process of development of our thought, absolute truth is arrived at. The sum total of these countless relative truths is the manifestation of absolute truth. By its very nature, human thought can provide us with absolute truth. Absolute truth can come about only from the accumulation of many relative truths. Each stage of the development of science adds a new dimension to the sum total of absolute truth. However, the limits of the truth of each scientific principle are invariably relative; absolute truth is manifest only in countless relative truths; and if it is not so manifest through relative truth, absolute truth could not be known. Materialist dialectics certainly does not deny the relativity of all knowledge; but in doing so it is only indicating the historically conditional character of the limits of our knowledge's approximation to objective absolute truth and not suggesting that knowledge itself is only relative. All inventions of science are historically limited and relative. But scientific knowledge is different from falsehood; it displays and depicts objective absolute truth. This is the dialectical viewpoint on the interrelationship between absolute and relative truth.

There are two viewpoints, both of which are incorrect, on the question of the interrelationship between absolute and relative truth. One is metaphysical materialism, the other is idealist relativism. [In the Chinese, this is run on with what follows.]

On the basis of their fundamental metaphysical principle of "the unchangeable material world," metaphysical materialists consider that human thought is also unchanging; that is, they consider that this unchanging objective world can instantaneously and in its entirety be absorbed in human consciousness. That is, they acknowledge absolute truth, but for them it is acquired only once by humans; they regard truth as immobile and lifeless, something that does not develop. Their error resides not in acknowledging that there is absolute truth—to acknowledge this point is correct. It is, rather, in their failure to understand the historical character of truth and in their not perceiving the acquisition of truth as a process of cognition. It resides also in their not understanding that absolute truth can only come to fruition little by little in the process of development of human knowledge and that every step forward in knowledge expresses the content of absolute truth; that, in relation to complete truth, however, such knowledge possesses only relative significance and certainly cannot instantaneously achieve the completeness of absolute truth. The viewpoint on truth of metaphysical materialism is an expression of one extreme of epistemology.

The other extreme within epistemology on the question of truth is idealist relativism. People of this persuasion deny that knowledge is characterized by absolute truth, only acknowledging its relative significance. They consider that all scientific discoveries contain no absolute truth; they are thus not objective truth. Truth

25. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 310.

is only subjective and relative. Consequently, all erroneous viewpoints have the right to exist. Where imperialism invades a weak and small nation, where a ruling class exploits the laboring masses, this doctrine of invasion and system of exploitation are also truth, since truth is only subjective and relative in any case. The result of the rejection of objective and absolute truth inevitably leads to this conclusion. Moreover, the purpose of idealist relativism is actually to present the case for the ruling class; for example, the purpose of relativist pragmatism (or experimentalism) is just that.

It can therefore be seen that neither metaphysical materialism nor idealist relativism can correctly solve the problem of the interrelationship between absolute and relative truth. Only materialist dialectics can provide the correct answer to the problem of the relationship between thought and existence and consequently determine the objectivity of scientific knowledge; furthermore, it provides at the same time a correct understanding of absolute and relative truth. This is the theory of truth of materialist dialectics.

11. On Practice (On the Relationship Between Knowledge and Practice, Between Theory and Reality, Between Knowing and Doing)[26]

Before Marx, materialism examined the problem of knowledge apart from the social nature of man and apart from his historical development and was therefore incapable of understanding the dependence of knowledge on social practice, that is, the dependence of knowledge on production and on class struggle.

26. In his version of this text, Nick Knight has omitted the sections on practice and on contradiction from the lecture notes on dialectical materialism and has presented them separately under the titles "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." We have left the revised texts in the place they originally occupied. As regards form, Knight has adopted different practices in dealing with these two texts, using bold for those passages from the earliest versions omitted in the *Selected Works* in the case of "On Practice" and for those passages retained in the case of "On Contradiction." It would scarcely have been possible to follow him in this respect while presenting both of these essays as parts of an integrated whole. We have therefore retained the procedure employed throughout this edition: setting in italics those passages omitted from the *Selected Works*. It must be acknowledged, however, that the case of "On Contradiction" is a very special one. In all the other texts revised in the early 1950s for inclusion in the official edition of Mao's writings, including "On Practice," the changes consist in the omission of viewpoints inconsistent with post-1949 orthodoxy and of historical references no longer judged appropriate, together with some modifications in style and vocabulary. The text of "On Contradiction" was, in contrast, the object on Mao's part of a detailed and time-consuming revision which led to its being held over to Volume 2 of the first Chinese edition of his writings and turned it into a substantially new work. That being the case, some readers may prefer to consult the revised version as it appears in the *Selected Works*, as the latest expression of Mao's thought on this question. Nevertheless, the differences between the 1937 lectures and the 1951 essay, as documented here, remain of interest.

Above all, Marxists regard man's activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities. Man's knowledge depends mainly on his activity in material production, through which he comes gradually to understand natural phenomena, the properties of nature (the laws of nature),[27] and the relationship between himself and nature; and through his activity in production he also comes at the same time to understand, in varying degrees, certain relations that exist between man and man.[28] None of this knowledge can be acquired apart from activity in production. Every person,[29] as a member of society, joins in common effort with the other members,[30] and engages in production to meet man's material needs.[31] This is the primary source from which human knowledge develops.

Man's social practice is not confined to activity in production, but takes many other forms—class struggle, political life, scientific[32] pursuits; in short, as a social being, man participates in all spheres of the practical life of society. Thus man[33] comes to know the different relations between man and man, not only through his material life but also through his political and cultural life (both of which are intimately bound up with material life). Of these other types of social practice, class struggle in particular, in all its various forms, exerts a profound influence on the development of man's knowledge. The reason for this is that in class society[34] every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.[35]

27. The properties of nature (the laws of nature) → The properties of nature, the laws of nature

28. Comes at the same time to understand, in varying degrees, certain relations that exist between man and man → Gradually comes to understand, in varying degrees, certain relations that exist between man and man

29. Every person → In a classless society, every person

30. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "enters into definite relations of production with them."

31. In the *Selected Works* version, the following sentence is added here: "In all class societies, the members of the different social classes also enter, in different ways, into definite relations of production, and engage in production to meet their material needs."

32. Scientific → Scientific and artistic

33. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts "in varying degrees."

34. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "everyone lives as a member of a particular class."

35. Here the following paragraph has been added in the *Selected Works* version:

> Marxists hold that in human society activity in production develops step by step from a lower to a higher level and that, consequently, man's knowledge, whether of nature or of society, also develops step by step from a lower to a higher level, that is, from the shallower to the deeper, from the one-sided to the many-sided. For a very long period in history, men were necessarily confined to a one-sided understanding of the history of society because, for one thing, the bias of the exploiting classes always distorted history and, for another, the small scale of production limited man's outlook. It was not until the modern proletariat emerged along with immense forces of production (large-scale industry) that man was able to acquire a comprehensive, historical understanding of the development of society and turn this knowledge into a science, the science of Marxism.

Because of this, Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world. What actually happens is that man's knowledge is strengthened[36] only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle, or scientific experiment). *Why is it that peasants are unable to harvest their crops, workers are unable to use their tools, there are strikes and struggle, troops go to war, and the national revolution has not achieved victory? It is because man's knowledge has not faithfully reflected the regularities of the processes of the external world, and therefore cannot achieve the anticipated results in his practical activities.* If a man wants to succeed,[37] that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by "failure is the mother of success" and "a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit." The dialectical materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice. Thus Lenin said, "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality, but also of immediate actuality."[38] The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: It openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: It emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice. The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings but by objective results in social practice. Only social practice can be the criterion of truth. The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge.

But how then does human knowledge arise from practice and in turn serve practice? This will become clear if we look at the process of development of knowledge.

In the process of practice, man at first sees only the phenomenal side, the separate aspects, the external relations of things. For instance, the Guomindang Central Investigation Team[39] comes to Yan'an on a tour of observation. In the first day or two, they see its topography, streets, and houses; they meet many people; attend banquets, evening parties, and mass meetings; hear talk of various kinds; and read various documents—all these being the phenomena, the separate aspects and the external relations of things. This is called the perceptual stage of cogni-

36. Strengthened → Verified

37. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "in his work."

38. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *The Science of Logic*," p. 213.

39. In the *Selected Works* version, both here and in the following paragraph, the Guomindang Central Investigation Team becomes "some people from outside." For Mao's address of welcome on the occasion of this visit, see Volume V, pp. 673–74.

tion, namely, the stage of sense perceptions and impressions. That is, these particular things in Yan'an act on the sense organs of the gentlemen of the Investigation Team, evoke sense perceptions, and give rise in their brains to many impressions together with a rough sketch of the external relations among these impressions: this is the first stage of cognition. At this stage, man cannot as yet form concepts, which are deeper, or draw theoretical[40] conclusions.

As social practice continues, things that give rise to man's sense perceptions and impressions in the course of his practice are repeated many times; then a sudden change[41] takes place in the brain in the process of cognition, and concepts are formed. Concepts are no longer the phenomena, the separate aspects, and the external relations of things; they grasp the essence, the totality, and the internal relations of things. Between concepts and sense perceptions there is not only a quantitative but also a qualitative difference. Proceeding further by means of judgment and inference, one is able to draw theoretical[42] conclusions. The expression in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms,*[43] "knit the brows and a stratagem comes to mind," or in everyday language, "let me think it over," refers to man's use of concepts in the brain to form judgments and inferences. *This is the rational stage of knowledge, otherwise known as its logical stage.* This is the second stage of cognition. When the gentlemen of the Investigation Team have collected various data and, what is more, have "thought them over," they are able to arrive at the judgment that "the Communist Party's policy of the national united front against Japan *and cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party* is thorough, sincere, and genuine." Having made this judgment, they can, if they too are genuine about uniting to save the nation, go a step further and draw the following conclusion: "Cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party can succeed."[44] This stage of conception, judgment, and inference is the more important stage in the entire process of knowing a thing.[45] *The real task of knowing is not perceptual knowledge but rational knowledge.* The real task of knowing is, through perception, to arrive at thought, to arrive[46] at the comprehension of the internal contradictions of objective things, of their laws and of the internal relations between one process and another, *of the internal relations between objective*

40. Theoretical → Logical
41. Sudden change → Sudden change (leap)
42. Theoretical → Logical
43. *Sanguo yanyi*, commonly translated as *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, was one of Mao's favorite Chinese classical novels. It deals in large part with war and strategy during the era of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 221–264).
44. "Cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party can succeed" → "The national united front against Japan can succeed."
45. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the sentence: "It is the stage of rational knowledge."
46. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts "step by step."

processes, that is, to arrive at theoretical[47] knowledge. To repeat, logical knowledge differs from perceptual knowledge in that perceptual knowledge pertains to the separate aspects, the phenomena, and the external relations of things, whereas logical knowledge takes a big stride forward to reach the totality, the essence, and the internal relations of things and discloses the inner contradictions in the surrounding world. Therefore, logical knowledge is capable of grasping the development of the surrounding world in its totality, in the internal relations of all its aspects.

This dialectical materialist theory of the process of development of knowledge, basing itself on practice and proceeding from the shallower to the deeper, was never worked out by anybody before the rise of Marxism. Marxist *dialectical* materialism solved this problem correctly for the first time, pointing out both materialistically and dialectically the deepening movement of cognition, the movement by which man in society progresses from perceptual knowledge to logical knowledge in his complex, constantly recurring practice of production and class struggle. Lenin said, "The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short, all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly, and completely."[48] Lenin also pointed out[49] that each of the two stages in the process of cognition has its own characteristics, with knowledge manifesting itself as perceptual at the lower stage and logical at the higher stage, but that both are stages in an integrated process of cognition. The perceptual and the rational are qualitatively different, but are not divorced from each other; they are unified on the basis of practice. Our practice proves that what is perceived cannot at once be comprehended and that only what is comprehended can be more deeply perceived. Perception only solves the problem of phenomena; comprehension[50] alone can solve the problem of essence. The solving of both these problems is not separable in the slightest degree from practice. Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment. In feudal society it was impossible to know the laws of capitalist society in advance because capitalism had not yet emerged; the relevant practice was lacking. Marxism could be the product only of capitalist society. In the era of laissez-faire capitalism, it could not know[51] certain laws peculiar to the era of imperialism beforehand, because imperialism[52] had not yet emerged and the relevant practice was lacking; only Leninism[53] could

47. Theoretical → Logical
48. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *The Science of Logic*," p. 171.
49. Lenin also pointed out → Marxism-Leninism holds
50. Comprehension → Theory
51. In the era of laissez-faire capitalism, it could not know → Marx, in the era of laissez-faire capitalism, could not concretely know
52. Imperialism → Imperialism, the last stage of capitalism,
53. Leninism → Lenin and Stalin

tion, namely, the stage of sense perceptions and impressions. That is, these particular things in Yan'an act on the sense organs of the gentlemen of the Investigation Team, evoke sense perceptions, and give rise in their brains to many impressions together with a rough sketch of the external relations among these impressions: this is the first stage of cognition. At this stage, man cannot as yet form concepts, which are deeper, or draw theoretical[40] conclusions.

As social practice continues, things that give rise to man's sense perceptions and impressions in the course of his practice are repeated many times; then a sudden change[41] takes place in the brain in the process of cognition, and concepts are formed. Concepts are no longer the phenomena, the separate aspects, and the external relations of things; they grasp the essence, the totality, and the internal relations of things. Between concepts and sense perceptions there is not only a quantitative but also a qualitative difference. Proceeding further by means of judgment and inference, one is able to draw theoretical[42] conclusions. The expression in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms,*[43] "knit the brows and a stratagem comes to mind," or in everyday language, "let me think it over," refers to man's use of concepts in the brain to form judgments and inferences. *This is the rational stage of knowledge, otherwise known as its logical stage.* This is the second stage of cognition. When the gentlemen of the Investigation Team have collected various data and, what is more, have "thought them over," they are able to arrive at the judgment that "the Communist Party's policy of the national united front against Japan *and cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party* is thorough, sincere, and genuine." Having made this judgment, they can, if they too are genuine about uniting to save the nation, go a step further and draw the following conclusion: "Cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party can succeed."[44] This stage of conception, judgment, and inference is the more important stage in the entire process of knowing a thing.[45] *The real task of knowing is not perceptual knowledge but rational knowledge.* The real task of knowing is, through perception, to arrive at thought, to arrive[46] at the comprehension of the internal contradictions of objective things, of their laws and of the internal relations between one process and another, *of the internal relations between objective*

40. Theoretical → Logical
41. Sudden change → Sudden change (leap)
42. Theoretical → Logical
43. *Sanguo yanyi*, commonly translated as *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, was one of Mao's favorite Chinese classical novels. It deals in large part with war and strategy during the era of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 221–264).
44. "Cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party can succeed" → "The national united front against Japan can succeed."
45. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the sentence: "It is the stage of rational knowledge."
46. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts "step by step."

processes, that is, to arrive at theoretical[47] knowledge. To repeat, logical knowledge differs from perceptual knowledge in that perceptual knowledge pertains to the separate aspects, the phenomena, and the external relations of things, whereas logical knowledge takes a big stride forward to reach the totality, the essence, and the internal relations of things and discloses the inner contradictions in the surrounding world. Therefore, logical knowledge is capable of grasping the development of the surrounding world in its totality, in the internal relations of all its aspects.

This dialectical materialist theory of the process of development of knowledge, basing itself on practice and proceeding from the shallower to the deeper, was never worked out by anybody before the rise of Marxism. Marxist *dialectical* materialism solved this problem correctly for the first time, pointing out both materialistically and dialectically the deepening movement of cognition, the movement by which man in society progresses from perceptual knowledge to logical knowledge in his complex, constantly recurring practice of production and class struggle. Lenin said, "The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short, all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly, and completely."[48] Lenin also pointed out[49] that each of the two stages in the process of cognition has its own characteristics, with knowledge manifesting itself as perceptual at the lower stage and logical at the higher stage, but that both are stages in an integrated process of cognition. The perceptual and the rational are qualitatively different, but are not divorced from each other; they are unified on the basis of practice. Our practice proves that what is perceived cannot at once be comprehended and that only what is comprehended can be more deeply perceived. Perception only solves the problem of phenomena; comprehension[50] alone can solve the problem of essence. The solving of both these problems is not separable in the slightest degree from practice. Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment. In feudal society it was impossible to know the laws of capitalist society in advance because capitalism had not yet emerged; the relevant practice was lacking. Marxism could be the product only of capitalist society. In the era of laissez-faire capitalism, it could not know[51] certain laws peculiar to the era of imperialism beforehand, because imperialism[52] had not yet emerged and the relevant practice was lacking; only Leninism[53] could

47. Theoretical → Logical
48. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *The Science of Logic*," p. 171.
49. Lenin also pointed out → Marxism-Leninism holds
50. Comprehension → Theory
51. In the era of laissez-faire capitalism, it could not know → Marx, in the era of laissez-faire capitalism, could not concretely know
52. Imperialism → Imperialism, the last stage of capitalism,
53. Leninism → Lenin and Stalin

undertake this task. *Marxism-Leninism also could not have been produced in the economically backward colonies because, although they were contemporaneous with them, there was a difference in location.* Leaving aside their genius, the reason Marx, Engels, and Lenin[54] could work out their theories was mainly that they personally took part in the practice of the class struggle and the scientific experimentation of their time; lacking this condition, no genius could have succeeded. The saying "Without stepping outside his gate the scholar[55] knows all the wide world's affairs" was mere empty talk in past times, when technology was undeveloped. Even though this saying can be valid in the present age of developed technology, the people with real personal knowledge are those engaged in practice the wide world over. And it is only when these people have come to "know" through their practice, and when their knowledge has reached him through writing and the transmission of technology, that the "scholar" can indirectly "know all the wide world's affairs." If you want to know a certain thing or a certain class of things directly, you must personally participate in practice[56] to change reality, to change that thing or class of things, for only thus can you come into contact with them as phenomena; only through personal participation in practice[57] to change reality can you uncover the essence of that thing or class of things and comprehend them. This is the path to knowledge which every man actually travels, though some people, deliberately distorting matters, argue to the contrary. The most ridiculous person in the world is the "know-it-all" who picks up a smattering of hearsay knowledge and proclaims himself "the world's number one authority"; this merely shows that he has not taken a proper measure of himself. Knowledge is a matter of science, and no dishonesty or conceit whatsoever is permissible. What is required is definitely the reverse—honesty and modesty. If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the structure and properties of the atom, you must make the experiments of the chemist[58] to change the state of the atom. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience. But one cannot have direct experience of everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from indirect experience, for example, all knowledge from past times and foreign lands. To our ancestors and to foreigners, such knowledge was—or is—a matter of direct experience, and this knowledge is reliable if, in the course of their direct experience, the requirement of "scientific (*correct*, *serious*, *not absurd*) abstraction," spoken of by Lenin, was—

54. Marx, Engels, and Lenin → Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin
55. The term here translated "scholar" is *xiucai*, the lowest rank in the former imperial examination system.
56. Practice → The practical struggle
57. Practice → The practical struggle
58. The experiments of the chemist → Physical and chemical experiments

or is—fulfilled,[59] otherwise, it is not reliable. Hence a man's knowledge consists only of two parts, that which comes from direct experience and that which comes from indirect experience. Moreover, what is indirect experience for me is direct experience for other people. Consequently, considered as a whole, knowledge of any kind is inseparable from direct experience. All knowledge originates in perception of the objective external world through man's physical sense organs. Anyone who denies such perception, denies direct experience, or denies personal participation in the practice that changes reality is not a materialist. That is why the "know-it-all" is ridiculous. *Chinese merchants have a saying, "If you want to profit from household animals, you must live with them." This holds true for the profit-making of the merchant,*[60] and also holds true for the theory of knowledge. There can be no knowledge apart from practice.

To make clear the dialectical materialist movement of cognition arising on the basis of the practice which changes reality—to make clear the gradually deepening movement of cognition—a few additional concrete examples are given below.

In its knowledge of *the process of* capitalism,[61] the proletariat was only in the perceptual stage of cognition in the first period of its practice, the period of machine-smashing and spontaneous struggle; it knew only some of the aspects and the external relations of the phenomena of capitalism. The proletariat was then still a "class-in-itself." But when it reached the later[62] period of its practice, the period of conscious and organized economic and political struggles, the proletariat was able to comprehend the essence of capitalist society, the relations of exploitation between social classes,[63] *and create the theory of Marxism*; and it was able to do so because of its own practice and because of the *lessons taught it through* experience of prolonged struggle.[64] It was then that the proletariat became a "class-for-itself."

Similarly with the Chinese people's knowledge of imperialism. The first stage was one of superficial, perceptual knowledge, as shown in the indiscriminate anti-foreign struggles of the movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Yihetuan [Boxer] movement, and so on. It was only in the second stage that the Chinese people reached the stage of rational knowledge, saw the internal and external contradictions of imperialism, and saw the essential truth that imperialism had allied itself with China's feudal classes[65] to oppress and exploit the great masses of the Chinese people. This knowledge began about the time of the May Fourth movement.

59. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "and objective reality scientifically reflected"
60. In the *Selected Works* text, this saying of Chinese merchants is replaced with: "There is an old Chinese saying, 'How can you catch tiger cubs without entering the tiger's lair?' This saying holds true for man's practice."
61. Capitalism → Capitalist society
62. Later → Second
63. Here the *Selected Works* version adds "and its own historical task,"
64. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "which Marx and Engels scientifically summed up in all its variety to create the theory of Marxism for the education of the proletariat."
65. Feudal classes → Comprador and feudal classes

Next, let us consider war. If those who lead a war lack experience of war, then at the initial stage they will not understand the profound laws pertaining to the directing of a specific war (such as our Soviet War[66] of the past decade). At the initial stage they will merely experience a good deal of fighting and, what is more, suffer many defeats. But this experience (the experience of battles won and especially of battles lost) enables them to comprehend the inner thread of the whole war, namely, the laws of that specific war, to understand its strategy and tactics, and consequently to direct the war with confidence. If, at such a moment, the command is turned over to an inexperienced person, then he too will have to suffer a number of defeats (gain experience) before he can comprehend the true laws of the war.

"I am not sure I can handle it." We often hear this remark when a comrade hesitates to accept an assignment. Why is he unsure of himself? Because he has no systematic understanding of the content and circumstances of the assignment or because he has had little or no contact with such work, and so the laws governing it are beyond him. After a detailed analysis of the nature and circumstances of the assignment, he will feel more sure of himself and do it willingly. If he spends some time at the job and gains experience, and if he is a person who is willing to look into *objective* matters with an open mind and not one who approaches problems subjectively, one-sidedly, and superficially, then he can draw conclusions for himself as to how to go about the job and do it with much more courage. Only those who are subjective, one-sided, and superficial in their approach to problems will smugly issue orders or directives the moment they arrive on the scene, without considering the circumstances, without viewing things in their totality (their history and their present state as a whole) and without getting to the essence of things (their nature and the internal relationship between one thing and another). Such people are bound to trip and fall.

Thus it can be seen that the first step in the process of cognition is contact with the objects of the external world; this belongs to the stage of perception. The second step is to synthesize the data of perception by arranging and reconstructing them; this belongs to the stage of conception, judgment, and inference. It is only when the data of perception are very rich (not fragmentary) and correspond to reality (are not illusory) that they can be the basis for forming correct concepts and theories.

Here two important points must be emphasized. The first, which has been stated before but should be repeated here, is the dependence of rational knowledge upon perceptual knowledge. Anyone who thinks that rational knowledge need not be derived from perceptual knowledge is an idealist. In the history of philosophy there is the "rationalist" school that admits the reality only of reason and not of experience, believing that reason alone is reliable while perceptual experience is not; this school errs by turning things upside down. The rational is reliable precisely because it has its source in sense perceptions; otherwise, it would be like water without a source, a tree without roots, subjective, self-engendered, and unreliable. As to the sequence in the process of cognition, perceptual experience comes first; we stress the significance of social practice in the process of cognition precisely because social practice alone can give rise to human knowledge and it alone can start man on the acquisition of perceptual experience from the objective world. For a person who shuts his eyes, stops his ears and totally cuts himself off from the objective world there can be no such thing as knowledge. Knowledge begins with experience—this is the materialism[67] of knowledge.

66. Soviet War → Agrarian Revolutionary War

The second point is that knowledge needs to be deepened,[68] needs to be developed to the rational stage—this is the dialectics of the theory of knowledge. To think that knowledge can stop at the lower, perceptual stage and that perceptual knowledge alone is reliable while rational knowledge is not would be to repeat the historical theory[69] of "empiricism." This theory errs in failing to understand that, although the data of perception reflect certain realities in the objective world (I am not speaking here of idealist empiricism which confines experience to[70] introspection), they are merely one-sided and superficial, reflecting things incompletely and not reflecting their essence. Fully to reflect a thing in its totality, to reflect its essence, to reflect its inherent laws, it is necessary through the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories—it is necessary to make a change[71] from perceptual to rational knowledge. Such reconstructed knowledge is not more empty or more unreliable; on the contrary, whatever has been scientifically reconstructed in the process of cognition, on the basis of practice, reflects objective reality, as Lenin said, more deeply, more truly, more fully. As against this, vulgar "practical men" respect experience but despise theory and therefore cannot have a comprehensive view of an entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective, and are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of the truth. If such persons direct a revolution, they will lead it up a blind alley.

Rational knowledge depends upon perceptual knowledge and perceptual knowledge remains to be developed into rational knowledge—this is the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. In philosophy, neither rationalism nor empiricism understands the historical or the dialectical nature of knowledge, and, although each of these schools contains one aspect of the truth (here I am referring to materialist, not to idealist, rationalism and empiricism), both are wrong on the theory of

67. Materialism → Materialism of the theory
68. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the words "that the perceptual stage of knowledge"
69. Theory → Error
70. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the expression "so-called"
71. Change → Leap

knowledge as a whole. The dialectical materialist movement of knowledge from the perceptual to the rational holds true for a minor process of cognition (for instance,[72] a single thing or task) as well as for a major process of cognition (for instance, a whole society or a revolution).

But the movement of knowledge does not end here. If the dialectical materialist movement of knowledge were to stop at rational knowledge, only half the problem would be dealt with. And, as far as Marxist philosophy is concerned, only the less important half at that. Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem lies not in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world. From the Marxist viewpoint, theory is important, and its importance is fully expressed in Lenin's statement "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."[73] *Each of man's actions (practice) is guided by his thought, so naturally without thought there can be no action whatsoever.* But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action. If we have a correct theory but merely prate about it, pigeonhole it, and do not put it into practice, then that theory, however good, is of no use.[74] Knowledge begins with practice, and theoretical knowledge is acquired through practice and must then return to practice. Not only does the active function of knowledge manifest itself in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge but—and this is more important—it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice. The knowledge which grasps the laws of *the reality of* the world must be redirected to the practice of changing the world, must be applied anew in the practice of production, in the practice of revolutionary class struggle and revolutionary national struggle and in the practice of scientific experiment. This is the process of testing and developing theory, the continuation of the whole process of cognition. The problem of whether theory *or rational knowledge* corresponds to objective reality is not, and cannot be, completely solved in the movement of knowledge from the perceptual to the rational, mentioned above. The only way to solve this problem completely is to redirect rational knowledge to social practice, apply theory to practice, and see whether it can achieve the objectives one has in mind. Many theories of natural science are held to be true not only because they were so considered when they were discovered,[75] but because they have been verified in subsequent scientific practice. Similarly, Marxism[76] is held to be true not only because it was so considered when it was scientifically formulated by Marx[77] but because it has been verified in the subsequent practice of revolutionary class struggle.[78] Whether or not dialectical materialism is the truth depends on whether[79] it is impossible for anyone to escape from its domain in his practice. The *practice of* the history of[80] knowledge tells us that the truth of many theories is incomplete and that this incompleteness is remedied through the test of practice. Many theories are erroneous, and it is through the test of practice that their errors are corrected. That is why "practice is the criterion of truth" and why "the standpoint of practice[81] should be first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge."[82] Stalin has well said, "Theory which departs from practice is empty theory; practice which departs from theory gropes in the dark."[83]

When we get to this point, is the movement of knowledge completed? Our answer is: it is, and yet it is not. When men in society throw themselves into the practice of changing a certain objective process (whether natural or social) at a certain stage of its development, they can, as a result of the reflection of the objective process in their brains and the exercise of their subjective activity, advance their knowledge from the perceptual to the rational, and create ideas, theories, plans, or programs which correspond in general to the laws of that objective process. They then apply these ideas, theories, plans, or programs in practice in the same objective process. And if they can realize the aims they have in mind, that is, if in that same process of practice they can translate, or on the whole translate, those previously formulated ideas, theories, plans, or programs into fact, then the movement of knowledge may be considered completed with regard to this particular process. In the process of changing nature, take, for example, the fulfillment of an engineering plan, the verification of a scientific hypothesis, the manufacture of an implement or the reaping of a crop; or, in the process of changing society, take, for example, the victory of a strike, victory in a war, the fulfillment of an educational plan, *the establishment of an organization to save the nation.* All these may be considered the realization of aims one has in mind. But generally speaking, whether in the practice of changing nature or of changing society, men's original ideas, theories, plans, or programs are seldom realized without any alteration. This is because people engaged in changing reality are usually

72. For instance, → For instance, knowing

73. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952), ch. 1, section 4, p. 41; idem, *Collected Works* (Moscow, 1961), Vol. 5, p. 369.

74. Use → Significance

75. When they were discovered → When natural scientists originated them

76. Marxism → Marxism-Leninism

77. Marx → Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin

78. Revolutionary class struggle → Revolutionary class struggle and revolutionary national struggle (This addition can also be found in the 1946 edition of Mao's lecture notes.)

79. Whether or not dialectical materialism is the truth depends on whether → Dialectical materialism is universally true because

80. Of → Of human

81. Of practice → Of life, of practice

82. Lenin, *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism,* p. 141.

83. Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism," in *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), p. 31. The *Selected Works* text contains a slightly different Chinese translation of this well-known quotation from Stalin.

subject to numerous limitations; they are limited not only by existing scientific and technological conditions but also by[84] the degree to which this process has become manifest (the aspects and the essence of the objective process have not yet been fully revealed). In such a situation, ideas, theories, plans, or programs are usually altered partially and sometimes even wholly because of the discovery of unforeseen circumstances in the course of practice. That is, it does happen that the original ideas, theories, plans, or programs fail to correspond with reality either in whole or in part and are wholly or partially incorrect. In many instances, failures have to be repeated many times before errors in knowledge can be corrected and correspondence with the laws of the objective process achieved, and consequently before the subjective can be transformed into the objective or, in other words, before the anticipated results can be achieved in practice. But when that point is reached, no matter how, the movement of human knowledge regarding a certain *definite* objective process at a certain *definite* stage of its development may be considered completed.

And yet, as regards the progression of the process, the movement of human knowledge is not completed. Every process, whether in the realm of nature or of society, progresses and develops by reason of society's[85] contradictions and struggles, and the movement of human knowledge should also progress and develop along with it. As far as social movements are concerned, valuable[86] revolutionary leaders must not only be good at correcting their ideas, theories, plans, or programs when errors are discovered, as has been indicated above; but when a certain *definite* objective process has already progressed and changed from one *definite* stage of development to another, they must also be good at making themselves and all their fellow-revolutionaries progress and change in their subjective knowledge along with it, that is, they must ensure that the proposed new revolutionary tasks and new working methods[87] correspond to the new changes in the situation. In a revolutionary period, the situation changes very rapidly; if the knowledge of revolutionaries does not change rapidly in accordance with the changed situation, they will be unable to lead the revolution to victory. It often happens, however, that thinking lags behind reality; this is because man's cognition suffers from numerous limitations.[88] *Many humans are limited by class conditions (the reactionary exploiting class has no capacity for knowing any truth and, as a result, has no capacity for transforming the universe; on the contrary, they have become the enemy which obstructs knowledge of the truth and the transformation of the world). Some humans are limited by the division of labor (the division between mental and manual labor and divisions among the various industries), while*

84. Here the version in the *Selected Works* inserts: "the development of the objective process itself and"
85. Society's → Its internal
86. Valuable → True
87. Methods → Programs
88. Suffers from numerous limitations → Is limited by numerous social conditions

some are limited by originally erroneous ideas (idealism and mechanism and so on; many are exploiting elements, but there are also exploited elements because of education by the exploiting elements). A general reason is, however, the limitation which results from the historical condition of the level of technology and science. The proletariat and its political party should utilize their own naturally superior class conditions (which no other class possesses), utilize the new technology and science, and employ Marxism's worldview and methodology, and, closely relying on revolutionary practice as its basis, ensure that their knowledge changes with changes in the objective situation, and that the logical keeps pace with the historical, so that they attain the goal of completely changing the world.

We are opposed to diehards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. *The Chen Duxiuism of 1927 in China, and Bukharinism in the Soviet Union, were of this type.* These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all diehards; their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction.

We are also opposed to "Left" phrasemongering. Li Lisanism in China in 1930, and Trotskyism in the Soviet Union, at the time when it could still be regarded as a Communist faction (now it has already become an extremely reactionary faction), and ultraleft thought in all the countries of the world are all of this sort. The thinking of "leftists" outstrips a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth, while others strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future. They alienate themselves from the current practice of the majority of the people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves adventurist in their actions.

Idealism and mechanistic thinking,[89] opportunism and adventurism, *are none of them based on the epistemology of dialectical materialism* and are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist[90] theory of knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies. Marxists recognize that, in the absolute and general process of development of the universe, the development of each particular process is relative and that hence, in absolute truth,[91] man's knowledge of a particular process at any given stage of development is only relative truth.[92] The development of an objective

89. Mechanistic thinking → Mechanical materialism
90. Marxist → Marxist-Leninist
91. In absolute truth → In the endless flow of absolute truth
92. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the following sentence: "The sum total of innumerable relative truths constitutes absolute truth."

process is full of contradictions and struggles, and so is the development of the movement of human knowledge. All the dialectical movements of the objective world can sooner or later be reflected in knowledge.[93] In practice,[94] the process of developing and passing away[95] is endless, and so is the process of coming into being, developing, and passing away in human knowledge. As man's practice, which changes objective reality in accordance with given ideas,[96] plans, or programs, advances further and further, his knowledge of objective reality likewise becomes deeper and deeper. The movement of change in the world of objective reality is never–ending, and so is man's cognition of truth through practice. Marxism[97] has in no way exhausted truth, but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice. Our conclusion is the concrete, historical unity of the subjective and the objective, of theory and practice, of knowing and doing, and we are opposed to all erroneous ideologies, whether "Left" or Right, which depart from concrete history.

In the whole universe, in the present epoch of the development of *nature and* society, the responsibility for correctly knowing the world and changing the world has been placed by history upon the shoulders of the proletariat and its Party. This process, the practice of changing the world, which is determined in accordance with scientific knowledge, has already reached a historic moment in the world and in China, a great moment unprecedented in human history, that is, the moment for completely banishing darkness from the world and from China and for changing the world into a world of light such as never previously existed. The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to change the world comprises the fulfillment of the following tasks: to change the objective world and, at the same time, their own subjective world—to change their cognitive ability and change the relationship between the subjective and the objective world. Such a change has already come about in one part of the globe, in the Soviet Union. There the people are pushing forward this process of change, *for themselves and the world.* The people of China and the rest of the world are either *just beginning to* go through, or will go through, such a process. And the objective world which is to be changed also includes all the opponents of change, who, in order to be changed, must go through a stage of compulsion before they can enter the stage of voluntary, conscious change. The epoch of world communism will be reached when all mankind voluntarily and consciously changes itself and the world.

Produce[98] the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into

93. Knowledge → Human knowledge
94. Practice → Social practice
95. Developing and passing away → Coming into being, developing, and passing away
96. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the word "theories."
97. Marxism → Marxism-Leninism
98. Produce → Discover

rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form develops[99] in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.

Chapter 3: Materialist Dialectics

The two questions of "Idealism and Materialism" and "Dialectical Materialism" have been briefly dealt with above. We come now to a systematic discussion of the problem of dialectics, which has been mentioned only in outline.

The Marxist world (or universal) view is dialectical materialism; it is not metaphysical materialism (also called mechanistic materialism). This distinction is a major issue of the utmost importance. What is the world? From ancient times until the present, there have been three major responses to this question. The first is idealism (either metaphysical or dialectical idealism), which states that the world is created by the mind or, through extension, by the spirit. The second is mechanistic materialism, which denies that the world is a product of the mind; the world is a material world, but matter does not develop and is unchanging. The third is the Marxist response, which has overturned the two previous responses; it states that the world is not created by the mind, nor is it matter which does not develop; rather, it is a developing material world. This latter position is dialectical materialism.

Is not this Marxist conception of the world, which has revolutionized the perception of the world previously held by humanity, a discourse of earthshaking significance? There were those in the West's ancient Greece who espoused the view that the world is a developing material world; but, because of the limitations of the era, it was discussed only in simple and general terms, and their view is described as naive materialism. It did not have (indeed, could not have had) a scientific base. However, its viewpoint was basically correct. Hegel created dialectical idealism, stating that the world is developmental, but is created by the mind. He was a developmental idealist. His theory of development (that is, dialectics) was correct, but his developmental idealism was erroneous. In the West during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the bourgeois materialism of Germany, France, and other countries was mechanistic materialism. They asserted that the world is a material world, and this is correct; however, they stated that the world is machinelike in its movement, with only changes involving quantitative increase and decrease or in place, there being no qualitative change—an incorrect view. Marx inherited the naive dialectical materialism of Greece, transformed mechanistic materialism and dialectical idealism, and created dialectical

99. Develops → Repeats itself

materialism, which hitherto had not been placed on a scientific basis and which became the revolutionary weapon of the entire world proletariat and all oppressed peoples.

Materialist dialectics is the scientific methodology of Marxism; it is the method of knowledge and logic, and yet it is a worldview. The world is actually a developing material world: This is a worldview. This worldview becomes a method if used to observe the world, to study, think about, and resolve the problems of the world, to lead a revolution, to do work, to engage in production, to direct warfare, and to discuss a person's strengths and weaknesses; this is a methodology. There is no other single methodology apart from this; therefore in the hands of Marxists, worldview and methodology are a single entity, and so too are dialectics, epistemology, and logic.

We will systematically discuss materialist dialectics and its many issues—its numerous categories, laws, and principles (these several terms have one meaning).

What actually are the laws of materialist dialectics? And, of these, what are the fundamental laws and which are the subordinate laws which constitute the aspects, features, and issues of the theory of materialist dialectics which are indispensable and must be resolved? Why are all these laws inherent in the objective world and not created subjectively? Why study and understand these laws?

The complete revolutionary theory of materialist dialectics was created by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin. At present, with the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the period of world revolution, this theory has entered a new stage of development which has enhanced and enriched its content. The following categories included in this theory are, first:

- the law of the unity of contradictions;
- the law of the transformation of quality into quantity and vice versa;
- the law of the negation of the negation.[100]

These are the basic laws of materialist dialectics. Apart from the naive materialism of ancient Greece, which simply and unsystematically pointed out some of the significance of these laws, and Hegel who developed these laws in an idealist manner, they have been repudiated by all metaphysical philosophies (the so-called metaphysical philosophies are theories opposed to the theory of development). It was only with Marx and Engels, who transformed these laws of Hegel from a materialist perspective, that they became the most fundamental part of the Marxist worldview and methodology.

Apart from the basic laws outlined above, and related to these basic laws, materialist dialectics includes the following categories:

100. See Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, pp. 83–91.

- essence and appearance
- form and content
- cause and effect
- basis and condition
- possibility and reality
- chance and necessity
- necessity and freedom
- chain and link, and so on.

Of these categories, some were previously studied in depth by metaphysical philosophies and idealist dialectics, some were studied only one-sidedly by philosophy, and some were put forward for the first time by Marxism. In the hands of Marxist revolutionary theorists and practitioners, these categories have stripped away the idealist and metaphysical husk of former philosophies, overcome their one-sidedness, and discovered their authentic form; moreover, as the era progressed, they greatly enriched their content to become an important component of revolutionary scientific methodology. The combination of these categories and the basic categories mentioned above forms a complete and profound system of materialist dialectics.

None of these laws and categories is created by human thought itself; they are the actual laws of the objective world. All idealisms assert that spirit creates matter, and, from this perspective, the tenets of philosophy, its principles, laws, and categories, are naturally created by mind. Hegel, who developed the system of dialectics, perceived dialectics in this manner. He saw the laws of dialectics not as being abstracted from the history of nature and society but as a logical system in pure thought. After human thought has created this system, it imposes it on nature and society. Marx and Engels stripped away Hegel's mystical shell, discarded his idealism, and placed his dialectics on a material basis. Engels stated, "It is, therefore, from the history of nature and humankind that the laws of dialectics are abstracted. For they are nothing but the most general laws of these two aspects of historical development. And indeed they can be reduced to three fundamental laws: the transformation of quality into quantity and vice versa, the unity of contradictions, and the negation of the negation."[101] While being laws of the objective world, the laws of dialectics are also laws of subjective thought, and that is because the laws of human thought are none other than the laws of the objective world reflected in the brains of humans through practice. As was discussed previously, dialectics, epistemology, and logic are one and the same.

101. See Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 83. Knight points out that Mao here leaves out a significant clause in this quotation from Engels. In the original, the second sentence reads: "For they are nothing but the most general laws of these two aspects of historical development, *as well as of thought itself.*" Mao proceeds, however, to state the same point at greater length in his own words.

Why do we study dialectics? We study it for no other reason than to change this world, to change the age-old relationships in this world between humans and between humans and matter. The lives of the vast majority of this world's humanity are filled with misery and suffering as a result of the oppression of the political and economic systems dominated by a minority. The people who live in this China of ours suffer a twofold cruel and inhuman oppression—national oppression and social oppression. We must change these age-old relationships and strive for national and social liberation.

Why is it necessary to study dialectics to achieve the objective of changing China and the world? It is because dialectics is made up of the most general laws of development of nature and society; when we comprehend dialectics, we have gained a scientific weapon and, in the revolutionary practice of changing nature and society, possess a theory and method suited to this practice. Materialist dialectics is itself a science (a philosophical science); it is the starting point for all sciences, and it is also a methodology. Our revolutionary practice is itself also a science, called social or political science. If we don't understand dialectics, our affairs will be badly handled; mistakes made within the revolution are those that violate dialectics. However, if dialectics is understood, immense results can be achieved; and if all things done correctly are investigated, it will be found that they conform with dialectics. Consequently, all revolutionary comrades and, above all, cadres should diligently study dialectics.

There are those who say: many people understand practical dialectics and, moreover, are practical materialists; and although they have not read books on dialectics, things that they do are done correctly and, in fact, conform with materialist dialectics. They surely have no particular need to study dialectics. This sort of talk is incorrect. Materialist dialectics is a complete and profound science. Although revolutionaries who really do possess materialist and dialectical minds learn a great deal of dialectics from practice, it is not systematized and lacks the completeness and profundity already achieved by materialist dialectics. Therefore, they are unable to see clearly the long-term future of the movement, unable to analyze a complex process of development, unable to grasp important political links, and unable to handle the various aspects of revolutionary work. Because of this, they still need to study dialectics.

There are others who say that dialectics is abstruse and difficult to fathom and that ordinary people have no possibility of mastering it. This is also incorrect. Dialectics encompasses the laws of nature, society, and thought. Anyone with some experience of society (experience of production and class struggle) actually understands some dialectics. Those with even more experience of society actually have a greater understanding of dialectics, although their understanding remains in the chaotic state of common sense and is neither complete nor profound. It is not difficult to bring order to this commonsense dialectics and deepen it through further study. The reason why people feel dialectics is difficult is that there exist no books which explain dialectics well. In China, there are many books on dialectics which, while not incorrect, are explained poorly or none too well and which

frighten people off. Books which are good at explaining dialectics employ everyday language and relate moving experiences. Sooner or later, such a book must be put together. This talk of mine is also far from adequate since I myself have only just begun to study dialectics. There has been no possibility of writing a useful book on the subject as yet, although perhaps the opportunity may present itself in the future. I wish to do so, but this will be decided by how my study proceeds.

In the next section, various laws of dialectics will be discussed.

I. The Law of the Unity of Contradictions[102]

This law is the basic law of dialectics. Lenin said: "Dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradictions in the very essence of objects." *Consequently*, Lenin often called this law the essence of dialectics; he also called it the kernel of dialectics. *Because of this, in our study of dialectics, discussion should commence from this problem, which should moreover be discussed in somewhat greater detail than other problems.*

This question includes many problems, and these are:

The two views of development;
the law of identity in formal logic and the law of contradiction in dialectics;[103]
the universality of contradiction;
the particularity of contradiction;
the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction;
the identity and struggle of a contradiction;[104]
the place of antagonism in contradiction.[105]

These problems will be explained in sequence below.

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102. The portion of these lectures which became "On Contradiction" begins here.

103. In the *Selected Works* version, the two preceding points are replaced by the following passage:

> In studying this law, therefore, we cannot but touch upon a variety of questions, upon a number of philosophical problems. If we can become clear on all these problems, we shall arrive at a fundamental understanding of materialist dialectics. The problems are:

104. Of a contradiction → Of the aspects of a contradiction

105. The *Selected Works* text here adds the following paragraph:

> The criticism to which the idealism of the Deborin school has been subjected in Soviet philosophical circles in recent years has aroused great interest among us. Deborin's idealism has exerted a very bad influence in the Chinese Communist Party, and it cannot be said that the dogmatist thinking in our Party is unrelated to the approach of that school. Our present study of philosophy should therefore have the eradication of dogmatist thinking as its main objective.

A.M. Deborin had been extremely influential in Soviet philosophical circles in the late 1920s, but in December 1930 Stalin denounced him as a "menshevizing idealist."

A. The Two Views of Development

Throughout the history of human thought,[106] there have been two conceptions concerning the development of the world,[107] the metaphysical view of development, and the dialectical view of development. *What are the differences between these two views of development?*[108]

1. The Metaphysical View of Development

Another name for metaphysics is xuanxue, *and this occupied a dominant position in the thought of former times. The content of this philosophy was an explanation of those things supposedly outside experience, that is, a theory which discussed absolutes and essences, etc. In modern philosophy, so-called metaphysics is a method of thought which employs a static viewpoint to observe things, and which holds that all the different things in the world and all their characteristics have been forever unchanged. This type of thought prevailed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe.*

With the arrival of the present era, namely, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, because of the results of the class struggle and the development of science, dialectical thought rapidly strode onto the world stage. But metaphysics, in the form also of vulgar evolutionism (vulgar, that is, superficial, simple), stubbornly opposed dialectics.

In summary, the view of development of so-called metaphysics and vulgar evolutionism is that development is a quantitative increase or decrease, that the motive force is external, involves a change in place in all things, and that the reflection of the things in man's thought is eternally of this nature. The special characteristics of a thing are present in that thing from its beginning and remain thus from its state of germination in inception right through to the zenith of its development. They ascribe social development to the growth and repetition of certain special characteristics, the nature of which remains forever unchanged. For example,[109] capitalist

106. Thought → Knowledge

107. World → Universe

108. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "Lenin said: 'The two basic (or two possible? or two historically observable?) conceptions of development (evolution) are: development as decrease and increase, as repetition, *and* development as a unity of opposites (the division of a unity into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal relation).' Here Lenin was referring to these two different world outlooks."

109. In the *Selected Works*, the foregoing passage is replaced by the following text:

> In China another name for metaphysics is *xuanxue*. For a long period in history, whether in China or in Europe, this way of thinking, which is part and parcel of the idealist world outlook, occupied a dominant position in human thought. In Europe, the materialism of the bourgeoisie in its early days was also metaphysical. As the social economy of many European countries advanced to the stage of highly developed capitalism, as the forces of production, the class struggle, and the sciences developed to a level unprecedented in history, and as the industrial proletariat became the greatest motive force in historical development, there arose the Marxist world outlook of materialist dialectics. Then, in addition to open and barefaced reactionary idealism, vulgar evolutionism emerged among the bourgeoisie to oppose materialist dialectics.
>
> The metaphysical or vulgar evolutionist world outlook sees things as isolated, static, and one-sided. It regards all things in the universe, their forms and their species, as eternally isolated from one another and immutable. Such change as there is can only be an increase or decrease in quantity or a change of place. Moreover, the cause of such an increase or decrease or change of place is not inside things but outside them, that is, the motive force is external. Metaphysicians hold that all the different kinds of things in the universe and all their characteristics have been the same ever since they first came into being. All subsequent changes have simply been increases or decreases in quantity. They contend that a thing can only keep on repeating itself as the same kind of thing and cannot change into anything different. In their opinion . . .

exploitation and competition, individualism and so on, can all be found in ancient slave society or even in primitive *savage* society. They ascribe the causes of social development to factors external to society, such as geography and climate. This view of development searches[110] outside a thing for the causes of its development and opposes[111] the theory which holds that development arises from the contradictions inside a thing; it can thus explain neither the qualitative diversity of things nor the phenomenon of one quality changing into another. *In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this mode of thinking existed as a theory of unchangeable natural absolutes (mechanical materialism)—and in the twentieth century as vulgar evolutionism (the theory of equilibrium of Bukharin and others) and so on.*[112]

2. The Dialectical View of Development

This holds that, in order to understand the development of a thing, we should study it internally and in its relation with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal, necessary, and independent self-movement; that is, the automaticity of things.[113] The fundamental cause of the

110. Searches → Searches in an oversimplified way

111. Opposes → Denies

112. In the *Selected Works* version, this passage is replaced by the following text:

> In Europe, this mode of thinking existed as mechanical materialism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and as vulgar evolutionism at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. In China, there was the metaphysical thinking exemplified in the saying "Heaven changeth not, likewise the Dao changeth not," and it was supported by the decadent feudal ruling classes for a long time. Mechanical materialism and vulgar evolutionism, which were imported from Europe in the past hundred years, are supported by the bourgeoisie.

113. That is, the automaticity of things → While each thing in its movement is interrelated with and interacts on the things around it

development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. There is internal contradiction in every single thing, hence its motion and development.

Thus, the dialectical view of development[114] combats the theory of external causes or of an external motive force, advanced by metaphysics and vulgar evolutionism. It is evident that purely external causes can give rise only to mechanical motion, that is, to changes in scale or quantity, but cannot explain why things differ qualitatively in thousands of ways. As a matter of fact, even mechanical motion under external force occurs through the internal contradictoriness of things. Simple growth in plants and animals *is not only quantitative increase, it is at the same time the emergence of qualitative change*; *simple growth* is likewise[115] the result of development arising from contradictions. Similarly, social development is due chiefly not to external but to internal causes. Countries with almost the same geographic and climatic conditions display great diversity and unevenness in their development. Moreover, great social changes may take place in one and the same country although its geography and climate remain unchanged, *and this condition exists in many countries around the globe.* Old Russian imperialism[116] changed into the socialist Soviet Union, and a purely feudal Japan, which had locked its doors against the world, changed into imperialist Japan, although no change occurred in the geography and climate of either country. China changed very little during the several thousand years of the feudal system, but recently there have been great changes, and it is just now changing into a new China, liberated and free. Is it conceivable that there are any differences between the geography and climate of China today and of several decades ago? It is quite evident that it is due not to external reasons but to internal reasons.[117] Changes in nature result chiefly from the development of the contradictions *within things* in nature. Changes in society result[118] from the development of the internal contradictions in society, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production

114. The dialectical view of development → Materialist dialectics

115. Likewise → Chiefly

116. Old Russian imperialism → Imperialist Russia

117. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding three sentences are replaced by the following text:

> Long dominated by feudalism, China has undergone great changes in the past hundred years and is now changing in the direction of a new China, liberated and free, and yet no change has occurred in its geography and climate. Changes do take place in the geography and climate of the earth as a whole and in every part of it, but they are insignificant when compared with changes in society; geographic and climatic changes manifest themselves in terms of tens of thousands of years, while social changes manifest themselves in thousands, hundreds, or tens of years, and even in a few months in times of revolution.

118. Here the *Selected Works* adds the word "chiefly."

and the contradiction between classes,[119] and it is these that push society forward. Does dialectics[120] exclude external causes? Not at all. The external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, the external causes become operative through internal causes. In a suitable temperature an egg changes into a chicken, but no temperature can change a stone into a chicken *because the basis of the internal causes is different. The pressure of imperialism accelerated change in Chinese society, and these changes were effected through the inner regularities of China itself.* In battle, one army is victorious and the other is defeated; both the victory and the defeat are determined by internal causes. The one is victorious either because it is strong or because of its competent generalship, the other is vanquished either because it is weak or because of its incompetent generalship; it is through internal causes that external causes bring about change. In 1927, the defeat of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie came about through the opportunism then to be found within the Chinese proletariat itself (inside the Chinese Communist Party).[121] To lead a revolution to victory a class or a political party must rely on its own political line having no mistakes and on the solidity of its own political organization. *In China, the loss of Manchuria and the crisis in North China are due principally to China's weakness (because of the defeat of the 1927 revolution, the people lost political power, and this produced civil war and a dictatorial system). Japanese imperialism took advantage of this situation and invaded. In order to drive out the Japanese robbers, we must rely principally on the national united front to carry out a determined revolutionary war. "Insects will appear only after things are rotten; a man will speak evil of others only after he becomes suspicious." This is a saying by Su Dongpo.*[122] *"When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"*[123] *This is also a correct saying of Confucius. If a person strengthens himself in his youth, he does not easily catch cold; to this day, the Soviet Union has not suffered attack by Japan, and this is entirely because of its strength. "When Lord Lei beat the bean curd, he chose a weak object to bully."*[124] *Things under heaven depend solely on one's strength, so it is no use blaming heaven or other people; man is the master of*

119. The *Selected Works* texts adds here: "and the contradiction between the old and the new."

120. Dialectics → Materialist dialectics

121. Here the *Selected Works* version adds the following passage: "When we liquidated this opportunism, the Chinese revolution resumed its advance. Later, the Chinese revolution again suffered severe setbacks at the hands of the enemy, because adventurism had arisen within our Party. When we liquidated this adventurism, our cause advanced once again. Thus it can be seen that . . ."

122. This is a quotation from an essay by Su Shi (Su Dongpo) (1037–1101), one of the greatest poets of the Song dynasty, entitled "Fan Zeng lun" (On Fan Zeng).

123. *Analects*, XII, IV, 3 (Legge, Vol. 1, p. 252).

124. Mao also used this quotation in the original version of *On Protracted War*. See above, p. 385.

his own fate, difficulties can be overcome, and external conditions can be changed; this is our philosophy.

We oppose the metaphysical view of development and advocate the dialectical view of development. We are advocates of the theory of change and oppose the theory of immutability; we are advocates of the theory of internal causation and oppose the theory of external causation.

B. The Law of Identity in Formal Logic and the Law of Contradiction in Dialectics

We have discussed above the metaphysical and dialectical views of development. The struggle between these two ways of looking at the world constitutes the struggle in methods of thought between formal logic and dialectical logic.

Bourgeois formal logic has three fundamental laws: the first is called the law of identity, the second the law of contradiction, and the third the law of the excluded middle. What is the law of identity? The law of identity states: In the process of thought, a concept remains unchanged throughout, being forever equal to itself. For example, a chemical element is forever equal to that chemical element; China is forever equal to China, and a certain person is forever equal to that certain person. Its formula is A equals A; this law is metaphysical. Engels says that it is the fundamental law of the old view of the universe. Its mistake lies in "not recognizing contradiction and change within a thing, and because of this, removing temporariness and relativity from a concept, attributing permanence and absoluteness to it. It does not understand that a thing and the concept that reflects a thing are both relative and changeable; a certain chemical element is certainly not forever equal to that certain element, and all forms of chemical elements are changing. China also will not forever be equivalent to China, for China is changing; the age-old feudal China of the past and the free and liberated China of the future are two things. A certain person is also not forever equal to that certain person; a person's physique and thought change. Concepts in thought are reflections of objective things, and objective things are changing; the content of a concept is also changing. In fact, there is no such thing as a concept which is forever equivalent to itself.

What is the law of contradiction? The law of contradiction states: A concept itself cannot at the same time contain two or more mutually contradictory meanings; if a concept contains two contradictory meanings, that is regarded as a logical error. A contradictory concept cannot simultaneously have both sides correct or both sides incorrect, and the correct one can only be one of those two. Its formula is A is not equal to not-A. Kant has enumerated the four following antinomies: The world's time has a beginning and an end, and is limited in space; the world has no beginning or end in time, and also is limitless in space. This is the first of them. In the world, everything consists of simple matter (cannot be further divided); in the world, there are no simple things, everything is complex (can be further divided). This is the second of them. In the world there exists free causation; in the world, there is no freedom, everything is inevitable. This is the third of them. In the world there exists a certain inevitable essence; in the world, nothing is inevitable, everything is accidental. This is the fourth of them. Kant gave these irreconcilable and mutually opposed principles the one title of "The Second Law of Contradiction." He stated, however, that these were only contradictions in man's thought; in the real world they really did not exist. According to the law of contradiction in formal logic, these contradictions were thus a mistake and had to be rejected. But, in reality, thought is a reflection of things. There is not one thing which does not contain contradiction, and, because of this, there is no concept which does not contain contradiction. This is not an error in thought but precisely where thought is correct, and the law of the unity of contradictions of dialectical logic is founded on this base. It is only with formal logic's rejection of the contradictory law of contradiction that it becomes really incorrect thought. The law of contradiction in formal logic is only a manifestation of the negative of the law of identity, and it functions as a supplement to the law of identity, the purpose of which is to consolidate the law of identity's so-called a concept is equal to itself, A is equal to A.

What is the law of the excluded middle? The law of the excluded middle states: Of the two opposite meanings of a concept, the correct one must be one or the other, for it is not possible for both to be incorrect or to rush to a third as the correct meaning. Its formula is "A is equal to B, or not equal to B, but cannot be equal to C." They do not realize that things and concepts are developing, and, in the process of development of things and concepts, not only are their internal contradictory elements made manifest but these contradictory elements can be removed, negated, and resolved to become a third thing which is not-A and not-B; change to become a new and higher thing or concept. Correct thought should not exclude the third factor, should not exclude the law of the negation of the negation. According to the law of the excluded middle, in the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the correct one is either the former or the latter. It cannot be a society without classes. However, it is a fine thing that the process of social evolution does not stop at class struggle, but progresses toward a proletarian society. China and Japanese imperialism are in a state of contradiction. We oppose the invasion of Japanese imperialism, but we do not agree that a postindependence China must remain forever in a state of hostility with Japan. We maintain that, through national revolution and revolution within Japan, the two nations will reach a stage of free association. The same applies to the opposition between bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy; a higher stage for both of them will be the epoch in which there are no states and no governments, and this will be arrived at through proletarian democracy. The law of the excluded middle in formal logic also supplements its law of identity, which recognizes only the fixed condition of a concept and which opposes its development, opposes revolutionary leaps, and opposes the principle of the negation of the negation.

It can be seen, therefore, that all the laws of formal logic oppose contradictoriness and advocate the characteristic of identity, oppose development and change

of concepts and things, and advocate their solidification and immobility. This is in direct opposition to dialectics.

Why do formal logicians advocate these things? Because they observe things separate from their continual mutual function and interconnections; that is, they observe things at rest rather than in movement, and as separate, rather than in connection. Therefore it is not possible for them to consider and acknowledge the importance of contradictoriness and the negation of the negation within things and concepts, and so they advocate the rigid and inflexible law of identity.

Dialectics, in contrast, observes things in movement and in connection and is in direct opposition to the law of identity of formal logic, advocating instead the revolutionary law of contradiction.

Dialectics considers that the contradictions in thought are none other than the reflection of objective external contradictions. Dialectics does not ritualistically adhere to two principles which appear externally to be in a state of mutual conflict (for example, the many antinomies raised by Kant in his four contradictory principles to which I referred above), but sees through to a thing's internal essence. The task of dialecticians is to perform the task that those formal logicians have not carried out—study of an object—to concentrate attention on finding out the strength of its contradictions, the tendency of the contradictions, the aspects of the contradictions, and the fixed nature of the contradictions' internal relations. The external world and man's thought are both in motion and are dialectical; they are not static and metaphysical. For this reason, the revolutionary law of contradiction (namely, the principle of the unity of contradictions) therefore occupies the principal position in dialectics.

The entirety of formal logic has only one nucleus, and that is the reactionary law of identity. The entirety of dialectics also has only one nucleus, and that is the revolutionary law of contradiction.

Does dialectics oppose the identity of things or concepts? It does not. Dialectics recognizes the relative identity of things or concepts. Why then does dialectics oppose the law of identity of formal logic? It is because the law of identity of formal logic is an absolute law which rejects contradictions. Dialectics acknowledges the identity of things or concepts, but asserts that they simultaneously contain contradictions and are interconnected; this kind of identity indicates the interconnection of contradictions; it is relative and temporary. Since the law of identity of formal logic is an absolute law which rejects contradictions, it cannot but advance the law of the excluded middle, which opposes one concept changing into another concept or one thing changing into another thing. Dialectics, however, regards the identity of a thing or concept as temporary, relative, and conditional; because the struggle of contradictions guides the regularities of change and development of a thing or a concept, such struggle is forever absolute and unconditional. Because formal logic does not reflect a thing in its true condition, dialectics cannot allow its existence. There is only one scientific truth, and that truth is dialectics.

C. The Universality of Contradiction

This problem has two aspects, the first part of which is that contradiction exists in all processes; the second is that in every process the movement of contradiction exists from start to finish. This is called the universality or absoluteness of contradictions.[125]

Engels said, "motion itself is a contradiction." Lenin defined the law of the unity of opposites as "the recognition (discovery) of the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all natural phenomena and processes (including mind and society)." Are these ideas correct? Yes, they are. The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things and the struggle between aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward.[126] Without contradiction nothing would exist. *As a result, this law is the most universal law, applicable to all phenomena of the objective world and also applicable to the phenomenon of thought. Within dialectics, it is the most fundamental law having decisive significance.*

Why do we say that contradiction is motion? Haven't there been those who have disputed Engels's assertion? This is because the theory of contradiction discussed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin has become the most important theoretical

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125. In the *Selected Works* version, this brief paragraph is replaced by the following long passage:

> For convenience of exposition, I shall deal first with the universality of contradiction and then proceed to the particularity of contradiction. The reason is that the universality of contradiction can be explained more briefly, for it has been widely recognized ever since the dialectical materialist world outlook was discovered and materialist dialectics applied with outstanding success to analyzing many aspects of human history and natural history and to changing many aspects of society and nature (as in the Soviet Union) by the great creators and continuers of Marxism—Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin; whereas the particularity of contradiction is still not clearly understood by many comrades, and especially by the dogmatists. They do not understand that it is precisely in the particularity of contradiction that the universality of contradiction resides. Nor do they understand how important is the study of the particularity of contradiction in the concrete things confronting us for guiding the course of revolutionary practice. Therefore, it is necessary to stress the study of the particularity of contradiction and to explain it at adequate length. For this reason, in our analysis of the law of contradiction in things, we shall first analyze the universality of contradiction, then place special stress on analyzing the particularity of contradiction, and finally return to the universality of contradiction.
>
> The universality or absoluteness of contradiction has a twofold meaning. One is that contradiction exists in the process of development of all things, and the other is that in the process of development of each thing a movement of opposites exists from beginning to end.

126. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts the words: "There is nothing that does not contain contradiction."

base of the proletarian revolution. This has led to all-out attacks by bourgeois theorists who constantly hope to overturn Engels's law that "motion is contradiction." Raising aloft their obstreperous refutations they have, moreover, produced the following reasons: the motion of things in the real world is in different instances of time and through different points in space; when a thing is positioned at a certain point, it occupies that point, and when it moves to another point, it occupies that other point. In this way, the motion of things in time and space is divided into many sections; there are no contradictions, for if there were contradictions there could be no movement.

Lenin has pointed out the absurdity of this reasoning, pointed out that this reasoning in fact, by observing continual motion as many sections in time and space and as many static conditions, results in denying motion. They do not know that when a thing occupies a new position, it is because the thing has moved in space from one point to another; namely, as a result of motion. Without the contradiction in so-called motion in which a thing occupies a point and at the same time does not occupy a point, and, without this continuous and interrupted unity, the unity of motion and rest, inaction and action, motion would be fundamentally impossible. To deny contradiction is to deny motion. All motion in nature, society, and thought is this motion of the unity of contradictions.

Ceaseless contradiction is the basis of the simple forms of motion (for instance, *the* mechanical motion *discussed above*) and is, moreover, the basis of all complex forms of motion.

There is an indivisible relationship between the process of life and the opposing process of death, and this regardless of whether it is in the various forms of organic life, or within the life of cells within an organism. The supersession of the old by the new, the succession of life and death—this motion of the unity of opposites is the necessary condition for all organic life and development. Without this contradiction, the phenomenon of life is unthinkable.[127]

127. Instead of this paragraph, the *Selected Works* version continues:

> Engels explained the universality of contradiction as follows:
> If simple mechanical change of place contains a contradiction, this is even more true of the higher forms of motion of matter, and especially of organic life and its development. . . . [L]ife consists precisely and primarily in this—that a being is at each moment itself and yet something else. Life is therefore also a contradiction which is present in things and processes themselves, and which constantly originates and resolves itself; and as soon as the contradiction ceases, life, too, comes to an end, and death steps in. We likewise saw that also in the sphere of thought we could not escape contradictions, and that for example the contradiction between man's inherently unlimited capacity for knowledge and its actual presence only in men who are externally limited and possess limited cognition finds its solution in what is—at least practically, for us—an endless succession of generations, in infinite progress.
> . . . [O]ne of the basic principles of higher mathematics is the contradiction that in certain circumstances straight lines and curves may be the same. . . .
> But even lower mathematics teems with contradictions.

Within mechanics, any "action" contains internal contradictoriness and leads to "reaction"; without "reaction," there could be no discussion of action.[128]

In mathematics, any number contains internal contradictoriness and can become a positive or negative number, a whole number, or a fraction. Positive and negative, whole number and fraction, constitute the movement of contradictions within mathematics.

The law of the unity of opposites of dissociation and combination in chemistry constitutes the countless motion of chemical change; without this contradiction, chemical phenomena could not exist.

In social life, any phenomenon contains class contradictions. The buying and selling of labor, the organization of the state, and the content of philosophy are like this. The fundamental law of class society is class struggle.

In war, offense and defense, advance and retreat, victory and defeat are all contradictory phenomena. One cannot exist without the other. The two aspects are at once in conflict and in interdependence, and this constitutes the totality of war and pushes its development forward.[129]

Every difference in men's concepts should be regarded as reflecting an objective contradiction. Objective contradictions are reflected in subjective thinking, and this process constitutes the contradictory movement of concepts and pushes forward the development of thought.[130]

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

Contradiction[131] exists universally and in all processes, whether in the simple or in the complex forms of motion, whether in objective phenomena or ideological phenomena.

At this point there are those who say that, although they can admit the principle of Engels and Lenin that contradiction is motion and that contradiction exists in all processes, isn't it unnecessary for the movement of contradictions within all processes to exist from beginning to end? Was it not Deborin and others who clearly asserted that there is no such thing as the so-called motion of contradictions from

128. This and the next three paragraphs have been replaced in the *Selected Works* text by a direct quotation from Lenin:

> Lenin illustrated the universality of contradiction as follows:
> In mathematics, + and –. Differential and integral.
> In mechanics, action and reaction.
> In physics, positive and negative electricity.
> In chemistry, the combination and dissociation of atoms.
> In social science the class struggle.

129. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "and solves its problems."

130. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "and ceaselessly solves problems in man's thinking."

131. Contradiction → Thus it is already clear that contradiction

beginning to end in every process? According to Deborin, contradictions exist, but not at the inception of a process, only when it has developed to a certain stage. According to Deborin, the development of a process follows on from this stage; at its inception, there are simple differences. There subsequently emerge opposites which finally become contradictions. Is this formula correct or mistaken?[132]

It is mistaken. The so-called universality of contradictions exists not only within all processes but at each stage of development of every process. Only this is the revolutionary law of contradictions of Marxism. According to the Deborin school,[133] contradiction appears not at the inception of a process but only after it has developed to a certain stage. If this were the case, then the cause of the development of the process before that stage would be external and not internal. Deborin thus reverts to the metaphysical theories of external causality and of mechanism. Applying this view in the analysis of concrete problems, the Deborin school sees only differences but not contradictions between the workers and the peasants[134] under existing conditions in the Soviet Union, thus entirely agreeing with Bukharin. In analyzing the French Revolution, it holds that before the revolution there were likewise only differences but not contradictions within the Third Estate, which was composed of the workers, the peasants, and the bourgeoisie *(Gorev's explanation).*[135] This school does not understand that each and every difference already contains contradictions and that difference itself is contradiction. Labor and capital have been in contradiction ever since the two classes came into being, only at first the contradiction had not become intense. Even under the conditions[136] existing in the Soviet Union, the difference between workers and peasants is a contradiction, although, unlike the contradiction between labor and capital, it will not become intensified into antagonism or assume the form of class struggle.[137] The question is one of different kinds of contradiction, not of the presence or absence of contradiction. Contradiction is universal and absolute; it is present in the process of development of all things and permeates every process from beginning to end. What is meant by the emergence of a new process? The old unity with its constituent opposites yields to a new unity with its constituent opposites; a new

132. In the *Selected Works* version, this paragraph is replaced by the following two sentences: "But does contradiction also exist at the initial stage of each process? Is there a movement of opposites from beginning to end in the process of development of every single thing?"

133. The beginning of this paragraph is replaced in the *Selected Works* text with the following passage: "As can be seen from the articles written by Soviet philosophers criticizing it, the Deborin school maintains that . . ."

134. The workers and the peasants → The kulaks and the peasants

135. This name, rendered *Guoliefu* in Chinese, may refer to Gorev, a Russian Marxist under Stalin.

136. Conditions → Social conditions

137. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "the workers and the peasants have established a firm alliance in the course of socialist construction and are gradually resolving this contradiction in the course of the advance from socialism to communism."

process emerges to replace the old.[138] The new process contains new contradictions and begins its own history of the development of contradictions.

As Lenin pointed out, Marx in his *Capital* made a model application[139] of this principle of the movement of opposites which runs through a process[140] from beginning to end. He pointed out that this is the method which must be employed in studying any process:

> In his *Capital*, Marx first analyzes the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday *relation* of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation encountered billions of times, viz., the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this "cell" of bourgeois society) analysis reveals *all* the contradictions (or the germs of *all* the contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (*both* growth *and* movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the [sigma] (summation) of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end.

Lenin added, "Such must be the method of exposition (or study) of dialectics in general."

Very good; we do not need to study the *guwen* content and method (*yifa*) of the Tongcheng school,[141] for Lenin has informed us of an even better content and method (*yifa*), and that is the Marxist scientific method of study.[142]

D. The Particularity of Contradiction

Contradiction is present in all processes; it permeates each and every process from beginning to end. This is the universality and absoluteness of contradiction which we have discussed above. Now let us discuss the particularity and relativity of contradiction. This problem should be studied on several levels.

First, the contradiction in each form of motion of matter has its particularity. Man's knowledge of matter is knowledge of its forms of motion because there is nothing in this world except matter in motion.[143] In considering each form of motion, we must observe the points which it has in common with other forms of motion. But what is especially important, constituting as it does the foundation of our knowledge of a thing, is to observe what is particular to this form of motion or

138. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "The old process ends, and the new one begins."

139. Application → Analysis

140. Process → Process of development of things

141. The Tongcheng school of the Qing dynasty advocated writing in the old literary style (*guwen*) in accordance with the content or values (*yi*) of the Confucian tradition and using the form or methods (*fa*) of the major writings of classical antiquity.

142. In the *Selected Works* version, this reference to the Tongcheng school is replaced by the following: "Chinese Communists must learn this method; only then will they be able to analyze correctly the history and present state of the Chinese revolution and infer its future."

143. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "and this motion must assume certain forms."

matter, namely, to observe the qualitative difference between this form of motion and other forms. Only when we have done so can we distinguish between things. *Materialist dialectics indicates clearly:* Every form of motion contains within itself its own particular contradiction. This particular contradiction constitutes the particular essence which distinguishes one thing from another.[144] There are many forms of motion in nature—mechanical motion, sound, light, heat, electricity, dissociation, combination, and so on. All these forms are interdependent, but in its essence each is different from the others. The particular essence of each form of motion is determined by its own particular contradiction. This holds true not only for nature but also for social and ideological phenomena. Every form of society, every form of ideology, has its own particular contradiction and particular essence.

The sciences are differentiated precisely on the basis of the particular contradictions inherent in their respective objects of study. Thus the contradiction peculiar to a certain field of phenomena constitutes the object of study for a specific branch of science. For example, positive and negative numbers in mathematics; action and reaction in mechanics; positive and negative electricity in physics; dissociation and combination in chemistry; forces of production and relations of production, and class struggle, in social science; offense and defense in military science; idealism and materialism, the metaphysical outlook and the dialectical outlook, in philosophy; and so on—all these are the objects of study of different branches of science precisely because each branch has its own particular contradiction and particular essence. Of course, unless we study[145] the universality of contradiction, we have no way of discovering the universal cause[146] for the movement or development of things; however, unless we study the particularity of contradiction, we have no way of determining the particular essence of a thing which differentiates it from other things, no way of discovering the particular cause for the movement or development of a thing, and no way of distinguishing one thing from another or of demarcating the fields of science.[147]

144. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "It is the internal cause or, as it may be called, the basis for the immense variety of things in the world."

145. Study → Understand

146. Universal cause → Universal cause or universal basis

147. Here the following passage is inserted in the *Selected Works* version:

> As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual growth from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich, and develop this knowledge of their common essence and prevent such knowledge from withering or petrifying. These are the two processes of cognition; one, from the particular to the general, and the other from the general to the particular. Thus cognition always moves in cycles and (so long as scientific method is strictly adhered to) each cycle advances human knowledge a step higher and so makes it more and more profound. Where our dogmatists err on this question is that, on the one hand, they do not understand that we have to study the particularity of contradiction and know the particular essence of individual things before we can adequately know the universality of contradiction and the common essence of things and that, on the other hand, they do not understand that, after knowing the common essence of things, we must go further and study the concrete things that have not yet been thoroughly studied or have only just emerged. Our dogmatists are lazybones. They refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things, they regard general truths as emerging out of the void, they turn them into purely abstract unfathomable formulas and thereby completely deny and reverse the normal sequence by which man comes to know truth. Nor do they understand the interconnection of the two processes in cognition—from the particular to the general and then from the general to the particular. They understand nothing of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

It is necessary not only to study the particular contradiction and the essence determined thereby of every great system of the forms of motion of matter but also to study the particular contradiction and the essence of each process in the long course of development of each form of motion of matter. In every form of motion, each process of development[148] is qualitatively different; *in the entire world* (tianxia) *there are no identical contradictions, and* our study must emphasize[149] this point.

Qualitatively different contradictions can be resolved only by qualitatively different methods. For instance, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution; the contradiction between the colonies and imperialism is resolved by national[150] war; the contradiction between the great masses of the people and the feudal system is resolved by the method of democratic revolution;[151] the contradiction between the proletariat[152] and the peasantry[153] is resolved by the socialization[154] of agriculture; contradiction within the Communist Party is resolved by the method of ideological struggle;[155] the contradiction between society and nature is resolved by developing the productive forces. Processes change, old processes and old contradictions disappear, new processes and new contradictions emerge, and the methods of resolving contradictions differ accordingly. In Russia, there was a fundamental difference between the method used for resolving the contradictions of the February Revolution and that

148. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "which is real (and not imaginary)"

149. Emphasize → Emphasize and start from

150. National → National revolutionary

151. This and the preceding clause are inverted in the *Selected Works* version.

152. Proletariat → Working class

153. Peasantry → Peasant class in socialist society

154. Socialization → Method of collectivization and mechanization

155. Ideological struggle → Criticism and self-criticism

used to resolve the contradictions of the October Revolution.[156] *It is a principle to use different methods to cope with different contradictions.*

In order to reveal the particularity of the contradictions in any process,[157] in their totality or interconnections, that is, in order to reveal the essence of the process, it is necessary to reveal the particularity of the two aspects of each of the contradictions in that process; otherwise, it will be impossible to discover the essence of the process. This requires the utmost attention in the study of problems.[158]

A major process contains many contradictions.[159] For instance, in the course of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution, where the contradictions are exceedingly complex, there exist the contradiction between imperialism and the entire Chinese society, the contradiction within Chinese society between the feudal system and the great masses of the people, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the contradiction between the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie,[160] on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie, on the other, the contradiction between the various ruling groups,[161] and so on. These contradictions cannot be treated in the same way, since each has its own particularity; moreover, the two aspects of each contradiction cannot be treated in the same way, since each aspect has its own characteristics. We who are engaged in the Chinese revolution should not only understand the particularity of these contradictions in their totality, that is, in their interconnections, but should also study the two aspects of each contradiction as the only means of understanding the totality. When we speak of understanding each aspect of a contradiction, we mean understanding what specific position each aspect occupies, what concrete forms it assumes in its interdependence[162] with its opposite, and what concrete methods are employed in the struggle with its opposite, when the two are both interdependent, and also after the interdependence breaks down. It is of great importance to study these problems. *The*

156. Here the *Selected Works* text adds:

> The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one which Marxist-Leninists must strictly observe. The dogmatists do not observe this principle; they do not understand that conditions differ in different kinds of revolution and so do not understand that different methods should be used to resolve different contradictions; on the contrary, they invariably adopt what they imagine to be an unalterable formula and arbitrarily apply it everywhere, which only causes setbacks to the revolution or makes a sorry mess of what was originally well done.

157. Process → Process in the development of a thing

158. In the study of problems → In our study

159. A major process contains many contradictions. → There are many contradictions in the course of development of any major thing.

160. Petty bourgeoisie → Urban petty bourgeoisie

161. Ruling groups → Reactionary ruling groups

162. In its interdependence → In its interdependence and in its contradiction

principal feature of Leninism is that it is the science which studies the various forms of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.[163]

In studying a problem we must shun subjectivity, one-sidedness, and superficiality. To be subjective means not to look at problems objectively, that is, not to use the materialist viewpoint in looking at problems. *This has already been discussed in Chapter 2, and I will return to it at the end of this section. Now I come to a discussion of one-sidedness and superficiality.*[164] To be one-sided means not knowing how to look at problems from all sides, for example, to understand only China but not Japan, only the Communist Party but not the Guomindang, only the proletariat but not the bourgeoisie, only the peasants but not the landlords, only the favorable conditions but not the difficult ones, *only the gentleman but not the scoundrel*, only the present but not the future,[165] *only oneself but not others, only pride but not modesty*,[166] only the defects but not the achievements, only the plaintiff's case but not the defendant's, only underground work but not open work, and so on. In short, it means not to understand the characteristics of both aspects of a contradiction. That is what we mean by looking at a problem one-sidedly. Or it may be called seeing the part but not the whole.[167] That way it is impossible to find the method for resolving a contradiction, it is impossible to accomplish the tasks of the revolution, to carry out assignments, or to develop inner-Party ideological struggle correctly. When Sunzi said in discussing military science, "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat,"[168] he was referring to the two sides in a battle. Tang Taizong[169] also understood the error of one-sidedness when he said, "Listen to both sides and you

163. In the *Selected Works* version, this last, italicized sentence is replaced by the following text:

> Lenin meant just this when he said that the most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism, is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Our dogmatists have violated Lenin's teachings; they never use their brains to analyze anything concretely, and in their writings and speeches they always use stereotypes devoid of content, thereby creating a very bad style of work in our Party.

164. In the *Selected Works* version, these last two sentences are replaced with: "I have discussed this in my essay 'On Practice.'"

165. Only the present but not the future → Only the past but not the future

166. Here the *Selected Works* text inserts: "only individual parts but not the whole"

167. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "seeing the trees but not the forest"

168. As indicated above in a note to "On Protracted War," this often-repeated formulation of Sunzi's maxim does not correspond exactly to what he actually wrote, but the meaning is essentially the same; the key sentence reads: "In a hundred battles you will never be in peril."

169. In the *Selected Works* version, the name of Tang Taizong, the founding emperor of the Tang dynasty, has been replaced by that of Wei Zheng (580–643), a statesman and historian of the period.

will be enlightened, heed only one side and you will be benighted." But our comrades often look at problems one-sidedly, and so they often run into snags. *In the countryside, if two families or clans are engaged in conflict, the mediator must recognize the reasons for the conflict on both sides, the bone of contention, the present situation, demands, and so on; only then will he be able to think up a method of resolving the dispute. There are such people in the countryside who are good at mediation, and they are constantly invited to mediate when a dispute arises; these people actually understand the dialectic of which we speak, the need to understand the particular characteristics of the various aspects of a contradiction.* In the novel *Shuihu zhuan*, Song *Gongming*[170] thrice attacked the Zhu family village. Twice he was defeated because he was ignorant of the local conditions and used the wrong method. Later he changed his method; first, he investigated the situation and familiarized himself with the maze of roads, then he broke up the alliance between the Li, Hu, and Zhu villages and sent his men in disguise into the enemy camp to lie in wait.[171] And on the third occasion he won. There are many examples of materialist dialectics in *Shuihu zhuan*, of which the episode of the three attacks on Zhu village is one of the best. *On several occasions Lenin spoke of the need to observe a problem from all sides, resolutely opposing one-sidedness.*[172] We should remember his words. To be superficial means to consider neither the characteristics of a contradiction in its totality nor the characteristics of each of its aspects; it means to deny the necessity for probing deeply into a thing and minutely studying the characteristics of its contradiction but, instead, merely to look from afar and, after glimpsing the rough outline, immediately to try to resolve the contradiction (to answer a question, settle a dispute, handle work, or direct a military operation). This way of doing things is bound to lead to trouble.[173]

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170. Song Jiang (here called by his *hao*, Gongming, which is replaced with his ordinary name in the *Selected Works* version) was the leader of a band of heroic outlaws in the traditional novel *Shuihu zhuan*, translated into English as *Water Margin, Outlaws of the Marshes*, and (by Pearl Buck) *All Men Are Brothers*. The episode summarized here is one of the best known in this long work.

171. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "using a strategem similar to that of the Trojan Horse in the foreign story."

172. In the *Selected Works* text this sentence is replaced with the following: "Lenin said, . . . in order really to know an object we must embrace, study, all its sides, all connections and 'mediations.' We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sidedness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity."

173. Here the following passage is added in the *Selected Works* text:

> The reason the dogmatist and empiricist comrades in China have made mistakes lies precisely in their subjectivist, one-sided, and superficial way of looking at things. To be one-sided and superficial is at the same time to be subjective. For all objective things are actually interconnected and are governed by inner laws but, instead of undertaking the task of reflecting things as they really are, some people only look at things one-sidedly or superficially and know neither their interconnections nor their inner laws, and so their method is subjectivist.

Not only does the whole process of the movement of opposites,[174] both in their interconnections and in each of the aspects, have particular features to which we should give attention, but each stage in the process has its particular features to which we must give attention too. The fundamental contradiction in a process and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed; but the conditions usually differ at each stage of development of a process. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in a process and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another. In addition, among the numerous major and minor contradictions which are determined[175] by the fundamental contradiction, some become intensified, some are temporarily or partially resolved or mitigated, and some new ones emerge; hence the process is marked by stages.[176]

For instance, *when imperialism differed from nonmonopoly capitalism*,[177] there was no change in the nature of the two classes in fundamental contradiction, namely, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or in the capitalist essence of society; however, the contradiction between these two classes became intensified, the contradiction between monopoly and nonmonopoly capital emerged, *the contradiction between the various monopoly cliques emerged, the contradiction between the export of capital and the export of commodities emerged*, the contradiction between the colonial powers and the colonies became intensified, the contradiction among the capitalist countries resulting from their uneven development intensified,[178] and thus arose the special stage of imperialism.[179]

Take the process of China's democratic revolution,[180] which began with the Revolution of 1911; it, too, has several distinct stages.[181] *Perhaps there are still*

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174. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "in the development of a thing"

175. Determined → Determined or influenced

176. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "If people do not pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing, they cannot deal with its contradictions properly."

177. In the *Selected Works* version, the clause in italics is replaced with: "when the capitalism of the era of free competition developed into imperialism"

178. Intensified → Manifested itself with particular sharpness

179. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution precisely because Lenin and Stalin have correctly explained these contradictions and correctly formulated the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution for their resolution."

180. Democratic revolution → Bourgeois-democratic revolution

181. Here the *Selected Works* version introduces the following paragraph:

> In particular, the revolution in its period of bourgeois leadership and the revolution in its period of proletarian leadership represent two vastly different historical stages. In other words, proletarian leadership has fundamentally changed the whole face of the revolution, has brought about a new alignment of classes, given rise to a tremendous upsurge in the peasant revolution, imparted thoroughness to the revolution against imperialism and feudalism, created the possibility of the transition from

several stages through which it must pass before this revolution will be completed. Although no change has taken place in the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process as a whole, that is, in the anti-imperialist, antifeudal, democratic-revolutionary nature of the process (the opposite of which is its semicolonial and semifeudal nature), China has nonetheless[182] passed through four or five[183] stages of development in the course of more than twenty years; during this time, many great events have taken place—the failure of the Revolution of 1911 and the establishment of the régime of the Northern Warlords, the formation of the first national united front and the Great Revolution,[184] the breakup of the united front and the desertion of the bourgeoisie to the side of the counterrevolution, the wars among the warlords,[185] the war of the soviets,[186] the loss of Manchuria, *the ending of the war of the soviets, the transformation of the Guomindang policy*, the establishment of the Second United Front,[187] *and so on*. These stages are marked by particular features such as the intensification of certain contradictions (e.g., the contradiction between China and Japan),[188] the partial or temporary resolution of other contradictions (e.g., the destruction of the Northern Warlords and the confiscation of the lands of the landlords *in the soviet areas*), and the emergence of yet another contradiction (e.g., the conflicts among the new warlords and the landlords' recapture of the land after the loss of the soviet areas).[189]

In studying the particularities of the contradictions at each stage in a process,[190] we not only observe them in their interconnections or their totality but also observe the two aspects.[191]

For instance, consider the Guomindang and the Communist Party. In the period of the First United Front, the Guomindang[192] was revolutionary and vigorous, and it was an alliance of various classes for the democratic revolution. After 1927, it changed into its opposite.[193] After the Xi'an incident, it began to change in the

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the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, and so on. None of these was possible during the period when the revolution was under bourgeois leadership.

182. China has nonetheless → Nonetheless this process has

183. Four or five → Several

184. Great Revolution → Revolution of 1924–1927

185. Warlords → New warlords

186. War of the soviets → Agrarian Revolutionary War

187. The Second United Front → The Second National United Front and the War of Resistance Against Japan

188. The contradiction between China and Japan → The Agrarian Revolutionary War and the Japanese invasion of the four Northeastern Provinces

189. The soviet areas → Our revolutionary base areas in the south

190. A process → The process of development of a thing

191. Two aspects → Two aspects of each contradiction

192. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "carried out Sun Yatsen's Three Great Principles of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers; hence it was"

193. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "and became a reactionary bloc of the landlords and big bourgeoisie"

direction of a new phase.[194] Such have been the particular features of the Guomindang in the three stages. Of course, these features have arisen from a variety of causes. Now take the other aspect, the Communist Party. In the period of the First United Front, the Chinese Communist Party was in its infancy; it led the first Great Revolution[195] but revealed its immaturity in its understanding of the character, the task, and the methods, and so forth, of the revolution. Because of this, Chen Duxiuism emerged.[196] After 1927, the Communist Party *led the war of the soviets, steeling itself in this struggle with its international and internal enemies, and established the soviets and the Red Army*;[197] however, it committed political and military errors.[198] Since 1935, the Party has again been[199] leading a new united front,[200] and has raised the slogan of anti-Japanese national war and a democratic republic. These have been the particular features of the Communist Party during *one stage*. These features, too, have arisen from a variety of causes. Without studying both these sets of features, we cannot understand the particular relationship between the two parties during the various stages of their development, namely, the united front,[201] the breakup of the united front, and a further united front. What is even more fundamental[202] *than the relationship between* the two parties is the resultant contradictions which have arisen between each party and other forces.[203] For instance,[204] the Guomindang stood in contradiction to foreign imperialism[205]

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194. After the Xi'an incident, it began to change in the direction of a new phase → After the Xi'an incident in December 1936, it began another change in the direction of ending the civil war and cooperating with the Communist Party for joint opposition to Japanese imperialism

195. It led the first Great Revolution → It courageously led the revolution of 1924–1927

196. Because of this Chen Duxiuism emerged. → And consequently it became possible for Chen Duxiuism, which appeared during the latter part of this revolution, to assert itself and bring about the defeat of the revolution.

197. In the *Selected Works* version, the words in italics are replaced with: "The Communist Party courageously led the Agrarian Revolutionary War and created the revolutionary army and revolutionary base areas."

198. It committed political and military errors → It committed adventurist errors which brought about very great losses both to the army and to the base areas

199. Again been → Has corrected these errors and has been

200. Here the following text has been added in the *Selected Works* version:

> for resistance to Japan; this great struggle is now developing. At the present stage, the Communist Party is a party that has gone through the test of two revolutions and acquired a wealth of experience. Such have been the particular features of the Chinese Communist Party in the three stages.

201. The united front → The establishment of a united front

202. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "for the study of the particular features of the two parties is the examination of the class basis of the two parties and the . . ."

203. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "at different periods"

204. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "in the period of its first cooperation with the Communist Party"

205. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "and was therefore anti-imperialist"

(*sometimes adopting compromise*), and in contradiction to the great masses of the people within the country.[206] The Communist Party has stood in contradiction to foreign imperialism,[207] and in contradiction to internal exploiting classes.[208] *Because of these contradictions, there has been created both struggle and alliance between the two parties.*[209] If we do not understand the particular features of both aspects of the contradiction, we shall fail to understand not only the relationship of each party with other forces but also relations between the two parties; *why is there the possibility of new cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party? It is because of internal changes within the Guomindang which have emerged as a result of the people's dissatisfaction over Japanese oppression.*

It can thus be seen that, in studying the particularity of any kind of contradiction—the contradiction in each form of motion of matter, the contradiction in each of its processes of development, the two aspects of the contradiction in each process, the contradiction at each stage of a process, and all the aspects of the contradiction at each stage—in studying the particularity of all of these contradictions, we must not be subjective and arbitrary but must analyze it concretely. Without concrete analysis there can be no knowledge of the particularity of any contradiction.[210]

Marx and Engels[211] have provided us with excellent models of such concrete analysis.

When Marx and Engels applied the law of *the unity of* contradictions[212] to the study of the sociohistorical process, they discovered *the basic causes of social development to be* the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction of class struggle,[213] and also the resultant contradiction between the economic base and its superstructure (politics, ideology).[214] When Marx applied this law to the study of the economic structure of capitalist society, he discovered that the basic contradiction of this society is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership. This contradiction manifests itself in the contradiction between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole. In terms of class relations, it manifests itself in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.[215]

206. Here the *Selected Works* version adds the following passage:

> —although in words it promised many benefits to the working people, in fact it gave them little or nothing. In the period when it carried on the anti-communist war, the Guomindang collaborated with imperialism and feudalism against the great masses of the people and wiped out all the gains they had won in the revolution and thereby intensified its contradictions with them. In the present period of the anti-Japanese war, the Guomindang stands in contradiction to Japanese imperialism and wants cooperation with the Communist Party, without, however, relaxing its struggle against the Communist Party and the people, or its oppression of them.

207. The Communist Party has stood in contradiction to foreign imperialism → As for the Communist Party, it has always, in every period, stood with the great masses of the people against imperialism and feudalism

208. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "but in the present period of the anti-Japanese war, it has adopted a moderate policy toward the Guomindang and the domestic feudal forces because the Guomindang has expressed itself in favor of resisting Japan."

209. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding sentence has been replaced with the following: "The above circumstances have resulted now in alliance between the two parties and now in struggle between them, and even during the periods of alliance there has been a complicated state of simultaneous alliance and struggle."

210. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "We must always remember Lenin's words, the concrete analysis of concrete conditions."

211. Marx and Engels → Marx and Engels were the first to

212. Contradictions → Contradictions in things

213. The contradiction of class struggle → The contradictions between the exploiting and exploited classes

214. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "and they discovered how these contradictions inevitably lead to different kinds of social revolution in different kinds of class society."

215. Here the *Selected Works* version adds the following long passage:

> Because the range of things is vast and there is no limit to their development, what is universal in one context becomes particular in another. Conversely, what is particular in one context becomes universal in another. The contradiction in the capitalist system between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production is common to all countries where capitalism exists and develops; as far as capitalism is concerned, this constitutes the universality of contradiction. But this contradiction of capitalism belongs only to a certain historical stage in the general development of class society; as far as the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production in class society as a whole is concerned, it constitutes the particularity of contradiction. However, in the course of dissecting the particularity of all these contradictions in capitalist society, Marx gave a still more profound, more adequate, and more complete elucidation of the universality of the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production in class society in general.
>
> Since the particular is united with the universal, and since the universality as well as the particularity of contradiction is inherent in everything, universality residing in particularity, we should, when studying an object, try to discover both the particular and the universal and their interconnection, to discover both particularity and universality and also their interconnections within the object itself, and to discover the interconnections of this object with the many objects outside it. When Stalin explained the historical roots of Leninism in his famous work *The Foundations of Leninism*, he analyzed the international situation in which Leninism arose, analyzed those contradictions of capitalism which reached their culmination under imperialism, and showed how these contradictions made proletarian revolution a matter for immediate action and created favorable conditions for a direct onslaught on capitalism. What is more, he analyzed the reasons why Russia became the cradle of Leninism, why tsarist Russia became the focus of all the contradictions of imperialism, and why it was possible for the Russian proletariat to become the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat. Thus, Stalin analyzed the universality of contradiction in imperialism, showing why Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and, at the same time, analyzed the particularity of tsarist Russian imperialism within this general contradiction, showing why Russia became the birthplace of the theory and tactics of proletarian revolution and how the universality of contradiction is contained in this particularity. Stalin's analysis provides us with a model for understanding the particularity and the universality of contradiction and their interconnection.

On the question of using dialectics in the study of objective phenomena, Marx and Engels were not in any way[216] subjective and arbitrary but, from the concrete conditions in the actual objective movement of these phenomena, discovered their concrete contradictions, the concrete position of each aspect of every contradiction and the concrete interrelations of the contradiction, *and so on*.[217] We must study this attitude, which is the only correct one in study.

The relationship between the universality and the particularity of contradiction is the relationship between the general character and the individual character of contradiction. By the former, we mean that contradiction exists in and runs through all processes from beginning to end; motion, things, processes, the world, and thinking—all are contradictions. To deny contradiction is to deny everything. This is a universal truth for all times and all countries, which admits of no exception. Hence the general character, the absoluteness of contradiction. But this general character is contained in the[218] individual character, *the general character is made manifest in each individual character*; without individual character, there can be no general character. If all individual character were removed, what general character would remain? It is because each contradiction is particular that *not one thing in the whole universe is the same, change is limitless, and its existence is temporary and therefore relative.*[219] *Su Dongpo stated, "If we look at things through the eyes of change, there's not an instant of stillness in all creation." In modern terms, it could be said that what he was speaking of was the particularity of contradiction, its relativity. "But if we observe the changelessness of things, then we and all beings alike have no end."*[220] *This speaks of the universality of contradiction, its absoluteness.* This truth concerning general and individual character, concerning absoluteness and relativity, is the quintessence of the theory of

216. Marx and Engels were not in any way → Marx and Engels, and likewise Lenin and Stalin, always enjoin people not to be

217. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "Our dogmatists do not have this attitude in study and therefore can never get anything right."

218. The → Each

219. In the *Selected Works* version, the clauses beginning "Not one thing in the whole universe is the same" are replaced with: "It is because each contradiction is particular that individual character arises. All individual character exists conditionally and temporarily, and hence is relative."

220. In a particularly striking instance of the context in which Mao felt obliged to revise his earlier writings in the early 1950s, he here replaced this reference to the eminent eleventh-century poet Su Dongpo by fulsome praise of Stalin in the new passage which appears just above. The translation quoted above is that of Burton Watson in *Su Tung-p'o, Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 89. For another translation of the lines from Su's prose poem "The Red Cliff," quoted here, see Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark, *The Prose-Poetry of Su Dongp'o* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1931), p. 128, where the two sentences quoted above are rendered: "If we regard this question as one of impermanence, then the universe cannot last for the twinkling of an eye. If, on the other hand, we consider it from the aspect of permanence, then you and I, together with all matter, are imperishable."

contradiction.[221] If this is understood, then anything can be mastered; what the ancients called "to be familiar with the Dao" (*wen Dao*), viewed from today's perspective, is to be familiar with the Dao of contradiction.

E. The Principal Contradiction and the Principal Aspect of a Contradiction

There are still two points in the problem of the particularity of contradiction which must be singled out for analysis, namely, the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction.

There are many contradictions in a complex process,[222] and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions.

For instance, in capitalist society the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie forms the principal contradiction. The others—such as those between the remnant feudal forces[223] and the bourgeoisie, between the peasant petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, between the proletariat and the peasant petty bourgeoisie, between non–monopoly capitalists and finance[224] capitalists, between bourgeois democracy and fascism,[225] among the capitalist countries and between imperialism and the colonies—are all determined or influenced by this principal contradiction.

In a semicolonial country like China, the relationship between the principal contradiction and the non–principal contradictions presents a complicated picture. *Before a semicolony suffered from imperialist oppression, its principal contradiction was the contradiction between the feudal or semifeudal system and the broad masses of the people. All other contradictions are determined by this principal contradiction. However, when such a society suffers under imperialist oppression, the internal principal contradiction temporarily changes into a non–principal contradiction, and the contradiction between imperialism and the entire, or almost entire, semicolonial society becomes the principal one, determining the development of all other contradictions. The status of the principal or non–principal contradiction changes at this time according to the extent of imperialist oppression and the extent of the people's revolution of the semicolony.*

For instance, when imperialism launches a war of aggression against such a country, all its various classes[226] can temporarily unite in a national war against

221. Quintessence of the theory of contradiction → Quintessence of the problem of contradiction in things; failure to understand it is tantamount to abandoning dialectics.

222. Complex process → In the process of development of a complex thing

223. Forces → Classes

224. Finance → Monopoly

225. Fascism → Bourgeois fascism

226. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "except for some traitors."

imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction, while all the contradictions among the various classes within the country (including what was the principal contradiction, between the feudal system and the great masses of the people) are temporarily relegated to a secondary and subordinate position. So it was in China in the Opium War, the Boxer War, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894,[227] and so it is now in the present Sino-Japanese War. *Externally, the American War of Independence, the war between England and South Africa, the war between Spain and the Philippines, and so on have all been like this.*

But in another situation, the contradictions change position. When imperialism carries on its oppression not by war but by milder means—political, economic, and cultural—the ruling classes in semicolonial countries capitulate to imperialism, and the two form an alliance; *opposition changes to unity between the two* for the joint oppression of the masses of the people. At such a time, the masses often resort to civil war against the alliance of imperialism and the feudal classes, while imperialism often *gives secret assistance to the internal ruling strata to repress the internal revolutionary war, and so avoids direct action.*[228] Thus the internal contradictions become particularly sharp. *For instance, in China, the Taiping War, the revolutionary war of 1911, the Great Revolution of 1925–1927, the war of the soviets after 1927; externally, there were the February and October revolutions in Russia (Russia too had had many semicolonial characteristics), the revolutionary characteristics of the numerous civil wars in Central and South America, and so on. Wars among the various ruling groups in the semicolonies also manifest the intensification of internal contradictions; there have been many of these in China, and Central and South America, which fall into this category.*[229]

When a civil war[230] develops to the point of threatening the very existence of imperialism and its running dogs, the domestic rulers,[231] imperialism often adopts other methods in order to maintain its rule; it either tries to split the revolutionary front from within, *for example, the treachery of the Chinese bourgeoisie in 1927,* or sends armed forces to help the domestic rulers directly, *for example, the latter period of the civil war in the Soviet Union, and the present war in Spain.* At such

227. In the *Selected Works* version, the references to the Boxer War and the Sino-Japanese War are inverted, so as to place them in the proper chronological order, and the dates of 1840 and 1900 are added after the Opium War and the Boxer War.

228. In the *Selected Works* version, the words in italics are replaced with: "while imperialism often employs indirect methods rather than direct action in helping the reactionaries in the semicolonial countries to oppress the people."

229. In the *Selected Works* version, the passage beginning with the words "For instance, in China" is replaced with the following two sentences: "This is what happened in China in the Revolutionary War of 1924–1927, and the ten years of Agrarian Revolutionary War after 1927. Wars among the various reactionary ruling groups in the semicolonial countries, e.g., the war among the warlords in China, fall into the same category."

230. Civil war → Revolutionary civil war

231. Rulers → Reactionaries

a time, imperialism and the domestic feudal classes[232] *and even the bourgeoisie* stand completely[233] at one pole while the masses of the people stand at the other pole. *It is clearly evident at such a time that the principal external contradiction between imperialism and the semicolony, and the principal internal contradiction between the feudal forces and broad masses of people, almost merge to form a principal contradiction which determines the development and status of the other contradictions.*[234]

But whatever happens, there is no doubt at all that at every stage in the development of a process, there is only one principal contradiction which plays the leading role.

Hence, if in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any process,[235] *we must, first, ascertain clearly whether it is a simple or a complex process.* If it is a complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved. This is the method Marx taught us in his study of capitalist society. *Likewise Lenin in his study of imperialism, and Lenin and Stalin in their study of the economics of the transitional period in the Soviet Union, have taught us this method.*[236] There are thousands of scholars and men of action who do not understand it, and the result is that, lost in a fog, they are unable to get to the heart of a problem and naturally cannot find a way to resolve its contradictions.

As we have said, one must not treat all the contradictions in a process as equal, but must distinguish between the principal and the secondary contradictions and pay special attention to grasping the principal one. But, within a contradiction, whether principal or secondary, should the two contradictory aspects *or sides* be treated as equal? Again, no. In any contradiction, *and at whatever time,* the development of the contradictory aspects or sides is uneven. Sometimes they seem to be in equilibrium, which is however only temporary and relative, while unevenness is basic; *that*

232. Imperialism and the domestic feudal classes → Foreign imperialism and domestic reaction

233. Completely → Quite openly

234. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding passage in italics is replaced with the following text:

> thus forming the principal contradiction which determines or influences the development of the other contradictions. The assistance given by various capitalist countries to the Russian reactionaries after the October Revolution is an example of armed intervention. Chiang Kaishek's betrayal in 1927 is an example of splitting the revolutionary front.

235. Process → Complex process

236. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding sentence is replaced with: "Likewise Lenin and Stalin taught us this method when they studied imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism and when they studied the Soviet economy."

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is, when they seem to be in equilibrium, there is in fact no absolute equilibrium. Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be principal and the other secondary. The principal aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction.[237]

But this situation is not static; the principal and the nonprincipal aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other.[238] In a given process or at a given stage in the development of a contradiction, A is the principal aspect and B is the nonprincipal aspect; at another stage or in another process the roles are reversed—a change determined by *the strength of the struggle between the two sides.*[239]

For instance, for a long period the bourgeoisie has occupied the principal position in capitalist society, playing the leading role, while the proletariat remained subordinate to it. However, before and after the revolution, the proletariat changes into the principal position and plays the leading role, while the bourgeoisie changes in the opposite direction. The Soviet Union on the eve of the October Revolution was like this.[240]

In capitalist society, capitalism has changed its position from a subordinate force *in the feudal society of the past to the principal force*, while the feudal forces changed from their principal position to a subordinate one;[241] *but how do we explain Japan and prerevolutionary Russia? In these cases, the feudal forces still enjoyed superiority, and capitalism was still not performing the function of deciding everything. This was because their contradictory aspects had not yet completed their decisive change. Because of the era, this change could not travel the old historical road, but was change which came into being under other historical circumstances; that is, in which the landlord class and the bourgeoisie changed entirely to a position of being dominated and in which the proletariat and the peasantry rose to occupy the leading position. At present, all countries which have still not yet completed a capitalist transformation (including China) will follow this new road, although they do not leap over the stage of the democratic revolution; however, this revolution will be led and carried out by the proletariat.*[242]

237. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position."

238. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "and the nature of the thing changes accordingly."

239. Here the *Selected Works* version replaces the italicized words with: "the extent of the increase or decrease in the force of each aspect in its struggle against the other in the course of the development of a thing."

240. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding paragraph has been deleted and replaced with the following one:

> We often speak of "the new superseding the old." The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal, and inviolable law of the universe. The transformation of one thing into another, through leaps of different forms in accordance with its essence and external conditions—this is the process of the new superseding the old. In each thing there is contradiction between its new and its old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from minor to major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from major to minor and gradually dies out. And the moment the new aspect gains dominance over the old, the old thing changes qualitatively into a new thing. It can thus be seen that the nature of a thing is mainly determined by the principal aspect of the contradiction, the aspect which has gained predominance. When the principal aspect which has gained predominance changes, the nature of a thing changes accordingly.

241. Here the *Selected Works* version replaces the clause in italics with: "in the old feudal era to the dominant force, and the nature of society has accordingly changed from feudal to capitalist. In the new, capitalist era, the feudal forces changed from their former dominant position to a subordinate one, gradually dying out."

242. In the revised version which appears in the *Selected Works*, this paragraph and the next four paragraphs are replaced by the following text:

> Such was the case, for example, in Britain and France. With the development of the productive forces, the bourgeoisie changes from being a new class playing a progressive role to being an old class playing a reactionary role, until it is finally overthrown by the proletariat and becomes a class deprived of privately owned means of production and stripped of power, when it, too, gradually dies out.
>
> The proletariat, which is much more numerous than the bourgeoisie and grows simultaneously with it but under its rule, is a new force which, initially subordinate to the bourgeoisie, gradually gains strength, becomes an independent class playing the leading role in history, and finally seizes political power and becomes the ruling class. Thereupon the nature of society changes and the old capitalist society becomes the new socialist society. This is the path already taken by the Soviet Union, a path that all other countries will inevitably take.
>
> Look at China, for instance. Imperialism occupies the principal position in the contradiction in which China has been reduced to a semicolony, it oppresses the Chinese people, and China has been changed from an independent country into a semicolonial one. But this state of affairs will inevitably change; in the struggle between the two sides, the power of the Chinese people, which is growing under the leadership of the proletariat, will inevitably change China from a semicolony into an independent country, whereas imperialism will be overthrown and old China will inevitably change into New China.
>
> The change of old China into New China also involves a change in the relation between the old feudal forces and the new popular forces within the country. The old feudal landlord class will be overthrown, and from being the ruler it will change into being the ruled; and this class, too, will gradually die out. From being the ruled the people, led by the proletariat, will become the rulers. Thereupon, the nature of Chinese society will change and the old, semicolonial and semifeudal society will change into a new democratic society.
>
> Instances of such reciprocal transformation are found in our past experience. The Qing dynasty, which ruled China for nearly three hundred years, was overthrown in the Revolution of 1911, and the revolutionary Tongmenghui under Sun Yatsen's leadership was victorious for a time. In the Revolutionary War of 1924–1927, the revolutionary forces of the Communist-Guomindang alliance in the south changed from weak to strong and won victory in the Northern Expedition, while the Northern warlords who once held sway were overthrown. In 1927, the people's forces led by the Communist Party were greatly reduced numerically under the attacks of Guomindang reaction, but with the elimination of opportunism within their ranks they gradually grew again. In the revolutionary base areas under Communist leadership, the peasants have been transformed from the ruled to the rulers, while the landlords have undergone a reverse transformation. It is always so in the world, the new displacing the old, the old superseded by the new, the old eliminated to make way for the new, and the new emerging out of the old.

In the contradiction between imperialism and the entire Chinese society, the former occupies the principal aspect, and it enjoys superiority in the struggle between the two sides. But in this situation of mutual opposition, this state of affairs is in the process of changing; China, on the one hand, is changing from being oppressed to being free and independent; imperialism, however, is moving toward a position at which it will be overthrown.

In China, the antagonistic situation existing internally between the feudal forces and the broad masses of the people is also changing. The people will rely on revolutionary struggle to transform themselves into the leading and dominant force. There has already been illustration of this in the past; the southern revolutionary forces changed from a secondary to the principal position, and the Northern warlords changed in the opposite direction; and there was a similar situation in the soviet areas, in which the peasants changed from the ruled to the rulers, and the landlords changed in the opposite direction.

In the relationship in China between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, because the bourgeoisie has retained the means of production and sovereignty, to the present it still occupies the leading position. However, in terms of leadership of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal revolution, the proletariat occupies the leading position because of its level of consciousness and revolutionary thoroughness as compared to the vacillation of the bourgeoisie. This point will influence the future of the revolution in China. Only if the proletariat allies itself with the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie will it be able to occupy politically and materially the leading position. If it can do this, the proletariat will assume the decisive leading function of the revolution.

As regards the contradiction between the peasantry and the workers, the workers have changed from their former subordinate position to their present leading position, and the peasantry have changed in the opposite direction. In the contradictions between the industrial workers and the handicraft workers, skilled and unskilled workers, town and countryside, mental and manual labour, materialism and idealism, all have made the same sort of change.

At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, the difficulties outweigh the favorable conditions and so constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction, and the favorable conditions constitute the secondary aspect. But through their efforts the revolutionaries, *by utilizing their favorable conditions as a base*, can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favorable new situation; the difficulties which made up the principal position will change so that favorable conditions become principal.[243] This is what happened after the failure of the revolution[244] in 1927 and during the Long March of the Red Army. In the present Sino-Japanese War, China is again in a *very* difficult position, but we should and can exert ourselves to change that situation. Conversely, favorable conditions can be transformed into difficult ones if the revolutionaries make mistakes. Thus the victory of the revolution of 1925–1927[245] turned into defeat. *The victory of the Central Soviet in smashing the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Encirclement Campaigns changed into the defeat of the Fifth Encirclement Campaign.*[246]

243. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding clause is replaced with a terser statement: "thus a difficult situation yields place to a favorable one."

244. Revolution → Revolution in China

When we engage in study, the same holds good for the contradiction in the passage from ignorance to knowledge. For those who have not studied Marxism, ignorance or scanty acquaintance is the principal aspect of the contradiction, while the depth and extensiveness of Marxism is the other aspect of the contradiction.[247] But by assiduous study, ignorance can be transformed into knowledge, and scanty knowledge into substantial knowledge.[248] *Many of our comrades are moving in that direction. The opposite situation is the same; if one refuses to progress when only half the distance has been covered, lets one's thoughts become confused, or takes the wrong path, then one's knowledge can change to ignorance and correctness change to error. Kautsky, Plekhanov, Chen Duxiu, and others have taken this road. Some conceited types within our ranks are also in a similar danger if they don't change.*

I regard all principal and nonprincipal positions of the aspects of a contradiction as involved in this mutual change.

Some people think that this is not true of certain contradictions. For instance, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the productive forces are the principal aspect; in the contradiction between theory and practice, practice is the principal aspect; in the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure, the economic base is the principal aspect; and there is no change in their respective positions.[249] *It should be realized that under normal conditions, and viewed from a materialist point of view, they really are unchanging and absolute things; however, there are historically many particular situations in which they do change.* The productive forces, practice, and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted that sometimes[250] such aspects as the relations of production, theory, and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves

245. 1925–1927 → 1924–1927

246. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding sentence becomes: "The revolutionary base areas which grew up in the southern provinces after 1927 had all suffered defeat by 1934."

247. In the *Selected Works* version, this sentence has been recast to read: "At the very beginning of our study of Marxism, our ignorance of or scanty acquaintance with Marxism stands in contradiction to knowledge of Marxism."

248. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "and blindness in the application of Marxism into mastery of its application."

249. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "This is the mechanical materialist conception, not the dialectical materialist conception. True."

250. Sometimes → In certain conditions

in the principal and decisive role. When it is impossible for the productive forces to develop without a change in the relations of production, then the change in the relations of production plays the principal and decisive role. The creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role in those times of which Lenin said, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." When a task, no matter which, has to be performed, but there is as yet no guiding line, method, plan, or policy, the principal and decisive thing is to decide on a guiding line, method, plan, or policy. When the superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) obstructs the development of the economic base, political and cultural changes become principal and decisive. Are we going against materialism when we say this? No. The reason is that we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental.[251] We also recognize—and indeed must recognize—the reaction of mental on material things.[252] This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.

In studying the problem of the particularity of contradiction, unless we examine these two facets—the principal and the nonprincipal contradictions in a process, and the principal and the nonprincipal aspects of a contradiction—that is, unless we examine the distinctive character of these two facets of contradiction, we shall get bogged down in abstractions, be unable to understand contradiction concretely, and consequently be unable to find the correct method of resolving it. The distinctive character or particularity of these two facets represents the unevenness that is[253] in contradiction. Nothing in this world develops absolutely evenly, *hence the world as it is*; we must oppose the theory of even development (or the theory of equilibrium).[254] The study of the various states of unevenness in contradictions, of the principal and nonprincipal contradictions and of the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction constitutes an essential method by which a revolutionary political party correctly determines its strategic and tactical policies in political affairs (the same applies to military affairs). *Therefore this question cannot be overemphasized.*[255]

251. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "and social being determines social consciousness."

252. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base."

253. Unevenness that is → Unevenness of the forces that are

254. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "Moreover, it is these concrete features of a contradiction and the changes in the principal and nonprincipal aspects of a contradiction in the course of its development that manifest the force of the new superseding the old."

255. Therefore this question cannot be overemphasized. → All Communists must give it attention.

F. The Identity and Struggle of[256] *a Contradiction*

When we have resolved the problem of[257] the universality and the particularity of contradiction, we must proceed to study the problem of the identity and struggle of[258] a contradiction; *only by doing so can the study of the law of the unity of contradiction be completely resolved.*

Identity, unity, coincidence, interpenetration, interpermeation, interdependence (or mutual dependence for existence), interconnection, or mutual cooperation—all these different terms mean the same thing and refer to the following two points: first, the existence of each of the two aspects of a contradiction in a process[259] presupposes the existence of the other aspect, and both aspects coexist in a single entity; second, in given conditions, each of the two contradictory aspects transforms itself into its opposite. This is the meaning of identity.

Lenin said:

> Dialectics is the teaching which shows how opposites can be and how they happen to be (how they become) identical—under what conditions they are identical, transforming themselves into one another—why the human mind should take these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, transforming themselves into one another.

What did Lenin mean by this?

The various contradictory aspects in every process[260] are in opposition to each other, *are in mutual disharmony, unequal in strength, at odds with one another, and in dispute; all are permeated with hostile antagonists. Such antagonistic aspects are contained in all processes, phenomena, things, and thought in the world without exception.*[261] A simple process contains only a single pair of antagonistic aspects,[262] while a complex process contains two or more. And in turn, the pairs of

256. Here the *Selected Works* version adds "the aspects of."

257. When we have resolved the problem of → When we understand

258. Struggle of → Struggle of the aspects of

259. A process → The process of the development of a thing

260. Here the *Selected Works* version inserts, "exclude each other, struggle with each other, and."

261. In the *Selected Works* version, this passage in italics is replaced with a single sentence: "Without exception, they are contained in the process of development of all things and in all human thought."

262. Here and subsequently, as well as in the immediately preceding italicized passage, Mao frequently used in the 1937 version of his discussion of contradictions the term *yuanjia* (enemy, antagonist, adversary) to characterize the opposites making up a contradiction. This is a very vivid expression in Chinese, and we have therefore retained it, even though the impersonal or abstract opposites in some contradictions cannot strictly speaking be characterized as "enemies."

opposites become mutual antagonists.[263] That is how all processes, phenomena, and things[264] are constituted and set in motion.

This being so, there is an utter lack of identity or unity. How then can one speak of identity or unity? *In this do the strangeness and wonder of the world find themselves.*

The fact is that no contradictory aspect can exist in isolation. Without its antagonistic aspect, each loses the condition for its existence. Just think, can any one contradictory aspect of a thing or of a concept in the human mind exist independently? It cannot. Without life, there would be no death; without death, there would be no life. Without " above," there would be no "below"; without "below," there would be no "above." Without misfortune, there would be no good fortune; without good fortune, there would be no misfortune. Without facility, there would be no difficulty; without difficulty, there would be no facility.[265] Without the bourgeoisie, there would be no proletariat; without the proletariat, there would be no bourgeoisie. Without colonies[266] there would be no imperialist oppression; without imperialist oppression, there would be no colonies. It is so with *the opposition of both sides in all processes, phenomena, and things*;[267] in given conditions, on the one hand, they are opposed to each other, and, on the other, they are interconnected, interpenetrating, interpermeating, interdependent, *and in alliance—both in contradiction and in union*—and this character is described as identity. In given conditions, all contradictions[268] possess the character of nonidentity and hence are described as being in contradiction. But they also possess the character of identity and hence are interconnected. This is what Lenin means when he says that dialectics studies how there can be identity.[269] This is the first meaning of identity.

But is it enough to say merely that each of the contradictory aspects is the condition for the other's existence, that there is identity between them, and that consequently they can coexist in a single entity? No, it is not. The matter does not end with their dependence on each other for their existence; what is more important is their transformation into each other. In given conditions each of the contradictory aspects within a thing transforms itself into its opposite. This is the second meaning of the identity of contradiction.

Why is there identity here, too? You see, *in the relationship between life and death, whether within an organism or in cellular life within an organism, life is transformed into death; life can never last indefinitely, and under certain conditions it moves toward its opposite and changes into death. Death? Under certain*

263. The pairs of opposites become mutual antagonists → The pairs of opposites are in contradiction to each other

264. Here the *Selected Works* inserts: "in the objective world and all human thought"

265. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "Without landlords there would be no tenant peasants; without tenant peasants, there would be no landlords."

266. Colonies → Colonies and semicolonies

267. In the *Selected Works* version, the italicized phrase is replaced with "all opposites."

268. Contradictions → Contradictory aspects

269. How there can be identity → How opposites can be and how they become identical

conditions, death too can produce new life, and death is transformed into life; it is not something which comes to an end with death. One could ask: if there is between life and death no connection, no involvement or relationship, that is, no identity, why is it that the two opposed entities of life and death are capable of changing into each other?

The oppressed and deprived proletariat moves toward a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, it changes to no longer being oppressed or deprived; the bourgeoisie, however, through the collapse of its class, changes to the point where it comes under the rule of the proletarian state.[270] This has already taken place in the Soviet Union, as it will take place throughout the world. If there were no interconnections and identity of opposites in given conditions, how could such a change take place?

Neither imperialist oppression of the colonies nor the fate of the colonies to suffer under that oppression can last forever. The imperialists will be overthrown by the revolutionary efforts of their own peoples and the peoples of the colonies and will come under the rule of the people. How about the peoples of the colonies and the imperialist countries? The day will come when oppression will be discarded and freedom and liberation (the opposite aspect to oppression) will be achieved; because of certain conditions, there are identity and common characteristics between the two aspects.

The regular warfare of the Great Revolution of 1927 changed into soviet guerrilla war, which commenced the period of soviet guerrilla war which again changed subsequently into regular warfare. From now on, it will change again from soviet war into anti-Japanese national war. There emerged an identity in these periods because of certain conditions, an interpenetration, an interpermeation and alliance between the two opposite things.

Because of its class character and imperialist blandishments (these being the conditions), *the Guomindang's revolutionary Three People's Principles changed after 1927 into a reactionary policy*; but it has been compelled to *change to one of resistance to Japan and saving the nation*[271] because of the sharpening of the contradiction between China and Japan and because of the Communist Party's policy of the united front (these being the conditions). Things in contradiction change into one another, and herein lies that kind of identity.[272]

270. In the *Selected Works* version, the whole of the previous paragraph, beginning with "You see . . . ," and the first sentence of this paragraph are replaced with the following sentence: "You see, by means of revolution the proletariat, at one time the ruled, is transformed into the ruler, while the bourgeoisie, the erstwhile ruler, is transformed into the ruled and changes its position to that originally occupied by its opposite."

271. In the *Selected Works* version, the first few lines of this paragraph have been replaced with the following text:

> The Guomindang, which played a certain positive role at a certain stage in modern Chinese history, became a counterrevolutionary party after 1927 because of its inherent class nature and because of imperialist blandishments (these being the conditions);

272. That kind of identity → A definite identity

The agrarian revolution *of the soviet areas* has been a process in which the landlord class owning the land is transformed into a class that has lost its land, while the peasants who once lost their land are transformed into small holders who have acquired land, and it will be such a process once again. In given conditions, having and not having, acquiring and losing, are interconnected to give identity.[273] Under socialism, private peasant ownership is transformed into the public ownership of socialist agriculture; this has already taken place in the Soviet Union, and *we will be able to do the same.*[274] There is a bridge leading from private property to public property, which in philosophy is called identity,[275] or interpenetration.

Bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy are in opposition, but the former inevitably changes into the latter; under certain conditions there are complementary elements produced between things in opposition.

To raise the national culture is in fact to prepare the conditions for changing to an international culture; to strive for a democratic republic is in fact to prepare the conditions for abolishing the democratic republic and changing to a new state system; to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat[276] is in fact to prepare the conditions for abolishing this dictatorship and advancing to the elimination of all state systems.[277] To establish and build the Communist Party is in fact to prepare the conditions for the elimination of the Communist Party and all political parties. To build a revolutionary army[278] and to carry on revolutionary war is in fact to prepare the conditions for the permanent elimination of war. These opposites are at the same time complementary.

There are those who say that the Communist Party is internationalist, so it is absolutely incapable of being at the same time patriotic. We declare, however, that we are internationalists but, at the same time, because we are a political party of a colony (the condition), we struggle for the protection of the motherland and in opposition to imperialist oppression. Only when we have first escaped from imperialist oppression can we participate in a world Communist society. It is this that allows the two to constitute an identity. Under certain conditions, patriotism and internationalism are both in opposition and complementary. Why is it that the Communist parties of imperialist countries resolutely oppose patriotism? It is because patriotism in that context has identity only with the interests of the bourgeoisie and is fundamentally opposed to the interests of the proletariat.

There are those who say that the Communist Party cannot also believe in the Three People's Principles at the same time. But we declare that, at the present stage, while adhering firmly to the Party's Communist program, the Communist movement

273. To give identity → There is identity of the two sides

274. We will be able to do the same → As it will take place everywhere else

275. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "or transformation into each other."

276. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "or the dictatorship of the people."

277. The elimination of all state systems → The higher stage when all state systems are eliminated

278. Here the *Selected Works* version adds: "under the leadership of the Communist Party."

cannot do other than resolutely lead the anti-imperialist, antifeudal national democratic revolution (this is the condition). Therefore, not only do we not oppose the Three People's Principles, we previously carried out the true program of the Three People's Principles (anti-imperialist nationalism, the democratic principle of soviets of workers and peasants, and the principle of people's livelihood through agrarian revolution). Moreover, during the past decade, the tradition of the true Three People's Principles has remained only with the Communist Party. Apart from a few elements such as Song Qingling, He Xiangning, and Li Xijiu, the Guomindang has discarded this tradition.[279] *The political program of the Communist Party for the democratic revolution is not in conflict with the true Three People's Principles; on the contrary, it corresponds to the thoroughgoing and progressive Three People's Principles. When we have passed through the democratic stage, we will change to communism. The Three People's Principles and communism are not a single entity, and the two are in contradiction; in the present and future stages, they are not a single entity, and they are in contradiction. They are, however, both in opposition and complementary; under certain conditions, identity can be created.*

We can also speak of something that is happening at this very moment. War and peace are in contradiction, but they are also connected;[280] war is transformed into peace (for instance, World War I was transformed into the Treaty of Versailles;[281] China's civil war was transformed into internal peace following the Xi'an incident).[282] Peace is transformed into war (*the present world peace is temporary* and will be transformed into the second world war; *the peace following Japan's invasion of the Four Northeastern Provinces was temporary and has now begun to change into a continental war*).[283] Why is this so? Because they have[284] an identity in given conditions. *The Chinese proletariat and bourgeoisie have agreed upon an*

279. Song Qingling (1893–1981), Sun Yatsen's widow, a member of the left wing of the Guomindang, and He Xiangning (1878–1972), the widow of Liao Zhongkai, assassinated in 1925, had both been in contact with Mao Zedong for some time. (For further details, see the biographical notes regarding them in Volume V, pp. 365 and 682, accompanying letters addressed to them by Mao.) Li Xijiu (1872–1952), a native of Hebei, had been a member of the Tongmenghui in her youth and had joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922. At this time, she was a member of the Guomindang Central Disiplinary Committee for Public Servants. In 1949, all three women were appointed to the Central People's Government Council, the most important government organ of the People's Republic at that time. Song Qingling was vice president, and the other two were among the fifty-six members.

280. War and peace are in contradiction, but they are also connected → War and peace, as everyone knows, transform themselves into each other

281. The Treaty of Versailles → The postwar peace

282. China's civil war was transformed into internal peace following the Xi'an incident → And the civil war in China has now stopped, giving place to internal peace

283. The present world peace is temporary and will be transformed into the second world war; the peace following Japan's invasion of the four Northeastern Provinces was temporary and has now begun to change into a continental war. → For instance, the Guomindang-Communist cooperation was transformed into war in 1927, and today's situation of world peace may be transformed into a second world war.

284. They have → In class society, such contradictory things as war and peace have

anti-Japanese united front; this is one aspect of the contradiction. The proletariat must raise its political consciousness and pay close attention to the bourgeoisie's political vacillations, and its corrupting and destructive effect on the Communist Party, in order to guarantee the independence of Party and class; this is the other aspect of the contradiction. A united front of the various political parties with independence for those parties are the two aspects of the contradiction constituting the present political movement. There would be no united front if one of these two aspects, the Party's right to determine its own policies, was removed. We give the people freedom; this is one aspect. We also suppress the Chinese traitors and wreckers; this is the other aspect. Because of certain conditions, these two, freedom and unfreedom, are connected, and it won't do to be without either of them; this is the unity or identity of opposites. The organizational form of the Communist Party and the soviets, as well as the anti-Japanese government which we advocate, is democratic centralist; they are democratic but also centralist, and the two are in contradiction and unity because, under certain conditions, they have identity. The proletarian democratic dictatorship in the Soviet Union, and our democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants of the past decade, are democratic toward the revolutionary classes; they are also dictatorial (or despotic) toward counterrevolutionary classes. There is identity between the two extremes of these opposites.

The resting and training of troops is at the same time a condition for victory in battle; "troops are trained for a thousand days" in order to "use them for one morning." To separate and advance is at the same time a condition for a combined attack (develop to attack jointly); retreat and defense are at the same time in order to counterattack and take the offensive (retreat to advance, and defend to attack). There is no reason for being devious other than that it is the most effective method of wiping out the enemy (be devious to be direct); in order to succeed in the west, make a thrust toward the east (cause an uproar in the east, and strike in the west).[285] *Divide the soldiers to win over the masses, in order to facilitate centralization to wipe out the enemy; centralize to wipe out the enemy in order to facilitate the division of the soldiers to win over the masses. Orders should be resolutely enforced, but, at the same time, freedom of action should be permitted in the context of a unified plan; discipline must be strictly applied, but, at the same time, conscious activity should be promoted; the statement of individual interest is permissible, but in the end it must be subordinated to the group decision; work at the front is important, but work at the rear cannot be discarded or ignored; if one's health is poor one must think of convalescence, but in times of urgency, one also must think of sacrifice; everybody wants life to be easy, but when economic difficulties arise, one has to suffer; military training is important, and without it we could not smash the enemy, but political work is also of importance, for without it we would be*

285. The injunction in parentheses is a well-known maxim from the commentaries to Sunzi's *The Art of War*, frequently cited by Mao. See the relevant passage in Volume V, p. 503.

defeated; the abundant experience of the old soldiers and cadres is worthwhile and valuable, but if there are no new soldiers and cadres, the war and our work cannot be continued; courage is important, but there must be a strategem; although Zhang Fei was not bad, in the last analysis he was not as good as Zhao Zilong;[286] *the part of the work which we lead is important, but that part led by others and the entire work is also important if not more important; small group mentality is incorrect, and when one's own opinion and that of the group or higher authorities are in contradiction, one's opinion can and should be explained; it is, however, impermissable freely to express that opinion to any other member at a time when the group or higher authorities have not yet given approval, still less to instigate the subordinate members to oppose the higher authorities; the discipline of the minority subordinating itself to the majority, and the lower level subordinating itself to the higher level, is the minimum discipline of the Communist Party and the Red Army. "Good medicine is bitter to the taste but beneficial for the sickness." "Sincere advice is not pleasant to hear, but it is beneficial for one's conduct."*[287] *"It is on disaster that good fortune perches; it is beneath good fortune that disaster crouches."*[288] *"To love yet know their bad qualities, to hate and yet know their excellences."*[289] *To glance ahead but not behind is called being a boorish oaf; to know one but not two is he who is not yet a wise man.*[290]

All contradictory things are interconnected; not only do they coexist in a single entity in given conditions, but in other given conditions, they also transform themselves into each other. This is the full meaning of the unity of opposites. This is what Lenin meant when he talked of how they happen to be identical, under what *kind of* conditions they become identical, transforming themselves into one another.

286. Zhang Fei and Zhao Zilong are characters from the novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Although Zhang was one of the hero Liu Bei's original two companions and had many good qualities, he is depicted in the novel as impetuous and easily angered; Zhao appears as a more prudent and calculating and therefore more successful commander.

287. Although Mao has separated these two sentences with quotation marks, they are part of the same quotation from the *Kongzi jiayu*, Book VI. [The *Kongzi jiayu (Home Sayings of Confucius)* is a Confucian text of the second century.]

288. This quotation is from Chapter 58 of the *Laozi*. We follow the translation of D.C. Lau, *Tao Te Ching* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 119.

289. This quotation is from the *Daxue*, Chapter VIII, commentary of the disciple Zeng (Legge, Vol. I, p. 369). The full passage, which provides the context for the words cited by Mao, reads as follows:

> What is meant by "The regulation of one's family depends on the cultivation of his person," is this: Men are partial where they feel affection and love; partial where they despise and dislike; partial where they stand in awe and reverence; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world who love [*hao*; Mao uses *ai*] and at the same time know the bad qualities of the object of their love, or who hate and yet know the excellence of the object of their hatred.

290. This is a popular Chinese saying and is not from a classical source.

Why is it that the human mind should take these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, transforming themselves into each other? Because this is just how things are in objective reality. The fact is that the unity or identity of opposites in objective things is not dead or rigid; but is living, conditional, mobile, temporary, and relative; in given conditions, every contradictory aspect transforms itself into its opposite.[291]

Why can an egg but not a stone be transformed into a chicken? Why is there identity between war and peace and none between war and a stone? Why can human beings give birth only to human beings and not to anything else? The sole reason is that the identity of opposites exists only in given conditions. Without these necessary given conditions there can be no identity whatsoever.

Why is it that in Russia the democratic[292] revolution was directly linked with the socialist[293] revolution, while in France the democratic[294] revolution was not directly linked with a socialist revolution and the Paris Commune[295] ended in failure? Why is it, on the other hand, that the nomadic system of Mongolia and Central Asia has been directly linked with socialism? Why is it that the Chinese revolution can avoid a capitalist future and be directly linked with socialism and avoid the old historical road of *England, America, France, etc.*?[296] *Why is it that the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the Chinese Revolutions of 1911 and 1927 were linked not with revolutionary victory but with failure? Why is it that, for his entire life, most of Napoleon's wars were linked to victory, while at the one battle of Waterloo, he was roundly defeated, his army beaten and himself taken prisoner? Why is it possible to build a railroad to Xinjiang and not to the moon? Why have the cordial relations between Germany and the Soviet Union turned into enmity, while the enmity between France and the Soviet Union turned temporarily into cordial relations? In all these questions*, the sole reason is the concrete conditions of the time. When certain necessary conditions are present, contradictions arise in processes[297] and, moreover, the opposites contained in them are interdependent and become transformed into one another; otherwise none of this would be possible. *It is for this reason that none of the following can become an identity of opposites, or a concrete contradiction, and merely add to the material for annoyance and amusement among men: Don Quixote's mighty battle with the windmill, Sun Wukong's somersault of one hundred and eight thousand* li *over the clouds, Alice's journey through Wonderland, Robinson's wanderings on his lone island, Ah Q's spiritual victory, Hitler's world domination, Hegel's absolute spirit, Bukharin's theory of equilibrium, Trotsky's permanent revolution, the ideological unity of the emperor's scholars, Chen Duxiu's opportunism, the pro-Japanese faction's theory that weapons decide everything, and including from among ancient China's legends, "the man of Qi's concern that the sky might fall," "Gua Fu's race with the moon," and so on.*[298]

Such is the problem of identity. What then is struggle? And what is the relation between identity and struggle?

Lenin said:

> The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute.

What does this passage mean?

All processes have a beginning and an end, all processes transform themselves into their opposites. The constancy of all processes is relative, but[299] the transfor-

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291. Here the *Selected Works* text adds the following paragraph:

> Reflected in man's thinking, this becomes the Marxist world outlook of materialist dialectics. It is only the reactionary ruling class of the past and present and the metaphysicians in their service who regard opposites not as living, conditional, mobile, and transforming themselves into one another, but as dead and rigid, and they propagate this fallacy everywhere to delude the masses of the people, thus seeking to perpetuate their rule. The task of Communists is to expose the fallacies of the reactionaries and metaphysicians, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution.

292. In Russia in the democratic → In Russia in 1917 the bourgeois-democratic

293. Socialist → Proletarian socialist

294. Democratic → Bourgeois-democratic

295. Paris Commune → Paris Commune of 1871

296. Of England, America, France, etc. → Of the Western countries, without passing through a period of bourgeois dictatorship

297. Processes → Processes of the development of things

298. In the *Selected Works* version, this brief reference to "ancient China's legends" is replaced with the following text:

> In speaking of the identity of opposites in given conditions, what we are referring to is real and concrete opposites and the real and concrete transformations of opposites into one another. There are innumerable transformations in mythology, for instance, Gua Fu's race with the sun in the *Book of Mountains and Seas*, Yi's shooting down of nine suns in *Huai Nanzi*, the Monkey King's seventy-two metamorphoses in *Journey to the West*, the numerous episodes of ghosts and foxes metamorphosed into human beings in the *Strange Tales of Liao Zhai*, and so on. But these legendary transformations of opposites are not concrete changes reflecting concrete contradictions. They are naive, imaginary, subjectively conceived transformations conjured up in men's minds by innumerable real and complex transformations of opposites into one another. Marx said, "All mythology masters and dominates and shapes the forces of nature in and through the imagination; hence it disappears as soon as man gains mastery over the forces of nature." The myriads of changes in mythology (and also in nursery tales) delight people because they imaginatively picture man's conquest of the forces of nature, and the best myths possess "eternal charm," as Marx put it; but myths are not built out of the concrete contradictions existing in given conditions and therefore are not a scientific reflection of reality. That is, in myths or nursery tales the aspects constituting a contradiction have only an imaginary identity, not a concrete identity. The scientific reflection of the identity in real transformations is Marxist dialectics.

299. Here the *Selected Works* text adds: "the mutability manifested in."

mation of one process into another is absolute. *The unity, identity, consistency, constancy, and union of contradictions are contained within the struggle of contradictions and become an element in the struggle of contradictions. That is the meaning of Lenin's statement.*

That is, it is insufficient simply to acknowledge that contradiction leads to movement; it must also be understood under which conditions contradiction gives rise to movement.

The first condition of unity (identity) in which contradiction gives rise to movement is the particular condition of movement. In daily life it is called rest, constantly unchanging, immobile, death, at a standstill, deadlock, stalemate, peaceful state, equilibrium, balance, harmony, compromise, union, and so on; these are all relative, temporary, and conditional. The second condition of unity in which contradiction gives rise to movement must also be recognized, that is the general condition of movement. This is the splitting of a unified entity, its struggle, life, movement, impermanence, liveliness, change, unpeaceful state, disequilibrium, disharmony, intransigence, and even conflict, antagonism, or war; this is absolute. The relative condition of contradiction of identity, unity, rest, death, and so forth, is contained in the condition of contradiction which is absolute and in struggle. Because struggle permeates a process from beginning to end, permeates all processes, it becomes that which is absolute in them. Not to understand this principle is metaphysical and mechanistic and actually means rejecting dialectics.

International peace treaties are relative, while international struggle is absolute. A united front between classes is relative, while class struggle is absolute. Unanimity in intraparty ideology is relative, while struggle in intraparty ideology is absolute. Equilibrium, cohesion, attraction, and association, and so on in natural phenomena are relative, while disequilibrium, dispersion, rejection, dissociation, and so forth are absolute. When a process is in a condition of peace treaty, united front, unity and solidarity, equilibrium, cohesion, attraction, association, and so on, contradiction and struggle still exist, but they have not adopted an acute form; it is certainly not a case of there being no contradictions or of a cessation of struggle. Struggle ceaselessly destroys one relative condition and transforms it into another relative condition, destroys one process and transforms it into another process, and this ubiquitous character of struggle is the absoluteness of contradiction.[300]

300. In the *Selected Works* version, the three preceding paragraphs are replaced with the following text:

> There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Both are caused by the struggle between the two contradictory elements contained in a thing. When the thing is in the first state of motion, it is undergoing only quantitative and not qualitative change and consequently presents the outward appearance of being at rest. When the thing is in the second state of motion, the quantitative change of the first state has already reached a culminating point and gives rise to the dissolution of the thing as an entity and thereupon a qualitative change ensues, hence the appearance of conspicuous change. Such unity, solidarity, combination, harmony, balance, stalemate, deadlock, rest, constancy, equilibrium, cohesion, attraction, and so on as we see in daily life, are all the appearances of things in the state of quantitative change. And yet, the dissolution of unity, that is, the destruction of this solidarity, combination, harmony, balance, stalemate, deadlock, rest, constancy, equilibrium, cohesion, and attraction, and the change of each into its opposite are all the appearances of things in the state of qualitative change, the transformation of one process into another. Things are constantly transforming themselves from the first into the second state of motion; the struggle of opposites goes on in both states, but the contradiction is resolved though the second state. That is why we say that the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary, and relative, while the struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute.

When we said above that two opposite things can coexist in a single entity and can transform themselves into each other because there is identity between them, we were speaking of conditionality, that is, in given conditions two contradictory things can be united and can transform themselves into each other, but in the absence of these conditions, they cannot constitute a contradiction, cannot coexist in the same entity, and cannot transform themselves into one another. It is because the identity of opposites obtains only in given conditions that we have said identity is conditional and relative. We may add that struggle[301] permeates a process from beginning to end and makes one process transform itself into another, that it is ubiquitous, and that struggle is therefore unconditional and absolute.

The combination of conditional, relative identity and unconditional, absolute struggle constitutes the movement of opposites in all things.

So that this point may be clearly understood, we again utilize as examples the relationship between life and death and the relationship between labor and capital.

Within an organism, the death of old cells is the precondition for the production of new cells and is the precondition for the process of life. The two contradictory aspects of life and death are united within an organism and also change into each other; live cells change into dead cells, and dead cells change into live cells (live cells emerge from dead cells). But this unity of life and death, their coexistence within an organism, is conditional, temporary, and relative. From start to finish, however, the incompatibility of life and death, their mutual rejection, struggle, negation, and transformation, is unconditional, eternal, and absolute. The absoluteness of struggle is indicated by live elements within an organism ceaselessly triumphing over dead elements and, moreover, controlling the dead elements. Under given conditions, life changes into death and death into life; such conditions allow an identity between life and death and enable them to change into each other. Because of the mutual struggle of these two contradictory entities, life and death, life is inevitably transformed into death and death is inevitably transformed into life. This inevitability is unconditional and absolute. From this it can be seen that at a certain stage in development there must be a certain condition of temperature and environment, and so on for life and death to change from one to

301. Struggle → The struggle between opposites

another and for there to be an identity between them. This is one problem. The reasons for the so-called temporariness and relativity of life and death, that is, where the conditions do not change and are unable to lengthen life or death, are to be found in the struggle, negation, and mutual rejection between the two. This situation is eternal and absolute. This is the other problem.

The proletariat produces surplus value for the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat's labor power. This is a unified process which determines the survival of capitalism. Labor and capital are each a condition for the other's existence. However, this condition has a given limit, and capitalist development must remain within this given limit; if it is exceeded, ruptures emerge in the unified process, and a socialist revolution arises. These ruptures emerge abruptly, but also emerge gradually in that preparations for their emergence commence from the day the two classes come into existence; the struggle of both sides is continual, and it is this which lays the ground for a sudden change. From this it can be seen that the coexistence of the two classes is preserved as a result of given conditions; this coexistence under given conditions produces a unity or identity between the two classes. Under given conditions, the two classes also change from one to the other, such that the exploiters change into the exploited and the exploited change into the exploiters, and capitalist society is transformed into a socialist society. The two contradictory entities have an identity under given conditions. This is one problem. The two sides are in constant struggle. Not only is there struggle within an entity, but in particular there is a revolutionary struggle. This unavoidable condition is unconditional, absolute, and inevitable. This is the other problem.[302]

In identity there is struggle.[303] To quote Lenin, "there is an absolute in the relative." *Because of this, the unity of opposites is itself a manifestation or an element of the struggle of contradictions. This is our conclusion with regard to this problem.*

According to this conclusion, it is perfectly evident whether or not the so-called theories of class harmony and the unity of ideology still have any standing. The theory of international class harmony becomes the opportunism of the workers' movements in every country, and they have no function other than simply to serve as the running dogs of the bourgeoisie. China too has a so-called theory of class harmony, but this is a tune sung by bourgeois reformism. It has no purpose other

302. This whole section has been replaced in the *Selected Works* version with the following paragraph:

> We Chinese often say, "Things that oppose each other also complement each other." That is, things opposed to each other have identity. This saying is dialectical and contrary to metaphysics. "Oppose each other" refers to the mutual exclusion or the struggle of two contradictory aspects. "Complement each other" means that, in given conditions, the two contradictory aspects unite and achieve identity. Yet struggle is inherent in identity, and without struggle there can be no identity.

303. In identity there is struggle. → In identity there is struggle, in particularity there is universality, and in individuality there is generality.

than specifically to swindle the proletariat so that it will remain forever the slave of the bourgeoisie. The meaningless clichés of the so-called theory of the unity of ideology directly or indirectly depend on the nonsense spewed out by officialdom that it is "the learned opinion of the scholars." Its purpose is nothing but the suppression of the truth and the obstruction of the progress of the revolution. True scientific theory is the law of the unity of opposites of materialist dialectics, and not these other melodies.

G. The Place of Antagonism in Contradiction

The question of the struggle of opposites includes the question of what is antagonism. Our answer is *that contradiction exists in all processes from beginning to end, and that there is a struggle between the two sides of a contradiction from start to finish.* Antagonism is one form of struggle, *but not all contradictions have it.*[304] *When certain contradictions in a certain process of development adopt a form in which force becomes overt and there is mutual conflict, the struggle of contradictions manifests itself as antagonism.* Antagonism is[305] a particular manifestation of the struggle of opposites.

For instance, consider the contradiction between the exploiting and the exploited classes. Such contradictory classes coexist for a long time in the same society, be it slave society, feudal society, or capitalist society, and they struggle with each other, but it is not until the contradiction between the two classes develops to a certain stage that it assumes the form of open antagonism, *and it is then that society ruptures and revolution and war are engendered.*[306]

The explosion of a bomb, the hatching of a chicken from its egg, and the emergence of animals from the womb are all contradictory things coexisting in a single entity and which, at a certain moment, adopt the form of conflict, disruption, and rupture.

In the peaceful coexistence between countries, including that between socialist and capitalist states, contradiction and struggle exist without ceasing; only at a certain stage in development does war emerge. In the Soviet Union, the New Economic Policy permitted a considerable development of capitalist elements. Lenin considered that at that time there was a possibility of utilizing state capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is, the utilization of certain bourgeois elements to develop the forces of production, simultaneous with their control by Soviet laws, following which they could be limited and prohibited. At this time

304. In the *Selected Works* text, the preceding two sentences are replaced by a single sentence: "Our answer is that antagonism is one form, but not the only form, of the struggle of opposites."

305. Antagonism is → In human history, antagonism between classes exists as

306. And it is then that society ruptures and revolution and war are engendered → And develops into revolution. The same holds for the transformation of peace into war in class society.

the two contradictions of socialism and capitalism coexisted within socialist society in mutual struggle and interconnection; it was only after the task of eliminating the rich peasantry and capitalist remnants had been put forward that the existence of both elements became an impossibility, and a life and death struggle of overtly antagonistic form emerged.[307]

The First United Front between the Guomindang and the Communist Party was also like this.

However, the contradictions in many processes, phenomena, and things do not develop into antagonistic ones.

Take, for example, the contradictions between correct and incorrect ideas within the Communist Party, between the advanced and the backward in culture, between town and country in economics, between the forces and relations of production, between production and consumption, between exchange value and use value, between the various technical divisions of labor, between workers and peasants in class relations, between life and death in nature, between heredity and mutation, between cold and hot, between day and night—none of these has an antagonistic form of existence.[308]

307. In the *Selected Works* version, the preceding two paragraphs are replaced with the following text:

> Before it explodes, a bomb is a single entity in which opposites coexist in given conditions. The explosion takes place only when a new condition, ignition, is present. An analogous situation arises in all those natural phenomena which finally assume the form of open conflict to resolve contradictions and produce new things.
>
> It is highly important to grasp this fact. It enables us to understand that revolutions and revolutionary war are inevitable in class society and that, without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power. Communists must expose the deceitful propaganda of the reactionaries, such as the assertion that social revolution is unnecessary and impossible. They must firmly uphold the Marxist-Leninist theory of social revolution and enable the people to understand that social revolution is not only entirely necessary but also entirely practicable and that the whole history of mankind and the triumph of the Soviet Union have confirmed this scientific truth.
>
> We must, however, make a concrete study of the circumstances of each specific struggle of opposites and should not arbitrarily apply the formula discussed above to everything. Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions.
>
> Some contradictions are characterized by open antagonism, others are not. In accordance with the concrete development of things, some contradictions which were originally nonantagonistic develop into antagonistic ones, while others which were originally antagonistic develop into nonantagonistic ones.

308. Although at the time when Mao originally gave these lectures on dialectical materialism, Stalin himself was emphasizing that certain types of contradictions in the Soviet Union, such as those between the workers and the peasants, were no longer antagonistic, the list of nonantagonistic contradictions given here is remarkably sweeping, and it is not surprising

Bukharin regarded contradiction and antagonism as one and the same thing. He therefore considered that in a society in which socialism had been accomplished there were neither antagonisms nor contradiction. Lenin said: "*This is extremely incorrect*, antagonism and contradiction are not at all one and the same. Under socialism, the first will disappear, the second will remain."[309] *Bukharin is an advocate of the theory of equilibrium, which refuses to recognize that the development of a thing results from the movement of internal contradictions and which considers that society will continue to develop even though there are no contradictions under socialism.*

Trotsky sets out from a different extreme, but also regards contradiction and antagonism as one and the same thing. As a result, he considers that under socialism a contradiction between workers and peasants not only exists but will develop into an antagonism like the contradiction between labor and capital, which can be resolved only by employing revolutionary methods. The Soviet Union, however,

that, in revising the text for publication in the *Selected Works*, Mao should have eliminated this paragraph, replacing it with the following text:

> As already mentioned, so long as classes exist, contradictions between correct and incorrect ideas within the Communist Party are reflections within the Party of class contradictions. At first, with regard to certain issues, such contradictions may not manifest themselves as antagonistic. But, with the development of the class struggle, they may grow and become antagonistic. The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shows us that the contradictions between the correct thinking of Lenin and Stalin and the fallacious thinking of Trotsky, Bukharin, and others did not at first manifest themselves in an antagonistic form, but that later they did develop into antagonism. There are similar cases in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. At first, the contradictions between the correct thinking of many of our Party comrades and the fallacious thinking of Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao, and others also did not manifest themselves in an antagonistic form, but later they did develop into antagonism. At present the contradiction between correct and incorrect thinking within our Party does not manifest itself in an antagonistic form, and if comrades who have committed mistakes can correct them, it will not develop into antagonism. Therefore, the Party must, on the one hand, wage a serious struggle against erroneous thinking and, on the other, give the comrades who have committed errors ample time to wake up. This being the case, excessive struggle is obviously inappropriate. But if the people who have committed errors persist in them and aggravate them, there is the possibility that this contradiction will develop into antagonism.
>
> Economically, the contradiction between town and country is an extremely antagonistic one, both in capitalist society, where under the rule of the bourgeoisie the towns ruthlessly plunder the countryside, and in the Guomindang areas in China, where under the rule of foreign imperialism and the Chinese big comprador bourgeoisie the towns most rapaciously plunder the countryside. But in a socialist country and in our revolutionary base areas, this antagonistic contradiction has changed into one that is nonantagonistic; and when Communist society is reached it will be abolished.

309. Here the version in the *Selected Works* adds: "That is, antagonism is one form, but not the only form, of the struggle of opposites; the formula of antagonism cannot be arbitrarily applied everywhere."

has used the method of the socialization of agriculture to resolve it and, moreover, has resolved it under the conditions of socialism in one country, without having to wait for the international revolution alleged to be necessary by the Trotskyites.

Bukharin has reduced contradiction to the point of elimination, while the Trotskyites have elevated contradiction into antagonism; neither of the two extremes of the Right or Left wing understands the problem of contradiction.

The method for resolving an ordinary contradiction is fundamentally different from the method for resolving antagonism; this is the particularity of contradictions and the particularity of the method for resolving contradictions. This is a problem which should be given specific recognition. Whatever is antagonistic contains contradictoriness, but not all contradictions necessarily adopt an antagonistic form, and here we have a general distinction.

The law of the unity of contradictions is the fundamental law *of the universe*, and the fundamental law *of the method of thought* (sixiang fangfa).[310] *Lenin called it the kernel of dialectics, and it stands opposed to the metaphysical view of development. It is opposed to the absolute law of identity of formal logic. Contradiction exists in all objective and subjective processes of things, and throughout all processes* from beginning to end; this is the universality and absoluteness of contradiction. The aspects of contradiction and the universe each have their respective characteristics; *people's minds are all different, just like their faces, and contradictions likewise all differ in the form they take.* This is the particularity and relativity of contradiction. In given conditions, opposites possess identity and consequently can coexist in a single entity and can transform themselves into each other; this again is the particularity and relativity of contradiction. But the struggle of opposites is ceaseless: it goes on both when the opposites are coexisting and when they are transforming themselves into each other and becomes especially conspicuous when they are transforming themselves into one another; this again is the universality and absoluteness of contradiction. In studying the particularity and relativity of contradiction, we must be attentive to the distinction between the principal aspect and the non–principal aspect of the contradiction. *When studying the struggle of contradictions we must give attention to the general and the particular forms of the struggle of contradiction—that is, the distinction in which*

310. In the *Selected Works* version, the portion of the text beginning here is included in a final section entitled "Conclusion." This first sentence has been replaced with the following three sentences:

> We may now say a few words to sum up. The law of the contradictions in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and society, and therefore also the fundamental law of thought. It represents a great revolution in the history of human knowledge.

contradiction develops into antagonism. This is what we know of the law of the unity of contradictions.[311]

311. In the *Selected Works* version, this last sentence is replaced with the following text:

> In studying the universality of contradiction and the struggle of opposites in contradiction, we must be attentive to the distinction between the different forms of struggle. Otherwise we shall make mistakes. If, through study, we achieve a real understanding of the essentials explained above, we shall be able to demolish dogmatist ideas which are contrary to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and detrimental to our revolutionary cause, and our comrades with practical experience will be able to organize their experience into principles and avoid repeating empiricist errors. These are a few simple conclusions from our study of the law of contradiction.

Part IIB: Commentaries

Notes on A Course in Dialectical Materialism *by M. Shirokov and Others*

(November 1936–April 1937)

Mao made these annotations between November 1936 and April 1937. The text he was commenting on appears in the right-hand column, in the form of an English translation of the Chinese version he read. The left-hand column contains his observations.

Preface: The Party Nature of Philosophy

. . .

2. Philosophy Is a Partisan Science

. . .

Mechanism means to yield to blind nature, it is the separation of theory from practice, and is division in epistemology.

In Il'ich's dialectical doctrine viewed as epistemology, theory and practice are indissolubly combined to conquer blind necessity; this is its only task. "The unification of theoretical thought (cognition) and practice—this is the unity of epistemology"—This is how Il'ich[1] forcefully made clear one of the central ideas of his own critique of Hegel's dialectics.

The struggle between the theory of letting things take their course and revolutionary ideology.

Bernstein[2] wants to use the theory of his own creation that capitalism would develop through peaceful evolution to confront the theory of leaps, the revolutionary theory of dialectics.

The revision of materialistic dialectics takes place with reference to the

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Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong zhexue pizhuji,* pp. 1–136, where it is reproduced from Mao's handwritten annotations to Shirokov's book.

most important aspects of materialism—its active and revolutionary quality. This kind of revision is an attempt to break the unity of theoretical and practical activity, but in materialist dialectics the unification between these two is "internally and indissolubly combined." Instead of raising the initiative and enthusiasm of the proletariat in its struggle, Bernstein preaches the impossibility of changing the reality of capitalism.

The essence of dialectics is precisely the law of the unity of opposites.

Though Plekhanov[3] . . . exposed Bernstein's theory of concepts, he failed to shatter the foundation from which the revisionists misinterpreted Marxism as regards the problem of dialectics. In particular, he never even bothered about the fact that the revisionists abandoned the "decisive thing in dialectics"—the unity of opposites. Bernstein and his faction set up a theory of class compromise to replace the law of the unity of opposites. . . . Finally, the most extreme instance of failure to understand the essence of dialectics is that displayed by Plekhanov and the other Mensheviks at the time of the imperialist war of 1914, when they openly came out with the bourgeois slogan: "Defend the fatherland."

3. The Struggle Waged Between Il'ich and the Mensheviks to Carry Out a Partisan Philosophy

. . .

The Mensheviks' view about practice is the opportunistic way of compromising practice in order to fit the reality, this kind of view about practice produces a picture which is completely different from reality and a completely different theory as well. The Mensheviks

. . . finally excluded from the specific images in reality those which would give reality specific characters, that is, the revolutionary actions of certain classes are excluded. Il'ich thought about how we were going to proceed and in which direction we were going to proceed in order to push forward the forces of various classes better and more concretely. Nevertheless, the Mensheviks are different; they only record those things already in existence, rather than pointing out what might happen in the course of the active revolutionary tasks of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The Anti-Japanese National United Front will be able to push forward better and more concretely the forces of the various classes.

"Instead of making it clear how the proletariat should proceed to 'push forward the development of the revolution' during a certain period of time, they only record the actual happenings and never mention our specific tasks relative to reality. If we look at how the new Iskra faction expresses its thought, we cannot help thinking of Marx's criticism of the old materialism, which has nothing to do with the concepts of dialectics. Marx said the philosophers only explained the world in various ways, but the crucial thing is to change the world. Although the new Iskra faction elements tried their best to record and explain the struggle process that was taking place before their eyes, they were quite incapable of putting forward a correct slogan for this struggle. They carried on in a disordered manner, and the instructions they gave were really clumsy and inferior. They neglected the work that the Party can and must do in history—actively directing and guiding in the role of an instructor, that is, changing the material conditions, and standing at the head of the party that represents the vanguard of the class.

The correct slogan for the present struggle is the Anti-Japanese National United Front, and, most important of all, domestic peace, that is, the cooperation between the Guomindang and the Communist Party, is the top priority.

Thus they degraded the materialist view of history" (Il'ich).

There are some people who are quite satisfied at present with the various loose and unorganized facts which are not associated through generalization.

At the hands of the Mensheviks, Marx's revolutionary theory was separated from the specific conditions resulting from the real foundation of Russia since 1905. On the one hand, the principle has become an empty and general topic—formalized; on the other hand, it is separated from the records of new facts and presents us with a theory of experience in a roundabout way. This is the kind of theory that easily becomes satisfied even when being presented with the various loose and unorganized facts that are beyond the reach of generalization.

In accordance with the principles of dialectical materialism, instead of starting from general propositions, Il'ich set out from the objective and real movement, set out from the investigation and examination of every aspect of objective reality, and set out from the analysis of the status and tasks of various classes. . . .

Both Li Lisanism and the military adventurism and military conservatism which came after committed this error of setting out not from the specific reality, but from empty theoretical propositions. Not only is this not dialectics, it is not materialism either.

It laid bare the military adventurism and conservatism of Li Lisanism.

Instead of setting out from concrete reality, the Mensheviks set out from empty theoretical formulae. As a consequence, they violated the first and most essential requirement of the worldview of materialism. How the violation of dialectics and that of materialism are associated with each other may be seen from the actual examples of the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks took as their object lifeless abstractions separated from concrete development. They thus created a domain which could be used as an arbitrary, subjective, and nonmaterialist method to explain things.

The subjective and nonmaterialistic stand is even worse; they accidentally separate the fact from reality and often unify them superficially and mechanically. Under such circumstances, a foundation is set up to explain that fact independently. This is called eclecticism. Under eclecticism, the connection between the overall basis and the various events is lost. The overall basis that connects various facts and various aspects is exactly the specific reality, that is, a certain society. If we do not start with the specific reality, but start with the extremely abstract and theoretical topic instead, under such a circumstance we will lose all the foundations—and because of the existence of this foundation, various facts have to be unified in a certain manner. When the general foundation is lost, the connection becomes a manmade and arbitrary product; the various important facts are deserted. Il'ich said, "In the field of social phenomena, the most popular and least beneficial method is to separate every minor fact and play with actual cases. In order to lay the foundation in reality, without exception one must understand and control the general structure of the facts which are associated with the issue under investigation rather than every individual fact. Otherwise one would arbitrarily select and gather facts, would ignore the objective and interdependent relationship of the entire historical phenomena, and one would adopt a 'subjective' solution for the purpose of emphasizing meaningless things."

We should pay particular attention to this.

Such as the semifeudal Chinese society that is subject to the domination of Japanese imperialism.

Instead of the various independent facts such as attacking major cities and blockhouseism, one must, without any exception, understand and control the general structure of the facts which are associated with the soviet war in China, that is, the characteristics of a revolutionary war; this kind of general structure of facts is the general foundation that connects every individual fact and every individual aspect.

The anti-Japanese war and the war against Chiang Kaishek can exist side by side—said Sun Mingjiu[4]

. . . Amid sophistry, the famous slogan to defend the motherland established by the Mensheviks and people of the same ilk to defend their betrayal

combines the movement to defend the motherland with internationalism. It is by no means impossible for internationalism and the movement to defend the motherland to exist side by side—talk of this kind came out of the camp of the Second International. . . .

Chapter I. Materialism and Idealism

1. The Essence and Origins of Materialism and Idealism

. . .

In the process of labor, human beings act upon nature and, moreover, change nature directly, so that matter is affected by human beings; under such circumstance, human beings firmly believe that matter exists objectively.

Does China exist?

While they are building socialism, bringing about industrialization and electrification, transforming the strata of the peasantry, and carrying on a class struggle against the rich peasants, the laboring classes in the Soviet Union have no doubt about the fact that the Soviet Union exists independently and objectively apart from their consciousness. They firmly believe that in daily practice the Soviet Union really does exist, and that the struggle of the proletariat fighting for socialism really does exist.

. . .

5. Kant and the Neo-Kantian Revision of Marxism

. . .

This is similar to the capitalists in the colonies.

. . . The relative primitiveness of the development of the bourgeoisie in Germany as well as its dependence on the feudal system determined the dual nature of their attitude toward the bourgeois revolution. On the one hand, the German bourgeoisie dreamed about

revolution, dreamed about abolishing the feudal shackles; on the other hand, they were afraid of revolution, threw themselves entirely on the feudal lords, and compromised with them.

6. Neo-Kantianism

. . .

. . . then, what dominates social life? It is precisely the answer to this question which reveals the characteristics of the idealist philosophy of Rickert.[5] Value rules in society. This value is not at all the yardstick human beings use in their practical activity to evaluate various events and phenomena. Rickert said this value is subjective and relative; it depends on the consciousness of every individual. The value that rules society does not depend on each individual; in this sense, it is "objective." Afterward Rickert gave a very confusing description, showing that he was unable to define value. . . .

7. Hegelianism and Idealism with a Menshevist Stamp

. . .

. . . The characteristic of Plekhanov is that he does not understand the key point of dialectics, which is the breakup of unity; he is unable to find the essential thing which leads to contradictions; he tries to reconcile contradictions; he does not understand the dialectical unity between dialectics and epistemology. . . .

Chapter II. Dialectics Viewed as Epistemology

1. Knowledge and Practice, the Unity Between the Subject and Object

Materialist dialectics is the decisive element in Marxism.

As we said in the previous chapter that materialistic dialectics is the deci-

The objective world develops, and subjective knowledge also develops.

After the July Revolution, the objective situation developed, so subjective knowledge had to develop as well. [He came to] know the new contradictions and new relations in the new situation.

sive factor in Marxism; according to the definition by Engels, dialectics is a doctrine about the general development rule of nature, society and thought. Unlike metaphysics, which regards things as well as the understanding of them (that is, concepts) as constant and unchangeable, dialectics controls things as well as the understanding of them (that is, concepts) on the basis of their interrelations, their mobility, their birth and elimination. Dialectics teaches us that it is not only objective reality which develops, but knowledge also develops.

After the July Revolution in 1917, . . .

Il'ich pointed out quite clearly: we should understand how a changed reality makes people learn new contradictions and new relations. He raised the slogan "All power to the soviets"; until the July Revolution, it correctly reflected the interrelations between the class strength and the party in the revolution in 1917. At a certain stage in the revolution in 1917, the slogan of all power to the soviets was the slogan that "moved one step forward toward a path of peaceful development and it was a slogan that can be realized. It was a slogan of revolution and peaceful development, and it was possible from February 27 to July 4, and it was, of course, the most promising thing as well. Today, however, it has become impossible under any circumstances." Il'ich pointed out that fundamental changes had taken place in the arrangement of class strength; he also wrote like this. Such a slogan is no longer correct today. Because it is only possible to transfer power by an open revolution under a new circumstance.

As reality changes and develops, our knowledge of reality changes accordingly. Nevertheless, we should never conclude that our knowledge only passively reflects reality, should never believe that our knowledge is like a camera, which unconditionally reflects all the targets that our eyes catch. Human knowledge is an active process that is included in various social practices. In production as well as class struggle, human knowledge is manifested in the form of an active factor that plays a part in the transformation of the world.

Reflection does not consist in passively copying the object; it is an active process. In production as well as in class struggle, knowledge is an active factor; it plays a role in transforming the world.

New situations lead to new slogans, and new slogans reflect the new contradictions of the situation. Furthermore, they guide the masses in uniting to fight in order to change such situations.

The situation, as it changed once more after September, again called forth soviet slogans, but the contents of such slogans were quite different from the soviets in the past.

For instance, when Il'ich raised the question of how the slogan of all power to the soviets had changed, he never regarded it as something that passively reflects the revolutionary reality; instead, he regarded it as the force that determines the direction of the progress of the general public as well as the force that unites them. . . . As Il'ich pointed out, the changed reality led to new slogans and new knowledge; moreover, the new knowledge actively reflects the new contradictions in reality, and this in itself is a path to the change of the reality. "Look forward, and do not look backward. Do not use the old concepts of classes and parties; use the new ones, the concepts after the July Revolution."

The changed class relationship and the changed revolutionary practice during the period from July to September enabled Il'ich to raise the issue of the soviet again, which was treated as a means to take over state power in a class struggle. . . . This new slogan is not a repetition of the slogan which had the same contents before the July Revolution; it is something that has been enriched due to the new contents of the revolutionary practices. The soviet in the

new stage is completely different from the old ones, whether in terms of the class component or its role in the revolutionary changes.

The realization of the dialectical unification of the subject and the object in practice.

It is Marx who first made clear the dialectics in the process of knowledge and that reality and knowledge are motions full of contradictions. Marx pointed out that the dialectical unification between reality and knowledge—between object and subject—is realized in the historical development of social practice. Not only objective knowledge but also subjective knowledge changes in the process of social practice. As Marx said, the action of human beings on external nature, on the one hand, changes it but, on the other hand, changes their own nature. . . . As with metaphysical materialism, Feuerbach[6] did not regard knowledge as a historical process. To him, knowledge is the reflection of the unchangeability of the unchangeable nature. In his opinion, it is the same to know the subject as it is to know the object, they are unchangeable and nondeveloping things, they are controlled outside the process of practice. To him, the unification of the subject and the object is not something that takes place in the social activities of mankind; instead, it is unchangeable and eternal. He was unable to see that social practice changed the object of knowledge. . . . He does not understand at all that the material = the emotional mankind, together with his organs, are the products of world history. He does not understand that in the process of labor of mankind and in the historical development of practice of mankind, the sense organs of mankind are not some-

[They] change the outside world, while at the same time changing themselves.

Feuerbach: neither the subjective nor the objective are things that emerge and develop in history; knowledge is the unchanging reflection of unchanging nature. The unification of the two is the unification of unchanging states.

The sense organs of human beings are developed and differentiated in the process of labor.

thing that never changes; on the contrary, they are something that is always in the process of development and division. . . . In the mind of Feuerbach, mankind is not the subject that actively changes the world due to social activities; instead, it is a concrete reality. While criticizing Feuerbach, Marx said: "He refused to examine mankind by leaving the abstract theoretical sphere and by putting mankind into certain social relationships from which mankind evolved, and he refused to examine mankind in the living atmosphere around him. As a result, he could never arrive at the conclusion that living human beings exist in reality; instead, he would stop at the abstract state of so-called "mankind." He could only know a little bit in terms of feelings about the 'real, individual, flesh-and-blood mankind.'". . .

The abstract man and the real man

Marx once said that the changes in subjective and objective knowledge are extremely strong and obvious in a revolution. This can be proved with revolutionary examples. In the revolutionary process in Russia, on the one hand, the proletariat changed reality, while they were changing their own characters fundamentally. . . .

The changes in subjective and objective knowledge are extremely strong in a revolution, such as the Russian proletariat and the Chinese peasants.

. . . Hegel is an idealist; he refused to recognize the truth of the real world which exists independently of the consciousness, hence he believes that the activity of knowledge lies, first, in thought or in the fact that absolute spiritual activity will create such a spiritual nature that exists "somewhere." According to Hegel, things that can fulfill their own development can only be active thoughts. The various stages of development in nature are all attributed to

Hegel dissolved the objective into the subjective and confused subject with object.

spirit. Although the active knowledge of nature by thought and "the subjective spirit" are developing, they themselves do not develop. Active spirit, in Hegel's opinion, while learning about nature, that is, while learning about the objective world, is actually learning about its own "existence," that is, learning about itself. By the same analogy, the active subject of knowledge as well as its object turn into a common thing and same thing in absolute spirit. Instead of using this to solve the problem about the relationship between the subject and object of knowledge, Hegel dissolved the object in the subject of concept, which is even farther away from its solution.

Feuerbach does not understand the dialectical character of the unity between the subject and the object.

Feuerbach exposed the nature of the idealism that regards the subjective and the objective as the same. He said, to regard the knowledge of the subjective and that of the objective as the same makes all knowledge impossible, because knowledge is not the same thing as reality; it is the reflection of reality in the sensory organs and in the thought of mankind. Feuerbach declared that learning about the object is different from learning about the subject; it is the nature that exists independently of the consciousness of mankind. Nevertheless, for some reason, Feuerbach was unable to understand the dialectical character of the unity between the subject and the object; this has been made clear in the previous part.

Plekhanov's understanding of the theory of knowledge failed to acknowledge Marx and Engel's profound criticism of Feuerbach; hence he did not go beyond Feuerbach. Like Feuerbach, Plekhanov failed to understand the character of dialectics and the rule of the

Plekhanov thought that the unity of the subject and the object had the quality of being directly perceived, without relation to practical activity. This is because he did not understand the essence of dialectics (the law of the unity of opposites), and therefore could not have a dialectical understanding of epistemology. His antihistorical approach is the same as that of Feuerbach.

Mechanicalism sees only mutual interrelations, but not mutual interpenetration.

Deborin does not know that the interpenetration between the subject and the object takes place in social practice; there is only mechanical

unity of opposites, therefore he did not test and examine the theory of knowledge in dialectics. He was unable to explain the contradictory characters of knowledge, unable to explain the combination of knowledge with social practice; in terms of the unity of the subject and object, he was still on the same ground as Feuerbach. Like Feuerbach, though he clarified the character of unification of subject and object of a thing, this kind of unification, in his opinion, had the characteristic of concrete reality that had nothing to do with practice. Like Feuerbach, he believed in the unification between the subject and object, and such a unification should be given to the individual who was the subject of himself but the object to others. He never criticized Feuerbach. Furthermore, he was a follower of Feuerbach: he repeated that the essence of the human being is his own body and that he had never seen that the essence of the human being is not his body but the character of the society. The antihistorical approach in Plekhanov's epistemology originated from here.

. . . The mechanicist Axel'rod[7] could not understand the essence of the dialectics of the unity of opposites. She examined mechanically the relationship between the subject and the object. That is, in this kind of relationship she is only able to see the mutual relationship, but is unable to see the unification of the dialectics of the two when they mutually affected each other in the process of historical practice.

. . . Deborin[8] often talks about the dialectics of the subject and object, talks about the interpenetration between these two. However, he never understands

character (external and visible), but no dialectical character; knowledge is separated from practice.

that such interpenetration is realized in practice, therefore it is proved that he actually does not have the capability to understand such dialectics. To Deborin, the contradictory interpenetration does not have dialectical but only external character, and it ends with the pure movement of the subject and object. He says that the subject changes into object and vice versa. As a consequence, based on the wrong cases of Plekhanov and his followers we see the following facts. That is, separating knowledge from practice, failing to understand the role of dialectics in knowledge, when the time comes to solve the problem concerning the unification of the subject and object, it is certain that one will arrive at an intuitionist position, arrive at Feuerbachism.

2. The Various Stages and Exciting Causes in the Process of Knowledge

No question regarding knowledge of the external world can be solved apart from practice.

The route of the movement of knowledge

As we said previously, the unification between the subject and the object is realized on the basis of the development of practice; the issue of how mankind learns about his surrounding world cannot be solved outside practice. Now let us study carefully the route of movement of knowledge; explain what stages the movement of knowledge undergoes in its development and explain the incentives that make up this movement.

The subject of cognition is social class.

As we said in the previous paragraph, that which appears as the subject that learns about material reality is not the individuals who break away from the society but, rather, mankind and social classes. In a class society the knowledge of the surrounding world has class character. In the process of class struggle,

The process of development of the knowledge of the proletariat is an example of the learning movement of classes.

the development of the knowledge of the proletariat, which was transformed from "a class-in-itself" to "a class-for-itself," has become an example of the movement of the knowledge of classes. . . .

Nevertheless, how does the knowledge of the proletariat develop? And what is more, what are the various stages it undergoes?

The land question

The question of the Chinese revolutionary war[9]

In the earliest period of its development, the proletariat is not fully aware of what is happening around it. This could be seen clearly during the industrial revolution in Britain. Back then, the proletariat's understanding of capitalism is really shallow, though with the introduction of machinery the workers have become reserve forces for industrialization and are abandoned on the street; in the capitalist production relationship they are unable to see the reason behind their own poverty; instead, they try to find the reason in the machines. They did not want to launch an ideological class struggle against the bourgeoisie; instead, they launched uprisings against the machinery . . . because of the movement against machinery, the proletariat has already fought against the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, who have become a class, only because they failed to see the nature of capitalism they chose the wrong method of struggle. At that time, although the proletariat failed to see the nature of exploitation of capitalism, they do feel and are aware of all the exploitation and oppression they have suffered. They suffer from hunger, nor are they able to secure the urgent daily necessities of life, so they are placed in the situation that either today or tomorrow, together with their spouses and children, they will suffer from hunger. Because of this, the workers only

Against ships and cars

The first stage: extremely shallow, do not understand the essence of capitalism, adopted a wrong method of struggle, still in the stage of "a class-in-itself."

China's knowledge of imperialism

know to hate their own employers, they do not know that their employers are the representatives of the exploiting class. The proletarians spontaneously stand up and resist; their struggle is based not on a scientific understanding of the development of capitalism, but on their own experience and consciousness obtained in living under conditions of slavery. But their daily struggle against the entrepreneurs, their interaction with the workers in the other enterprises, and the repeated fact of the capitalists' mutual support and so on—all of these enabled the workers to understand the nature of capitalism (the struggle between hired labor and capital), taught them to see from their own masters alone an exploiting class, the bourgeois class. The daily practice of class struggle enabled the proletarians to upgrade their knowledge about the surrounding reality from the stage of natural feeling and experience to the revolutionary level of reforming the reality. Therefore, for the broad toiling masses, the Marxist theory which explains the contradictions as well as the inevitability of the decline of capitalism enables them to understand it according to their own practice of class struggle. The revolutionary proletarians are no longer blindfolded. As a result, a class war begins with the present world as the stage.

The second stage: the practice of daily struggle and the development of the reality of capitalism lead the proletariat to understand the essence of capitalism (relations of exploitation and of class struggle), Marxism appears, and the prolatariat attains the stage of a "class-for-itself."

From the perceptual stage advance to the rational stage, and then advance again from the rational stage to revolutionary practice.

From direct perception to thought
From thought to practice

The route of the proletariat to the understanding of the reality of capitalism moved from the stage of direct vision of feeling, impression, and targets to a relatively higher stage of understanding of the reality; afterward they will move from this relatively higher stage to the revolutionary practice, move to the stage of wanting to realize those things which

only existed in the mind in the past. "From vivid direct vision to abstract reasoning, from abstract reasoning to practice, this is the dialectical route to know the truth, it is the route to reach the knowledge of the objective reality" (Il'ich).

The purpose of knowledge is to achieve logical understanding from perceptual data; the two stages are distinct, but cannot be separated.

These words contain profound thought about the dialectical route of development of our knowledge. The key point of knowledge, as well as its ultimate goal, lies in the discovery of the rules of the surrounding reality, lies in the theoretical understanding of the materials we received from our feeling, consciousness, and impression. Nevertheless, the theoretical understanding from our knowledge is the result of the entire process of knowledge. The difference of which incentive is in an advantageous position also determines the difference in the development stage of knowledge itself. Therefore, the stages in the process of knowledge cannot be distinguished by unreachable limits.

In the development stage, when the proletarians are struggling spontaneously against some of the individual phenomena in the capitalist reality, the proletarians once attempted to know and understand these phenomena by using one method. Their own development was still in a primitive state, they were not capable of exposing the nature of capitalism—this is because, to a certain extent, the reality itself had not fully exhibited its own inner contradiction, and this, as a result, made all the knowledge of the proletarians about reality exhibit only in the form of perceptual knowledge which only aims at understanding the various aspects and phenomena.

Perceptual knowledge: one-sided, superficial, external connections.

Rational knowledge: totality, essence, internal connections.

Nonetheless, the capitalist reality as well as the development of class struggle made the proletarians feel that it was necessary to know the various phenomena in terms of their internal connection and entirety, made them regard capitalism as a special social system, and made them understand it as a means of production based on exploitation. To the proletarians, perceptive understanding does not explain the contradiction of capitalism, nor does it expose the contents of that "contradiction." Since the workers do not understand the contradiction within capitalism (the relationship of exploitation), they are unable to explain how and why each aspect of the capitalist reality combines with the others. . . . In their knowledge, each and every one of the individual phenomena of capitalism is only externally associated. However, when class struggle develops to a relatively higher level leading to a transformation into a "class-for-itself," the proletarians will begin to regard and master the whole of the previously disordered phenomena of capitalism as internally associated things. The reason theoretical knowledge is different from perceptual knowledge is that it first exposes the internal contradiction of the surrounding world; furthermore, it can control the reality as a whole as well as in terms of the association of every aspect.

Concept is more profound than feeling; it is more advanced, [dealing] for example with such things as commodity and value.

Il'ich developed the interrelationship between perceptual knowledge and theoretical knowledge. Furthermore, he made it clear that the concept, comparative feeling, and impression we gained in the process of knowing the material world are more profound. He said: "It is not difficult for us to illustrate the

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speed of movement of three hundred thousand meters per second. However, we are unable to understand the fact that light travels at such a rapid speed."[11] In trying to understand the internal association of the various phenomena, it is far from sufficient to rely only on feelings. Along the same lines, while talking about value Marx once also said that value is the category which exhibits the relationship between the owners of commodity. This kind of relationship cannot be mastered through feeling. Things that can be seen and touched are only individual commodity rather than value; it is not the relationship between the owners of commodity, nor is it capitalism viewed as a whole. These things are not reflected in the "naked eye." Regarding this point, Marx once said straightforwardly: "The substance of the value of a commodity differs in this respect from Falstaff's mistress, Mistress Quickly,[12] that we don't know where to find it. . . . No matter how repeatedly you handle every individual commodity, you are still unable to grasp its value."

Perceptual knowledge cannot be separated from rational knowledge; perceptual knowledge already contains within it the sprouts of rational knowledge. The general is already contained in the concrete, but what is contained is only the external and not the internal connections. It is only thought based on practice that can successfully proceed from the shallow to the profound, from the outside to

The passage from perceptual knowledge to theoretical knowledge is actually the passage from the understanding of each individual aspect and phenomenon to a law; that is, the understanding of the linkages within reality. Perceptual knowledge is not separate from theoretical knowledge. Already in the state of infancy, it contains the popularization which we will implement with the help of the strength of concept.

The so-called popularization of Feuerbach has already given rise to the kind of thought of the perceptual feeling about reality, and Il'ich expressed his

the inside, from the particular to the general. Such is the movement of the deepening of knowledge; it is a sudden change in cognition. Only with this deepening and sudden change can nature be reflected relatively correctly and completely.

approval. Il'ich quoted Feuerbach's words "can only see the leaves but not the tree." Although Feuerbach once made the profound remark that the sensory organs of human beings are often associated with thought, he never made any strong argument that this kind of association is only the external and orderly association; the laws of reality can be discovered only on the basis of thought based on practice. Feuerbach regarded the association of direct perception and ideas as theoretical knowledge. On the other hand, Il'ich spoke forcefully of the movement of the deepening of knowledge, and of the movement from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. He wrote as follows: "the abstractness of matter, the laws of nature, the abstractness of value, and so on, that is, all scientific abstractions (correct, important, and not nonsensical) are relatively profound, relatively correct, and reflect nature more completely."

Both stages are individual stages in a unitary process of knowledge; they are not separated from each other.

Il'ich regarded perceptual knowledge and theoretical knowledge as two different stages in the process of man's knowing the surrounding world. In addition, he also made clear the characteristics of mastering the process of perceptual feeling and reasoning. At the inferior stage, knowledge appears in the form of perceived things; at the superior stage, knowledge appears in the form of theoretical things. Nevertheless, at whatever stage, they are the individual stages in a unitary process of knowledge, rather than being separated from each other by insurmountable borders. As proved by practice, it is not true that whenever we see something we will begin to understand it; conversely, it is not true either that whenever we understand

Practice proves that things perceived cannot be understood immediately at once; only things that have been comprehended can be more deeply and correctly perceived. Perception solves the problem of phenomena; understanding solves the problem of essence. It is only in the process of practice that the essence of a thing can be revealed and understood.

something we will not be able to feel it; it is only when we understand something that we will be able to feel it more correctly and profoundly. When we struggle against those people who misunderstand the general policy of the party, it is not necessarily true that we have controlled the nature of that fact at the beginning. At first we only feel that we are wrong in some places, and we are often unable to prove it. It is only in the process of practice that we begin to understand the erroneous system of our opponents. Although that is the case, we still understand at the beginning, in terms of a certain issue, how the left wing or the right wing depart from the general policy of the party. When the party led by the Central Committee headed by Il'ich was struggling against the Trotskyite faction and the rightist faction, though the majority of party members knew about the individual mistakes of the two factions, they were unable to know the entire system of the mistakes of the two factions. Only in the process of practice, that is, only when the misunderstanding by the Trotskyite faction and the rightist faction is finally crystallized will we be able to understand the antiparty views of the Trotskyite faction and the rightist faction as a whole and in terms of their internal association.

This is a very good example.

When we understand something, we certainly not only try to explain it but also feel sad, angry, and indignant. . . .

The unity between thought and feeling.

One striking characteristic of the members of the Bolshevik Party is that, among them, their emotional thought and interest do not contradict. In order to accomplish the great tasks the social revolution has imposed upon us, they struggle against the enemy like a forceful torrent.

Perceptual knowledge and theoretical knowledge develop mutually, and they mutually enrich each other's content; this can be illustrated by concrete examples. Let's suppose that there is a middle peasant who has just entered a factory in the city. He brings with him petty-bourgeois ideology when he comes, he is suspicious about the new daily happenings; sometimes he feels disgusted. He begins to have new feelings and experiences after he is personally involved in the productive activity in the factory. When he takes part in socialist construction, he is affected by the popular mood and fashion among his fellow workers. This mood and fashion produce new ideas, which enable him gradually to understand the great cause the proletarians are creating. As a consequence, rapid transformation from petty-bourgeois ideology to that of the builders of socialism occurs among the peasants. Nevertheless, together with the peasants' new understanding of reality, and with the maturity of their proletarian ideology, they have new feelings. The past pleasure he enjoyed in the great construction is meaningless to him. As a result, work does not suit him any more. To him, work is only "sweating," is only exploitation. What happens next then? Such understanding and feeling about the reality lead to corresponding actions; that is, to try his best to kill time, to hope to end the day's work as early as possible, to go and make money if possible. The new feelings he gained from his life in the factory are often overcome by his petty-bourgeois understanding of reality. Nonetheless, after becoming a worker, he begins to see and understand reality differently from be-

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This example is not all that clear.

fore. As a result, he begins to have feelings different from those he had before. In consequence, he begins to manifest different habits, different experiences, and even different perceptions of reality. After he reaches the level of a conscientious builder of socialism, he will feel the richness of life and the greatness of the cause he is creating. By then work is no longer a burden to him; instead, it has gradually become "reputation, courage, and glorious cause."

Perceptual knowledge and theoretical knowledge only reflect the different stages of the objective reality which exists independently outside our consciousness. Feeling is the result of the impact of the external world on the sensory organs. As for concepts, they are the result of the experience of perception. Concept refers to the materials collected by the subject of knowledge in the process of perceiving or learning about the reality and these materials have been reformed and popularized.

Correct

Both perception and concept are images of the targets, that is, they are copies of the process which exists independently of our ideology.

Are our perceptions and concepts correct reflections of objective reality? It is practice which gives the answer to this question. "The question of whether the truth about the target reaches the thought of people is not a theoretical issue; rather, it is an issue about practice. Human beings have to prove the truth in practice, that is, to prove the practicability and strength of their thought, to prove its opposite characteristic. The dispute as to whether the thought that breaks away from practice is the reality

Very well put

It is practice that proves whether or not it is the truth.

is purely a complicated issue about philosophy" (Marx).[13]

To carry out theory in practice is to experiment with theory. If practice is the criterion of truth, this does not at all mean that truth advances before it, stops there for the effort of testing it, and then goes on to another stage. Practice is not a kind of "decoration." Unlike a piece of mat, social life is not sewed together from separate pieces of cloth. Practice, which is the criterion of truth, is the theme which runs through the entire process of our cognition. The entire revolution has carried out Marxism-Leninism, so only revolution corrects and recognizes the misunderstandings of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

Practice is the theme that runs through the entire process of our cognition.

The process through which practice, as the criterion of truth, completes our knowledge should be understood in the sense that theory is realized in practice. However, the theory which can be realized in practice must come from the present social practice. In addition, it must be the kind of theory which correctly reflects the process of development of the reality of nature and society.

Theory emerges from practice. If it correctly reflects the process of development of the objective external world, and if subsequently this theory is once again applied in practice, then this theory can be made manifest in practice, thus completing the process of cognition. Therefore, it is the insight of materialist dialectics to accept the insight about life and practice as the first and fundamental insight of epistemology.

As stated above, materialist dialectics firmly believes that "the insight about life and the insight about practice is the first and fundamental insight of epistemology."

Nonetheless, the anti–Marxist-Leninist doctrine also relies on practice. How indeed do they explain practice?

The bourgeoisie's view of practice—the pragmatist view of practice—is a view of practice that takes into consideration only the present but not the future. Their so-called truth is subjective and partial truth, without objectivity and inclusiveness.

Take bourgeois pragmatism, which is "popular" in capitalist America, for example. . . . The pragmatist view about practice is to go back to the past class and egoistic view of the propertied class, which fits the bourgeoisie's understanding. The capitalists are not farsighted.

Their lust for profit prevents them from foreseeing the future. "Seize the moment!"—this is the slogan of the American enterpreneurs. This is the practice view of a typical pragmatist.

As a matter of fact, the Mensheviks also support such a view of practice. "The movement is everything, the goal is nothing"—this famous formula by Bernstein showed the same crude realism, blind utilitarianism, and surrender to the limited capitalist present.

Characteristics of the opportunists' view of practice: 1. covering up weaknesses; 2. failing to grasp the development as a whole, while yielding to every individual fact; 3. being incapable of seeing through the present contradictions in depth.

The bourgeoisie's view of practice, which is the same as that of the Mensheviks, also exists among our Trotskyite faction and the rightists. Cover up weaknesses; fail to grasp the development as a whole, but yield blindly to every individual fact; be incapable of seeing through the present contradictions in depth—such are the characteristics of the opportunists' view of practice. Such an explanation of practice separates action from scientific understanding—only scientific understanding can enable people to control as well as understand reality as a whole and the movement of the entire process.

The practice view of Marxism is the practice that accompanies insight into the ultimate goal.

The view of practice in Marxist-Leninist doctrine is just the opposite. The practice referred to in Marxism-Leninism is the practice which accompanies insight and the understanding of the ultimate goal; it amounts to the practice of the class struggle that has spread.

Like idealist epistemology, materialist epistemology before Marx tries to solve the problem of the path of knowledge outside material practice, outside social, that is, historical, practice. Therefore there is a lack of connection between the various stages and factors of knowledge (between the sensory organs

Empiricism and rationalism

and thought). This sort of separation moves in the direction of separating perceptual knowledge from theoretical knowledge. Among the philosophers, there are people who believe that perceptual experience is the true source of knowledge and who consequently look down upon the significance of thought; on the other hand, there are also some philosophers who recognize only thought as something real, and who are suspicious of the philosophers of perceptual experience. The former are called "empiricists," from the Greek word *empiria,* meaning "experience"; the latter are called "rationalists," from the Latin word *ratio,* meaning "reason."

Empiricism—the difference between Bacon, on the one hand, and Berkeley and Hume, on the other.

The founder of empiricism is the English philosopher Bacon. His theory did not, however, contain clumsy aspects such as those of his successor Locke, as well as the representatives of the theory of subjective idealism Berkeley and Hume, nor did he separate the conceptual aspect from the rational aspect. As far as the philosophy of Berkeley and Hume is concerned, they set out from extreme empiricism, set out from recognizing consciousness alone; they deny the significance that rational concepts have on knowledge, and consequently they see rational concepts as a product which is introduced into our knowledge by understanding.

The defects of rationalism

Rationalism has two major defects. First, it denies that concepts are the product of experience, so it is unable to explain how, indeed, people can set out from the first concept and arrive at the concept of truth. Second, rationalism sets out in a similar way from the denial of the truth of empirical knowledge, and so it is unable to make the transition

from abstract thought to the perceptual knowledge of each individual subject. These defects of rationalism are exhibited in the process of its own development.

The nature of the source

. . . Il'ich said: "Mach[14] is well aware of the fact that in practice people will inevitably become materialists. In social activities, human beings are directly associated with nature, for in order to accomplish something, human beings must start with the materials nature provides, that is, in practice they must recognize the primary nature of matter and become materialists. Therefore, by using all the force of rationalism, Mach wants to exclude practice from epistemology. Because this is the only way to change epistemology into rationalism." . . . According to Il'ich, if dialectics is to be regarded as epistemology, it must include practice. . . .

Knowledge begins with practice and ends with it.

Plekhanov looks down on practice.

. . . Plekhanov rarely goes beyond the limits of rational proof, but he looks down on practice. For instance, the essence and source of the misunderstanding of reality by idealism in its separation of practice from the process of knowledge lies in giving up practice, which is the criterion of truth. Plekhanov made little effort to explain these points.

4. The Theory of Truth

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. . . It is impossible that all the infinite associations of the knowledge of mankind in every given historical moment be explained. Therefore the knowledge obtained from every given historical moment is limited. Absolute knowledge is impossible, yet it is indeed

possible for knowledge to be gradually becoming perfect and profound.

In his book *Materialism and Empiro-criticism,* Il'ich developed the theory of absolute truth and relative truth. (The quotation above is an excerpt from that book.) This theory is exactly the same thing as the topic of dialectics which Il'ich regards as the theory of knowledge, which is not difficult to understand. . . . There is apparently no contradiction between the topic of regarding dialectics as the theory of knowledge and the theory of truth elaborated in *Materialism and Empiro-criticism*; these two are complementary and help each other in their development.

. . . The process of knowledge begins with direct observation, though this kind of direct observation is something specific; it only grasps the surface and the superfacial connection of the reality—this has been made clear. The second incentive in the process of knowledge is abstract thought. Things which add characteristics to abstract thought are actually the specific analysis about the completeness of the target, and they examine and study the association between every one of them. Metaphysics cannot go beyond this motive. Therefore, metaphysics separates every aspect of reality. Under such a circumstance, the completeness and specificity of the target is ignored. Hence we know that metaphysics is only abstract knowledge, and it arrives only at abstract truth. However, thought does not stop at the stage of abstract concept. Because of dialectical thought, specific objects will reappear in our process of knowledge and arrive at specific concepts. . . .

We advocate participation in the antifascist war.

. . . There is even more treacherous sophistry. Plekhanov and Kautsky cited the theory of Marx and Engels that, under specific circumstances, workers should participate in certain wars, in support of the Second International's betrayal of the international labor movement. For instance, in 1848 Marx advocated that the people in Western Europe participate in the war against Russia. In 1859 Engels also expressed his approval of Germany's war against France. Why did Marx and Engels express such ideas back then? This is because back then in 1848 feudal Russia acted as the international police. It carried the task of suppressing the revolutions in Poland and Hungary. Back in 1870 Germany's war against France was significant in the sense that it was a war against the world empire of Napoleon III, and also signified the unification of the German people. . . . Only specific truth can become a real weapon in practical activities. For example, if one only knows about the necessary things in building socialism, socialism will not be established. In order to build socialism, one must know how socialism is realized. In different motives and under different conditions, there are many different forms of realization. . . .

Chapter III. The Fundamental Law of Dialectics—The Law of Change from Quality to Quantity and Vice Versa

1. The Compulsory Characteristic of the Quality of Development

. . . The task of scientific knowledge lies in penetrating into the depth of the process, exposing the reasons the process

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Study begins with the distinguishing of differences.

happens, learning about the fundamental contradictions of the process as well as the laws of its internal characteristics, and on this basis being able to explain various phenomena as well as the mutual association between these phenomena. Nevertheless, we are quite incapable of knowing about the law all at once; rather, it is only after many stages that we begin to know it. In social practice we first encounter the extreme phenomena of mutual association. When our thinking is concentrated on these phenomena, we must first determine the difference between one phenomenon and another, the difference between this object and that one.

When we are observing the interaction between a certain thing and another thing or phenomenon, we must first determine the difference between one thing and the other, the difference between one process and another.

In the final analysis, what are the differences between the soviet economy and the capitalist economy? What are the differences between the socialist stage of the Soviet Union and the preliminary stage of the New Economic Policy? The first priority in learning about any process is to determine its special characteristic. This is to expose the "quality" of that process. The category of the so-called quality has been known since the beginning of history. The ancient Greek philosophers, such as Aristotle, first demanded that the quality of any process be studied.

In knowing a process, we must first determine its quality, and the differences between it and other processes, that is, know its special characteristics.

Learn about its simplest and most fundamental quality, and from there go deeper.

To expose the quality of the process means to point out the purest and most fundamental rules. Once we expose the quality of the process, we are on the way to the first stage of knowledge. After learning about the special characteristics of the quality of the process, we will go deeper into the depth of the process.

The simple characteristic of the process is the initial category of materialist dialectics; it exists objectively.

Quality is the initial category of materialistic dialectics. The quality of the process, contrary to the view taken by the mechanist Sarab'ianov,[15] and by all the subjectivists, is not only the product of our ability to think; it is something that exists in the real world and is reflected by the human consciousness. The uniqueness of entering the stage of socialism is not something determined by the human brain; it exists in reality whether or not human beings are conscious of it.

We should first analyze the characteristics of a war. This applies also to the united front, of which the characteristics are the contradiction between China and Japan as well as the contradictions within the country.

Capitalist society is a reality, and it has many special characteristics which distinguish it from the other social systems before it. These include highly developed commodity exchange, possession of surplus value, a reserve labor force for industry, capitalist enterprises and profit, commercial interests, interest rate, currency and rent, cartels, trusts, financial companies, industrial panic, and so on. When we carefully investigate capitalist development, we see that these phenomena are present throughout the time of free competition as well as every stage of imperialism. In the age of imperialism, free competition and monopoly coexist, individual enterprise, trust, cartel, and financial company coexist, export of commodity and capital coexist, and so on.

Then we may ask where, in the final analysis, does the quality of capitalism reside? In order to determine its quality, is it enough simply to count all the manifestations of capitalism?

Many of the characteristics of the process are fundamental characteristics; for instance, the buying and selling of labor power are the fundamental

We have said in the previous part that quality is the fundamental and primary determining characteristic of a certain process. If we want to determine the

characteristics of capitalism, which determine many other characteristics in this society.

quality of capitalism, we cannot simply list all the special characteristics of capitalism. In addition, it is necessary to elucidate its primary determining characteristic. The primary determining characteristic of capitalism can be seen as the result of the process of the development of commodity exchange, and of the separation of the producers from the means of production, and of the appearance and existence of that special commodity known as labor power. The other special characteristics of capitalism are completely determined by this fundamental peculiarity. **(The so-called purest and most basic determining characteristic, primary determining characteristic, and basic characteristic constitute the so-called basic nature. Apart from the basic nature, there are many other characteristics, which are determined by the basic nature.)**[16] If we merely list all the marks of a certain process, we will still be unable to discover the law of development of that process. For example, an empiricist like Bacon, when analyzing a certain thing or a certain process, would list all the marks of that process. Assuredly, this kind of work is necessary, but by doing only this, it will not be possible to learn about the laws governing the movement of a certain process. **(The error in Bacon's research method).**[17] On the contrary, when the purest determining characteristic is revealed, we will be able to determine the law of movement. Because the law itself is included in the development of the contradictions of this sort of primary and most pure determining characteristic.

It is necessary to point out all the characteristics of a process, especially the fundamental peculiarities. Only then is it possible to know the laws of development of the process because laws are contained in the development of the contradictions of the fundamental peculiarity. For example, the laws of capitalism are included in the development of the contradiction of the buying and selling of labor—the fundamental peculiarity.

When the process develops, so will the fundamental characteristic (the law); it gains special characteristics

If we adapt to the degree of development of capitalism, that purest characteristic of law will develop

at every stage of development until the process is over. For instance, the character of those who sell their labor (the workers).

correspondingly, it will take on new aspects, and, what is more, it will enrich its content. The more developed and expanded the exchange of commodities, the better the quality of the labor sellers. This purest law of capitalist development is preserved after gaining special characteristics at every stage, no matter what stage capitalism passes through. Within the limit of existing in a certain process without being eliminated, the characteristic of that process is preserved.

Although there are many different characteristics between the imperialist stage and that of liberalism, throughout this period the quality of capitalism always remains and develops.

Although the stage of imperialism and that of liberalism have many different peculiarities, the capitalist nature remains from beginning to end. [Mao's note in the margin of the page.]

We must know not only about the basic characteristics of the entire process but also about the qualitative differences between the various stages of the process.

In the three stages of the Soviet economy, not only have the fundamental characteristics of the Soviet system been developed and strengthened, but in addition, each of the stages has a different nature.

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All the stages in the process are united, but in each stage, the fundamental peculiarity experiences a new

The concrete study of any process requires not only the study of the nature of the process as a whole but also study of the various stages of development of this process on the basis of the qualitative differences between them.

Take the Soviet economy, for example. Its development has gone through two or three stages. That is, it went through the stage of war communism, the period of revival under the New Economic Policy, and now it has entered the era of socialism. Each of these stages has developed and enhanced the fundamental characteristics of the Soviet system as a whole; at the same time, each period has its own unique nature.

Although it is true that there is no insurmountable barrier between the various stages of development, and the

development, and it is necessary to know the characteristics of every stage.

preceding stage is the preparation for the stage that follows, nonetheless, each stage uniquely develops the peculiar characteristics of the Soviet system, that is, its "nature." We must remember this before we investigate the special characteristics of each stage.

Nature is manifested in many specific characteristics.

The nature of every developing process and stage is manifested in many specific characteristics.

The nature of the event that we have entered the age of socialism is manifested in various specific characteristics, that is, it is manifested in the elimination of unemployment, the socialist form of work, socialist avoidance of waste, brave model laborers, the development of Soviet business, and so on. The nature of this age is characterized by the fundamental victory of socialist relations of production in the Soviet Union.

Every process has many special characteristics which are determined by its fundamental nature.

Not only are social processes like this, but all processes in the objective world possess many special characteristics that are fixed by the development of their own nature; they all have many intrinsic attributes.

Every process is associated with the others in certain respects. For example, the Soviet Union and foreign countries are associated on the basis of treaties and military preparedness. These aspects are basically determined by the nature of the process.

We know that there is no such a thing as a so-called isolated process; every process is associated with other processes. For instance, the Soviet Union finds itself associated with world capitalism. This association is manifest in many intrinsic attributes. These intrinsic attributes include the many treaty relationships which are aimed at the monopoly of foreign trade and the strengthening of the Soviet Union, as well as the armament necessary to strengthen and defend the Soviet Union.

The association between each process is manifested in many of the intrin-

sic attributes which are determined by the nature of those processes.

Qualitative developments during the process lead to the development of the intrinsic attributes of the process. For example, panic increases as the fundamental characteristics of capitalism develop.

The development of the nature of the process determines the development of the intrinsic attributes of the process. For example, with the development of the fundamental characteristic of capitalism, panic grows and sharpens; each industrial cycle appears in a new and special form. For example, during the age of postwar imperialism, the time of panic and recession is extended, and the time of prosperity is greatly shortened.

There are essential and nonessential intrinsic attributes.

There are essential and nonessential intrinsic attributes. For example, the replacement of the industrial cycle is the essential thing for capitalism; but it will be nonessential when panic in a certain area increases during a period of prosperity. As far as each stage in the movement process is concerned, though a certain intrinsic attribute is innate, under certain conditions, though it may not be an essential thing during the stage of previous development, it becomes an essential thing at a certain stage. This applies to quite opposite situations. . . .

The process of development has its origin in the change of intrinsic attributes to nonintrinsic attributes, in the change of nonintrinsic attributes to intrinsic attributes. This distinction is essential; otherwise, there will be errors.

If there is no capacity to distinguish the intrinsic attitudes of the essential things from the intrinsic attributes of the nonessential things, this will lead to an incorrect conclusion.

It is only through the intrinsic attributes of each stage that the nature of the process will develop.

The fundamental and determined character of any process, that is, its nature, can only develop with the development of the intrinsic attributes of each stage.

The development of the intrinsic attributes encourages the change from one stage to another.

Maintain the change of the intrinsic attributes of the nature of the entire process, and promote the development of that

Processes have common characteristics, and at the same time they have various aspects, all of which have their own peculiarities.

process, thus leading to the change from one stage of development to another.

Every stage is different in nature. At the same time, it has many aspects which are connected by one regularity. For example, in a capitalist society, production, distribution, and consumption are all different aspects of the nature of one mode of production.

"Materialist dialectics requires that we study the nature of various aspects in many processes as much as possible"—Il'ich.

To deal with any aspect of the reality, to understand and control any problem, we must first determine its characteristic and nature. To expose the nature of the entire process as well as its various intrinsic attributes, to study the qualitative peculiarities of the nature of its aspects, form, and stages, study as many different qualities as possible—this is one of the basic requirements of the dialectics in dealing with any process.

A process has both qualitative and quantitative aspects.

The stipulative attributes of the nature only give us one aspect of knowledge about a process. After determining the nature of the process as well as its intrinsic attributes, our knowledge will move further forward to the next stage—the knowledge of the stipulative attributes of the quantity of the process.

2. The Stipulative Attributes of the Quantity of the Development

. . .

There is nothing in the world that does not have quantity.

We are in touch with the stipulative attributes of the quantity in every process. The stipulative attributes of the process are not the creation of our brain. They are not, as the skeptics and subjectivists think, our ideas, but exist in objective reality. There is not a single thing that does not have the stipulative attributes of quantity; furthermore, there is not a single process which does not accomplish the quantitative development of its own factors and aspects according to a specific method.

Make the factors and aspects of a process fulfill the development of its quantity according to a specific method.

Quantity and quality are not things which exist independently.

Quantity and quality exist and develop simultaneously (not separately); they are unitary. [Mao's note in the margin.]

Different processes have different quantities. The quantitative development of cloth, human life, capitalism, and socialism is different in each case.

The speed of development of the quantity varies according to the quality; quality determines quantity.

. . . Different processes have different stipulative attributes of quantity. Cloth cannot be measured in liters; the life of human beings cannot be measured in kilograms. Capitalism develops on a decaying contour; the soviet system develops on a rising contour. The time and speed of the stipulative attributes of the quantity of the process depend on the fundamental characteristics of the process and are determined by its nature—this is not hard to understand on the basis of the description of nature in the previous part.

The special development of any process is determined by its special quality.

The special stipulative attributes of the quantity of any object and any process are determined by the nature of that object.

Quality changes at different stages of the process; it determines that quantity will change as well.

The change of the special and determined quantity arises from the development of the process in every stage.

The special character of the nature of the Soviet economy at various stages in its development determines the various increasing quantitative indicators. . . .

The development and strengthening of the planned economy, the superiority of socialist relations, the entry of more than half of agriculture into socialist relationships—all these things

Quantitative change also promotes qualitative change.

made it possible for the speed of reaching socialism to increase strikingly, so that it surpassed the speed in the period of reconstruction and revival, led to qualitative changes in the economy, and promoted the completion of the basic economic foundation of socialism. Such a rate of growth along the accelerating contour has become a regular development phenomenon of the Soviet economy.

It is one of the most important tasks to learn about the indispensability of the connection between quality and quantity and to learn about the specific properties of the development of quantity.

It is one of the most important requirements of materialist dialectics to determine the indispensable connection between quantity and quality and to determine the special stipulative attributes of the quantity of the process.

Inability to understand the fact that both the quality and the quantity of the process are special and assume that different qualities have the same quantity

One of the theoretical bases of the views of the right wing, the left wing, and harmful insects in general is that they are unable to understand the special determining attributes of quantity.

The Red Army and the White Army are qualitatively different, and also quantitatively different in quantity—marching speed, the degree to which it can endure hardships, and fighting capacity.

The Guomindang and the Communist Party are qualitatively different and also different in quantity.

Distance tests a horse's stamina. The horse's stamina is the quality, and the distance is the quantity.

Kondratiev, Groman, Chayanov,[18] and the other harmful insects all thought that the Soviet economy would not be able to surpass the speed of the capitalist economy. They took it for granted that, like the latter, the former would also develop along a contour. Where does this theory of speed originate? Such a theory of speed is the result of the idea which regards the Soviet economy as a variety of capitalism; . . . it is because they failed to understand that in principle the capitalist system and the socialist system are two different systems. The right opportunists also propagated the same theory of decaying contour. The five-year plan drafted under the leadership of Rykov[19] starts with the assumption that the total production output in the major productive sectors will decline each year at an accelerating rate. In observing the development of the Soviet economy, the Trotskyites also supported the theory of a downward curve. Neither of them understood that the special characteristic of the Soviet system is cultivating the possibility of a previously unprecedented speed of development of productivity. Both of them mechanically transferred the development speed of capitalist industry to Russia, where conditions are qualitatively different.

An oppressive policy greatly reduces the students' activism in studying, but this is not the case in our school.

Deep sleep *[shuide si]* leads to increased capability; spiritual exhaustion leads to decreased output.

New quality determines the development of new quantity.

The nature of the policy for distributing land among the peasants determines the increase of the peasants' activism, the great expansion of the Red Army, and the development of the agricultural economy and of the cooperatives.

From 1928 to 1929, when Bukharin,[20] Rykov, Tomskii,[21] and the like wanted to reduce the speed the party had announced, the mechanist standpoint of the right wing was particularly apparent. They thought that the development of the Russian economy should proceed at basically the same speed as during the last few years of the period of recovery. They could not understand the fact that a new quality gives development new quantitative attributes; they could not understand that entering the period of reconstruction meant a new speed of development. This lack of understanding was the basis for their methodology. Today, when the Soviet Union has entered the socialist era, the speed of development adopted by the right wing, as well as by the opposition parties of the left and right factions, and the arguments they use in opposition, are also characteristic of this same methodology.

The result of peace and democratic policy led to the rapid increase of the anti-Japanese forces.

If China adopts a democratic system, the development in every respect in the whole nation will be unlimited;

This failure to understand the special determining characteristics of the process of development and its various stages is particularly apparent when Trotsky was involved. Before the Fifteenth Party Congress, Trotsky had

hence, quantity and quality must be linked.

already demanded excessive industrialization in the country. But when Russia entered the era of socialism and was developing forward at an amazing speed, Trotsky was unable to understand the special character of this period, and, on the contrary, opposed it and claimed that it went too far.

Mechanists do not recognize quality; they only recognize quantity and forget the other side.

Mechanists do not regard exposing the nature of the process as their task. They believe that the only task of science lies exclusively in explaining the pure quantity of the phenomena.

It is necessary to set all qualitatively different phenomena against one another.

. . . In his *Historical Materialism,* Bukharin claimed that "it is meaningless to oppose mechanical phenomena to the organic phenomena." Mechanists only want to study the quantitative aspect of the process.

Engels criticized the mechanist thought which denies the association between quality and quantity. He said, "The idea of mechanism is to try to explain all changes from shift in geographic location, and to try to explain all qualitative differences from the differences in quantity; as far as all the relationships between quality and quantity, the change from quality to quantity, the change from quantity to quality, and their mutual impact are concerned, all these things are ignored. If all qualitative differences and changes must necessarily be attributed to differences and changes of quantity, then we will inevitably arrive at the following conclusion. That is, all objects are made up of the same tiny particles; all the qualitative differences in the chemical elements making up matter originate from the difference in number and assembly in space of these tiny particles when they are united in the atom."

Because quantitative change leads to qualitative change, in return qualitative change brings about quantitative change.

In their works almost all the ordinary representatives of Menshevik idealism neglected the necessity to study and understand "quality." As a matter of fact, on their side, this dialectical requirement is only an abstract requirement dangled overhead. Wherever they are, they never raise the issue of adopting the stand of recognizing the differences in the process and studying the quality of every aspect of the process. Their explanations about political as well as economic phenomena are only abstract and general studies and cannot expose the fundamental characteristics of these phenomena. For instance, as far as the fundamental process is concerned, Deborin never said a word about it. As for the process for eliminating the contradiction between mental and manual labor, his description is as follows: there will be a growth of shock work and socialist competition, a system of education in the crafts, higher industrial schools, and participation in the state administration by millions of people, and so on. On the one hand, he called loudly for an attention to quality, but as a matter of fact when the time came to analyze specific issues, he forgot quality completely. This is exactly where the danger of the theory spread by the Deborin faction lies.

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3. The Law of Change from Quantity to Quality and Vice Versa

Quality develops in the midst of quantity.

As we said above, there is no quality without quantity, nor is there any quantity without quality—the two aspects of quality and quantity are given in the process of unity in objective reality. Quality develops within quantity, that is, certain special and determined processes grow bigger in quantity, so that every

Quantity develops into new quality, and with the birth of new quality there comes new quantity; quality becomes quantity.

Qualitative change can occur only after quantitative change. It is also true that quantity changes only after quality has changed.

When people are numerous a king emerges. The rise and fall of the temperature leads to solid, liquid, or gas. Like chopsticks, kings also rise and fall. Small space limits the ability to maneuver; large space does not have such problems. A hero with no space to display his prowess. Organic object. Imperialism. The economy of the Soviet Union. The democratic movement. The anti-Japanese movement. Those with long sleeves are good at dancing, rich people are good businessmen. Han Xin commanded soldiers.[22]

The second kind of understanding

aspect or major factor of them develops. Quantity is specially determined. As the process develops every aspect of it turns into its opposite. The increase in the quantity of the process results in its transformation into a new quality. Quantity turns into quality.

On the other hand, the birth of new quality means the birth of new quantity at the same time. Quality becomes quantity.

Engels regarded the change from quality to quantity and from quantity to quality as one of the three fundamental laws of dialectics. He said: "For our purposes, this law can be expressed in the following way. In the natural world, qualitative change can only occur according to the correct and determined methods on each occasion—the increase and decrease as well as the movement of matter."

No matter what process one is observing, the increase of the quantity of the process will lead to a new quality. Under conditions of constant pressure, water freezes when the temperature falls to zero degrees centigrade; water vaporizes when the temperature rises to one hundred degrees centigrade.

As Darwin has proved, gradual quantitative change in an organic object leads to qualitative change. The increase and expansion of the quantity of capitalist monopoly goes hand in hand with the increase in other aspects of capitalist reality, which leads to the development of the new stage of capitalism, that is, imperialism. In the Soviet Union, the growth of the socialist factors which are present in every part of the national economy led to the change from the period of revival to the period of reconstruction.

Correct

The increase of quantity of each process is determined by the structure of that process. Each expresses it in its own special way. The movement of the Soviet Union to socialism and its transition to the era of socialist transformation—both express themselves in their own unique way.

Correct

The so-called transformation of quantity into quality actually refers to the simultaneous change of the determining attributes of a certain nature and its quantity to the determining attributes of a different nature with different quantity.

Correct

It is necessary to distinguish the change of one process from that of the other as well as the change within the process, and to distinguish the change of one kind of nature and quantity from that of the other as well as the change within the nature and quantity.

During the process of the democratic revolution—from the 1911 Revolution to Yuan Shikai, the May Fourth movement, the Great Revolution [of 1924-1927], the soviet war, and the democratic republic—every stage is different, and there are some ministages within each stage—for example, the effort to obtain peace, to obtain democracy, and to carry out the War of Resistance. [Mao's note in the margin of the page.]

The difference between the process and the stages

The transition from one quality and quantity to another, such as the change from capitalism to socialism, is actually a regular change to a new form. On the contrary, the change within the nature and quantity, such as the change from pure capitalist cooperation to handicraft industry in factories, and the further change to mechanical means of production, is a special development of quality and quantity. Each stage brings about the quantitative development of the various aspects of the previous stage, while adding a few new aspects and characteristics, and differing qualitatively from

Continuous ruptures

Manifested through leap or revolution

It is one of the central characteristics of dialectical materialism to recognize development through leaps.

Nature, society, thought, all have leaps.

At the instant of the leap, the old quality is eliminated, and a new quality is created (with the old quality as its basis).

The quality and quantity of the old object are broken off, and the new quality and quantity begin to emerge.

The old process is the preparation for the new process, the old stage is the preparation for the new stage.

the previous stage; however, until a certain instant, it has not resulted in a complete transition of the quality to a new quality.

Any quality, when reaching a certain stage of development, will interrupt its certain process of development and be transformed into a different quality.

The transition from one nature to another, the transition from one quality to another, is manifested through a leap. For instance, the change from capitalism to socialism is manifested through revolution.

It is one of the central distinctive traits of dialectical materialism to recognize the path of development through leaps.

In every field, whether of objective reality or thought, leaps occur. The change from one nature to another is absolutely a leap. This is because in that instant, the instant of the leap, the old nature loses its efficacy, and new nature that grows up on the basis of the old one begins to develop. All leaps are "continuous breaks." This is because, in that instant, the quantitative development of the old object is interrupted, and the development of the new thing, that is, the new quality, as well as of the determining attributes of the new nature, begins.

The new quality does not appear all of a sudden. The whole of the previous development of the old quality is the preparation for the new quality. The mechanical method of production was prepared by the development of handicraft industry in factories; the detailed division of labor in the handicraft industry prepared the development to machines. Socialism is prepared by the complete implementation of capitalist development, by the accumulation and concentration of capital, the maturing of the proletariat, and so on.

The new process or stage retains remnants of the old quality, and while for quite some time the new and the old are intricately intermingled, one is the leading factor.

Whenever there is a change in the quality, not only of the process but also of the stage, it is a leap.

This understanding is critical.

All objective processes are like this.

The new quality grows out of the old one. Moreover, for quite some time it maintains some characteristics and aspects derived from the old quality. During an extended period, capitalism still maintains in pure form commodity relationships and some of the feudal legacies.

We not only have to investigate the leap from one process to another, the leap from one quality and quantity to another, for example, from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to socialism; we must also investigate the leap within the process or within the quality. In capitalism as well as in the Soviet economy, the transition from one stage of development to another is a leap. This is because it has moved to a new stage of development in terms of quality.

This kind of leap differs from the leap from one quality to another because viewing the process as a whole, it is a leap which occurs within the range of a certain regularity of the process.

As we know, capitalism as well as various aspects of the Soviet economy develop in terms of quantity on the one hand, while at the same time they go through various states of a new quality, that is, a leap.

The leap within the quality, and the road of development of the leap in various aspects, are present in the development of every process in objective reality. In the organisms of animals as well as human beings, myriad leaping changes are manifested; the seeds in biology change through numerous leaps; the elements in chemistry as well as their formation and dispersal all involve leaps.

Each leap has its own unique way.

Every quality is transformed into another quality in its own particular way. Materialist dialectics demands that one know about the particularities and the stipulative attributes, demands that one know about the change and the leap.

Examples

The leap from the reconstruction period of the New Economic Policy to the era of socialism is completely different in nature from the change in the period of transition to capitalism.

The character, form, speed, and degree of leap vary because of the difference in process, which is to say, it is determined by the character of the old nature.

The uniqueness and form, the period, speed, and intensity of the leap are all determined by the uniqueness of the old quality—its composition and the peculiarities of the new growing quality. The leap from water to ice takes place in a very short period of time; but the leap from capitalism to socialism must pattern itself on the long time required for various leaping aspects in the internal development of capitalism. Materialist dialectics requires that one understand the nature of the process, requires that one grasp the uniqueness of the leap.

Example

Dialectics must pay attention to the characteristics of leap.

Deborin breaks away from the reality. He does not know about the internal leap of the process either.

Although in the past the Deborin faction once did pay attention to the uniqueness of the leap, nonetheless, none of them is able to prove this kind of uniqueness with specific examples. Still less has the Deborin faction raised the question of leaps within quality.

Trotsky does not understand either.

Inability to understand the nature and uniqueness of leap is the characteristic of Trotsky, who treats the leap of different times and different processes as the same thing.

Mechanism

It is the characteristic of mechanists to negate the developmental method of the leap. Mechanists negate quality and recognize only the development of quantity. Hence they naturally deny leaps, too.

Regarding the leap as mysterious

Bogdanov[23] heaped derision on the mysterious leap of dialectics. Some of the contemporary mechanists believe that leaps exist only in our brains. Things that exist in reality are only the constant development of quantity. The mechanists stand on the ground of gradual development and the gradual increase and decrease of the process. This kind of theory of gradual advance is precisely the basis of all revisionism. . . .

Theory of gradual advance

Vulgar evolutionism

The theory of gradual advance is vulgar empiricism. It forgets the basic advantages and disadvantages to classes.

. . . the understanding of the theory of gradual movement has fallen to the contemptible level of empiricism and money-worship; it has lost sight of the fundamental interest of the class, leading to the bad practices of the guilds.

The above referred to the peculiarities of the quality and the quantity of the process.

4. The Contradictory Unity and Struggle Seen as the Nature of Dialectics

What follows discusses the regularities within the development of the process.

Above, we determined the uniqueness of the process, and the specific properties of its quality and quantity. Let us now investigate further the regularities within the development of the process.

Two viewpoints

In the history of thought of mankind there are two basic kinds of explanations regarding development. According to the first explanation, so-called development consists in the simple increase and decrease of a substance. . . .

The second explanation holds that all things develop because of the struggle of opposites and the splits of a unitary object.

. . .

The first viewpoint, the mechanistic view of development, is that

The first explanation is mechanical. Starting from the surface of the

development results from an increase or decrease in quantity. It sees problems only one-sidedly and from the outside, not comprehensively and from the inside, and cannot explain the reasons for the development of a thing.

The second viewpoint, the dialectical materialist view of development, reveals the source of movement within the process itself. What we call knowledge of a process is the revelation of the various aspects of the process, which are full of contradictions, the determination of the mutual relationships between these aspects, and the search for the movement of the contradictions of a process.

phenomenon, this explanation can only record from the outside the increase and decrease of the process and is unable to explain the reason within the movement of the process, unable to explain how a certain process develops and why it does so. . . .

The second explanation does not stop at the surface of the phenomena; instead it goes deep to the bottom of the process, reveals the law of development within the process, determines the reason behind the development of a given process, and in these circumstances discovers the reason of development from the inside rather than the outside of the process, giving major attention to the exposure of the source of "self-movement" of the process. Based on such an explanation, the so-called process of knowledge is to expose the various aspects of the process which are full of contradictions, determine the mutual relationship among these aspects, and seek to grasp the contradictory movement of the process. . . .

When we understand a process while it is undergoing splits, investigating those parts of the process which are full of contradictions as well as the mutual relationship between these parts, we can then know about the development of the process from emergence to elimination. Consequently, Lenin said knowledge of the splits in a unified entity and of its parts which are full of contradictions is the essence of dialectics.

The second explanation is that of dialectical materialism.

Il'ich said that the split of a unitary object and the knowledge of its various parts, which are full of contradictions, comprise the essence of dialectics. That is, when learning about the process through its splits and investigating its parts, which are full of contradictions, as well as the relations among them, we will be able to know about the development of the process from its appearance to its elimination. This law is always present in objective reality, as well as in every aspect of our thought.

It is necessary but insufficient to know only the many mutually distinct and mutually opposed aspects and attributes of the process, as well as to know the mutual connections of these aspects and attributes. We must also know the fundamental contradiction that causes the development of the process, for that is the source of movement of the process itself.

Revealing nature and quantity, as well as quality, makes us aware of the fact that every process has many aspects which are mutually different and mutually contradictory. Each process has all kinds of contradictory aspects which are internally associated and mutually dependent on each other. But to answer the question why all things develop it is far from enough simply to determine certain aspects and characteristics of the process and the pure combination of these aspects and characteristics. We must expose the basic contradictions in any phenomenon that determine its development.

Nevertheless, Plekhanov only stopped at the pure determination of the opposing aspects; he failed to expose the source of movement of the process itself.

5. The Split of a Unitary Object, the Revelation of the Opposing Essences

One cannot know the developing regularities of the process without first learning about the contradictions.

Bourgeois economics before and after Marx believes that the bourgeois system not only exists now, but will also exist forever in the future; that kind of economics does not understand the historical character of capitalist development and does not know the internal contradictions that lead capitalism to its extinction. Even progressive scholars such as Adam Smith and Ricardo, though they admitted that value is human labor expressed as a commodity, were still unable to expose the fundamental developing regularities of capitalism. This is because they failed to see the contradictions of capitalism. Marx used the real dialectics of capitalism to deal with the metaphysics of bourgeois economics. He said: "Only by discarding the contradictory monopoly, and

The difference between the old economics and the new economics

In the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership can be seen the contradiction between the forces and relations of production, and this is the fundamental contradiction. From this fundamental contradiction emerge all other contradictions, because this fundamental contradiction determines the development of capitalism.

replacing it with the basic contradictory facts and the real contradictions which are hidden by that monopoly, can economics be turned into a science based on real facts."

Marx exposed the major contradictions of the bourgeois methods of production, and thus explained the laws of capitalist development.

In *Capital,* Marx pointed out the major source of development of the capitalist system and "self-movement," proved that the contradiction between the capitalist productive forces and the relations of production determines the development of capitalism. This contradiction lies in the fact that the development of the productive forces is manifested in the name of the production of surplus value, which in turn becomes the means to produce surplus value. The development of capitalist productive forces clashes with the increasingly uncompromising contradictions of that narrow goal, that is, the production of surplus value.

In the increasingly acute contradictions between the social character of production and the form of private ownership which is expressed in successive, periodic, and repeated panics, Marx saw the principal contradiction of the bourgeois system. Today this major contradiction results in the ordinary crisis capitalism is undergoing at present. Marx analyzed and proved that this contradiction would inevitably lead to a proletarian revolution and to a period of transition to socialism. In addition, he also demonstrated that all the other contradictions in bourgeois society originate from this fundamental contradiction.

Il'ich pointed out that in the final period of its development, capitalism would change into imperialism, which is part of the capitalist system and whose major contradiction has become extremely acute. Starting by analyzing the major contradiction of the era of financial capitalism, starting from the law of uneven development of imperialism in each country, Il'ich analyzed the likelihood that the weakest link in the capitalist chain would be broken and proved scientifically the possibility of a victory of the revolution in one country and of socialist construction.

Uneven development is the primary contradiction of capitalism.

After the September 18 incident, the contradiction between China and Japan became the principal contradiction. We demonstrated the feasibility of a national united front, and proved the possibility of a democratic republic. This is how we are going to resolve this principal contradiction. [Mao's note in the margin.]

The principal contradiction during the transitional period in the Soviet Union is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. The foundation on which this contradiction continues to emerge is the existence of the rich peasants. All the other contradictions are determined by this principal contradiction. Only industrialization and the socialization of agriculture can solve this major contradiction, but the possibility of solving this contradiction with internal force exists.

In their works, Il'ich and Stalin pointed out and criticized the major contradictions during the transitional period, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, and they further proved that the foundation which continuously reproduces this contradiction is the contradiction between large-scale socialist industry and scattered petty-bourgeois agriculture, the contradiction between the main proletarian class and the peasant stratum. The hard workers among the peasants are the allies of the proletariat, but the smallholders among the peasants are constantly creating capitalism. They pointed out how the opposition (the irreconcilable contradictions) between the proletarians and the major factors of capitalism are born and how they develop.

All the other contradictions that are developing in the transitional system are

determined by the aforementioned major contradiction. Because of the present industrialization in the Soviet Union, however, the exposing and criticizing of the rich peasant class because of the collectivization of the farms in the entire nation, and the growth of the construction of state-owned farms, this major contradiction is in the middle of being solved.

They exposed the major contradictions in a transitional economy and proved that the Soviet Union is absolutely capable of solving this contradiction with its internal strength on a socialist basis. That is, they proved the possibility of a complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union.

All objective processes develop from internal contradictions.

Internal contradictions make it possible not only for the social phenomena, but also for all the phenomena of objective reality to develop.

The internal contradictions of an atom determine its physical as well as its chemical properties.

Modern science stopped regarding the atom as the ultimate division limit of a substance in physics a long time ago. Modern science discovered that the atom is the unity of positive and negative particles; in addition, it made it clear that the interpenetration of these two positive and negative particles determines the physical as well as the chemical character of the atom. That is not all! Twenty to thirty years ago physics as well as chemistry were regarded as unchanging things. It is quite a recent thing to examine the character of chemical elements from a historical perspective. Chemical elements are developing. The internal basis for the development of chemical elements is the movement of contradictions within the element.

The development of a chemical element results from its internal contradictions.

Life and death, generation and elimination, assimilation and differentiation, are all developments of an organism determined by its internal contradictions.

The dialectical quality of the natural processes of biological phenomena is extremely apparent. Whether in the life of an organic object or in the life of every cell, life and death, generation and elimination, assimilation and differentiation (the metabolism of a substance and capacity) are all given internal unities.

The contradictory unity between variability and the hereditary features is the major reason behind the development of an organism.

The unity of variability and hereditary character in the struggle for survival, which is filled with contradictions, is the main motive force behind the development of the organism.

The unity of contradictions and their dissociation is also a law of thought.

The unity of opposites and the split of a unitary object is the general law of development of our thought. As stated above, our knowledge of the objective world moves in the contradiction between relative truth and absolute truth; though we are aware of absolute truth, during every specific stage of development, our knowledge is relative.

Knowledge is determined by the situation of practice, as well as by social history.

Our knowledge is determined by the state of our practice and the history of all societies in human history.

The split of a unified entity is the universal law of development of all objective reality and thought processes.

The split of a unified entity is the universal law of development of objective reality and all thought processes. Dialectical materialism, Il'ich said, "regards development as the unity of opposites (a unified entity splits into two mutually exclusive opposites, as well as the mutual relationship between these opposites)," and observes it. Therefore, "major attention should be devoted to the understanding of the source of one's own movement." The split of a unified entity correctly reflects the process itself, the content and contradiction of the process, and the major contradiction of the source of the process's own movement.

The so-called unity of opposites is the dissociation of a unified entity to become mutually exclusive opposites, and includes the mutual connections

between these opposites. This is the source of the so-called principal contradiction, and of so-called self-movement.

The particularity of contradictions, the contradiction in every different process is different from that in every other.

The contradiction within a process is different in nature from the contradiction within a different process. The contradiction in capitalism, which can only be solved by a socialist revolution, is different from the contradictions in transitional economies.

The peculiarity of Trotskyism is its inability to understand the uniqueness of the contradiction in each process. Trotsky was unaware of the peculiarities of the development of the primary contradictions of capitalism in the era of imperialism, unaware of the law of uneven development. His first argument against the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country originated from here. In Trotsky's opinion, the contradiction between the proletariat and the peasantry in the Soviet Union is the same type of contradiction as that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in a capitalist economy. Both the former and the latter can be solved only by an international revolution. This is where his second argument against the victory of socialism in one country originated. Practice refuted Trotsky's theory and proved that contradictions of a different nature should be solved by different means. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie under capitalist conditions is solved by a revolution, by a socialist revolution led by the proletariat, but the contradiction between the proletariat and the peasant strata under Soviet conditions is solved by domestic industrialization as well as the collectivization of agriculture. Practice has proved precisely the theory that the victory of socialism in one country is possible.

There are no contradictions of the same nature. Qualitatively different contradictions require different methods for their resolution.

The national contradiction between China and Japan should be solved by a united front organized jointly with the bourgeoisie. The internal contradiction after 1927 was, however, resolved by a united front organized only with the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. In normal times, the contradiction between labor and capital should be solved by a workers' united front. In the contradiction between the correct line and incorrect tendencies within the Party and within the revolutionary ranks, use the method of ideological struggle for its resolution. In the international domain, revolution should be employed to resolve the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the case of the contradiction between the proletariat and the peasantry in the Soviet Union, industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture should be used to resolve it. The contradiction between society and nature should be resolved by developing the productive forces. As the contradictions in different processes vary, so also do the methods for their resolution. [Mao's comment written across the page.]

In looking at a problem from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, it is necessary to expose the particularity of contradictions within any process. At the same time, it is necessary to know the particularity of the contradictions of various aspects of the process. Of the two opposing aspects, what is the specific status of each aspect? That is, what is the peculiarity of each aspect, in what concrete form does each aspect establish relations of interdependence with the other side, and in what form do they struggle against each other once the relationship of interdependence is broken? It is our task to study these questions. Leninism is a science which studies the various concrete forms in which the proletariat struggles against the bourgeoisie.

The topic of fighting against Trotskyism and the right-wing opportunists teaches us that it is necessary to expose the uniqueness of the internal contradictions in any process. At the same time, it is necessary to expose the particularity of the contradictions in those aspects of the process which are determined by the contradictions of the entire process. In *The Holy Family* Marx made the following comments:

"The proletariat and wealth are two mutually restricting opposites. Moreover, the two form a totality; both are the products of the world of private property. The question then is, of these two opposites, what is the special status of each of them in the contradiction? Merely to explain that this is a composite entity, of which the whole has these two aspects, is far from sufficient."

In order to understand the principal contradiction of capitalism, one must

know the peculiarities of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; one must know their mutual relations, as well as their concrete relationship of interdependence, one must know the mutual restrictions which are determined by the capitalist mode of production.

6. The Interpenetration of Opposites

Opposing aspects are conditions for one another's existence; only if one aspect exists can the other exist.

Internal opposites combine with each other; one aspect of the opposites cannot exist without the other.

There are many examples of the unity of opposites between the national monopoly and the freedom of businessmen. They all have two inseparable aspects which are mutually associated.

The New Economic Policy has internal contradictions. Stalin said: "In the New Economic Policy, we must preserve two aspects—on the one hand, to stand in opposition to War Communism and to take as the goal to guarantee a certain freedom of buying and selling; on the other hand, to oppose the complete freedom of buying and selling, with the goal of fulfilling the task of a national market monopoly. If either of these two aspects is eliminated, there will be no new economic policy under our rule.

Precisely for this reason, our Party is against and will fight against any attempt that tries to abolish either of the two aspects of the New Economic Policy.

All processes are like this; they all have to fight struggles on two fronts.

Such inseparable association of the aspects which are full of contradictions can be seen in all the processes of objective reality.

The two opposing aspects combine with each other, and they change further into new opposites, that is, the so-called mutual penetration.

Opposites exist not only in inseparable association; what is more, one opposite may change into another opposite, and they can penetrate each other.

One aspect of the contradiction is the premise of the other and is transformed

into it. The capitalist productive forces change and restrict the development of the capitalist relations of production; however, the latter themselves change and restrict the development of the capitalist productive forces. The production process in the workshops of the capitalists expresses the overall structure of the relations of capitalist production. At the same time, the relationship between the capitalists and the workers expresses the overall structure of the productive forces (labor power and methods of production). The development of the methods of production from handicrafts in factories to machinery constitutes both the development of the productive forces and the emergence of new production relations. The unity of labor power and production methods represents both the association of the productive forces and the association of people in the productive process, that is, the relations of production. The division of handicraft work in the factories is part of the relations of production, but it also belongs to the productive forces. Based on this—that is, based on the interpenetration of the productive forces and the relations of production—the intense and contradictory process between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie begins.

Interpenetration in the antagonistic relationship between productive forces and relations of production

Guerrilla war and regular war preserve the guerrilla character and overcome the guerrilla character; private land ownership in land distribution and preparation for the transition to socialism; the national character and international character of the Communist Party; democratic revolution and socialist revolution; patriotism and internationalism; war and peace,

The mutual penetration of opposites, the transformation of one opposite into the other, is present in every process. In order to expose and point out this character of mutual penetration, one must analyze the process concretely.

We have entered the socialist age, yet we are experiencing the last stage of the new economic policy—this is a contradiction. We are strengthening the

peace and war; alliance with the bourgeoisie and overcoming the bourgeoisie's vacillation and betrayal; the compromise with the Guomindang by the Communist Party is precisely to strengthen the independence of the Communist Party; the rest and training of the military forces serve at the same time to enhance their fighting capacity; retreat and the defensive simultaneously serve to prepare for the offensive; good medicines with bitter flavor are good for curing diseases; honest advice, though unpleasant to the ear, benefits conduct; though mutton is delicious, it is inevitably extremely hot; though roses are lovely flowers, they have thorns and will hurt your hands; beauties can overturn the country;[24] good fortune lieth within bad, bad fortune lurketh within good[25]—all of these refer to the interpenetration and mutual transformation of opposites. All opposites are like this.

monetary system as well as the credit organizations [**banks**—word inserted by Mao between the lines], carrying out the policy of saving unnecessary spending and controlling the ruble, and developing commerce in the Soviet Union on the basis of saving unnecessary spending. The enhancement of the monetary system as well as the banks is also the creation and enhancement of socialist accountancy and planned training; the implementation of the policy of saving unnecessary spending is also the extension of socialist planning to the workshop and work group, as well as the collective department store. The development of Soviet commerce is at the same time the route of the factors in socialist distribution which created the products. The collective farm is a cartel that distributes its interest internally and, at the same time, a model socialist enterprise. Furthermore, such enterprises will soon become completely socialist enterprises. In matters concerning the state, there are also such cases of the interpenetration of opposites. Socialism is a system of which the goal is to eliminate the state. But right now we are trying to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reason we want the state to develop is that we want to create the conditions which will lead to the elimination of the state. "The supreme development of state authority is aimed at preparing conditions which will lead to the elimination of state authority"—this is the Marxist formula. Is it "contradictory"? Yes, it is. Nonetheless, this contradiction is in the midst of being created, it reflects completely Marxist dialectics" (Stalin).

In problems concerning the interrelationship between national culture and international relations there is also such interpenetration. We are developing our national culture, but that sort of development is an effort to eliminate it and to prepare the conditions to merge national cultures into one common international socialist culture. The unity of opposites and mutual penetration "make it possible for the Bolsheviks to establish unshakably firm fortresses in the field of national issues; it reflects vivid truth."

The above are eight examples drawn from the Soviet Union. [Mao's comment at the bottom of the page.]

The central task of dialectics is to study the interpenetration of opposites, that is, the identity of opposites.

It was precisely this interpenetration of opposites which Il'ich named the identity of opposites. It is the central task of our knowledge and our dialectics to expose the interpenetration and identity of any process.

Il'ich said: "Dialectics is a theory about how opposites can be identical. And in what way are they identical (how did they become identical)? Under what conditions can opposites become identical and begin to be mutually interchangeable? Why does the consciousness of human beings not regard these opposites as dead and frozen objects to observe, and instead treat them as vivid, conditional, changeable, and mutually transformable things to observe?"

Change from opposite to identity; in a war two sides oppose each other, and identity means that the two sides are at peace; state means two sides oppose each other, while identity means the elimination of the state. Since opposites involved in a process are conditions for one another, after going through a struggle the opposition can be overcome and become identity. Under the condition of an acute national contradiction, the opposition between the Guomindang and the Communist Party becomes identity and is transformed into the united front. The confrontation between the united front and the invading front, on condition that the people stand up and there is a world revolution, will change into identity and will be trans-

formed into world peace. Because all the processes of objective reality result from the opposition of contradictions and their transformation into identity, their transformation into the negation of the negation. They themselves are vivid, conditional, changeable, and transform themselves into one another; hence human understanding observes the world in this way.

The opposition between relative truth and absolute truth and its transformation into identity

The interpenetration of opposites, identity, is also a feature of our process of cognition. One of the major contradictions in cognition by human beings is, as discussed above, the contradiction between relative truth and absolute truth. Relative truth reflects absolute truth in a great many forms; absolute truth is made up of orderly relative truths.

Without concrete study of a process, there is no way the identity of opposites, that is, their interpenetration, can be understood.

The revelation of the identity of the opposites and their interaction is possible only after concrete study of the process, that is, after concrete study of the aspects of the process which are full of contradictions, and of the association of these aspects as well as the particularity of their mutually restraining attributes. . . .

The identity of the confrontation in the process of knowledge (or mutual penetration) is actually the movement of the contradictory aspects in the process of cognition (that is, the movement of the two sides in the principal contradiction and some lesser contradictions), the restraints on those aspects, the flexibility of the limits on those aspects, as well as the reciprocal transformation of the limits

The study of the interpenetration and identity of opposites means knowing the movement, development, and restraining attributes of the aspects of the process which are filled with contradictions, as well as the flexibility of its limits in all stages, and the mutual transformation of these limits.

of those aspects. All of these numerous things which are studied by dialectics correspond to the identity or interpenetration of opposites.

Instead of the split of a unitary object, it is two kinds of forces that exist independently; instead of internal contradictions, it is external contradictions; instead of the inseparable association of two conflicting aspects, it is that each of two forces can survive independently—this is antidialectical metaphysics.

Well-organized capitalism

In Bukharin's opinion, mutually independent forces exist; they affect each other. Moreover, movement is caused by the external clash of forces in different directions. Il'ich demanded that one should first learn about the contradictions within the process of cognition and discover the source of one's own movement. But Bukharin wanted to determine the mutually conflicting external forces. Il'ich demanded that one demonstrate the split of a unitary object and reveal the identity of the opposites, that is, that one determine the inseparable association of the opposing aspects; but Bukharin wanted only to examine the mutually independent forces, the kind of force which is able to survive alone. Bukharin had a mechanical understanding of the law of the unity of opposites. This is because he began with the concepts of mechanics and the simple clash of mutually independent forces.

In the study of modern imperialism, starting with the mechanical explanation about the mutual penetration of opposites, one will arrive at the following conclusion, that is, instead of regarding the domestic contradictions in each nation as the fundamental and well-organized capitalist theory in the age of imperialism, some people treat the external contradictions outside each nation in the world market as the fundamental and well-organized capitalist theory in the age of imperialism.

Although contradiction exists universally, antagonism occurs only when the contradictions in certain processes have developed to a certain stage. The contradictions between oppressing and oppressed classes, between oppressing and oppressed nations, between one state and another, between one party and another, and all sorts of contradictions like this, all may develop into situations of antagonism. Such antagonism within a social process takes the form of oppression and war; antagonism within natural processes takes the form of conflicts and clashes. Fighting and murderous plots between individuals also fall into this category. Many contradictions do not develop in such a way as to take on an antagonistic form: within the Communist Party, the contradiction between correct and incorrect; in the domain of culture, the contradiction between the advanced and the backward; in the economic domain, the contradiction between the cities and the countryside, between value and use value, between mental and manual labor, between production and consumption; in class relations, the contradiction between workers and peasants; under socialism, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production; in the natural world, between life and death, positive and negative, between heredity and variation, attraction and repulsion, cold and warm, and sea and land. None of these contradictions has reached, or has yet reached, the conditions under which it bursts asunder. None of these contradictions is antagonistic. The method for resolving contradictions is different from that for resolving antagonism. This is the particularity of contradiction and the particularity of the method for the resolution of contradiction, a question which requires distinctions to be made.

Like all mechanists, Bukharin regarded contradiction and antagonism as the same thing. This is incorrect. Antagonism is a struggle between opposites which can be resolved through revolutionary means. For example, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has an antagonistic character. But not all contradictions are antagonistic. For example, in the contradiction between use value and value there are not two opposing forces. The relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry does not have an antagonistic character. These two classes share many common interests. To regard contradiction and antagonism as identical would lead us, on the one hand, to become like the Trotskyites, who believe that since there is contradiction between the proletarians and the peasant class, this contradiction has the same character as that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that is, to think that this contradiction amounts to a relationship of class antagonism. On the other hand, this view will make people become like the Right opportunists, who believe that since the proletariat and the peasantry share a lot of common interests, there are no contradictions between these two classes.

In a society of developed socialism, there is neither class struggle nor class antagonism. Nevertheless, Bukharin regarded contradiction and antagonism as identical and believed that in a developed socialist society, there would be no contradictions at all. When responding to such views, Il'ich made the following comment:

"This is extremely incorrect. Antagonism and contradiction are completely different. Under socialism, the former is eliminated, but the latter remains" (Il'ich's comments on Bukharin's *Economics of the Period of Transition*).

This refers to the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production, between the advanced and the backward, between human beings and nature, and so on. [Mao's comment on the bottom of the page.]

7. The Significance of the Dominant Aspect of the Contradiction

Having determined the contradiction within the process as well as the inseparable association between the various conflicting aspects of the process, we must proceed to discover the dominant aspect of this contradiction. In *Capital*, Marx pointed out that in the inseparable association between conflicting aspects such as between the value and use value of a commodity, value has a dominant impact; he pointed out that, in the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production, productive forces have a dominant impact.

As regards the mutual relationship between theory and practice, materialist dialectics, having elucidated the contradiction between the two, takes as its starting point the recognition that in the end practice is, after all, the dominant aspect of this contradiction.

. . .

Zinoviev[26] failed to understand these two opposing aspects, the capitalist factors and the socialist factors, and how, under the dominant impact of the socialist factors, they developed so fast. There-

fore, treating the New Economic Policy as the development of the capitalist factors alone, he concluded that it was a retreat.

Plekhanov never raised the issue of exposing the primary contradiction in the process. As for the dominant aspect of the contradiction, still less did he mention it. Plekhanov never departed from his stand of the so-called combination of the characters of the opposites. . . . Present-day social democracy, in dealing with the problem that society equals the economy, instead of exposing the primary and decisive contradictions, as well as the dominant aspect of each contradiction, adopts the so-called idea of pure combination of the opposites.

Though Deborin and his followers admit superficially the law of the unity of opposites, as a matter of fact, they have changed to the Menshevik view regarding the objective combination of the opposites.

Deborin and his followers never talked in any of their essays about the necessity of revealing the principal contradiction. They not only failed to devise a formula regarding this aspect of the law of the unity of opposites, they simply ignored it; this is apparent in all their works. As for Luppol,[27] he thought that theory determines practice, practice determines theory. He failed to make clear the dominant function of practice, believing that these two factors alternately exercised influence on one another. Deborin defined the New Economic Policy as the struggle between capitalist factors and socialist factors, but he did not make clear the leading role of socialist relations, nor did he point out the fact that the New Economic Policy was marching toward a socialist victory.

There are many contradictions in a complex process. Among these, one is the principal contradiction, while the others are secondary contradictions. Because the development of the principal contradiction determines the development of the various secondary contradictions, if one cannot distinguish between the principal contradiction and secondary contradictions, between the determining contradiction and those that are determined, one cannot seek out the most essential thing in a process (provide examples). Within a contradiction, however, regardless of whether it is principal or secondary, the two aspects of the opposites not only oppose and struggle against each other, they are also mutually dependent upon the opposing aspect, with which they carry on opposition and struggle. As a result of the struggle between the two aspects, there arises a change characterized by mutual interpenetration, that is, a transformation resulting in identity, a transformation into the opposite aspect, which amounts to the inseparable association of the two opposing aspects. And yet it would be a great error to regard the two aspects of any contradiction as equal. Of the two aspects, one must necessarily be the principal aspect and the other the secondary aspect, and it is the former which plays the contradiction's so-called guiding role. This book has already given four examples: as between value and use value, value is the principal aspect; as between productive forces and the relations of production, productive forces are the principal aspect; as between theory and practice, practice is the principal aspect; as between socialism and capitalism in the Soviet Union, socialism is the principal aspect. All of these prove the determining function of the principal aspect in relation to other aspects. It is not simply a case of mutual combination, as Plekhanov's mistaken explanation has it, nor is it, as in Luppol's formulation, mutual determination, that is, alternating action; on the contrary, one aspect plays the principal and decisive role. Which, then, is the principal aspect? It depends on the circumstances of the development of the process, and will be determined under definite conditions. For a long period in capitalist society the bourgeoisie was the principal aspect, but by the eve of the revolution and after it, the proletariat becomes the principal aspect. In a capitalist state, capitalism is the principal aspect, while the feudal forces are the secondary aspect. But in prerevolutionary Russia, feudal forces were still the primary aspect, as they are in present-day Japan, with capitalism playing only a secondary role. In Chinese society, dominance belongs to imperialism and the feudal forces, and they exercise a determining effect on everything else. The invasion by Japanese imperialism has determined all sorts of changes. Thus, in the vigorous development of the Great Revolution from 1925 to 1927, in the confrontation between the southern revolutionary forces and the Beiyang warlords, the position of the southern forces changed from secondary to dominant, while the power of the Beiyang warlords changed in the opposite direction. As regards the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, since the bourgeoisie controls the economic lifelines, it still occupies the dominant position to this day; however, as far as the revolutionary leadership is concerned, because of the level of consciousness and the thoroughness of the proletariat, as contrasted with the vacillation of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat occupies the dominant posi-

tion. This particularity affects the future of the Chinese revolution. If the proletariat is to occupy the dominant position politically and militarily, it must unite with the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. If the majority of the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie can become conscious and get organized, then the proletariat will assume the determining and dominant role in the revolution. In the situation of antagonism between China and Japan, the Chinese elements are just now in the middle of changing from a secondary to a principal position, and that is because if the national front is established broadly and is consolidated, and with the addition of international factors (the Soviet Union, the Japanese masses, and other peaceful states), there will be created a superiority over the Japanese aspect. In the contradiction between the peasantry and the proletariat, the proletariat is dominant. In the contradiction between industrial workers and handicraft workers, industrial workers are dominant. In the contradiction between skilled workers and unskilled workers, skilled workers are dominant. In the contradiction between the cities and the countryside, the city is dominant. In the contradiction between the economic basis and the superstructure, the economic basis is dominant. In the contradiction between perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge, perceptions are dominant. In the contradiction between the main forces of the Red Army and the guerrilla units, the main forces of the Red Army are dominant. In the contradiction between offensive tactics and defensive tactics, offense is dominant. In the contradiction between strategy and tactics, strategy is dominant. In the contradiction between mobile warfare and positional warfare, mobile warfare is dominant. Of the various arms of the services, the infantry is dominant. In the contradiction between mental and manual labor, manual labor is dominant. And who is to decide? When the development of a process reaches a definite stage, the strength of the two sides in the struggle will determine it. The dominant and the nondominant change from one to the other.[28]

8. The Contradictory Movement of the Process from Beginning to End

. . .

Il'ich continued: "This is precisely the general expository or research method of dialectics" (*Collected Works of Il'ich*, Vol. 12). Discover the purest and most fundamental relations in a process; reveal the major contradiction in such relations; study the development and struggle of the major contradictions, as well as all the contradictions resulting from the major contradictions, those aspects that are filled with contradictions, the developing tendencies—the development of the process from start to finish; study the change in the nature of the various stages in the developing process, the relative uniqueness of the movement of various aspects that are full of contradictions, and their mutual association and interchangeability—this is the road that must be taken in studying any process.

Such is the principle of research

9. Unity of Opposites: Identity Is Relative, the Struggle of Opposites Is Absolute

. . .

There is nothing that never changes. One kind of state may change into another anywhere and at any time; every process has its beginning and end. Every process changes into its own opposite. The permanence of any process is relative, but the change from one process to another is absolute, and the struggle between opposites is absolute. Il'ich talked at great length about the absolute attributes of struggles and the relative attributes of unity; furthermore, he gave an extremely clearcut definition. He said:

"The unity of opposites (unanimity, identity, balance) is conditional, instant, temporary, and relative. The struggle between the mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, development and movement is absolute" ("On Questions of Dialectics").

Our united front with the Chinese bourgeoisie is relative, and so is the peace diplomacy between China and some of the peace-loving countries. The Soviet Union's coexistence and treaties of alliance with various other countries are also relative. It is the same with unanimity within the Party, and the unanimity in all processes is relative.

Ideological struggle is therefore a regular method.

Two very good examples.

The identity, agreement, unity, and permanent presence of the opposites are included in the struggle of opposites; it is no more than one of the motive forces in the struggle of the opposites. Motion contains motionlessness, which is one of the motive

In a bourgeois-democratic revolution, the proletariat and all the peasants, among whom are also the rural bourgeoisie, fight together against the relationship of peasant slaves. This kind of cooperation of activity between the proletariat and the rural bourgeoisie as well as the correspondence between their interests have a rela-

forces of movement. Recognizing identity, permanence, and motionlessness is a condition for distinguishing struggle or motion and therefore necessary; yet it is temporary and relative and is one of the motive forces of struggle and motion.

In the motion of contradictions in all processes, identity is relative, struggle is absolute; all processes are like this. But because the nature of the contradictions is different in each process, and the internal structure of each process is different, the way in which absoluteness and unity are manifested is different. This must be understood.

It is correct to recognize that contradiction leads to motion, but that is not enough; it is also necessary to understand under what kind of conditions contradiction gives rise to motion. In a condition of unity, although contradiction is in motion, it is a particular state of motion, namely, a relative state. This is commonly called rest, invariability, immobility, death, stopping, standstill, deadlock, stalemate, peace, and harmony and is relative, temporary, and conditional. It is necessary to recognize the general condition of motion, that is, the tive, temporary, and conditional nature. The struggle between them is absolute, including their identity as motivation. During the French Revolution, the interests of the primitive proletariat and bourgeoisie supported one another and established their unity and identity. But this kind of unity has a relative, temporary, and conditional nature; with the development of capitalism, this nature soon surfaced, exposing the absolute nature of the class struggle and the incompatibility between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. [Here Mao has inserted the following comment between the lines: "**not the same, not compatible**."] The identity between the two simply hides the absolute struggle between them.

All the processes in the objective world are like this, the only difference is that in each process, the absolute attributes and unity of struggle between opposites are manifested in their own unique ways, and they are determined by the nature of the process as well as its internal structure.

The difference between Marxism-Leninism and social democracy lies in understanding the absolute character of struggle and the relative character of unity. All social democratic theorists, whether Kautsky or Plekhanov, though they opposed Bernstein's revision of Marx's dialectics and recognized that contradiction leads to movement, in the final analysis failed to understand that the split of a unitary object leads to movement, failed to understand the absoluteness of the struggle between opposites and the relativeness of unity. If, as a result, Kautsky recognized dialectics only in form, but never understood it, what does this imply? This is because Kautsky [here Mao added "merely"] believed that contradiction leads to motion, which is revolutionary metaphysics; in fact, he rejected dialectics.

dissociation of a unified entity, its struggle, clashes, movement, changeability, life, action, dynamism, warfare, and competition, and this is absolute. Identity, unity, rest, death, peace, and the other relative conditions of contradiction are contained within the absolute condition of contradiction. Not to understand this is metaphysical and mechanistic and in fact is a rejection of dialectics.

There may be some reconciliation, compromise, and accommodation, and this is absolutely necessary in a certain state during the development of the process. A truce, peace negotiations, ending a strike, a temporary united front, and some cooperation have existed in the class struggle, and may exist, but they are not the overall tactics. The contradictions, which cannot be reconciled and compromised, must ultimately be solved by revolution. These are the overall tactics.

Lenin's party also had a period of cooperation with the bourgeoisie; they put forward the slogan of advancing separately but attacking jointly. The cooperation between the Chinese

The overall political tactics of the fascists in contemporary society are all based on the foundation of the reconciliation of opposites. They abandon Marx's proposition that class struggle cannot be reconciled and instead advocate compromise between the interests of the proletariat and those of the bourgeoisie, an accommodation between the two classes to assist the rationalization of the property of the capitalists, assist the struggle of the national bourgeoisie in its struggle to take over the market, and lure the proletarian to join the bourgeois state.

The Bolsheviks understand the absoluteness of the struggle between opposites, as well as the relativity of their unity and identity, but the Mensheviks talk glibly about the theory of the eternalization of unity. These two different views constitute the theoretical foundation of the various divergences in their strategy and tactics in class struggle.

The tactics the Bolsheviks used to deal with the liberal bourgeoisie were expressed in the slogan of "Advancing separately but attacking jointly" during the election campaign for the zemstvos.[29]

[Communist] Party and the Guomindang is also in principle advancing separately and attacking jointly, but it does not manifest itself in the same way. Advancing separately corresponds to the political independence of the class and the Party; attacking jointly is the united front.

This joint action by the liberal bourgeoisie at a certain stage and in a certain state is the relative, temporary, and conditional motivation of the tactics of social democracy. The Mensheviks have given this relative motivation an absolute significance, so as to use it as the foundation of all of their own tactics; as a result, the Mensheviks have become the lackeys of the bourgeoisie. In 1917, the Mensheviks, led by Plekhanov, supported the victorious bourgeoisie,

At a certain other stage and
made propaganda in favor of
in a certain other state, joint
reconciling interests, and called
action with the bourgeoisie.[30]
loudly for the continuation of the
Chen Duxiu loudly proclaimed that
imperialist war, but they were
one should not oppose the national
desperately against anything that
revolution, or do anything that would
would prevent the strengthening of
hinder the strengthening of the
capitalism, and particularly opposed
Guomindang Especially the land
to a socialist revolution. After the
revolution
October Revolution, they directly
supported the white party. The
Now they directly support Japanese
expulsion of capitalist elements from
aggression
the Soviet Union made the Mensheviks ally themselves with the bourgeois political parties which hindered the revolution. The broad socialist attack along the entire front drove the Mensheviks to assist the international bourgeoisie who were preparing to intervene in the Soviet Union.

These two sentences refer to Chen Duxiuism.

It is an alliance that has taken into consideration the irreconcilable conflict of interest between the proletariat and the rich peasants. This is the case in the democratic revolution in China, let alone the Soviet Union after the October Revolution.

If one advocates the unity of opposites without understanding the absoluteness of struggle, he will inevitably end up by reconciling the opposites. The theory of the reconciliation of opposites is the characteristic of the stand of the right wing. The right wing ignored Marx and Il'ich's proposition that class struggle cannot be reconciled, established the so-called organized capitalist theory, believed that the internal contradictions within a capitalist country can be taken away and moved to a space of struggle in the exterior—the world market. In the Soviet Union they established the so-called theory that the bullies would grow peacefully into socialism. They used the theory of natural elimination and peaceful dying out of class struggle to replace Il'ich's theory that class can be eliminated only through fierce social revolution. The right-wing faction forgot the internal contradictions within the peasant stratum. In their opinion, the peasants are a group painted in gray. They never noticed that our alliance with the peasants is an alliance which has taken into consideration the irreconcilable conflict of interest between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Hence it is an alliance that would struggle against the capitalist elements among the peasants. "Bukharin, a theorist without dialectics, and a theorist of pedantic philosophy," did
The essence of dialectics is the problem of the struggle between contradictions[31]
not understand the theory that the struggle between opposites is absolute and the unity of opposites
Pedantic philosophy is metaphysics. Once again, Chen Duxiu does not understand this.
is relative.

What is called taking the development of a certain process as the foundation refers to the change from one state of the process to another; it is the development of contradictions, that is, the so-called leap or sudden change. With this as the foundation, the premises, possibilities, and conditions for the creation of a new process, as well as its actual emergence, result.

It is not the unity of opposites that is the essence, but the struggle between opposites.

The theory of reconciliation between opposites is a metaphysical theory, because this theory did not find a way out from one state to

And yet the essence of dialectics resides in this.

another. The theory of reconciliation between opposites failed to notice the emergence of new things, and did not pay attention to the fact that the premise, possibility, and condition of new phenomena and of their development were produced on the basis of the development of a certain process. This kind of theory pays no attention to the development of the contradictions of a given process, and fails to investigate how a given condition is changed into another. . . .

The viewpoint of the reconciliation between opposites has become the foundation of the Deborin faction's Menshevik-idealist revision of Marx's dialectics. . . . In none of their works have they ever criticized the theory of the reconciliation between opposites. On the contrary, it would be more accurate to say that they simply started with this theory. Deborin sought the essence of dialectics not in the struggle between opposites but in the identity of opposites; . . . Deborin's characteristic trait lies in the fact that he failed to understand Il'ich's thought—as Il'ich said, the identity of the opposites is merely one of the motive forces in the unity of opposites which are full of contradictions.

10. The Theory of Balance

[He] believed that the balance of opposites is absolute, but the struggle

. . . In Bukharin's view, it is necessary to translate Hegel's dialectics into

between opposites is relative, and the so-called opposites are external opposites, and the opposition between systems; the interior of the system is made up of a group of mutually associated factors. There are contradictions between each of the factors, but they are in a subordinate position; the major contradiction is external, and it plays a decisive role in terms of the internal contradiction.

the terminology of modern mechanics. Bukharin is faithful to his own question. He believed that what Hegel and Marx called contradiction leading to movement was actually the conflict between two opposite forces; the mutual conflict of external forces temporarily forms a movable balance, which is disturbed afterward, and balance will be restored on a new basis. . . . Bukharin wrote that everything is a kind of overall entity that is made up of a group of mutually associated factors, which become a certain system. All such "systems," together with the other systems which form their own environment, combine with each other. The environment and system contradict each other. Such a contradiction between the environment and the system is, in Bukharin's opinion, the foundation of all development.

Bukharin does not deny internal contradictions. For instance, he admits the existence of the many internal contradictions in a society, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, and the contradictions between the different classes and so on. But according to Bukharin, these internal contradictions are the result of the environment and the contradictions outside the system and are determined by that kind of external contradiction. In this case, the class struggle within society, according to Bukharin, is determined by the contradiction between society and nature. . . .

Bukharin learned from Spencer, Schelling, and Bogdanov.

This kind of theory of balance arbitrarily labeled Marxism by Bukharin is not something new. This kind of theory of balance is widely and popularly used in bourgeois sociology and economics.

The bourgeois philosopher and sociologist Spencer[32] built his mechanical theory of evolution on the basis of this kind of theory of balance. . . . Schelling,[33] who had been opposed to the dialectics of Hegel and Marx before Spencer, spoke of it in these terms:

"The conflict of the mutually competing forces in opposite directions is also the fundamental form of nature as well as that of the role of its own discovery."

No balance of any contradiction has ever happened.

In the *Anti-Dühring,* Engels severely criticized this kind of understanding. It is Bogdanov who made balance the perfect form. Bogdanov translated dialectics into the "terminology of mechanics" before Bukharin. . . . Bogdanov defined dialectics as: "the organizational process that is expressed through the struggle of opposing forces." In his opinion, movement resulted from equilibrium with no contradictions at all; afterward, this balance was disturbed by the struggle between two opposing forces and later restored on new foundations. The things which Bogdanov regarded as fundamental and prescribed are external things which would restrain the internal contradictions. He believed that the principal contradiction is the contradiction between the environment and the system. Thus we see that the source of Bukharin's great wisdom is bourgeois sociology and the idealist philosophy by which it was influenced, the philosophy of Bogdanov, the eclecticist.

Question: why did the contradiction between China and Japan become the principal contradiction?

The theory of balance is very well received by all harmful organizations and has become the foundation of their methodology in their understanding of

theory. The leader of the Party of the Working Peasants, Kondratiev, starts with the theory of balance in all his works, whether in those discussing the situation of the capitalist economy and that in the Soviet Union, or those dealing with the speed of development. Kondratiev's colleague, thinker of the kulaks, Vishnevskii,[34] said: "In all complicated and creative work, one cannot dispense with the general idea which serves as the foundation of the theme of all the other parts and which may be used as the 'condiment.' When setting up a clearly thought-out national economic plan, this kind of 'condiment,' in my

That is, the general idea[35]

opinion, is precisely the principle of balance."

Is nothing possible except this? Fortunately, it is possible [to approach the problem from] another aspect. Instead of holding back the high to compensate the low, one should overcome backwardness, and raise the low and backward to an advanced level. Instead of the advanced looking to the backward, the backward should move forward and catch up. Bukharin's idea is precisely to cut the feet to fit the shoes when they do not fit each other. Is this possible? Never. Is it possible to compensate for weaknesses? The method of tending to the head when there is a headache and the feet when they hurt will eventually lead to a fiasco of the whole. This is not the method of expanding the contradiction in order to solve it and resolving the contradiction starting from the basis; it is smothering the development of the

"In the entire system, which is made up of a series of mutually associated and indispensable chains, the one with decisive significance is the weakest link. For instance, iron is important to every department in the social economy. If the production of iron falls below the standard, one must shut down every department and specialize in the exploration and production of iron until there is enough to use; otherwise it will be impossible" (Bogdanov, *General Organizational Theory*).

All the followers of the theory of balance and all mechanists propagate the idea of compensating for weaknesses. Kondratiev, copying Bukharin's "An Economist's Outline,"[36] repeats the same slogan. At the budget meeting in the People's Committee of Finance, he said: "Without bricks there will be no houses. As far as this is concerned, I

contradiction to seek internal stability, in order to achieve so-called balance. In the end, it will do no good. This is the method used by the bankrupt to help the poor. To form an external balance in order to seek internal balance, this is Bukharin's fundamental method.

agree with Bukharin, yes, we should compensate for weaknesses. In my opinion, there is nothing to be done except this."

All the problems of the Right opportunists arise from the theory of balance and the idea of compensating for weaknesses. For example, when the production of construction materials falls behind the production in the other departments, instead of overcoming this state of backwardness, they believe that it is capital construction which should be slowed down.

Rely on struggle, rely on the struggle between a socialist agriculture and an agriculture which, because it is dispersed, is free and inclined toward capitalism, to overcome the contradiction between the dispersed character of agriculture (which is incompatible with a socialist economy, but encourages the growth of the sprouts of capitalism) and socialism.

Very clear

The weakest chain in the development of the Soviet economy is the dispersal of petty commodity agriculture. Followers of the theory of balance believed that this contradiction cannot be overcome by leading agricultural development to the level of a big enterprise—which is possible only if agriculture undergoes a socialist transformation; otherwise, they believe that it can be achieved only by slowing down the developing speed of the enterprises. Followers of the theory of balance believed that the possibility of the solution to the above contradiction lies in maintaining these two opposing aspects, namely, big socialist enterprises and petty commodity agriculture, and in taking advantage of the mechanical relationship between these two aspects to bolster the weak side and to maintain balance between them.

The external contradiction and the internal contradiction of the process mutually influence and penetrate each other, yet they are not the major and decisive factors; they can only affect the development of the process through the internal regularities of the process. They are not the major and decisive things; the major and decisive contradictions are within the process.

The dialectics of Marx and Il'ich by no means denies the function of external contradictions, that is, the influence of a certain process on other processes. On the contrary, it would be more accurate to say that they start from the idea that all the processes in the real world are indissolubly linked to each other and require the mutual action, mutual influence, and mutual penetration of the processes of knowledge. Their major attention is focused on exposing the internal contradictions, determining the identity of opposites, and learning about the source of movement of the process of knowledge itself. It is only through the internal regularity of the development of the process that external contradictions will have an impact on the development of the process. The dialectics of Marx and of Il'ich does not deny the contradictions between society and nature, but it does not agree that external contradictions are the major and decisive thing. In historical studies we find that the geographic conditions, climatic conditions, topography, animals and plants, and natural resources in many countries have not changed for a long time, but the social relationships have changed, that is, the feudal system has changed into capitalism.

Examples

The contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, that is, society's internal contradictions, have a decisive influence on the contradiction between society and nature, that is, on what is called man's mastery over nature. It has been like this ever since the production of tools for labor. The examples cited here are a feature of advanced society.

In the development of social components, for example, during the development of capitalism, what dialectics sees as the major and decisive thing is the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. Needless to say, the contradiction between society and nature also has an impact on the development of capitalism, but its action is not direct. Instead, its action is

effective only through the development of the major contradictions of capitalism. When the geographic environment becomes the obstacle in social development, society, on the basis of its own internal laws, will develop its social productive forces to change the geographic environment. If forests are rare, it will think before cutting any forest and plan its growth. If there is not enough coal, it will use charcoal. If there is not enough natural leather, sheep's wool, and silk, manmade leather, wool, and silk will be produced. If there is a decline in the area of arable land, irrigation equipment will be used. Because of the development of the productive forces, humanity will change the animals and plants, create new animals and plants, and use them to its own advantage.

The sayings "Insects will appear only after things are rotten; a man will speak evil of others only after he becomes suspicious" and "It is because Heaven would destroy me, not because I have committed any fault in battle"[37] are wrong. We were defeated in [resisting] the Fifth Encirclement and Suppression partly because the enemy was big and powerful, but our mistakes in strategy, cadre policy, foreign relations, and military adventurism were the main reasons. Opportunism is the main reason for the failure of the revolution. The seduction of imperialism and the betrayal of the Guomindang are certainly among the reasons the revolution was a failure. External forces can only exert their influences tortuously or indirectly through internal patterns (such as opportunism). Running water is never

The contradiction between the capitalist system and the Soviet system will certainly have an impact on the development of socialist relations in the Soviet Union. The economic and financial blockade, the refusal of credit loans, the "dumping" struggle aimed at the Soviet Union, the direct attack, and the preparation of interference and so on—though all of these are reflected in the socialist development in the Soviet Union, they are reflected tortuously through the internal laws of socialism in the Soviet Union. The degree to which international capital tries to impede socialist development depends on the degree of socialist development and strengthening. The stronger Soviet socialism, the more advanced the domestic industrialization and collectivization of the farms, the wider our attack on the capitalist factors, the more consolidated the socialist

filthy, but stagnant water is; a door-hinge is never worm eaten, but a piece of wood not from a door hinge will be.[39] The situation of the object itself is the primary cause. The Guomindang was able to smash the soviet areas and defeat the Red Army because the soviet areas and the Red Army had their own weaknesses which could not be overcome. Had they been able to overcome their own weaknesses and strengthen themselves, nobody would have been able to sabotage them. This is the reason why the Red Army has not been destroyed until today. The destruction of the Central Soviet Area and the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Soviet Area was caused mainly by internal factors. This applies to the failure of the western expeditionary army. "When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"[40] The failure of resistance on September 18, 1931, should be traced back to the failure in 1927. Whether the nation can be rescued from the present disaster depends on the development and enhancement of the united front rather than on Japan. The reason that the Guomindang cannot survive without making any changes should be attributed to its policy and weaknesses in its organization. The reason capitalism will certainly die out should be attributed to its internal contradictions. The rise and fall of classes and political parties depend on their own conditions. The health, sickness, life and death of man depend on his own condition. Mechanical forces push objects into motion through the capacity of the objects themselves to move.

headquarters, the less influential the rich peasants, new capitalists, harmful insects, and the bureaucrats, particularly the opportunists in our camp, the less likely the possibility that international capital will be able to impede our movement. International capital is trying to shatter the Soviet attempt to get out of a desperate situation. Is this attempt successful? Or is it not?—The degree is completely dependent on the strength of the Soviet Union. International capital develops according to its internal contradictions. How acute these

This is the main thing[38]

contradictions become depends to a certain degree on the Soviet Union. The growth of Soviet socialism intensifies the internal contradictions in the capitalist system and consequently encourages the world revolution of the proletariat. The reason is that the success of Soviet socialism is extremely significant in terms of the ultimate victory of socialism.

Thus we see that external contradictions can only have a tortuous impact upon the development of the process through the development of the internal regularities of the process. Only by a concrete analysis of the two processes which influence one another will we be able to expose the nature, degree, and strength of the influence.

Only if we analyze the two processes concretely will we be able to find out the nature, degree, and force of the reciprocal influence, and how the situation of each process differs from that of other. [This is Mao's comment on the above paragraph.]

External forces do have an influence, and even an important influence, but they can only act through internal situations. The decisive thing is the internal forces.

Examples of specific solutions

The theory of balance neglected the necessity to expose the specific contents of the process and the "source of its own movement." Therefore, on the one hand, it deals with philosophical issues in the way it treats abstract theory. It starts

Not concretely[41]

with the so-called "general," and

Not specific or individual

consequently it arrives at an empty formalism; on the other hand, it

Formalism

arrives at empiricism, which neglects the most basic and concrete things.

Shortsightedness and triviality

This kind of dual character is also characteristic of the right wing, in dealing with the economic problems of the Soviet Union. On the one hand, they try to solve them in an abstract way without analyzing the concrete conditions, situation, and stages; they are unable to reveal how the conditions and possibilities for the change from a new transformation to a new prospect are created; they fail to note that new stages of development raise new questions, and

This is rationalism.

new contradictions must be solved. On the other hand, they start from the theory of remedying weaknesses and creating a situation of equilibrium, and hence they arrive at the worship

This is empiricism.

of money. For example, their tactics for getting out of the difficulties—install balance as quickly as possible between

the big socialist enterprises and the agriculture of petty commodity production—was possible in 1928–1929 only on the basis of the growth of individual agriculture. Because of this, the policy aimed at the development of the individual economy (mainly the rich peasant economy),

A policy which assists the development of the rich peasants

which supplies the majority of marketable grain, was born, and this avoided the fundamental and decisive line which should be used to solve the difficulties—the change of a peasant economy to a pattern of socialist agriculture.

In the stage at that time, the conditions for such a transformation already existed and made it possible.

There is no such process in the world, it is only a fantasy of the mechanists—a bourgeois utopia, on the one hand, to comfort themselves and, on the other, to confuse the toiling masses.

The theory of balance does not recognize the fact that the development of a process always depends from beginning to end on the developing contradictions. Starting from this theoretical view, so-called balance is an instant in the process that is without contradictions. As a result, before the instant when contradictions are discovered, the movement of the process is only possible as a result of external causes.

The theory of balance, like the revision of Marx's dialectics by social democracy, conceals the internal contradictions of the process; hence, from the point of view of its class nature, it is the revival of a capitalist theory.

The Deborin faction made a criticism about the theory of balance that was be-

Words that hit the nail on the head

Deborin refuses to admit that the movement of contradictions exists from beginning to end.

hind the times; it was unable to strike a decisive blow against this theory. This kind of criticism by the Deborin faction is really general and abstract. They were unable to seize the most important theme in the theory of balance to criticize it—the theory of balance refuses to admit that from beginning to end the development of the process depends on the contradiction and the split of a unitary object, that is, the point that the theory of balance reconciles opposites. This is because their own understanding of the law of the unity of opposites fits into the theory of balance. As with the theory of balance, they believe that contradiction does not exist in a process from the beginning, but instead emerges at a certain stage in the development of the process. In this way, they arrive at a conclusion which they themselves dread, that is, the conclusion that the process develops as a result of external factors until the time when contradictions emerge. Moreover, like the followers of the theory of balance, they support the social democratic theory of the reconciliation of opposites. One extreme and the other are linked.

The similarity between the leftists and the rightists results from the fact that both are divorced from a correct understanding of a process and reach an abstract, general, and empty understanding which ignores the contents of the process and fails to analyze the concrete stages, conditions, possibilities, and so on. As a result, these two extremes join at one point. [Mao's comment at the bottom of the page.]

11. The Law of the Negation of the Negation

From the above description we can already see what the dialectical process is in the final analysis. It is carried out through the development of quality and

The so-called dialectical process of the development of reality and knowledge is precisely the process of mutual transformation of quality and quantity, the process of the unity of contradictions, and the negation of the negation.

Private ownership by the majority of the toilers—private ownership by the minority of capitalists—collective ownership by society

An example of the negation of the negation

quantity and is based on the dialectical process of transition through leaps in the movement of opposites. But the reality as well as the process of dialectics we know is far more than the law of change from quality to quantity or vice versa, or the law of the unity of opposites. Parallel to the aforementioned two fundamental laws of dialectics, Marx and Engels established the foundation of the third fundamental law of dialectics—the law of the negation of the negation.

What is the main point of this law?

In Volume 1 of *Capital,* in the chapter on the historical trend of capitalist accumulation, Marx made quite clear the process of development of private ownership of the means of production from its first instant until its inevitable elimination in history, that is, until it has changed into its opposite, collective ownership by society.

"Unlike the ownership of a social group, private ownership exists only on occasions where the means and outward conditions of production belong to individuals. The private ownership of the means of production by the toilers is the foundation of petty production; petty production becomes the necessary condition for social production and the free development of the personality of individuals. . . .

. . . After reaching a certain level of development, this kind of mode of production will itself create the material means for its own destruction. . . . Such destruction is the result of the change from individual and scattered means of production to social and collectivized means of production, so that ownership

by the majority of the populace changes to ownership by a few giants. . . .

. . . Private ownership by capitalists is the first negation of individual private ownership based on the labor of the producers themselves. But on the basis of the inevitability of the natural process, capitalist production negates itself. This is the negation of the negation. Instead of reviving the private ownership of the laborers, this negation produces private property on the basis of the fruits of the capitalist era, that is, on the basis of collective ownership of the means of production resulting from cooperative enterprises, land, and other means of production produced by labor. This is quite clear."

?

Engels's statement on the law of the three stages is correct.

. . . Engels said: The negation of the negation "is, in reality, an extremely simple and constantly continuing sequence. If the shabby clothes of the old idealist philosophy which is used to conceal the secret is removed, even a three-year-old will be able to understand it." . . . Believers in metaphysics present the law of the negation of the negation in terms of a formalistic "three-stage method," and they argue that Marxists unreasonably put the development of a specific reality into the "three-stage method." But there is one point that must be made clear here. Hegel himself, especially in his *Philosophy of Law,* provided a basis: that is, not to explain the nature of the "three-stage method" as one aspect of the law of the negation of the negation but, rather, as the law of development itself. For instance, Hegel examined crime as the negation of law and punishment as the negation of crime,

Such a statement is incorrect. Arbitrarily to insert everything into this formula is external association, superficial phenomena, formalism, rather than internal association and the natural development of things. The law of the negation of the negation is a theory regarding internal connections.

Hegel himself was also guilty of formalism.

that is, the negation of the negation. Here, as a matter of fact, the three-stage method has become the external form into which real phenomena are inserted.

. . .

It is self-evident that one cannot explain development in such a way as to inscribe phenomena into the three-stage method.

Horizontal and vertical associations. A horizontal association is the relationship of mutual dependence and mutual struggle between the two sides of the contradiction in its development. Vertical association is the relationship of forward development of the process after the leap. Both are internal associations.

What Marx and Engels forcefully made clear while explaining the law of the negation of the negation is not the "nature of the three-stage method" of this law but, rather, the internal association of the phenomena which mutually develop and mutually evolve. In the above we have already cited Marx's analysis of the historical tendency of capitalist development; in that quotation the nature of the law of the negation of the negation is forcefully expounded.

In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels used the grain of wheat as an example. Under proper conditions, the grain of wheat which is dropped into the earth will germinate. "The grain of wheat is eliminated and negated. The plant which comes out of that grain of wheat appears as the negation of that grain of wheat. What then is the normal life of this plant? It grows, blossoms, and bears fruit before finally giving birth to new grains of wheat. Moreover, when the grains of wheat are ripe, the trunks become dry and die, and are negated one after the other. As a result of the negation of the negation, we get the grain of wheat we had at the beginning, but this is not a single grain of wheat; it is ten, twenty, or thirty times that grain of wheat."

The result of the second negation restores the original thing, but the quality and quantity have changed. Since the change in grains is very slow, the change in quality can hardly be seen, yet there are many things or processes from which the qualitative change can be seen. Examples.

Furthermore, Engels pointed out beforehand that the issue here is not the quantity of the development alone. "The change in the variety of grain is extremely slow. Consequently barley today is almost exactly the same as a hundred years ago. But let us examine sticky ornamental plants such as peonies or orchids. If we take the seeds, as well as the plants that grow out of the seeds, and add human labor, as a result of this negation of the negation, we have not only *more seeds* but also seeds which can produce more beautiful flowers and whose quality has been improved; moreover, in every repetition of this process, every new negation of the negation, this improvement is enhanced."

Instead of a pure cycle of pure quantity, there is a qualitative change every time.

The question is obvious; the law of the negation of the negation deals with the internal linkage among the phenomena that arise from the same law. There are only two negations in its course; the view of multiple negations such as silkworm–chrysalis–fly, trunk–flower–fruit, young–strong–old, and so on is wrong. Because they are all phenomena which have originated from the same law, and even though they have undergone various stages of change, they are still completing the continual process of one species category and still fall under the same law. Mikhailovskii's mistake lies in the fact that, instead of looking at the entire process from beginning to end, he sees only the quantitative change. But the important thing is precisely not the quantity but the course of qualitative development. Only the starting point of a new life, that is, only the negation of a certain process which constitutes the starting point of new laws, constitutes the real meaning or essence of the law of the negation of the negation. Otherwise it is merely a game of empty concepts. Plekhanov is right about this. The stages in a process may manifest themselves in the form of the negation of the negation; there are many instances of this sort in dealing with social phenomena. Nonetheless, not everything is expressed in the negation of the negation, such as the life of animals and plants.

The populist Mikhailovskii[42] explained Engels's example of the grain of wheat in his own way. He said: The trunk negates the seed, the flower negates the trunk, and the fruit negates the flower. If so, where is the three-stage method? Here, instead of two, there are three negations. It seems that Engels anticipated such a "refutation." In his *Anti-Dühring*, he wrote: "Like the case of the grain of wheat, such processes also appear in the case of many insects, such as the butterfly. As a result of the negation of its egg, the butterfly is born out of the egg and goes through many stages of change until it attains sexual maturity, has intercourse, and is then negated once again. That is, after fulfilling their obligatory duty of the breeding process and giving birth to many eggs, female butterflies will die.

In cases where other plants and animals are involved, such a process is not so easily solved. Before it dies, it produces seeds, eggs, or babies not once but many times, though this fact does not concern us here. Here it is enough to prove that the law of the negation of the negation is truly manifested in the two fields of the organic world."

In this case, the important thing is not the quantity of negation, but the whole course of development, which treats its own negation as a transition toward a new law—the negation of the negation—included in itself. Not all of the phenomena and stages in the development of the process are expressed in the form of the negation of the negation.

"The flower is an organ of the plant. Moreover, flowers seen in this manner do not negate plants, just as the head of Mikhailovskii does not negate Mikhailovskii the person himself. Fruits, however, or to put it more correctly, zygotes, seen as the starting point of the development of a new life, are the negation of a certain organism. Engels examined the life of the plant from the beginning of the development of the plant born from the zygote until the plant reappears in the form of a zygote" (Plekhanov, *The Monistic View of History*). In this way, Plekhanov responded to Mikhailovskii's attempt to criticize the negation of the negation. Mikhailovskii not only replaced the theory of the three stages with multiple negations, but changed the negation into a cycle outside the phenomenon. Therefore, Mikhailovskii simply could not understand the nature of negation in dialectics and the nature of the negation of the negation. This negation of the negation exists in the problem of the new laws resulting from the development of the contradiction in the process.

Furthermore, Engels pointed out beforehand that the issue here is not the quantity of the development alone. "The change in the variety of grain is extremely slow. Consequently barley today is almost exactly the same as a hundred years ago. But let us examine sticky ornamental plants such as peonies or orchids. If we take the seeds, as well as the plants that grow out of the seeds, and add human labor, as a result of this negation of the negation, we have not only *more seeds* but also seeds which can produce more beautiful flowers and whose quality has been improved; moreover, in every repetition of this process, every new negation of the negation, this improvement is enhanced."

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The error of formal logic lies in its perception of negation as an external negation between one process and another, which is, moreover, regarded as an absolute negation. This is a complete misunderstanding of reality. The approach of dialectical materialism, that is, of scientific investigation, is the exact opposite of this. Material reality is self-motion, and moreover, this self-motion is interconnected. Any process moves forward by itself as a result of the struggle between contradictions and moves in the opposite direction after it has been transformed by a leap. The entire course of development of any process is constructed of a thesis, an antithesis which negates the thesis, and a synthesis which is the negation of the negation of the antithesis.[43] The thesis already contains contradictions or the antithesis within it, the antithesis also contains the thesis within it, and the synthesis includes both thesis and antithesis. So-called negation, as Lenin said, "is not complete or random negation, nor is it skeptical or vacillating negation; it is, rather, negation as an element which preserves connection, an element of affirmation, i.e., without any vacillations, without skepticism."[44] Negation does not destroy everything and make a clean break with the past; it is not absolute. Things that come first contain things that come later, and things that come later contain things that come first. Without the motion of negation, there can be no motion of affirmation. All processes are like this. (Examples).

In formal logic, the so-called negation is absolute negation. Formal logic regards negation as complete abolition. For example, in the animal world a certain kind of animal is eliminated by another, and this is called negation. The logic of metaphysics cannot see the development of contradictions within the process and the self-negation of the process; it holds that negation is brought about not by forces within the developing contradictions but, rather, by an external force. Mechanists take precisely such an external understanding of negation as the foundation of their methodology. Therefore in his work *The Materialist Conception of History,* Kautsky attacked the negation of dialectics based on the self-movement of matter. He said that there was no such thing as the self-movement of matter. This is nothing but mysticism borrowed from Hegel, who claimed that the spirit moved by itself and explained nothing about self-movement. On the contrary, the source of movement is the mutual influence of two external forces. Under such mutual influence, one force negates the other. The environment negates an organism—this is the antithesis. The organism conquers the resistance of the environment—this is the synthesis. Here, negation and the negation of the negation are all mutually influential external things. As far as the dialectical view of negation is concerned—the synthesis has already included a contradiction or the antithesis, and the antithesis has also included the synthesis—— Kautsky criticized it. Kautsky simply could not understand that the unity of opposites is precisely the source for the development of the process. He said:

"Movement originates from the confrontation or conflict between opposite factors." In this case the reason why Kautsky attacked Engels's example of the grain of wheat is that it does not tell how it negates but simply explains the change of the organism. His argument is quite clear.

Therefore, as with all the other mechanists, the things that make up Kautsky's characteristics are the fact that in his understanding of negation there are the following motivations: 1. the negation, which is regarded as the external motivation of the process, 2. the absolute negation, the negation which is regarded as sabotage.

Nonetheless, a characteristic of believers in dialectics is that they have the following different understanding about negation. Il'ich said: "In the dialectics which regards the factors of negation as the most important factors, its characteristic thing and important thing is not complete or random negation, nor is it skeptical or vacillating negation; instead it is seen as the negation of associated motivation, as the guaranteed motivation of development, that is, without any vacillations, without skepticism."[45]

So-called negation cannot but be one of the motivations of association in the development of the process. When the pure commodity economy changes into a capitalist economy, the former is not absolutely negated by the latter. The capitalist economy grows out of the commodity economy. In a commodity economy, internal contradictions and the development of private ownership are already included. The development of the private ownership of the means

of production, the concentration of the means of production and of capital in the hands of a particular class, are motive forces in the negation of the petty commodity producers. And yet, these motive forces of negation are also the motive forces behind the launching of the development of the petty commodity producers. If there is no movement of negation, there will be no movement of affirmation. Without negation, there will be no affirmation. "Dialectical materialism is scientific investigation, which requires that differences, association, and change be made clear. Otherwise, if there are only pure and positive ideas, it is incomplete, lifeless, and stiff" (Il'ich).[46]

The negation of gain is loss. The premise of the advent of gain is loss. There is loss in gain. The gain of the capitalists includes the loss of the workers. The two are combined in a single motion. On the contrary, the negation of loss is gain. The premise of the advent of loss is gain. There is gain in loss. There is gain by the capitalists in the loss of the workers; the motion of these two is combined.

An analysis of the capitalist system should first expose its major contradiction and explore the "negative attributes" which become the source of self-movement of the capitalist system. The opposite of the capitalists' private ownership is the fact that the proletarians do not have private ownership of any means of production whatsoever. These "negative attributes" and the positive things are, however, closely combined. These two opposite sides serve as each other's premise. The private ownership of the capitalists contains its own "negation" and the negation of the private ownership of the workers; in addition, on the other hand, the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the capitalists is the premise of the workers' not having the private ownership of any means of production.

Il'ich said: "The motivation of dialectics requires that the 'unity' between the negative and positive, that is, their

association, be pointed out, and that the positive things in the negative things be revealed. From affirmation to negation, and from negation to 'unity,' which includes affirmation—without which dialectics will become complete negation, a game or a skeptical theory."[47] So-called negation cannot be anything but the specific negation which denotes the developing association in the process.

"In dialectics, negation does not mean a simple 'no,' nor does it mean to declare that things do not exist, nor does it mean to eliminate things arbitrarily. . . . Here, the methods of negation should be determined, first, by the generality of a certain process, second, by the special quality of this process. Thus, I have to make the second negation possible or likely possible in order to build the first negation. Nevertheless, how can one accomplish it? This depends on the special quality of each occasion. If we have ground the grain of wheat or stepped on and killed an insect, I certainly have completed the first action of negation. This, however, also makes the second action impossible. Therefore in each and every category of the target there are different forms of negation which are the results of negation and which are special and are inborn.

Maxim

Complete negation might lead to the collapse of a dynasty.[48]

Negation is the development of the process to a higher level.

To cut off completely and to eliminate and kill once and for all is not the negation of dialectics.

The first negation made the second negation possible.

There is sister in the body of the brother and vice versa.

In the example about a grain of wheat we quoted from Engels, the plant is not the complete negation of the grain of wheat; instead, it is the development of the grain of wheat to a higher level. The simple death and elimination of the grain of wheat, and the destruction of insects by birds, do not denote such an association, and do not constitute a dialectical

A dialectical negation is the motive force of a process of development. Such a negation manifests itself in two aspects. One aspect manifests itself as sublation, that is, the overcoming of those major elements in the old thing that are not suitable for preservation; the other aspect manifests itself as affirmation, that is, to grant legitimate status to some of the elements in the old thing which it is appropriate to preserve for the time being, give them legitimate status, and preserve them. In the period of a regular Red Army, what is being negated is guerrillaism; what is being preserved is the guerrilla style in waging war, light and swift organization, and so on.

negation. On the contrary, on the occasion when plants are born and at certain stages of development, the death and elimination of the grain of wheat are preserved in the plants, which will produce other grains of wheat. Negation is, at the same time, affirmation, and "death and destruction" is, at the same time, preservation. A dialectical negation is one of the motive forces in the development of the process. On the one hand, it is manifested in the form of "sublation," that is, the discarding of the old things. On the other hand, the old things are preserved as supplementary motive forces. In the system of private ownership of the means of production under capitalism, petty private ownership is being discarded as an independent law and is being preserved as the subordinate and "sublated" form of the capitalist laws.

The result of the resolution of the contradictions in the process is actually the resolution of the contradictions between a certain law and another law that is contained within it. That is, the old law collapses, and the new law is born.

There are all kinds of connections such as relevant, family-related, cause-effect, predecessor-successor, and new stage–old stage. That is, the process of the development of the negation of the negation is not the artificial connection between two unrelated laws, nor is it the childish game of three-stage methodology; instead, it is the development toward a certain direction. This is the essence of the negation of the negation.

Negation cannot but manifest the connection between the present stage and the past stage in the development of the process. By the same token, the negation of the negation cannot but be the result of the resolution of the contradictions in the process, that is, the transformation from a certain law to another.

In the negation of the negation, we cannot but emphasize very strongly the connection between the new stage and previous stages, that is, the process of development. Engels once criticized the view which attributed the law of the negation of the negation to the supersession of something outside the phenomenon. Such a view reduced the law of the negation of the negation to the "three-stage methodology" which made up one "external and superficial aspect" (Il'ich) of the process of dialectics. It reduced the law of the negation of the negation to a childish game of "three-stage methodology"—"write interlocking A's and then erase them, or the childish game about roses which believed that they may be roses or may not be."

After writing these words, Engels pointed out the following facts: "Apart from the stupidity of the boring writers, nobody can learn anything from this kind of negation of the negation. But metaphysicists want to persuade us that if we are going to practice the negation of the negation, we must follow the aforementioned method."[49] Development in a given direction—it is precisely at this point that the essence of the negation of the negation lies.

The negation of the negation denotes the end of one cycle in the development of the process; another cycle begins.

In the development of a plant, fruit and the birth of seeds are the negation of the plant and the negation of the negation. Nevertheless, seeds are born from the development of the plant; they form one motivating component of the plant, and, what is more, it is the motivating factor which indicates the end of the development of the plant. The plant dies, but the seeds remain. One cycle of development is over.

But the essence of negation, and the essence of the negation of the negation, all lie in the fact that they are the motivating factor in the development of the process which is full of contradictions.

Chapter IV. Nature and Appearance, Form and Content[50]

Notes

1. Lenin's original name was Vladimir Il'ich Ulianov. Early in his career, he signed his writings Nikolai Lenin. Subsequently, he combined his name and patronymic with the new surname, becoming Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. To call him Il'ich, as Shirokov does throughout this text, is a mark of affection and respect.

2. Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932) was a leading figure in the German Social Democratic Party who had broken with Marxism in 1896–1899.

3. Georgii Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856–1918) began his career as a populist. In 1882 he translated the *Communist Manifesto* into Russian and became the leading Marxist theorist in Russia, but from 1905 onward, his influence declined. Although he was a supporter of the war in 1914, and in 1917 denounced the Bolshevik seizure of power as premature, Lenin continued to have a high regard for his materialist writings.

4. Sun Mingjiu (1909–), a native of Liaoning, was a battalion commander under Zhang Xueliang at the time of the Xi'an incident. He was one of those who judged that it was not contradictory to oppose Chiang Kaishek and at the same time to resist Japan.

5. The reference is to H. Rickert (1863–1936), a German neo-Kantian philosopher and sociologist.

6. Regarding Ludwig Feuerbach (1802–1872) see, above, note 4 to "On Dialectical Materialism."

7. L.I. Axel'rod (1868–1946) was a woman philosopher who became a member of the Menshevik Central Committee in 1917. She was the author of a book on Hegel's idealism and Marx's materialism.

8. Regarding Deborin, see above, note 105 to "On Dialectical Materialism," on page 619.

9. Mao underscored the comments here set in boldface by drawing a square around them, which is reproduced in the Chinese text.

10. Here Mao has emphasized the question mark by writing over it with a black pencil, a red pencil, and a pen.

11. The quotation is from Lenin's commentary on Hegel's *Logic.*

12. In the passage from Marx's *Capital* referred to here, there is no mention of Falstaff. No doubt the Soviet author, or perhaps the Chinese translator, thought readers were more likely to have heard of him than of Mistress Quickly.

13. The quotation is from the "Theses on Feuerbach."

14. Ernst Mach (1838–1916) was an Austrian physicist and philosopher, who developed the concept of empiro-criticism.

15. V.N. Sarab'ianov (1886–1952) was a Soviet philosopher and the author of books on historical materialism.

16. The material in parentheses and set in boldface is a note added here by Mao Zedong between the lines.

17. Once again, the words in parentheses represent Mao's note between the lines.

18. N.D. Kondratiev, V.G. Groman, and A.V. Chayanov were among nine leading economists arrested in September 1930 as counterrevolutionaries. They had earlier been Mensheviks or liberals.

19. The First Five-Year Plan was drafted under the leadership of A.I. Rykov only in the formal sense that in 1929 he was chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. He was, however, regarded by Stalin as a Rightist and was removed from his post in December 1930.

20. Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin (1898–1938) joined the Bolsheviks in 1906. After a period abroad, he returned to Moscow in May 1917 and, despite earlier disagreements with Lenin, became a member of the Central Committee from then until 1937 and edited *Pravda* from December 1917 to April 1929. At that time, because of his opposition to Stalin's new policy of rapid industrialization, he was removed from most of his posts and was expelled from the Party in 1937. In 1938, during the third Moscow Trial, he was sentenced to death for treason and executed.

21. Mikhail Pavlovich Tomskii (1880–1936) was a leading figure in the Soviet trade unions in Lenin's day. He was executed during the Moscow Trials in 1936.

22. Han Xin (d. 196 B.C.) was one of Liu Bang's principal generals until he was executed in 196 B.C. for plotting to seize the empress.

23. A.A. Bogdanov (1873–1928) was a Russian social and economic thinker who had been close to the Bolsheviks, but subsequently differed from Lenin. He had been able to express himself in 1925, but in October 1929, on the eve of collectivization, *Pravda* denounced the "mechanist survivals of Bogdanovism."

24. Mao here uses the term employed in several classical poems, notably in Bai Juyi's "Chang hen ge" (Song of Everlasting Regret), to evoke women whose beauty brought disorder to the state.

25. This is a quotation from Chapter 58 of the *Laozi.*

26. Grigorii Evgenevich Zinoviev (1883–1936) was Lenin's close collaborator during the First World War and returned to Petrograd with Lenin in the sealed train in April 1917. In 1923 and 1924, during Lenin's illness and after his death, he became the leading figure in the Party, but his influence rapidly declined. He was executed in 1936 in the course of the Moscow Trials.

27. I.K. Luppol (1896–1943) was a Soviet philosopher.

28. Because these comments are so long, and would take up a great deal of space if printed in the narrow column on the left, we present them here across the entire page.

29. The zemstvos were the elected district councils set up in Russia under the reforms of 1864.

30. This and the following three comments in boldface were inserted by Mao between the lines of the Russian text roughly at the points indicated.

31. This and the following two comments printed in boldface were written by Mao between the lines of the text.

32. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903).

33. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854).

34. We have not been able to identify this man.

35. These words were written here by Mao between the lines.

36. The reference is to an article by Bukharin published in *Pravda* on September 30, 1928.

37. This comment was written by Mao between the lines.

38. The first quotation is from an essay entitled "Fan zeng lun," by Su Shi (Su Dongpo), a celebrated poet of the eleventh century. The second is attributed to Liu Bang's rival Xiang Yu in the biography of the latter in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian).

39. This quotation is from the *Lu shi chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lu), c. 240 B.C.

40. This quotation is taken word for word from the *Analects*, VII, IV, 3 (Legge, Vol. 1, p. 252).

41. This and the ensuing six phrases in boldface are Mao's comments written between the lines.

42. N.K. Mikhailovskii (1842–1904) was a populist intellectual hostile to capitalist development.

43. It would seem that there must be an error here; the synthesis should be characterized either as the negation of the antithesis or as the negation of the negation of the thesis. The editors of the volume containing Mao's annotations have not, however, commented on this point, so we have translated the printed Chinese text as it stands. It is possible, of course, that the lapse was Mao's own and the editors did not wish to call attention to it.

44. Knight footnotes this quotation to Lenin's "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic*," in *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 226, while observing that the Chinese translation used by Mao does not reflect the original very faithfully.

45. See Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic*."

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. This is a quotation from the *Zhou yi* (Book of Changes).

49. The quotation is from Engels's *Anti-Dühring*.

50. Mao's annotations to this chapter, and to a few fragments of chapters that follow in the Chinese edition, are limited to a few question marks in the margin. We have therefore omitted this portion of the text.

Annotations on Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism *by M.B. Mitin and Others (Volume 1)*

Translated by Shen Zhiyuan

(Annotations made before July 1937)

Chapter 3. Dialectical Materialism

. . .

Section 5. Social Practice as the Criterion of Knowledge

. . .

Now we would like to ask the question: why is it only practice that can prove the reality of the cognition of us humans—why there is nothing else beside practice that can be used as the criterion of truth? This is because human consciousness is only one aspect of social life, and it is utterly meaningless apart from practice. Once the production of those material goods which human beings need for daily survival stops, the conscious activity of human beings will stop immediately. The basis of all kinds of social life is material production; in Marx's words, it is the activity of the human sensory organs directed toward a goal.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong zhexue pizhuji*, pp. 137–89, where it is reproduced from Mao's handwritten annotations to Mitin's work.

Therefore, it is only in the process of social practice, first of all in the process of material production, when human beings reach the results anticipated in their thinking, that human consciousness can truly manifest its force. If the understanding of human beings does not reflect the processes of what is actually happening in the external world, then in their practical activities people will not be able to achieve the various results of this activity as they have anticipated. Moreover, without practical activity, the survival of human society would not be possible; if the concept of human beings about the world around them is unfounded, this kind of practical activity can change this fabricated concept. Consequently, the practice of human beings in society, and their purposeful activities, constitute the criterion of the truth of human concepts regarding the external world. In the process of the development of the material production of society, the various concepts which can correctly reflect the objective world are being fostered and developed. Society by its practice influences nature and changes its form. At the same time, it changes itself as well as its conception of the external world. As a result of the purposeful activities of human beings, material things are created, and these things are inseparable parts of the material real world.

Practice is the criterion of truth.

The birth and development of a concept

Practice is superior to knowledge.

As Ulianov[2] put it, "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality, but also the dignity of immediate actuality."[3] Humanity's theoretical knowledge of the external world, as well as of the processes which arise in the external

world, reveals the regularities and tendencies of historical development. But only social practice can thoroughly prove theory and understand the real object from its historical concrete nature. . . . We should not forget that the purposeful activity of mankind in material production is the most basic form of practical activity, which determines everything else. Nevertheless, social practice is not restricted to this form of activity alone; it is comprehensive. The members of society participate in the class struggle, live political lives, and are engaged in scientific creation—to put it simply, they participate in every field of the real life of society. Therefore, the criterion of the truth of our knowledge is the summation of all social practice.

There is more than one form of practical activity.

Human knowledge is, however, one of the many aspects of social life, one of the factors of social life. So long as it is correct, it will have extreme significance for humanity's practical activity. Correct knowledge points the way to human activity in practice. If the theory is true theory, it will confer on those who practice it the strength to determine the operational policy, and clearly point out to them the exact future, so that they will be confident about their own causes. Nevertheless, in order for the knowledge of theory to be correct, it must rely on practice and be intimately linked with practice.

Correct theory actively guides practice.

It is not true that the practice of socialized human beings itself never changes; every step of its development requires new thinking and study. As a result, under the circumstances in the present Soviet Union, for example, if

Practice develops; theory, too, should develop.

one scientific theory is unable to meet the requirement of the practice of socialist construction, this theory does not have any positive impact and will inevitably become the weapon of the enemies of the working class.

The social character of human beings

He who understands material reality is not the individual isolated from society, but the socialized human being linked to society and who relies on society. Human nature is endowed with a social character. The life of every individual is completely determined by social life, determined by the struggle between social groups in social life. The life of every individual is always closely associated with the life of a certain social class. Individuals are the real social entities; hence, any manifestation of their lives, from practical activity to theoretical activity, is in the final analysis the special manifestation of social life. . . .

Perceptions and thoughts are products of social life. As social life changes, perceptions and thoughts also change.

Not only the ability to feel but the ability to think are both special characteristics of superior and organized matter. Only the brain of the socialized individual has such special characteristics. Humans develop their sensory activities and intellectual activities only in society. Consequently, the perceptions and thoughts of people are not eternally unchanging. As the products of social life, perceptions and thoughts must change as the society itself develops. But society is also a part of nature. As it changes nature, it is itself changed at the same time. The activities of humanity in practice and the production of the materials which are necessary for the survival of humanity are the foundations of the multifaceted life of humanity (including knowledge). All the knowledge

Material production is the foundation of the multifaceted life of humanity.

All knowledge is the result of the struggle for production and class struggle.

All the materialisms before Marx looked at the problem of knowledge while ignoring the social nature of human beings, ignoring the historical development of human beings in society; consequently, they were unable to understand the relationship of dependence between knowledge and social practice.

human society has about the surrounding world should be attributed to the history of the development of material production, and to the class struggle that pushed forward this development in a class society.

As far as the issue of understanding is concerned, Feuerbach also developed a metaphysical view. According to his point of view, the nature of a human being resides in the capacity of his body, his organism, his feelings, and his thoughts. Feuerbach failed to understand that human beings endowed with sensory organs and thought are the products of the historical development of society. In observing human beings, he ignored the relationship between the individual and society. As a result, he failed from beginning to end to understand the real individual engaged in activity, but always understood human beings abstractly. Because Feuerbach ignored the social nature of human beings, he could not understand the relationship of dependence between knowledge and social practice. According to Mr. Feuerbach, knowledge is the unchanging reflection of an equally unchanging nature. Here we must point out that it is not only the fundamental shortcoming of Feuerbach's materialism to look at the issue of knowledge by ignoring the practice activity of mankind and its historical development, but also the fundamental shortcoming of all the materialisms before Marx.

Nevertheless, in accordance with the view of materialist dialectics, we should look at knowledge in terms of its relationship of dependence with the development of material production in society and the social struggle that pushes forward this development. To

The viewpoint of practice is the primary viewpoint of epistemology.

put it concisely, we should look at knowledge in terms of its dependent relationship with social practice. Only for this reason, views of life and practice should be regarded as the first and fundamental view of epistemology.

Man's knowledge of material reality begins with the perception of the sensory organs. This kind of perception is aroused by the action of external things on the human sensory organs. Nevertheless, sensory knowledge gives to us humans only contingent and experiential knowledge of the closest perceptual environment and of limited relations with the exterior. Nor can it enable us to know the external world in terms of the relations between its various aspects, its internal linkages, and in its entirety. But the real task of knowledge lies in the understanding of the laws of reality. This understanding is achieved through the generalization[4] of those feelings we have had in the process in which we and reality mutually affect each other. After being transformed and generalized in the human brain, direct feelings will lead to concepts. This is already an element of logical knowledge. Naturally, the sensory and the logical aspects of knowledge are not separated from each other; more often than not, both are expressed simultaneously. Moreover, thought originates from concepts, and thought cannot survive or develop if it is alienated from the relationship of thought and concept. The content of our knowledge is the objective world. Our feelings make it possible for us to be directly linked with this objective world. Therefore it is only on the basis of sensory concepts that logical knowledge (that is, thought) is possible.

The real task of knowledge lies in thought.

The unity between perception and thought

Perception and thought cannot be equated.

Nevertheless, we cannot regard the sensory elements and understanding elements of knowledge as the same thing. Sensory knowledge cannot go beyond the reflection of individual things, and of the external connections between these things, but the knowledge resulting from thought grasps the internal connection of these things and reflects these things in their objective unity.

The differences and unity between perception and thought

"A concept cannot grasp movement as a whole; for instance, it cannot grasp movement at 300,000 kilometers a second. Thought can, however, and should grasp it." In his notes on Hegel's *Logic*, Mr. Ulianov pointed out the dependent relationship between thought and feeling. He was well aware of the differences between intuition and thought.

The two cannot be equated, yet thought relies on perception.

He said: "Thought ascends from the concrete to the abstract, it does not depart from truth—if it is correct—but, instead, it approaches truth. The abstract view of matter, the laws of nature, the law of value, and so on—in sum, all the abstract concepts of science—reflect nature more profoundly, more accurately, and more objectively. From living and direct perception to abstract thinking, from abstract thinking to practice—this is the dialectical way to learn about truth, about objective reality."[5] In this perspective, the two elements of perception and understanding are two different elements in the objectively unified process of knowledge of human beings reflecting objective reality. This is the dialectical understanding of the mutual relationship between the factors of experience and theory in the process of knowledge.

The dialectics of the mutual relationship between elements of experience and theoretical elements

Usefulness is the criterion of truth—pragmatism.

Many truths

A single truth

Usefulness does not in itself mean truth, but truth must be useful.

Marxist theory pays great attention to the decisive significance of practice as compared to theoretical knowledge. It is, however, absolutely contrary to pragmatism—an idealist thought current of modern bourgeois philosophy, especially in America. Pragmatism, founded by William James, is based on the subjective idealist view of truth. According to the idea of the pragmatists, truth is not something that reflects the real situation of objective reality; instead, it is that which is beneficial to our practical activities and fits our objectives. That which is beneficial to practice is true. Being beneficial and being useful are the criteria of truthfulness. Based on this, pragmatism came out with a relativist doctrine of the diversity of truth. Several different opinions may be equally true so long as they serve the interests of a certain age, a certain people, a certain social group, or a certain individual. According to this theory, truth is not objective but subjective. Moreover, based on the differences and similarities of every subjective interest, there may be many truths. Thus, truth is no longer unique. . . .

The Marxist standpoint is quite the opposite of that of pragmatism. Marxist philosophy takes objective truth as its starting point. It refutes relativism and holds that what is beneficial is not necessarily true, but that truth is beneficial. In the process of material and revolutionary criticism of practice, objective knowledge of the world will be produced and tempered. Moreover, such knowledge will in turn promote the continuous transformation of the world.

Once separated from revolutionary practice, Marxist theory becomes meaningless. Meanwhile, the vulgar pragmatism that looks down upon theory and "brainless routinism" are both unacceptable to Marxism. The revolutionary theory that arises and grows up in the process of practice is the guide of practice. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement" (see Ulianov's work, *What Is to Be Done?*). Only revolutionary practice under the guidance of the theories of Marx and Lenin has confidence, broad vision, accuracy, profundity, as well as swiftness in the application of tactics.

Oppose vulgar pragmatism.

The dialectical materialist view of society

Opposing religion

The greatest triumph of Marx and Engels is that they applied the knowledge of materialism in the study of human society. Before Marx, not even those relatively thorough materialists applied materialism to the understanding of social development. From beginning to end, they remained materialists only in philosophy and the natural sciences. This is by no means an accidental phenomenon of history, but is determined by the class nature of the old materialists. Exploring the truth of social life, exposing its profound contradictions and driving forces—this is not a task that thinkers from the exploiting classes will be able to undertake, no matter how revolutionary they are. This task—to turn the history of human society into a science, to turn it into the object of understanding by materialism—can be realized only by the creators of the philosophy of the working class.

The materialist view of history raises the struggle against religion to an extremely high level. Marxism will never

tolerate compromise of any form or degree with religion, never tolerate any direct or indirect negligence in dealing with religion, nor will it stand for any tolerance of religion. . . .

From a passive and intuitive view of the world to an active and dialectical view of the world

All the points mentioned above are the basic guiding principles of modern materialist philosophy. This kind of materialist philosophy is totally different from the passive and intuitive world-view. In his "Theses on Feuerbach," Marx wrote: "The philosophers have only explained the world in various ways, but the problem lies in changing the world." This is Marx's comment on the philosophy which had preceded him. Since dialectical materialism is the philosophy of the revolutionary working-class organizations, and the philosophy which regards changing the world as its duty, it is a philosophy of action. In the view of a Marxist, philosophy is not a quiet and peaceful monastery, but a fighting camp, one of the camps of the social struggle which pushes forward social development. Knowledge of reality does not originate from curiosity, but serves the purpose of changing reality. In order to change reality, one must learn about the laws of reality. Practice guided by true theory is the most perfect practice. Furthermore, the most perfect theory, which correctly reflects the objective reality, is the theory which has the greatest practical effect.

The purpose of studying philosophy is not to satisfy one's curiosity but, rather, to change the world.

Learn about the regularities of the world; look for the correct theory, for the purpose of effectively guiding practice, and changing the world.

Neither Marxism nor Leninism would tolerate unprincipled routinism or an intuitionism detached from the practice of social struggle. In Marxism and Leninism, theory and practice are closely bound up with each other in their development and mutually reinforce each other. But in this unity, the primary role belongs to practice. The unity of theory and practice is realized on the basis of revolutionary practice. "Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory" (*Problems of Leninism* by Josef [Stalin]).[6]

Famous quotation from Stalin

Only the theory which goes shoulder to shoulder with the practice of struggle of the working-class organizations deserves the name of Marxist theory. In the capitalist countries, such a theory will strengthen the will of the working-class organizations to overthrow capitalism and establish a workers' dictatorship and to arm the working class with the enemy's knowledge and point out the road to victory.

The history of knowledge is not over.

The theory of Marx and Engels is by no means lifeless dogma. It did not end the history of knowledge. On the contrary, it has opened a great and promising future for the history of knowledge.

Chapter 4. The Various Laws of Dialectical Materialism

Section 1. The Law of the Unity of Opposites

Engels outlined the three great laws.

In his book *The Dialectics of Nature*, Engels wrote: "the laws of dialectics are drawn from the history of nature and human society. They are nothing but the most general laws in the historical development of these two realms. In essence, they can be reduced to the following three laws:

the law of the change from quality to quantity and vice versa;

Hegel

the law of the interpenetration of opposites;

the law of the negation of the negation."

Engels went on to point out that all these laws had been elaborated by Hegel, but in the manner of idealism. That is to say that Hegel never derived these laws from nature and history, but imposed them on nature and history, considering that nature and history must be dominated by these laws. As a result, Hegel's system is really hard to understand.

The so-called unity between dialectics and epistemology

Nevertheless, so long as we examine these laws in materialist terms, everything will become simple and easy to understand. The three aforementioned basic laws of dialectics are the real laws of development of the objective world. At the same time, they are also the laws for learning about the world, if the law of knowledge is the reflection of the world itself in the mind of man.

Now let us study the basic law of materialist dialectics—the law of the unity of opposites.

The metaphysical view of development

There are two major views of development in the history of human thought. One of them believes that development means increase or decrease; it is increase in quantity and the repetition of the same object.

metaphysics[7]

According to this view, everything **(no matter how it happened in the first place),** as well as its reflection in the thought of the human brain, has become and will remain the same thing.

formal logic

Once something happens, its basic character will remain the same, it goes around the same unchangeable circle and travels along the same road of movement forever. The development of everything, the development of plants, animals, and human beings, is actually the extension in length and increase in quantity of every aspect and various characteristics, but these characteristics of the thing or the human being have been there from the very beginning. The only difference is that they were in the state of "tiny" sprouts. There is no real and historical understanding of the development of things among these ideas; this is the so-called metaphysical view of development. . . .

Heaven changes not, the *dao* changes not.[1]

On the basis of this view of development, the first thing that cannot be explained are the different reasons of various things human beings see and the reason new things happen and old things are replaced. The second and most important thing is that the origin of movement and development cannot be explained. The metaphysical view fails to see that the internal forces give stimulus and impulsion to development. Hence it has to look for the origin of development in the exterior (that is, the reason for movement). It sometimes uses material, metaphysical "essence" and "force" to explain the reason for movement. At other times, it makes use of an extraterrestrial spirit to explain it!

In reality, these two points are one.

Ulianov pointed out that, from the end of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century, everyone "supported" the principle of development. Nevertheless, this kind of external and superficial "support" distorted and confused true understanding of development. Mr. Ulianov said, "If everything develops, then everything passes from one into

Lenin criticized the theory of evolution.

another, for development, as is well known, is not a simple, universal, and eternal growth, enlargement (or diminution), etc. If that is so, then in the first place, evolution has to be understood more exactly, as the arising and passing away of everything, as mutual transitions."[8] The vulgar theory of evolution does not understand this basic fact of development. It is not clear about the road of development of human thought, which reflects the development of existence. It does not understand the objective significance and role of the dialectics of knowledge. It fails to link the principle of development with the principle of universal materialism.

What is development, how to develop.

The vulgar view of development of the bourgeoisie fails to understand the fact that the development of everything (and of every phenomenon) is the change from one thing to another of the thing itself, as determined by the internal characteristics of the thing itself. This view of development does not understand that development is the movement of the thing itself. In Hegel's words, it is the self-movement of the thing. Bourgeois evolutionists hold that the development of plants, animals, the human race, and human society merely adopts the form of repeated increases. It is simple increase, it is the expansion and growth of some of the never-changing characteristics such plants, organic objects, and society have had from the very beginning. But somehow at first, these characteristics are concealed and do not show up; they take the form of sprouts. According to these theorists, this kind of increase of theirs should be attributed to the "transfer of strength." It is the re-

Repetition

sult of the nutrition plants, animals, and human beings get from the external world under the influence of external environmental conditions. In their view, the development of human society consists in the repetition and increase of some kind of forever unchanging characteristics of human society—all the various characteristics of bourgeois society, such as capitalist exploitation, struggle, individualism, and so on. They thought that these characteristics could be found in ancient slave society, or even in a primitive savage society. Therefore, as far as the reason, origin, and force behind the development of society is concerned, the bourgeois thinkers either do not give them any serious thought or explain them in terms of the progress of human intelligence (they say that, as a result of extensive repetition, the human race is gradually learning about all the eternal and natural characteristics of human beings living together). Or they explain the reason behind social development in terms of the external living conditions of geography and climate and of the "balance" between society and the external environment.

The dialectical view of evolution

Dialectics takes a view of evolution which is the opposite of this one. It advocates studying things "from among the things themselves" and in terms of their relationships with other things. It sees the development of things as their own spontaneous development; that is, it sees the movement as internally necessary, inevitable, and independent movement of the thing itself, that is, the self-movement of the thing.

Marx and Hegel

On Hegel's doctrine regarding the development of self-movement, Ulianov wrote the following: "Move-

ment and self-movement are (watch out) arbitrary (independent), spontaneous, internally necessary movement; 'change,' 'movement and vitality,' 'the principle of all self-movement,' 'impulse' to 'movement' and to 'activity'—whoever would believe that this is the core of Hegelianism, of abstract and abstruse Hegelianism? This core had to be discovered, understood, rescued, laid bare, refined, which is precisely what Marx and Engels did."[9] Marxism clearly pointed out the rational core in Hegel's idealistic doctrine of spontaneity eliminated his mysterious view about the development of pure logic; Marxism understood it as the development of the objective world.

External causes can lead only to mechanical movement.

Pure external causes, as far as they themselves are concerned, can only lead to the mechanical change of a certain thing and the increase or decrease of its scope and measurement. But even the spontaneous growth of any organism such as plant or animal is not restricted merely to increases in quantity; at the same time, it will inevitably lead to a spontaneous qualitative change in the organism, which will change from one state into another.

Pure increase is also dialectical development.

Examples

For many centuries, Europe was under the influence of almost the same geographic and climatic conditions, but it is obvious that the social development of Europe can by no means be explained by these conditions. Although it is true that in the case of many races in Africa and Asia, the same geographic conditions encouraged the duplication of a unitary system of social relations, as well as of the same manner of laboring, the situation in Europe was completely different. Under almost the same conditions as regards the geographic environment, the difference and imbalance in the historical development of each country is very great. Obviously, after going through the internal characteristics of a given social formation, the impact of the external conditions is complicated as a result. Only when we have understood the motive forces within the development, and laid bare the internal impulses promoting the unfolding of life itself, will we be able to understand the real nature of development—the spontaneity of the various phenomena of nature and society, as well as of human thought.

External forces cannot develop unless they are channeled through the internal forces and complicated by them.

Do not eliminate external forces, but internal forces are dominant. Without understanding the internal forces, there is no way one can understand development.

Spontaneity studies the object starting from its own self-movement without introducing any mysticism or idealism.

What, then, in the final analysis is spontaneity? Is there any mystical thought such as that imagined by Bukharin, or anything resembling Hegel's idealism in the concept of the self-movement of things? Absolutely not, so long as we do not observe movement and development in a purely mechanical way and do not regard movement as simple displacement or increase in quantity. At the same time, if we do not try to understand self-movement idealistically, do not regard it as a development of pure logic, and do not regard it as the self-production of concepts, but try to understand self-movement as the self-movement of the objective world, we can grasp it. Self-movement refers to the movement of things themselves. It is brought about by internal and, at the same time, by external conditions. Nevertheless, the appearance of this kind of movement also depends on the internal laws of the things themselves. Self-movement also refers to changes in things which are brought about by internal clashes, by the

change from one thing to another. To study any object beginning with self-movement will help us avoid such idealist views as believing in a supreme external power (God, the *Weltgeist*, and so on), or believing in the supreme internal spiritual nature. At the same time, this kind of study (that is, to study an object by beginning with its self-movement) by no means excludes the role of the external conditions in addition to the internal causes of development. The idea of regarding development as the self-movement of a thing makes us pay attention to the knowledge of the internal and true origin of development of a thing. Materialist dialectics thinks that this origin, this force, lies in the contradictions internal to every existence and the movement and development of the internal contradictions. The contradictions in things themselves, the force and tendency of the internal contradictions of any natural and social phenomena, are the basic factors upon which the view of development of materialist dialectics is based.

It is the contradictory nature of any phenomenon that leads to the development of the thing. This is a key element of the view of development of materialist dialectics.

According to the view of metaphysics and formal logic, contradictions can occur only in human thought; there cannot be contradictions in objective reality. Yet, according to the views of formal logic, such logical contradictions are a defect which we should try our best to avoid. In the view of formal logic, contradiction expresses the mistakes of thought and the incorrectness of the thought process, and it hinders the correct development of thought. If the capitalists consider that "working-class dictatorship conflicts with democracy," then in their eyes to affirm both of these things would definitely become a logical contradiction; if we say, "working-

What formal logic calls mistakes are in fact correct, and what it calls correct is in fact wrong.

class dictatorship is the highest form of democracy," in their eyes this is talking nonsense. Viewed from the perspective of dialectical logic, contradictions in thought are the reflection of real, objectively existing contradictions; dialectical logic does not rigidly adhere to the apparent superficial mutual conflict of the two principles. Materialist dialectics sees through the internal nature of the object of study. It finds out from the object of study itself the internal connection between the force of the contradiction, the tendency of the contradiction, the aspects of the contradiction, and the characteristics of the contradiction. In objective reality itself, Marxism discovered the particular contradiction it possesses, as well as the contradiction that pushes it forward. The negation of the old bourgeois democracy and the establishment of the new proletarian democracy (in the form of the working-class dictatorship) are real and dual contradictory processes. Mr. Ulianov said, "Dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction in the very essence of objects."[10]

Thought truly has a contradictory nature; it is correct to affirm both simultaneously.

The difference between dialectical logic and formal logic

In the view of the metaphysicians, it is impossible to recognize the contradictions of a thing because they observe a certain thing and its appearance outside the connection between the thing and its appearance and outside their endless mutual impact.

"Nonetheless," Engels pointed out, "position is quite different as soon as we consider things in their motion, their change, their life, their reciprocal influences on one another. Then we immediately become involved in contradictions. Motion itself is a contradiction, . . ."[11]

Lenin's definition of dialectics talks about contradictions.

Quite right. It looks at a thing at rest instead of in motion, in isolation instead of in association.

Movement is contradiction—Engels

Movement is contradiction, that is, it is the unity between continuity and

. . . Many many "critics" of Marxism have tried repeatedly to overthrow the aforementioned principle of Engels that

interruption. Trotsky only admits continuity but refuses interruption; Struve and the others accept interruption but refuse continuity. All of them are wrong. There is unity between movement and stillness, between continuity and interruption, between today and tomorrow, between up and down, between life and death, and between democracy and autocracy. Contradiction is movement.

Lenin's words

Contradictions in every process have their own specific characteristics.

"movement is contradiction." The "reasons" they give are that, in the real world, things in motion pass different points in space at different instants. These "critics" (such as Struve, Chernov,[12] and the like) said, if the line things passed in space is divided into many small segments and "interruptions" in space, then at a certain instant things will be at a certain position, a certain point in space, the point that just fits right into the space segment we divided.

. . . Such "critics" do not understand that what is called motion means to be simultaneously at and not at a certain point; motion itself would be impossible without this contradiction, without the unity between this continuity and interruption. They do not know that the negation of contradiction means obliteration of motion. Mr. Ulianov said, "Motion is the unity between continuity (time and space) and interruption (also refers to time and space). Motion means contradiction, means the unity between contradictions."

But contradiction is not only the basis for the simplest and most common form of the motion of manner. In the special manner of motion and development of various things and processes, all kinds of dialectical contradictions are displayed.

It is not difficult for us to point out the various contradictions which push forward the development of different phenomena in any field—nature, society, and thought.

Engels once pointed out that the process of birth is inseparably linked to its opposite process, death: old cells keep dying out, and new cells keep being born

Each different process has its own peculiar contradictions.

Mutually exclusive and mutually linked, mutually hostile and a condition of one another's existence

The idea of dividing a unity into two is the basic characteristic of dialectics.

(this is a contradiction!), and this is the prerequisite condition for the survival and development of all organisms. In mechanics, every action has its own internal contradiction, which brings about a reaction; without this reaction, it would be impossible to explain the original action. Any quantity in mathematics also has an internal contradiction, since it can become either a positive or a negative quantity. Any phenomenon in the social life of today's society is permeated with class contradictions and conflicts; whether it is the selling and buying of labor or the most excellent philosophical doctrine, no such phenomenon lacks this kind of class contradiction.

Then where, actually, are the internal contradictions of an object (and phenomenon)? They are the opposite characteristics which exist in a unified object (process, phenomenon, and so on); they are, at the same time, mutually exclusive and mutually linked together. In development these conflicting sides are mutually associated with each other internally; one is the condition of existence for the other, but at the same time each side is hostile to the other and is struggling against it.

This view, which divides a unity into two and sees the internal contradictions in any phenomenon of natural, historical, and spiritual life, has drawn the attention of thinkers ever since Heraclitus, the ancient Greek philosopher. Ulianov made it clear that this idea is the essence of dialectics and its basic characteristic. The materialist dialectics of Marx, Engels, and Ulianov regard the unity of opposites as the basic law of dialectical development. The special manifestations

The various different forms of motion result from the fact that there are different qualities and different contradictions.

Knowledge of matter is knowledge of the form of motion of matter.

Knowledge of the different forms of the unity of opposites in the phenomena of a certain domain constitutes the object of a certain science.

of this law are to be found in the various contradictions in all forms of motion.

Differences in the varieties of matter should be attributed to the peculiarities of various forms of motion. Among these diverse forms of motion, each one expresses the special quality of a specific thing. We can see many forms of motion in nature, such as mechanical movement, giving out light, emitting heat, electrical current, chemical combination and decomposition, and so on. All of these forms of motion are mutually dependent and mutually inclusive. The knowledge of humans about matter is actually knowledge about the form of motion of matter because apart from objects in motion, there is nothing else in nature. With regard to each form of motion, we should pay attention to its special characteristics and to the qualitative differences between it and other forms of motion. Materialist dialectics makes clear that every form of motion has its own internal special contradictions, has its own special unity and struggle of opposites. Knowledge of a certain special kind of unity of opposites peculiar to the phenomena in a certain domain constitutes the object of a certain science. For example, the principal pairs of opposites studied by mathematics are the opposition between positive quantity and negative quantity, and that between fractions and integers. The basic opposites in mechanics are action and reaction. In physics there is the opposition between the negative pole and the positive pole. In chemistry there is the opposition between combination and decomposition. And in human society and the social sciences there is class struggle.

Correct

The difference between the theory of evolution and dialectics as regards their view of the similarities and peculiarities of the new and the old

Good

The dialectical view of development understands that development refers to "the division of a unitary object into two mutually exclusive opposites, as well as their mutually dependent relationship." This kind of "mutual relationship" between the two opposing sides is precisely the internal motive force of movement. According to this view of development, the principal center of attention should be placed on understanding the sources of spontaneous movement. The distinguishing feature of this view of development is that it accepts the fact that the struggle between internal opposites leads to the process of the supersession of the old by the new. Although none of the bourgeois theories of evolution denies the possibility of the birth of new things, they lay the emphasis on the common qualities shared by new and old things (or phenomena in a process) and regard new things as the increase or repetition of old things. The dialectical theory of development is quite different; it stresses rather the characteristics and peculiarities of new things. The defect of all the bourgeois theories of evolution, which are contrary to the dialectical theory of development in principle, is that after all they regard the new as the old and treat the former as the latter. As a matter of fact, however, the new, which was born to replace the old, is called new because of the peculiarities of its nature. According to the dialectical view of development, development inevitably promotes the transformation of things and the transition from one substance to another.

According to Ulianov's definition, the law of the unity of opposites means "the recognition (discovery) of the

Mutually exclusive as well as mutually dependent

contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena and processes of nature (including mind and society)."[13]

The mutual linkage (or mutual dependence) and struggle between the opposites (or contradictory tendencies) in a thing determines its life, gives it a spontaneous push, a push toward its development. It is always like this, so the law of the unity of opposites and the linkage of opposites becomes the most basic and important law, and the law which has decisive significance. Mr. Ulianov says, "The splitting of single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts . . . is the essence of dialectics." In his *Philosophical Notebooks*, Mr. Ulianov called the unity of opposites the core of dialectics.

It is a universal law of the objective world and of knowledge, and there can be no exception for any process.

The law of the unity of opposites is the most universal law of the objective world and of knowledge. Mr. Ulianov says, "The condition for the knowledge of all processes in the world in their 'self-movement,' in their spontaneous development, in their real life, is the knowledge of them as a unity of opposites."

The universal and decisive significance of this law

In this perspective, the law of the unity of opposites is the basic law of dialectics. Since the law of the unity of opposites is the most universal law, it is applicable to every phenomenon in the objective world and also to the process of knowledge. In one of his short essays on dialectics, Mr. Ulianov pointed out that Plekhanov's mistake lay in the fact that he did not understand the universal and decisive significance of this law—a law of knowledge and of the objective world, and he explained this law as the "sum of many examples."[14]

The differences between Engels, Lenin, and Plekhanov

In his book *Anti-Dühring,* Engels gave many examples of this law for the purpose of popular explanation. At the same time, he regarded the mutual interaction between opposites as the most universal law of development (this view was most fully explored in Engels's book *The Dialectics of Nature.*) But Plekhanov simplified this universal law in terms of particular occasions and expressions. Plekhanov paid attention only to the law of the change from quantity to quality and to the contradiction between content and form. Although Plekhanov often criticized Ulianov for not understanding dialectics, in many of his writings he himself did not know how to grasp the core and essence of this dialectics. He was not even capable of understanding the theoretical significance of Hegel's logic, although this law is employed on a subjective basis in logic. Plekhanov frequently revealed an eclectic understanding of this law; he understood the unity of opposites as the "combination of opposites."

Plekhanov is an eclectic.

Dialectics is hostile to eclecticism, and it gives an accurate and definite answer regarding the nature of a thing. Consequently, it can become the guide to action. This nature refers to the law of the unity of contradictions.

Dialectics is basically hostile to all forms of eclecticism. If Marxism-Leninism cannot give an accurate and definite answer that will explain the essence of a thing or a process (no matter how complicated this thing or process), then it cannot become the leader of the thing or process. Therefore, in materialist dialectics, it is extremely important to understand correctly the relationship between opposites. At the same time, the unity of opposites is linkage of the opposites, their unity as well as their mutual exclusion, mutual negation, and struggle.

Change from one characteristic to another—the opposite of itself. This is most important.

Ulianov explained that "things (phenomena and so on) are the sum and unity of opposites."[15] While deciding

Ordinary concepts are different and contradictory, but they are not transformed.

Mutual dependence, mutual exclusion, and mutual transformation

Under certain conditions

Unity is relative, struggle is absolute.

?

on this definition, he wrote: "It is not only the unity of opposites, but the transition of every determination, quality, feature, side, property into every other [into its opposite]."[16] Elsewhere he wrote: "The ordinary concepts include differences and contradictions, but they do not include the change from one to the other, yet this is the most important."[17] Hence, "The doctrine called dialectics is to discuss how opposites can be unified, and under what conditions they will be unified and change from one to the other. Why should human reason not regard these opposites as dead, fixed but, instead, treat them as live, conditional, mobile, and changing from this to that?"

The unity of opposites (that is, agreement), their mutual inclusion and interchangeability—these are the most important things in understanding the essence of dialectics. Meanwhile, we should emphasize the conditional character of this unity of opposites. The unity of opposites will be possible only under certain conditions. We should especially make clear that the agreement of the opposites is relative, while their struggle is absolute. We mentioned above that in terms of certain relations the processes of birth and death are mutually continuous: the death of the old cells of an organism is the prerequisite condition for the birth of new cells; it is the prerequisite condition for the life process. Here, the two opposites—birth and death—are mutually united as well as mutually interchanging. In spite of that, the conditional character of this pair of united opposites is extremely obvious: after all, birth is birth and not death. In this process, the factors of life defeat the components of death and, moreover, rule over the components of death.

Life and death

Production and consumption

Marx pointed out that production and consumption are not only two opposite things but also mutually inclusive in many relations. Consumption is possible only when there is production. Production creates the materials for consumption and confers on consumption a certain character. On the other hand, consumption completes the production process of the products, creates the demand for production, and is therefore a component of production. Nevertheless, this by no means implies that we should regard production and consumption as the same thing. Marx said that their direct agreement does not at all reduce their directly divided character.

The unity of opposites between classes

In capitalist society, capitalists and proletarians are two mutually hostile groups. And yet these two classes are inseparably associated with each other in the capitalist economic structure, and the existence of one class is also the condition of the existence of the other. Without the working class, there could be no capitalism; similarly, there could be no capitalism without the bourgeoisie. The working class, which has lost the means of production, creates surplus value for the bourgeoisie, which pays for its labor, and the bourgeoisie, which possesses the means of production, exploits the labor of the working class—this is a unitary process, a unitary process that determines the survival of capitalist society. At the same time, the conditional character of the "linkage" of this unity (identity) is very obvious: in the interests of the two classes, there is no unity worth speaking of; moreover, not only

The reference here to linkage is relatively concrete.

The unity of opposites in the survival and elimination of a country

is there no unity of class interest, but, on the contrary, it is, rather, the struggle between the classes that is the locomotive behind social development. Labor constitutes the strength and stability of these countries and, at the same time, creates the conditions for their future decay and elimination. Nevertheless, we would be making a big mistake if we forgot the conflicting characteristics of these two stages, treated the two processes as the same thing, and believed that the strength and stability of a country of the toilers was, at the same time, the process of its decay and elimination.

Contradictions are not the same as antagonism or conflict.

Present-day mechanism and Menshevizing idealism totally distort the concept of the identity and mutual linkage of opposites of Marx and Ulianov. From Dühring to Bukharin, the mechanists regard all linked opposites as two kinds of external, mutually conflicting forces. Mechanists regard all instances of the identity of the opposites and all contradictions as external contradictions, and as the clash between hostile forces; at the same time, they explain the coexistence of these conflicting forces and the maintenance of the contradictions as the balance between the opposites. Engels once mocked Dühring for his understanding of contradictions as conflicting forces. While reading Bukharin's book *The Economy of the Transition Period,* Ulianov pointed out to Bukharin that it was wrong to treat contradiction and conflict as the same thing. In socialism, for instance, the conflict between classes will be eliminated, yet the contradictions between nature and society, between the forces of production and the means of production, will remain.

Contradictions after classes are eliminated

Conflict is a particular and special situation.

Conflict is a particular and special occasion of contradiction, which occurs when all opposing things, in their processes of development, have reached the point at which they make use of external material forces and engage in mutual clashes.

. . . Menshevizing idealists have departed from Ulianov's understanding of the law of the unity of opposites. They painted a completely mechanical pattern, according to which we first run into simple differences, then confrontations, and afterward contradictions. They did not understand that contradictions are already contained in each and every difference. Like Plekhanov, they restrict the universal character of the law of the development of contradictions.

Diagram theory: difference, opposition, and contradiction

Each and every difference contains contradictions.

Restrictions on the universality of contradictions

Mutual dependence is a manifestation of the struggle of opposites, and the absolute exists in the relative.

Within the relative there exists the absolute—this is a sentence from Ulianov instructing us. In the mutual linkage of opposites, we should also be able to see their struggle: the unity of opposites itself, the linkage of opposites itself, we should regard as the expression of the struggle between opposites.

The occurrence of new things is the resolution of former contradictions; the former confrontation as well as the unity is eliminated simultaneously; new contradictions begin to develop.

The occurrence of new things is the resolution of former contradictions; in this resolution, the former unity, together with those opposites that form this unity, is eliminated. New phenomena replace the former phenomena and begin their own history. From now on, the internal part of this new phenomenon (or thing, or process) itself contains new contradictions, contradictions that will push it to continue forward.

The task of scientific research in any domain consists in studying the concrete nature of the development of the contradictions in a certain natural phenom-

Two kinds of research methods: concrete research and abstract research

enon or social phenomenon, relying on this general rule of materialist dialectics (which constitutes the summing up of the history of development of knowledge of the whole of humanity) and on the basis of the factual materials. None of the principles of dialectics can be turned into an abstract formula (or diagram). The idea of working out an answer to a specific question according to such an abstract formula in a purely logical way is impossible, because materialist dialectics demands that we study all the processes occurring in nature, society, and human thought conscientiously and realistically.

Both the points in common and the special points are important, but the latter are more important.

Materialist dialectics does not teach us only to grasp the common and general characteristics in everything as well as those at every stage of its development; it also teaches us to seize the special characteristics in the development of the unique contradictions in a certain thing or at a certain stage.

. . .

Hegel broke away from the concrete.

It was Hegel who first developed the law of the unity of opposites, but he idealistically misinterpreted this law. Hegel thought that the object of knowledge was the stages in the development of thought. It was not the actual things existing in the real world, but only the abstract things existing in thought. Consequently, Hegel's law of the unity of opposites is the most universal law of thought. Such a law departs from the concrete, real development of nature and history.

Concrete analysis is the true basis.

The concrete analysis of the development of real phenomena should be used as the true basis of this law (the

law of the unity of opposites), which can be applied to everything.

The contradictions in society

Marx and Engels turned Hegel's idealist doctrine of the identity of opposites upside down, transformed it in a materialist direction, and changed it into a universal law of the development of the objective world and of the thought that reflects the objective world. When they applied this law to the knowledge of the historical process, they perceived that the basic cause of social development lay in the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradictions of social struggle, as well as the contradictions between the basis resulting from these contradictions and the superstructure in politics and thought. When Marx applied materialist dialectics to the understanding of the economic structure of capitalist society, he revealed the basic contradiction of this society—the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership, which is manifested in the contradiction between the organized character of production in the individual enterprises, and the anarchy of production in society as a whole. The manifestation of this in terms of class is the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the workers.

Ulianov raised Marx's law of the unity of opposites to an even higher stage. He paid special attention to clarifying the entire significance of the fact that this law is the essence and core of dialectics. . . . On the basis of the inseparable unity between theory and revolutionary practice, Mr. Ulianov explained and developed the essence of such dialectics. He applied this law to the analy-

Lenin's analysis of the Russian revolution. We should also deal with the Chinese revolution in the same way.

sis of every important stage in the social struggles of the workers. The knowledge of the nature of the contradictions within development is very important in Mr. Ulianov's analysis of the development of the Russian Revolution, as well as in his doctrine of the transition from a bourgeois-democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. Bolsheviks regard bourgeois-democratic revolution and socialist revolution as "two links in the same chain, as a single and integral picture of the sweep of the Russian revolution."[18] Mr. Ulianov and his followers paid special attention to all the characteristics of Russian "warlords and feudal imperialists." These characteristics promoted the historic development of the bourgeois-democratic anti-imperialist revolution under the leadership of the organizations of the toilers, and it also made it possible to combine it with the anticapitalist social revolution of the working class.

Under the developing historical conditions in China

Ulianov opposed the Right opportunists of the time, such as Kamenev and Zinoviev. He emphatically pointed out the unity between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in the developing historical conditions in Russia, but at the same time he also struggled against Trotsky, since Mr. Trotsky did not understand the stages in the development of the revolution and did not understand what attitude the working class should adopt toward the peasants at each stage of the revolution.

The struggle on two fronts

Ulianov again used the law of the unity of opposites as the basis for analyzing imperialism. He saw imperialism as a new and special stage in the development of capitalism. Here he discovered the unity between the general and

Lenin on imperialism

The agreement between the general and the particular

the particular and exposed the general rule and contradictions of capitalism and the unity of all the special characteristics that occurred at different stages of imperialism. He pointed out that these special traits (special characteristics) of imperialism not only will not be eliminated but will enhance the expression of the general capitalist contradictions; the unity and combination between monopoly and competition not only will not reduce the acuteness of the capitalist contradictions but will greatly enhance them, and greatly accentuate the depth and acuteness of capitalist competition.

The dual character of the New Economic Policy

Ulianov again exposed the dual character of the New Economic Policy. This policy allows the struggle between capitalist elements and socialist elements, which in turn will spur on the inevitable victory of the socialist elements. It is "the dual process of capitalist and socialist development, it is the contradictory process of struggle between the socialist elements and the capitalist elements; in addition, it is also the process in which the capitalist components are overcome by the socialist components."

The dual process

The sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism has already reached a new era, and at present a new contradiction has emerged as the times demand. This new contradiction is no longer a contradiction within capitalism but, rather, a contradiction between the whole of capitalism and the countries which are building socialism. Starting from this basis, this contradiction leads to all the other contradictions of capitalism, ties them all together, and turns them into an issue of life and death of the capitalist system itself.

The contradiction between two worlds

Section 2. The Law of the Change from Quantity to Quality and Vice Versa

Extremely significant

Another law of materialist dialectics is the law of the change from quantity to quality and vice versa. This law is extremely significant in understanding the process of development because the transition, in the form of a revolutionary leap, from one quality to another is manifested through this dialectical law.

Quality determines the character of a phenomenon, it determines the individual character of the phenomenon. As a result, it distinguishes one phenomenon from another.

Scientific research must begin with learning the distinguishing characteristics of quality.

What is called quality should be understood as that which determines the nature of the phenomenon. All the various phenomena differ from one another because of the qualities which determine their nature and thereby make them what they are. Scientific studies can be successful only when they begin by observing a certain object in the light of the different peculiarities of other bodies. The characteristics that determine the nature of a thing are its qualities. The complexity of the quality of various things in the objective world should be attributed to the different forms of movement of the objects existing in the world around us. Everything which exists is in a certain state of material movement. Of course, it is also true that some things have not one form of movement but many. The human organism, for example, has several kinds of material movement, from mechanical movement to thought. For every special and specific thing, there must, however, be a kind of form of movement that expresses its special quality and is of decisive importance for it. Consequently, when we talk about "quality," we are not talking about the existence of the various qualities which have nothing to do with the objective world but, rather, about things

The various different forms of movement of matter. Each object has a definite pattern of movement, and some have several patterns, but there must be one form of movement that reflects the special characteristics of this thing. Different patterns of movement express different special qualities or chemical composition.

Quality or characteristics are objective.

Things are different from one another because of the differences in their quality, but there is no absolute boundary. There are no absolutely independent things in the world; everything has something in common with the other things, and maintains an inseparable relationship with them.

The determination of quality develops and changes, and it is wrong to deny the change.

Quality is the inherent character of the process; peculiarities, on the other hand, express the nature of this thing in its relationship with other things. The determination of the quality of a thing is expressed in its many characteristics. For example, in the determination of the quality of the roses, it is expressed in sweetness, color, and the other peculiarities of roses.

or phenomena themselves which have one kind of quality or another. Quality has an objective character; the determination of the quality of things in nature exists independently of thought. Human thought only reflects the confirmation of the quality of the objective process.

Because of the differences in quality, things are different from one another and separated from one another. Of course, the criteria for this kind of division and distinction are not absolute, since there are no absolutely specific and absolutely single things in nature. Everything always contains some similar or common characteristics with everything else. It constantly maintains an inseparable connection with this common point. Contrary to what the representatives of scholastic philosophy in the Middle Ages had assumed, the determination of the quality of something is not at all fixed and unchangeable. The determination of the quality of real phenomena is always developing, always changing, and becoming more and more complicated.

If one wants to understand correctly the category of quality, one must first explore the problem of quality and nature (quality and property).[19] In his *Wissenschaft der Logik* Hegel talked about this. He wrote: "Quality, that is, nature, refers first and primarily to the following idea: its relations with the outside world reveal its own inherent nature."[20] Here Hegel meant to say that quality shows the internal character of certain phenomena, processes, or things, but natural tendencies or distinguishing characteristics express such a qualitative analysis of the relationship between this thing and all other things. Take the

The indissoluble relationship between quality and the thing itself. Even if a thing loses some of its characteristics, it will not lose its essential nature, but if it loses its essential nature, it will become something else.

The determination of quality is manifested in special regularity.

flower rose, for example. As a plant, it has certain qualities of the plant family, but it also has peculiarities that set it apart from all other forms of plant. Moreover, its distinctive nature is manifested in many of its characteristics—sweetness, color, and so on.

Quality and the existence (being)[21] of an object are indissolubly linked. If an object loses this or that property, it does not lose its nature. If, however, it loses its essential nature, it will no longer be itself and has become something else. The determination of the quality of a thing is expressed in the form of special regularities and in the certainty of its development. In terms of the scientific definition of a thing, it will become a reality only when it controls the determination of the qualities of the thing.

Only when one has understood the determination of quality, that is, the special regularities, can one be said to have understood a certain thing.

The knowledge of a thing must absolutely not, however, be restricted to the control of quality alone; at the same time, it also includes determining the quantity of the thing being observed. What is quantity? Let us first look at the definition of quantity given by Hegel.

The determination of quantity

Hegel wrote, "Generally speaking, quality is united with existence and directly determines existence. It is different from the quantity which is investigated subsequently. Quantity is also a determinant of existence, but it is not directly linked to existence, and its character has little or no influence on existence. It is external to the determination of existence."[22]

In this perspective it seems that Hegel decided that quantity is an external characteristic that has little or no influence on existence. In this definition, the kernel of truth is: within a certain period of time, the change of quantity is, indeed, external to quality. Although quantity changes, quality remains the same. Nevertheless, this only concerns a period before a certain instant, and, from that instant onward, a change in quantity will lead to a change of quality.

Within a certain period of time, though quantity changes, quality does not change.

Quality is a direct determinant that is identical to the process. Quantity is a determinant of the process, but it is not directly identical to the process. Instead, it is an external determinant that has little or no influence on the process during a certain period of time. Although the quantity may increase or decrease, the quality remains the same. But, after a certain period, things will undergo a transformation, and the change in quantity will lead to a change in quality. [Comment by Mao at the bottom of the page.]

Quantity too is objective, and the concept of quantity is a reflection in the human consciousness of those quantitative relations within the phenomena themselves. Scientific research should come to know it [objective reality] not only in terms of qualitative differences but also in terms of quantitative complexity.

The determination of the quantity of a phenomenon, like the determination of quality, also has an objective character. The concept of quantity is similar to the reflection in our human consciousness of those relationships the phenomena themselves actually have with one another. Therefore, scientific knowledge should grasp and reflect it not only in terms of the differences in the quality of objective reality but also in terms of the complexity of its quantity. The determination of the quantity of an object does not exist outside the determination of its quality, and the determination of the quantity is regularly associated with the determination of its quality. When we talk about the increase or decrease of the quantity of a thing, for instance, we refer to the increase or decrease of its quality. Meanwhile we should also point out that a certain quality must have a certain level of the special quantity.

Quantity and quality constantly appear together.

A certain special quality must have a certain special quantity; pure quality and quantity do not exist.

For example, there are no pure qualities and quantities in nature, only objects

Within an object, quality and quantity constitute an indivisible unified entity; this is a unity of different natures, that is, a unity of opposites.

Nevertheless, the quantitative change of an object can take place only on the basis of a certain quality compatible with it; within a definite period of time, quality restricts the development of quantity. The feudal system, imperialism, and socialism are three examples.

with a definite qualitative and quantitative nature. The characterization of the quality and quantity of an object forms an inseparable unity. But such a unity is a unity of different natures, a unity of opposites. . . . Moreover, the quantitative change in the object occurs on a certain appropriate basis of the quality. Within a certain period of time, quality sets limits to the quantitative change of the object. Take the feudal mode of production, for example. It restricts to an extreme degree the possibilities for the development of the productive forces and of material wealth and restricts the level of social development as a whole. These feudal relationships were swept away by the bourgeois revolution, and the capitalist mode of production (or capitalist relations of production) arose to replace them. Capitalism once played a progressive role in history, but when it developed to reach the age of imperialism, it became an extreme obstacle to the continued advance of society. Consequently, under the socialist dictatorship of the workers, the development of every aspect of social life reached an unprecedented speed. This is because, as regards the relations of production in the Soviet Union, they represent an entirely new quality.

Quantitative change takes place on the basis of the qualitative nature, and is therefore restricted by it, but at the same time quantitative change also has an influence on quality. That is, an object that is determined by a certain quality will remain so only up to the moment at which quantitative change reaches a definite qualitative limit. Quantity will then demand a

In short, quantitative change is based on and limited by the determination of the nature of reality. At the same time, quantitative change of an object will, in return, have an impact on its quality. A certain object becomes what it is only before a certain moment. When the process of quantitative change reaches a certain limit of quality, and, under certain conditions, it will require a qualitative change. At the same time, this will also be a change from quality to quantity, because once the old quality is eliminated, the forward development of new quantity takes place. . . .

change of quality. At the same time, this change is a change from quality to quantity. Once the old quality has passed away, a new quantity can then move forward in its development.

Only through quantitative change can qualitative change emerge.

. . . Engels wrote, "For our own purposes, we can express this law in the following way: that is, in nature qualitative change will occur only through the increase or decrease of the quantity of a material or movement (that is, what is called force). Every particular occasion changes in a certain manner.

"All qualitative differences in nature rest on differences of chemical composition or on different quantities or forms of motion (energy) or, as is almost always the case, on both. Hence it is impossible to alter the quality of a body without addition or subtraction of matter or motion, i.e., without quantitative alteration of the body concerned.[23]

For the purpose of proving this idea, Engels gave many examples in *Anti-Dühring* and *Dialectics of Nature* to show how the increase or decrease of the pure quantity of the same chemical substance would lead to differences in quality.

The pure increase or decrease of quantity of the same chemical substance leads to the difference in quality.

Within certain limits, the change of quantity involves the continual increase in the dimensions of things of the same character. That is, within certain limits, though quantity changes, the thing remains the same thing. It is only at a certain stage and under certain conditions that the development of quantity will lead to a change in quality. At this time, things

According to the above explanation, we know that within certain limits a change in the quantity of the phenomenon has the same character of continual growth as things of the same quality. Those things whose quantities are changing within certain limits will not cease to be themselves. It is only at certain stages of development and under certain conditions that things will lose

will lose their old quality and become things of a new quality. Such a process of qualitative change is just the opposite of the process of quantitative change. Quantity changes gradually, but quality changes by leaps.

their original quality and become something else, things of a new quality. The change from one quality to another is just the opposite of the process of continual quantitative change. Instead of occurring gradually, it is completed in leaps. Once an object changes to a new quality, it only shows all sorts of different properties and aspects. Before the struggle between various opposing sides leads to any change in quality, it remains a thing of this quality forever. A leap, and the interruption of a continual process, is the turning point of change from one quality to another.

Engels gave a thorough and severe refutation of the mechanical view of the universe. At the same time, he pointed out that "if all differences and changes of quality are to be reduced to quantitative differences and changes, to mechanical displacement, then we inevitably arrive at the proposition that all matter consists of *identical,* smallest particles, and that all qualitative differences of the chemical elements of matter are caused by quantitative differences in number and by the spatial grouping of those smallest particles to form atoms.[24]

Notes

1. This is a quotation from Dong Zhongshu; it appears in his biography in the *Han shu* (History of the Han Dynasty).

2. Lenin's name was originally Vladimir Il'ich Ulianov. Early in his political career he adopted the pen name Nikolai Lenin; subsequently, while continuing to use the surname Lenin, he replaced the first name Nikolai with his original name and patronymic, becoming Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. While the author of the previous text referred to him familiarly by his patronymic, Il'ich, in this text he is commonly called Ulianov.

3. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Science of Logic," in *Philosophical Notebooks, Collected Works,* 4th ed., vol. 38, p. 213.

4. The word "generalization" appears in parentheses after its Chinese equivalent.

5. Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks,* p. 171.

6. See J.V. Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism," in *Problems of Leninism* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1976), p. 20.

7. The two interpolations in bold were added by Mao between the lines; the words in parentheses were inserted by him in the text.

8. See Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *Lectures on the History of Philosophy,*" pp. 255–56.

9. Ibid., p. 141.

10. The quotation is from Lenin's commentary on Hegel's *Lectures on the History of Philosophy,* cited above in note 8, pp. 253–54.

11. The quotation is from Engels, *Anti-Dühring.* See *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), p. 132.

12. The reference is to P.B. Struve (1870–1944) and V.M. Chernov (1873–1952).

13. See Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks,* "On the Question of Dialectics," in *Collected Works,* Vol. 38, pp. 359–60.

14. Ibid.

15. See Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic,*" p. 221.

16. Ibid., p. 222.

17. Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks,* p. 109.

18. See Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism," p. 30.

19. The words "quality and property" in parentheses are inserted here in the Chinese text.

20. On p. 107 of the 1982 Chinese edition of Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik.*

21. The English word "being" is inserted here in parentheses in the Chinese text.

22. The quotation is from Hegel's *Small Logic.*

23. See Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature* (New York, International Publishers, 1940), translated and edited by Clemens Dutt, with a preface and notes by J.B.S. Haldane, p. 27.

24. Ibid., p. 321.

Annotations to Li Da's Outline of Sociology

Part 1: Materialist Dialectics

Chapter 1: Materialist Dialectics as an Overview of the History of Human Understanding

Section 1: The Prehistory of Materialist Dialectics

1: Human Understanding in Primitive Times

Society—a developing organism

The only scientific method of sociology is materialist dialectics. This scientific method interprets society as a constantly developing living organism. The analysis of such an organism requires objective analysis of the various relations of production that make up a specific society, and an exploration of the special laws of action (governing its functioning and development, i.e., its progress from one kind of organism to another, higher kind of organism).[1] This is a necessary precondition for the function of consciousness in the historical process. Simply laying bare the above laws, however, is not adequate. What is necessary is to indicate the practical methods whereby the transformation from one kind of societal organism to another, higher kind of societal organism may be facilitated.

The study of a given society's relations of production and the laws of their development

Finding laws, indicating practice, transforming society—this is the fundamental argument of the book.

Social ideology is the reconstruction in theory of actual societies.

The above is, first of all, the fundamental thesis that this book puts forward and is also the entire backbone of the book.

Concerning the exposition of this argument, it should be divided into the following five major parts: . . . (5) Explaining society's ideology and its correct relationship to economic structure, and then reconstructing, in theory, a concrete outline of all kinds of actual societies.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong zhexue pizhuji,* pp. 205–31.

Li Da (1890–1966) was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and the first head of its Propaganda Department. He broke with the Party in 1923, while remaining a Marxist, because of his opposition to an excessively submissive attitude toward the Guomindang. For a concise but clear and comprehensive account of his life, see the first chapter of Nick Knight's extremely valuable work, *Li Da and Marxist Philosophy in China* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Mao's annotations to Part 1, Chapter 1 of Li Da's most important theoretical work, *Outline of Sociology,* are substantial. Beginning with Part 1, Chapter 2, and for all of Part 2 and the brief fragment of Part 3 included in the published version of this document, his annotations are limited to a few characters and, for the most part, consist simply of question marks in the margin. We have therefore included only Part 1, Chapter 1.

Materialist dialectics is the only scientific worldview. This worldview is something that is actively created through the assimilation of the fruits of the entire history of human understanding. So, in studying the general principles of materialist dialectics, we must take a historicist stance, explain the process of gestation, birth, and development of materialist dialectics, and point out that this philosophy is truly the sum total, the summation, and the conclusion of the history of human understanding.

Use historicism to look at the process of the generation and development of materialist dialectics

The views of humanity in primitive times regarding the objective world.

The history of human understanding includes the process of mankind's understanding of the objective world from primitive times down to the present. Therefore, when we seek the roots of the historical background of materialist dialectics, we cannot but trace them all

On the one hand, the long-term process of labor transformed nature; at the same time, it transformed human beings themselves (physiology and character).

Language is a result of labor, a means of communication, and the precondition for understanding. Only with the appearance of the concept of speech could thought begin.

the way back to human understanding during primitive times.

Primitive human beings, having evolved upward from the condition of animals, in the process of their long-term struggle with nature (i.e., a labor process), transformed nature, and, at the same time, transformed their own physiological organs and basic nature. The exertions of their shouts while laboring became reflected in their respiratory organs and vocal organs; it stimulated the development of the throat cavity, and they were gradually able to emit speech with a certain tonality. Speech is a result of the laboring behavior of human beings. It was also the means by which humans communicated with one another and, at the same time, the precondition for their beginning to understand nature.

The development of the brain is a result of labor.

In the process of laboring, the nervous system of human beings became complex, and their brains became greatly enlarged. At the same time, mutual interaction developed among humanity in economic life and psychological life. Owing to the appearance of speech, humanity was able to use speech to describe the appearance of objects in the external world, attach names to actions and objects, and thereby create the concept of speech. Once human beings had the concept of speech, they were then able to begin the activity of thought.

Two special characteristics of primitive thinking: (1) Nature and humans are both living. (2) Nature and humans are interchangeable. This is primitive dialectics and formed the animism of primitive systems of thought.

There are two characteristics of primitive thinking. The first is that primitive human beings saw natural objects or natural phenomena as living things the same as they were. . . . The second is the idea of transforming one object into another object, and the idea of transmitting the innate nature of animals to be manifested in humans. . . . Although we regard this thinking of primitive humans as extremely infantile and ludicrous, they saw nature as a living thing, an interchangeable world, and it can be said that this was the first rudiment of a dynamic worldview. It can also be called "primitive dialectics." It can be said that the animism of primitive systems of thought was formed on the basis of the characteristics described above.

All creatures are the result of the movement of spirits.

Animism is a relatively high stage in the development of primitive thought. Previously, human beings and things could not be separated; now human beings and things could be distinguished, and this was the result of labor.

Animism is the belief of primitive human beings that all creatures have a soul, and consequently it is one interpretation which has the result that all creatures are seen as spiritually alive. Animism is a relatively highly developed phase of primitive thinking. Previously, primitive humans had not been able to separate nature from themselves; now, humans could distinguish themselves from the natural world. This was entirely the result of humanity's struggle with nature.

Conscious struggle against nature

Because new aspects of nature were continually being understood during the production process, the way of the struggle with nature could be changed, as well as the way of living. As a result, there were surplus products, improvements in technology, and increased control of human beings over nature. During such times, animism appeared in the system of thought, and it was possible to separate the world into the material and the spiritual. This was the earliest attempt by the human race to understand nature, and it became the start of the conscious struggle with nature.

Animism separates the world into body and soul (that is, the material and the spiritual). This was the earliest attempt by humans to try to understand the outside natural world, and it was the first inkling of a conscious human struggle against nature. During the process of production, human beings constantly understood new aspects of nature, changed their methods for the struggle against nature, and, at the same time, also changed their own way of living and gradually moved from nomadic life to settled life. Consequently, surplus products appeared, technology continually improved, and humans increased their control over nature. Therefore, although animism assumes that all creatures have

souls, in fact this hypothesis was only established in order to explain the causality of natural phenomena. This indicates the progressive nature of primitive thinking.

Natural distribution, social distribution, and animism are the three origins of primitive religion.

The animism of primitive systems of thought subsequently evolved into the primitive worldview of religion. The origins of the primitive worldview of religion can be divided into three aspects. The first origin is the fact that primitive man was controlled by nature. . . . The second origin is the fact that primitive man was controlled by social relationships. . . . The third origin is the previous existence of animism. This is the ideological origin of religion. . . .

The essence of religion is the worship of supernatural forces, the belief that supernatural forces governed individuals, society, and the world. This development was entirely the result of the fact that natural and social forces were not understood. There were two early forms: The first was ancestor worship, and the second was worship of natural things.

The earliest form of religious belief was worship of the ancestral spirit. There is a close relationship between ancestor worship and productive relationships based on blood relationships. The objects of worship were the clan deities, racial deities, and so on. The second form was worship of natural things, namely, fetishism. Fetishism and the lack of understanding of natural phenomena are closely related. The objects of worship were water, fire, thunder, the sun, and animals and plants, etc.

As described above, the nature of religion is the worship of supernatural forces, and it is a belief that things happen based on the so-called supernatural forces governing individuals, society, and the world as a whole. The development of religious views began in primitive times. This development was entirely the result of the fact that natural and social forces were not understood. With the development of material production, human understanding of

With the development of production, and the progressively greater understanding of natural forces, the first basis for the appearance of religion gradually disappeared. But with the establishment of the class system in society, social forces were still not understood. Moreover, animist thought pervaded the people's hearts, and religion, therefore, still existed, but the form and content of religion had changed based on each of the defined social patterns. This is one aspect. Another aspect is that philosophy also emerged as a result of the development of production and the gradual understanding of natural and social forces.

natural phenomena gradually progressed, and the first religious roots—the notion of being under the control of natural forces—gradually disappeared, and religious concepts also began to be undermined. On the other hand, however, the emergence of surplus products as a result of the development of the productive forces, the formation of private property, and establishment of the slave system—social forces that could not be understood—continued to exist. At the same time, the belief in animism in primitive times also still pervaded the hearts of the people and controlled the minds of some people. So, with the switch from primitive society to slave society, primitive religious worldviews developed along another path and became the various religions corresponding to each phase of social development (such as the religion of the ancient slave society, the religions of the feudal society of the Middle Ages, and the religions of present-day capitalist society; see Part 5 [not included here—ed.] for explanation). On the other hand, the formation of philosophical worldviews based on scientific understanding began to emerge. (Conceptual worldviews were, however, still spanning the foundations of animism and religious worldviews.)

2: Materialist Dialectics in Ancient Natural Philosophies

Began as the division of labor, and then turned into opposites.

The stage of development that arose to replace primitive society in history was the society of the ancient slave system. The society of the slave system, as compared to primitive society, was a society with a high level of progress. Because of the development of the material

productive forces, and the split between the classes of master and slave, as well as the division of labor between intellectual labor and physical labor, there came to be an opposition between the two. People engaged in intellectual labor were exempt from the labor of material production and relied on the means of subsistence produced by physical labor to live. For this reason, they had the so-called "required leisure time" to do abstract thinking and consider questions such as the origins of the universe and how it took shape. Philosophical worldviews were formed on this premise.

Without the required leisure time, philosophy could not have emerged. This leisure time, moreover, resulted from the fact that society had moved into the slave system. The productive forces developed, surplus products increased, and society split into slave owners and slaves. Because the former exploited the latter, they could avoid labor. They had time to engage in the pursuit of learning, and only then was philosophy able to emerge. This was an enormous historical leap for human understanding.

The oldest philosophy is ancient Greek natural philosophy. This was a new worldview that represented an enormous leap forward from primitive religious views. In addition to the opposing premises of intellectual labor and physical labor, the emergence of this new worldview also had a basis in social history.

Why could materialist philosophy emerge only in the Greek era and not before? Because (1) the understanding of natural laws required progress in production technology. Only then could people gradually understand the character of nature and begin to explain the world with a viewpoint different from that of religion. (2) It was necessary to wait until there was a handicraft industry and commerce. Only when there were commercial slave owners, who had money and time, could the motivation develop to pursue higher learning. (3) It was necessary to wait until there was experience with the exchange of goods, and the cultivation of a capacity for abstract thought. Only then could philosophy be engaged in. (4) There had to be contact with different nationalities and a broader geographical outlook in order to be able to expand the intellectual outlook. (5) Preliminary development of the natural sciences was needed, along with a foundation of knowledge, for only on this basis could universally necessary factors be discovered, and natural philosophy take shape. These things constitute the historical basis of a new antireligious worldview, that is, the historical basis of ancient natural philosophy. Before this, humanity was subject to the oppression of natural forces and social forces, and could only interpret the world in terms of ghosts or spirits, and absolutely could not discover materialist philosophy.

First, Greece had already moved from a clan society to a slave system society by the tenth century B.C.E. Slave society, in the first period of its existence, was able to promote the development of the forces of production. And the efforts of the slave owners in favor of production improved production technology and raised the productivity of slave labor, thereby allowing the handicraft industry and agriculture to make great strides. Because of the advances in production technology, people were also able gradually to detect the rules governing natural phenomena and to begin to explain the world from a viewpoint different from that of religion.

Second, only as a result of the development in the handicraft industry and agriculture did commerce subsequently develop. The natural philosophers of ancient Greece lived mostly in the commercially developed coastal cities of Anatolia. The merchants who lived in these areas amassed large amounts of property, and they had the necessary free time, means, and motivation to strive for knowledge.

Third, the tradesmen living on the coast of Anatolia often returned to various ports in the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea to trade many different types of products. They were careful not about the natural qualities of the products but about the difference between the buying price and selling price. They were accustomed to converting the different quantities of products into currency and comparing the quantities. Therefore, they naturally developed a capacity for dealing with abstractions. As Heraclitus said: "All creatures exchange fire, and fire is exchanged among all creatures. This is the same as the fact that all goods are exchanged with gold, and gold is exchanged for all goods." This then shows the material basis for development of the abstract thinking capability of early natural philosophers.

With the development of commerce, the scope of activity of tradesmen broadened, and their intellectual outlook also broadened. They came into contact with

many different nationalities, and acquired knowledge of many different kinds of productive techniques, and of primitive science (such as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography), including knowledge of various kinds of religion, morality, customs, and habits. Consequently, among these various kinds of specialized experience and knowledge, they could find some kind of general and necessary elements, and increase their capacity for abstract thinking.

Such are the historical foundations of ancient natural philosophy. From technology, handicrafts, commerce, and sailing, rapidly expanding their geographical and spiritual horizons, people rejected the misinterpretations inherited from the religion of their former clan societies, and established new views in accordance with the thinking which explains the world in terms of natural realities. Hence, ancient natural philosophy grew out of the history discussed above, and appears as a new antireligious worldview.

The first natural philosopher, Thales, was the first to have given a natural explanation of the creation of the universe. He said that water gave rise to the universe and that water was the source of all creatures and the substance of all creatures. This view holds that all substances are a unitary thing, which can all be transformed into one another. Despite its simplicity, this is the first appearance of materialism and dialectics.

The creator of ancient natural philosophy was the philosopher Thales (624–548 B.C.E.), of Ionia. Thales was called the "father of philosophy." His works have not been passed down to later generations, but his theories were widely spread by later historians and philosophers (mainly Aristotle).

Thales's theory is characterized by the question of how the universe was created, and for this he gave a natural view. He opposed primitive religious views and established a scientific worldview based on a single material beginning. "He said that water gave rise to the universe. He also said that water

was the origin and the true essence of all creatures. He believed that water gave rise to all of the other elements (the elements at that time were water, fire, air, and earth)." He even believed that water gave rise to life. The basis of this view was the belief that all substances are a unitary thing, and all substances can be transformed into one another. The philosophical views of Thales, therefore, are actually the earliest materialist worldviews, and at the same time, they encompassed the beginnings of materialist dialectics.

The second great philosopher was Heraclitus. His great achievement was the discovery of the outline of materialist dialectics. He was a materialist, and, like the philosophers who came before him, he held that the world was composed of the four elements: water, fire, air, and earth. Moreover, he named fire as the basic element. This was his monistic materialist view. His principal achievement, however, was his discovery of the two basic dialectical ideas: that all things are constantly changing, and change is the result of internal contradiction. First, from the view that the universe is composed of matter, he arrived at the view that all things are constantly changing. He said: "Earth extinguishes and creates fire, fire extinguishes and creates air, air destroys and creates water, and water destroys and creates earth." He also said, "The universe is an everlasting fire," to make the analogy that all creatures are constantly changing. He also said, "A person cannot cross the same river twice," likewise suggesting that nature and

Next, another major philosopher of nature that we have mentioned is Heraclitus (540–480 B.C.E.). The philosophy of Heraclitus was of the greatest significance; it made known and explained the later so-called outline of dialectics. Like the previous natural philosophers, he took the view that the universe and all creatures were composed of the four elements: water, fire, air, and earth. He took the view that these four elements could be transformed into one another. He said: "Fire is both extinguished and created by earth, air is both extinguished and created by fire, water is both eliminated and created by air, and earth is both destroyed and created by water." He also called the universe the everlasting fire. This is an analogy indicating that fire is the manifestation of a constantly changing process. From the view that the universe is composed of substances, he reached the position that "the myriad of created things is universally changing." On the basis of the correct proposition that "all creatures are constantly changing," he expressed his dynamic view of the universe. He also

society change without ceasing. In his view, the universe is boundless in both time and space and is constantly changing. This is not all; he also points out the reasons for change. He believes that all things are transformed from one form into another as a result of the inner struggles of opposites. All change takes place in the context of struggle. He said, "Struggle is the father of all creatures," and "struggle is everywhere, and truth is disharmony." In this way, he used general methods to demonstrate dialectical thought. This is the first time in history that human beings understood it. He is therefore called the father of dialectics.

used the metaphor "a person cannot cross the same river twice" to explain all the changes in the natural world and the world of human affairs. Such a pattern of thought according to which all things are constantly changing is the basic concept of dialectics. According to his view, the entire universe is infinite and eternal in time and limitless and boundless in space. Such a universe, which is constantly changing, is certainly not a unified thing.

As to why the universe and all creatures are "ever changing," the question can be asked in another way: What is the ultimate reason that the universe and all creatures are changing? His answer to this question is very correct. He held that all changes take place in the midst of contradictions. He said: "Struggle is the father of all creatures, the king of all creatures. Struggle causes certain things to change into spirits and other things to change into people; it causes certain people to change into slaves and other people to change into free men." He also said, "Struggle is everywhere, and truth is not peaceful and inevitably emerges only through struggle. This is a thing which must be known." According to this view, all creatures are transformed from one form into another by the struggle of internal opposites. "It is the struggle of opposites that is the cause bringing about every kind of change and development." This is also the basic thought of dialectics. In sum, he used ordinary methods to express such thought. He also used this kind of thought to deal with the relations between existence and nonexistence. He said that the opposition between the two extremes of existence and nonexistence

was resolved in the concept of generation. That is, the processes and essence of all things lie in the union of two extremes. Among the Greek philosophers, the "great and glorious Heraclitus" was truly "the father of dialectics."

Democritus's greatest achievement was his materialist view of atomic theory. Although this was a very primitive and mechanical materialist theory, it had a significant impact on later generations of atomic theory and brought about the guidance of science by philosophy. He opposed idealist philosophy and advocated an entirely materialist philosophy. He believed that all matter was composed of minuscule, indivisible particles called atoms and that their movement was integrated with empty space. The impenetrable atoms move in empty space, and atoms mutually separate and combine, thereby composing the diverse nature of the material world. He saw matter, humans, spirits, and thinking all as various combinations of all atoms that have the same matter and different forms. In this way, he gave all things a relatively unique form. He believed that nothing else exists besides atoms and emptiness, and he completely denied divinity. He believed that motion cannot be separated from matter, but that emptiness is a condition of the movement of matter. His relationship between atoms and emptiness demonstrates the unity of having and not having. Although his view of the movement of matter was mechanical, dynamic movement, he also saw the basic law of changes in matter as an inevitable result of the

We next speak of Democritus (460–350[2] B.C.E.), the highest pinnacle among ancient materialists. The materialist theory of Democritus is the most outstanding representation of ancient Greek atomic materialist theory. An idealist worldview had already emerged during the era of Democritus. Democritus fervently opposed idealist philosophy and promoted a fundamentally and entirely materialist theory that was his own philosophy. He said: "Matter is eternal," and "nothing can come from nothing." Based on this materialist judgment, matter did not need to be created by any mystical or divine activity because matter exists eternally, and the movement of matter is the result of its own special qualities. Democritus called these special qualities of matter inseparable particles, the integration and separation of atoms, and various types of integration.

Natural philosophy at that time was still in a very immature form, so the worldview of Democritus was still an early and rudimentary thing. He made observations about the composition of the material world such as the following. All matter that exists in the universe—fire and water, earth and sky, matter and humans, plants or human spirits—consists of various combinations of atoms that are the same matter in mutually different forms. Water atoms have one form; earth atoms have another form. When expanded, combi-

universe, and he sought to find the reasons for the movement of matter in the nature of matter itself.

nations of atoms also make up humans and their thoughts, and each has a unique form. In this way, Democritus gave everything in the universe its own correspondingly unique form.

According to the views of Democritus, although each of the various forms of atomic combinations is different, all atoms still have the common characteristics of materiality, inseparability and impenetrability. Since all atoms are impenetrable, the substances that are formed by combinations of atoms (such as water, fire, air, and earth) are also impenetrable. The question therefore arose: how can an impenetrable substance move? He assumed empty space in order to answer this question. He believed that all beings are composed of minuscule, impenetrable particles of matter; these particles move in empty space, and they mutually separate and combine to create all the diversity in the material world. He therefore said: "There is nothing else in current reality other than atoms and empty space."

Democritus saw atoms and emptiness as the basic principle of the material world, and the principle of atoms and emptiness demonstrates comprehension of the unity of having and not having. He held that there are many combinations of atoms that give rise to many types of matter, and emptiness is a condition for the motion of matter. He held that motion is inseparable from matter. The motion of matter that he discussed, however, is mechanical, dynamic motion, and this type of mechanical, dynamic motion is also a law of change of matter and the inevitable result of the universe. Here, he tried to explore the reasons for the matter's own movement in the material world itself.

Although Democritus created a mechanical understanding of matter, he put all things in the universe and their motion in order with his idea of the various combinations of atoms and their transformation and clashes, thereby reaching an abstract concept about matter. We can say that the philosophy of Democritus was a mechanical materialist worldview. Though primitive, this worldview had a significant impact on later development of atomic theory. In this regard, we can see how philosophy tends to lead to scientific development.

3: Dialectics in Ancient Idealist Philosophy

Ancient idealist philosophy represents the ideology of the reactionary aristocracy. There are six historical bases for its development: (1) The profound class divisions and struggles that came as a result of further development of Greece's slave economy spawned a struggle between the ideologies of aristocracy and democracy, and idealist philosophy was the foundation of the former. (2) Because the slave system impeded technological progress, slave owners did not study natural phenomena related to technological improvement; instead, they focused their attention on studying social phenomena, and moral philosophy and state theory emerged. (3) Because free people who were disassociated from physical labor commonly viewed physical labor with contempt, intellectual factors were exaggerated, and idealist philosophy

Ancient idealist philosophy is what replaced materialist philosophy in history. The occurrence and development of ancient idealist philosophy has its own historical roots.

First, by the fifth century B.C.E., development of the Greek slave economy had already reached its pinnacle and begun to decline. During this process, the class antagonism among the free people was continually developing, and the struggle of the class of tradesmen and industrialists against the former landed aristocrats intensified. The attention of each stratum of the free people thereupon became focused on the struggle for political rights, which led to the so-called struggle between democracy and aristocracy.

Second, because the slavery system impeded technological progress, the slave-owning class made no effort to study natural phenomena related to tech-

resulted. (4) Because of this, the aristocracy in ideological realms looked down upon and despised study of the so-called "base material" philosophies. They considered idealist philosophy to be the only truth; (5) As a result of the scientific limitations of the previous period of materialist philosophy, inconsistencies of immaturity and self contradiction could not be avoided, and it was therefore looked down upon by idealist philosophers. (6) Because materialist philosophy was only the dialectics of objective reality, it did not focus on the dialectics of subjective thought. As a result, idealism, which emphasized logic, replaced it. The above six points are the historical reasons ancient idealism replaced ancient materialism and developed.

nological improvement. Instead, they focused their attention on studying social phenomena. So, what is the meaning of good? What is the meaning of bad? How should people live? How should the state be organized? Questions such as how political power should be distributed became the questions they urgently wanted to resolve.

Third, free people all took part as citizens of the state, and citizens could not be people who engaged in physical labor, so free townspeople commonly viewed physical labor with contempt. In ancient times, this scornful view of labor prevailed among all thinking people.

Fourth, in the realm of ideology, this was damaging to the self-esteem of those who had formerly studied natural phenomena, who saw themselves as highly intellectual aristocrats and regarded such studies as base material philosophy. The objects of reflection of the aristocrats and their lackeys therefore shifted from the material world on earth to the intellectual world in the heavens. Moreover, inconsistencies in the substance of earlier materialist philosophies could not be avoided because of the limitations of immature scientific knowledge. In the eyes of the aristocratic scholars, they had become dull and tasteless. In addition, the former materialist philosophy, because it was subject to the limitations of the immature scientific knowledge of that time, unavoidably suffered from internal contradictions, and was dull and tasteless in the eyes of the aristocratic scholars. In addition, the earlier natural philosophies simply asserted the objective reality of materialist dialectics, but dit not address the materialist dialectics of subjectivity, that is, the materialist dialectics of thought. This is yet another reason ancient materialist theory gave way to ancient idealism.

On the basis of the historical basis described above, these ancient idealist theories representing the reactionary aristocratic theory appeared on the stage of philosophy, and struggled against the earlier materialist theories.

Socrates was the first to struggle against materialism and advocate idealist epistemology and ethics. Most significant was that he was the first to advance ethics and epistemology. He brought philosophy into the spheres of society and thought. He initiated the relationship between knowledge and behavior in materialist dialectics on the basis of ethics theory. On the basis of epistemology, he initiated the relationship between general and individual in materialist dialectics. These were his greatest achievements. His thinking, however, was reactionary and idealist. His ethics theory suggested that knowledge determines behavior. He believed that the pursuit of knowledge is the means to attaining ethics, that evil is the product of ignorance, and that good is the result of knowledge. There is an element of truth to this, but first of all, his so-called knowledge is understanding of the customs and habits of the ancestors. He therefore advocated restoration of old customs and traditions and rejection of new knowledge. He advocated traditional aristocracy and rejected the new rising democracy, so he was reactionary. Second, he realized only that knowledge affected behavior and was unaware of

The earliest representative of ancient idealism was Socrates (469–399 B.C.E.). Socrates's main theoretical issue was advocacy of unification of knowledge and ethics. He saw pursuit of knowledge as the means of attaining ethics. In his view, evil was the result of ignorance, and good was a valuable thing. In order to know why good was a valuable thing, its best origin had to be known. The origin is the customs and habits of the ancestors. For this reason, he rejected the newly emerging democracy and upheld the traditional aristocracy.

In the area of epistemology, Socrates was an idealist in his explanation of general philosophical questions. He treated attainment of thought and the existence of generality in thought as the foundations for individual perceptual phenomena. He held that the objective of knowledge is exploration of the general. In idealist epistemology, therefore, Socrates put forward the question of general versus individual dialectics, even though he never resolved this question.

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the origins of knowledge in behavior (practice). Behavior is the foundation that determines knowledge, as well as the standard for examining knowledge. Thus he was an idealist. As for his theory of knowledge, he held that the goal of knowledge was to move from individual perceptions to rational generalities, and this is correct. But his view that the latter is the foundation of the former is idealist.

Plato's thinking was objective idealism, and its entire system was reactionary and incorrect. He believed that ideas were the only eternal truths that existed. Before the existence of the world and of human beings, ideas existed. The world and the thinking of human beings are both products of ideas and the reflections of ideas. This turns the real world upside down into an entirely idealist system. From this, he created an idealist logic and advocated a world in which recognition of an object is an idea and not a feeling, and the method of recognition is to engage in thinking based on concepts that are devoid of content. Plato also played a positive role, however, because his subjective idealism revealed the role of concepts in thought. The impact of this concept on thought had a significant pioneering effect on the history of human understanding.

Next, the philosopher who followed Socrates was the objective idealist Plato (427–347 B.C.E.). Plato was the person most vehemently opposed to materialism, and he advocated burning the works of Democritus on atomic theory. He advocated that the intrinsic quality of worldly objects could not be sought in contemptible matter; it should be sought, rather, in theory. According to his ideas, the world we perceive through feelings does not truly exist; instead, there is an eternally existing theoretical world, the reflection of a conceptual world. He used the following analogies to explain this point. He said we should assume we are sitting in an empty space surrounded by a wall. The four sides of the empty space are all enclosed, and only the top is open. At this time, the empty space above has people walking and stars moving. The reflections of these people and stars are, therefore, on the facing walls. The world of feelings, like these reflections, is therefore on the facing walls. Like these reflections, the world of feelings is also a reflection of ideas that truly exist. Based on Plato's thinking, ideas and concepts are things that existed before the world and above the world, and the thinking of the world and

our thinking are both products of these ideas. Therefore, Plato is an objective idealist.

Plato firmly believed that ideas are the creators of life, the highest single truth of the real world. Hence he held that recognition of an object is in fact such a concept. We can recognize ideas only by thinking of the concept. For this reason, he created conceptual ethics. Plato's concept, however, did not include the concept of the substance of matter and was therefore a dead and motionless concept. Recognition of a concept that is dead, motionless, and devoid of substance is also mysticism that is dead, motionless, and devoid of substance. We are not willing to study his mysticism. Instead, we will simply state the slightly positive significance of his thinking, his view of the logic of ideas. His view of the logic of ideas demonstrated the effect of concepts on thinking.

Section 2: The Coming into Being and Development of Materialist Dialectics

[Subheadings 1 to 3 are missing in the original]

4: Development of Materialist Dialectics

From the explanation in the previous section, we can see that materialist dialectics was forged in the process of philosophical struggle. Philosophical struggle is a reflection of political struggle, and confronting this issue is the key to our understanding the occurrence and development of materialist dialectics. When the precursors first took

Struggle is dialectical.

up a position of radical democracy, they entered the philosophical realm of the Left Hegelian faction in order to reflect the political struggle using the philosophical struggle. From the time they were influenced by Feuerbach, and having decided to become materialists and critically assimilate Hegel's materialist dialectic methods to study all the real social problems, they took further steps to utilize innovative intellectual tools of materialist dialectics to engage in struggles on two philosophical fronts—those of idealism and old materialism, representing the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. This type of struggle reflects the actual struggle between the proletariat, which they represent, and the bourgeoisie.

Notes

1. The passage in parentheses was added by Mao Zedong.
2. As indicated by a note to the Chinese text, the correct date of Democritus's death is 370 B.C.E.

Summary of Philosophy and Life *by Ai Siqi*

(1937)

All the terms (or concepts, categories) we use, such as "absolute," "relative," and so on, are the reflection of real things. It is only because there are real horses in the world that there is the term "horse." The two terms relative and absolute are also not divorced from real things.

Absolutism frequently causes trouble in our daily life.

For example, believing in fate, and thinking that things never change. Or, considering that the circumstances of life in a certain place do not suit one, wanting to go somewhere else, and thinking that circumstances can never change. Or, thinking that the people around one are not awakened, and not knowing that people, too, can change.

Darkness is not absolute, nor is brightness absolute.

To go beyond reality in pursuit of an ideal reality and to try to escape reality are both idealist[1] attitudes. Of all of the forms of idealism, the majority are absolutist.

Leftist infantilism is a kind of absolutism, since it regards the ideal as something absolute and does not know that the ideal can be realized only on the basis of the present situation.

The changing of darkness and the obtaining of brightness are proportional to effort or the lack thereof. Effort will be rewarded with success; lack of effort will lead to failure. The relationship between these things depends on making efforts or not and on timeliness.

Relativism considers that there is no such thing as definite truth. Everybody has his own truth; ten people will have ten truths: "Aren't they almost the same?" This means skepticism, doubting everything, and being able to grasp nothing.

It is right to doubt, but it is wrong to doubt everything.

There are more relativists among the old, and more absolutists among the young.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong zhexue pizhuji,* pp. 191–203, where it is reproduced from Mao's handwritten manuscript of September 1937. For a brief biographical note about Ai Siqi, see Mao's letter of 1937 to him in Part I of this volume, in which he also explained why he was sending this summary to Ai for comment.

1. The term *guannianlun,* used here, has in recent years sometimes been rendered literally as "conceptualism." In fact it was, in the 1930s, the standard Chinese translation of "idealism."

Relativism exaggerates the relativity of things. The relative nature of change in things should be recognized, but overstating it to the point that nothing can be grasped becomes relativism.

Recognize the changing and relative nature of things, while at the same time recognizing the existence of fixed things in the midst of change and relativity, and of laws in the development of things. Recognize absolute things in the midst of relativity. The absolute is embodied in the relative. Relativism refuses to recognize this regularity.

Relative things include certain absolute things; absolute things are manifested in each inevitable stage of relative things. Such is the relationship between the two.

Sublation is, on the one hand, to reject and negate the negative elements and, on the other, to criticize, transform, and, at the same time, preserve the positive elements; it is not simple rejection. Ye Qing[2] says: "In the past formal logic dominated every field of research, but now it is restricted to states of relative rest." Thus if we want to negate formal logic, we can do it only with reference to the range of its application, not to its essence. What is this if not simple preservation? What is it if not the recognition that, in essence, formal logic and dialectics are of equal significance?

At any point in space all things in motion are both at rest and not at rest at the same time. This is the contradictory unity of movement. Ye Qing says, "Motion is the accumulation of rest, rest is the cessation of motion. These two engender each other and turn into each other, and one is the condition of existence of the other." Rest is only a specific form of motion; it is definitely not the cessation of motion, nor is motion the accumulation of rest. If it is only the accumulation of rest, motion will be totally eliminated in motionlessness (Zhang Youren).[3]

Formal logic and dialectical logic are the most fundamental problems.

Dialectical logic: A is A, but at the same time it is not A; a certain thing is identical to itself, but at the same time it is not. Formal logic can see only the identical aspect. Dialectics, however, sees not only this aspect but also the other aspect (which is not identical); therefore it is able to embody, assimilate, and sublate formal logic. Dialectics can see what formal logic is unable to see. As for what formal logic can see, dialectics not only sees it but transforms and deepens it.

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2. Ren Zhuoxuan (1896–) was a native of Sichuan. In the early 1920s, as a member both of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Guomindang, he spent five years in France, where he played an important role in the Chinese student movement. In 1925, he was expelled from France because of this activity, and in early 1926 he returned to China. There he led underground Communist activities as a member of the Hunan regional committee. Although arrested and sentenced to death, he somehow escaped execution, but in 1928, when he was arrested again, he renounced his Chinese Communist Party membership, while continuing to write as a Marxist, under the pseudonym of Ye Qing. The works criticized here are those of his period as an anti-Communist Marxist in the mid-1930s. Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, he abandoned socialism for nationalism.

3. Zhang Youren was a reader of Ai Siqi's *Philosophy for the Masses* who wrote a letter to Ai denouncing Ye Qing's attacks on him.

One cannot say, "On the one hand, I recognize A as A, and, on the other hand, I also recognize that A is not A," and call this dialectics. The relationship between these two propositions is not a case of "on the one hand and on the other." It is, rather, that at one and the same time they permeate each other and are bound together. It is the unity of the whole and not a mechanical combination, nor can they be mechanically broken up. If they are broken up and understood in this way, the result will be eclecticism. Ye Qing's dialectics is such an eclectic distortion.

Ye Qing also recognizes that the methods of induction and deduction are both built on formal logic and must be sublated by dialectics. He also says, however: "In our applications we can regard the methods of deduction and induction as categories, using them as appropriate in the dialectical process of research." In this way he acknowledges that the entire process of research is dialectical, but during this process there are times when the inductive method or the deductive method must be used. The combination of these two methods thus becomes the dialectical process of research as a whole.

The inductive method seeks out the general, pure common points from among a great many complex and particular things. The road taken is analysis. The deductive method is used to explain particular things in terms of general principles. The road taken is synthesis. The former proceeds from the particular to the general and from the concrete to the abstract. The latter proceeds from the general to the particular and from the abstract to the concrete. According to Ye Qing's method, the whole of dialectics is nothing but the mechanical combination of the methods of induction and deduction.

According to Ye Qing, it seems that the study of dialectics is also from the particular to the general and from the general to the particular. Thus it is induction and deduction. Actually this is incorrect.

In dialectics, although at the stage from the particular to the general, ordinary inductive methods such as observation, comparison, and analysis are used, they are used only as one of the essential factors. Because here the inductive method is proceeding only along the path of analysis, it draws only simple and one-sided conclusions from among the complicated things. Dialectics is quite different; it not only analyzes but also summarizes at the same time. That is, it not only grasps simple and one-sided determinations but also strives to seek out determinations that are many-sided and unite the contradictions.

In the process from the general to the particular, will it be all right to use only the deductive method, take the way of synthesis, and apply the general laws to sum up individual things? No, this won't do. If we are going to carry out the dialectical method, not only should we adopt the method and achieve a synthesis, but, while applying and summarizing, we should also analyze the concrete conditions of these individual things and discover the tendencies of new and particular contradictions.

Whether from the general to the particular or from the particular to the general, our method is always basically dialectical. The inductive and deductive methods are both used only as elements in the process of research. Neither can be separated

from the other and stand alone. They are not simply rejected or simply preserved. Instead, they are assimilated, digested, and transformed. Dialectics is dialectics as a whole and not the simple piecing together of induction and deduction.

The quality of things will remain unchanged during a process of quantitative change. At this time, from a qualitative point of view, it remains relatively static, but in terms of quantity, it changes from the beginning to the end. Since relative rest is still a particular form of absolute movement, it can be understood clearly only through the study of dialectics. Formal logic can see only the static aspect; moreover, it is likely to exaggerate this aspect and overlook the fundamental movement. Since we have dialectics, which can grasp the overall picture of a thing, including the aspect of formal logic, why should we study the relatively static state with formal logic?

Ye Qing says: "Understanding the nature of the Chinese economy is obviously the study of a state of rest. Consequently, the analysis of this problem should undoubtedly be formulated on the basis of formal logic."

This is wrong—it is eclecticism. In his opinion, only the study of the development of Chinese society is a study of a dynamic state and an issue of dialectics. Form, quality, relationship, and so on are only studies of a state of rest, and they should belong to formal logic. Isn't this obviously eclecticism?

Questions such as those of quality and relations are the starting point for the problem of development. Although we cannot regard them as development itself, if we are faithful to dialectics, we should at least see in them the internal motive force of development, see in them specific contradictions. Can formal logic do this? Formal logic sees only one side; hence it can only become formalism. For example, feudal society needs capitalist revolution; this is a formula. Because the Chinese economy is a feudal economy, some people claim that China needs a capitalist revolution to build a capitalist society. Such a deduction is not incorrect in terms of formal logic; that is all we can say about it, but China's specific conditions are ignored. The specific conditions in China do not allow a restriction to historical capitalist revolutions, nor do they allow the building of a capitalist society. This applies to every problem; since formal logic is unable to solve the problems, the only solution is to go to dialectics for help. From Plekhanov to Ye Qing's formulism, [formal logic] has been unable to solve any problems.

Two thousand years ago, the Greek sophists regarded movement as countless points of rest in space. Hence, they concluded that there were only countless points of rest and no movement at all. Ye Qing says that rest is the cessation of movement, and movement is the accumulation of rest. This is a revival of sophistry.

Lenin says, "Even a simple judgment is also a unity of contradictions. For example, the proposition 'Ivan is a man' has the meaning of 'the particular is equal to the general.'" Formal logic often makes statements such as "young people are shop assistants," rather than "young people are young people," since formal logic itself cannot be strictly bound by the law of identity, or it could not have been established. When formal logic uses this kind of proposition, [those who do so]

naturally do not imagine that it contains contradictions, so we cannot say that this is an application of the law of the unity of contradictions. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that propositions of this kind in essence contain a unity of contradictions.

Ai Siqi says: "Different things are not contradictions; for example, pen, ink, and chair are not contradictions. But if one understands the principles of development and change, then it is known that under certain conditions things that are different may turn into contradictions. If two different things are at the same place at the same time and begin to act in a mutually exclusive manner, they become contradictions. For instance, shop assistants and writers have no basic contradictions with one another, but if a certain shop assistant becomes interested in writing and wants to become a writer, the two become mutually exclusive within an entity and, in the end, become contradictory. But if only virtue and vice, man and woman, and so on are recognized as contradictions, and it is thought that other things cannot transform themselves into contradictions, this is a formalistic differentiation, and is no different from the formalism of Zhang Dongsun's[4] approach distinguishing between "opposite" and "contradictory."

The basic principle is correct, but the formulation "difference is not contradiction" is not. What we should say is that, under certain conditions, all things that are different are contradictions. A person sits on a chair and dips a pen into ink in order to write an essay. Just because these two specific conditions of a person and an essay temporarily unite contradictory things, we cannot say that these differences are not contradictions. When a cook prepares food, he takes firewood, rice, oil, salt, soy sauce, vinegar, and tea, and, under certain circumstances, unites them. A shop assistant and a writer may also be united under certain conditions. Part work, part study can unify work and study. Differences are everything in this world, and, under certain conditions they are all contradictions. Hence, differences are contradictions; these are the so-called concrete contradictions. This formulation of Ai's is inappropriate. (Mao Zedong's opinion)

The formula "A is B or not B" of the law of the excluded middle actually contains such a contradiction. That is, "A is not A but B," or "B may or may not be B." Hegel criticized this a long time ago.

External factors must not be overlooked, but they cannot determine necessity in things. It is internal causes that determine necessity. Ye Qing says, "We should recognize the mutual influence of the internal and external factors." This is mechanical mutual influence; neither side is winning, and this leads to Ye Qing's eclecticism. Dialectical interaction is not like this, however; the two sides are distinguished by primary and secondary significance.

Recognize Ye Qing's problem: "Machines require external force; water becomes vapor after meeting with external heat; isn't it a fact that the evolution of living things should be attributed to the environment?" Assuredly we do not simply negate

4. Zhang Dongsun (1886–1973) was at this time professor of philosophy at Yanjing University. He characterized his own thought as "epistemological pluralism."

his view. At the same time, however, we should also admit the capacity of things themselves to change, which is the decisive factor in the change of a thing. Machines are capable of movement, water has the characteristic of turning into vapor, and living things have the characteristic of evolution. Consequently, force, heat, environment, and other external factors are able to play a role. Internal factors rather than external factors determine the inevitability of changes in a thing.

General things always manifest themselves in particular forms, and there are no pure and ordinary things surviving in this world. What is called "the particular is contained in the general" refers to a general thing which manifests itself in particular forms. This does not mean that there is some particular thing that is independent of the ordinary things (such as when Ye Qing said that the theory of internal causes is a general principle, but the uniqueness of China does not fit his view, and China's development does not fit any law). The general and the particular are a unity of contradictions; there is no purely general, nor is there any pure uniqueness that exists independent of generality.

The distinguishing feature of materialist dialectics lies in its grasp of the core and essence of the facts, and the regularity of the internal development of the facts, rather than respecting the appearance of the facts. Mechanical materialists, empiricists, and pragmatists also all respect the facts, but all of them respect only the superficial facts. Respecting the superficial facts is the preliminary stage of knowledge, the initial period of science. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century materialism and mechanical scientific thought are like this. We do not deny that superficial facts can also give people some knowledge. The metaphysical mechanics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has made available many truths. Even pragmatism can see more than the empty boasters who present a false picture of peace and prosperity. It has been able to expose in large measure the crimes of the enemy invader, as well as the error of absolute nonresistance. Nevertheless, the ability to see only the invasion of the enemy and the inability to see the essence of invasion, the ability to see only the mistakes of nonresistance and the inability to see the future of resistance by the popular masses—this kind of respect for the immediate facts before one's eyes is completely different from materialist dialectics. It is only a superficial fact that mechanical motion results from external force; the essential fact is that machines themselves have the ability to move. Science in the mechanical age paid attention only to the study of external force, since science at that time was still in its primitive stage and was unable to penetrate to the essence of movement. The arrival at the higher stage of the theory of relativity made it possible for people to explain mechanical movement in terms of internal factors. As for the movement of the planets, during the era of Newton, people were able to explain this only in terms of gravity (external forces). The theory of relativity, however, explains it in terms of the nature of movement itself.

Part III: Brief Sayings and Inscriptions

Inscription on the Founding of the Anti-Japanese University

(October 23, 1937)

It is said that you have high enthusiasm for the work of building classrooms and dormitories and have achieved initial successes. This is excellent. This provides proof that, before the Communist Party and the Red Army, all ordinary so-called difficulties do not exist, the most severe hardship can also be overcome, and the Red Army is invincible in the world.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, p. 125.

* * *

Commemorating the Second Anniversary of the Anwu Youth Course

(October 1937)

All young people who have joined the revolutionary ranks with fresh blood and vigor are precious, regardless of whether or not they are Party members. Without them, the revolutionary forces cannot grow and the revolution cannot triumph. But the natural weakness of the young comrades is lack of experience, and revolutionary experience must be gained from personal participation in the revolutionary struggle. After working at first from the lowest level in a down-to-earth manner and without any pretentiousness for some years, experience will come to those without it.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, p. 129.

Inscription for Kangda, *the Organ of the Anti-Japanese University*

(1937)

Struggle hard and persevere; a bright future is just ahead.

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 131.

* * *

Inscription on the Tombstone of Comrade Gu Bo

(1937)

My friend Gu Bo, talented and hard-working, devoted his life to the country, and I am extremely grieved over his death. I hope that all fellow countrymen of Mr. Gu will continue the work he has bequeathed to them and achieve together the goal of freedom and liberation.

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 131.

* * *

Inscription

(1937?)

The one and only task today is for members of the Guomindang and the Communist Party to unite like brothers in fighting for the cause of resisting Japan and saving the country, and in striving to attain the goal of national independence, democracy, freedom, people's livelihood, and happiness.

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 131.

Inscription for Kangda

(March 5, 1938)

A firm and steadfast political direction, a work-style of arduous struggle, plus responsive and flexible strategy and tactics.

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 133.

* * *

To Jin Cheng[1]

(March 13, 1938)

Comrade Jin Cheng:

The materials about Guangdong are excellent.[2] Collect more similar materials for me in the future. And you should gather all kinds of information from those coming from outside.

Best wishes!

Mao Zedong

Our source for this letter is *Mao Zedong shuxin xuanji,* p. 125, where it is reproduced from the manuscript.

1. Jin Cheng (1906–1991) was, at this time, head of the foreign department of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region.
2. The reference is to materials on the situation of the Guomindang which Jin Cheng had obtained from a local worker on his way from Guangdong to Yan'an.

Inscription for the Special Publication of the Representative Conference of the Women of New China

(March 15, 1938)

Women have shouldered great responsibilities in the War of Resistance. The masses of women must be organized, and there should be large numbers of female cadres to lead the women's work.

Our source for this inscription is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* pp. 133–34, where it is reproduced from *Xin Zhonghua bao,* March 15, 1938.

* * *

Couplet for a Mass Meeting Commemorating the Death of Sun Yatsen and Honoring Anti-Japanese Martyrs

(March 1938)

What is the basis for Guomindang-Communist cooperation? Mr. Sun said, "Communism is a good friend of the Three People's Principles." Where does the reason for the victory of anti-Japanese resistance reside? The people of our country all declare, "The front of the aggressors is the mortal enemy of the peace front."

Our source for this couplet is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 134. It was obviously written for the meeting of March 12, 1938, at which Mao delivered the speech translated above in the body of this volume.

Inscription Calling Upon Young People

(April 15, 1938)

Young people are a vital new force in the anti-Japanese war. At present, the task of youth organizations is to unite the young men and women of all social strata in the whole country to go to the battlefields of the anti-Japanese war in great numbers, to strengthen the fighting power of the regular armies and develop a broad guerrilla war. The young people in the rear are also working exclusively for the victory of the war. The liberation of China relies mainly on the young people.

Our source for this inscription is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 134. It was published in *Xin Zhonghua Bao* on this date.

* * *

Important Instructions on Culture

(April 1938)

Statement of Ke Zhongping

The section on "Culture of the Border Regions" in issue no. 430 of *New China* carried my article "The Lu Xun Academy of Arts is a development of Lu Xunism." In it, there were some typographical errors and omissions. I asked *New China* to make corrections in accordance with my original manuscript in issue no. 431, but the paragraph by Mr. Mao Zedong which I quoted contained some errors, for which I am responsible. Because I wrote down this paragraph from memory, I was not able to reproduce it completely. Now, on the basis of corrections made by Mr. Mao himself, I shall carefully reproduce that paragraph of important instructions on culture here:

Sometimes the stuff prepared by the people of the food pavilions is not very tasty, and that prepared by the people on the mountain tops doesn't look very good. Some of the people in the food pavilions say, "This old guy is number one in the world or, at the very least, number two," and those on the mountain tops put on a rough and ready air and say, "This old guy has traveled 25,000 *li.*"

Now we should no longer put up with these things—the things of the past, which can be regarded as things of the period of preparation. We should get rid of a bit of this self-importance. It is essential to organize the cultural achievements of

the past decade, train large numbers of cultural cadres, and send them to work on all the battlefronts throughout the country. . . . The work-style should be that of the united front. At the same time, the united front also provides guidance and direction for art.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, p. 167.

* * *

Inscription for the First Issue of Free China

(May 10, 1938)

Let all patriotic people unite and fight for a free China.

Our source for this text is the index volume to *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 135.

* * *

Inscription for Shi Fangbai

(May 12, 1938)

At the present stage, China must certainly complete the national-democratic revolution by defeating the Japanese bandits thoroughly and establishing a new-democratic republic. In a future stage, China will definitely complete the socialist revolution, by setting up a more advanced and successful socialist republic. Accomplishing these two revolutions requires adherence to the policy of the united front. The goal can be reached only if all revolutionary forces are solidly united within the united front.

Respectfully presented to Mr. Shi Fangbai.

Mao Zedong

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, p. 171.

There Are No Strategic Offensives in the Anti-Japanese War, but Only Tactical Counteroffensives and Strategic Counteroffensives[1]

(May 28, 1938)

Of course, the anti-Japanese war does not have so-called strategic offensives. It has only battlefield counteroffensives and strategic counteroffensives, which are positive components of the entire strategic defense and are relied upon for the defeat of Japan. It is, of course, also permissible in popular parlance to call them offensives.

Our source for this text is *Mao Zedong junshi wenji,* Vol. 2, p. 229.

1. Mao wrote this letter in his capacity as chief editor of the series *Kangri zhanzheng congshu* (Collected Writings on the Anti-Japanese War). The present text is a reply to Guo Huaruo, one of the authors of *Kangri youji zhanzheng de yiban wenti* (All the Problems of the Anti-Japanese War), the first book in the series, which appeared in July 1938. Mao's own article, "Problems of Strategy in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War," which appears above under the date of its first publication, May 30, 1938, was also included in this volume.

* * *

The Campaign to Write Ten Thousand Letters of Appreciation

(September 18, 1938)

Officers and Soldiers Who Are Fighting Heroically on the Battlefront:

I hope you will continue to maintain your heroic spirit and fight to the bitter end, so as to achieve the goal of expelling the Japanese imperialists and winning final victory. All of your fellow countrymen in the rear area are supporting you.

Mao Zedong

Our source for this letter is *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* Vol. 5, p. 183.

Inscription

(September 25, 1938)

"Commemorate the foundation of the Nursery School of the Border Region. Long live the children!"

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 138.

* * *

Inscription for the Lu Xun Academy of Arts

(October 1, 1938)

Anti-Japanese realism, revolutionary romanticism.

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 139.

* * *

Inscription for the Second Congress of the Northwest Youth National Salvation Association

(November 1938)

March forward resolutely, fight Japan, and save China.

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 140. For the Chinese text in Mao's calligraphy, see above the cover and the note on page ii.

Inscription on Publication of the "Special Issue on the Work of Inspection" by the Political Department of the Anti-Japanese Military And Political University

(December 1938)

The more profoundly and thoroughly the inspection is carried out, the easier it is for the academy to achieve more successes and overcome its shortcomings.

Our source for this text is the index volume of *Mao Zedong ji. Bujuan,* p. 141.

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