

COMMEMORATE  
THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF CHINA

1921-1971

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
PEKING

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
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The great leader Chairman Mao and his close  
comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Biao

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**F**ULLY FIFTY YEARS have elapsed since the Communist Party of China held its First National Congress in Shanghai on July 1, 1921.

The birth of the Communist Party of China ushered in a new epoch in the development of Chinese history. For more than seventy years from the Opium War of 1840 to the May 4th Movement of 1919, the long-suffering Chinese people had waged heroic struggles to resist oppression by imperialism and feudalism. But all these struggles, including the large-scale revolutionary movements led by Hung Hsiu-chuan and Sun Yat-sen, had failed. Let us thank the great Lenin — the 1917 Russian October Socialist Revolution led by him brought the Chinese people Marxism-Leninism. The integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese revolutionary movement gave birth to the Communist Party of China, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat. As Chairman Mao said, **“In China, the Communist Party was born, an epoch-making event.”**

At the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party there were only a few dozen members organized in a few communist groups. But they represented a new force, and new forces are always invincible by nature. Nothing could wipe out the Chinese Communist Party, neither the aircraft and guns of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, nor White terror and the tyranny of secret agents, nor the machinations and sabotage of renegades and hidden traitors. On the contrary, in half a century's arduous struggle it has grown into the Party leading the

People's Republic of China. Semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China has been transformed into socialist New China with its first steps on the road of prosperity.

The fifty-year history of the Chinese Communist Party proves that the success or failure of a political party depends on whether its line is correct or not. A wrong line will lead to the loss of political power even if it has been seized. A correct line will enable a party which has not attained political power to achieve it. However, a correct line does not drop from the skies or emerge and develop spontaneously and peacefully; it exists in contrast to erroneous lines and develops through struggle against them.

In his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Comrade Lin Piao said: "The history of the Communist Party of China is one in which Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line combats the Right and 'Left' opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated the 'Left' opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's first 'Left' and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo-tao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist anti-Party bloc of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others and, after long years of struggle, shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Our Party has consolidated itself, developed and grown in strength precisely in the struggle between the two lines, especially in the struggles to defeat the three renegade cliques of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi which did the gravest harm to the Party." It is precisely Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line that has guided our Party and the Chinese

people on the tortuous road of revolution in surmounting danger, developing from a small and weak force into a big and strong force, and advancing from defeat to victory and to such a great victory as we enjoy today.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance."**

In celebrating the 50th birthday of the Chinese Communist Party, the whole Party faces the task of following Chairman Mao's teachings, carrying out the line laid down by the Ninth National Congress of the Party, **Unite to win still greater victories**, and fulfilling the fighting tasks set by the Congress and the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party. At present, it is particularly necessary for the whole Party to launch the movement of criticizing revisionism and rectifying the style of work, carry out education in ideology and political line, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and study and sum up the historical experience of inner-Party struggle between the two lines. This is the fundamental guarantee of further great victories for the cause of our Party.

#### PERSISTENTLY FOLLOW THE ROAD OF SEIZING POLITICAL POWER BY ARMED FORCE

Marxism-Leninism holds that the fundamental question of revolution is political power and that the seizure of power by armed force is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This is the universal truth of

Marxism-Leninism. Whoever denies this or admits it in words but denies it in deeds is not a genuine Marxist-Leninist. But specific conditions vary in different countries. And in what way could this task be carried out in China? On the basis of the great practice of the October Revolution, Lenin, in his *Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East* in November 1919, told the Communists of the Eastern peoples that they must see the characteristics of their own areas and that, relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, they must adapt themselves to peculiar conditions which do not exist in the European countries. Lenin stressed that this was **“a task which until now did not confront the Communists anywhere in the world”**. Obviously, the seizure of political power and the victory of the revolution are out of the question if the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is not integrated with the concrete revolutionary practice of a specific country.

On the basis of the unity of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao analysed the history of China, its existing conditions and the main contradictions in contemporary Chinese society and gave correct answers as to the targets, tasks, motive forces and character of the Chinese revolution and its perspectives and transition. Chairman Mao pointed out: The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution and part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. The Chinese revolution must take two steps. First the new-democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution. These are two essentially different revolutionary processes which are at once distinct and inter-related. The

second process, or the socialist revolution, can be carried through only after the first process, or the revolution of a bourgeois-democratic character, has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. Chairman Mao pointed out: A Communist Party built on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we can seize political power and consolidate it. It is precisely along this course that the Chinese revolution has advanced.

The new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party went through four historical periods — the First Revolutionary Civil War, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's War of Liberation. It took twenty-eight years in all, from 1921 to 1949, to solve the problem of seizing political power by armed force.

Our Party was still in its infancy during the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War. In the early and middle stages of that period the Party's line was correct. *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society, Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* and other works published by Comrade Mao Tsetung in that period represented the Party's correct line. On the basis of thorough and systematic investigation and study, Chairman Mao made a concrete analysis of the economic status and political attitudes of the various classes in Chinese society. He clearly pointed out: **“Our enemies**

are all those in league with imperialism — the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them.” He further pointed out: **“The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie.”** Chairman Mao paid particular attention to the question of arousing and arming the peasants, indicating that **“without the poor peasants there would be no revolution”**. At the same time, he indicated that the national bourgeoisie was a vacillating class; their Right-wing might become our enemy and their Left-wing might become our friend, and we must constantly be on guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks. Thus, he solved the question of first importance for the revolution, namely, **“Who are our enemies? Who are our friends?”** He opposed both Right opportunism represented by Chen Tu-hsiu that wanted only the Kuomintang and not the peasants, and “Left” opportunism represented by Chang Kuo-tao that was concerned only with the labour movement and likewise did not want the peasants.

Chen Tu-hsiu, then General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, was actually a radical bourgeois democrat. He knew nothing about Marxism-Leninism. He even held that there had been no slave society in China and negated the universal truth of Marxism. He maintained that since the Chinese revolution at that stage was a bourgeois-democratic revolution in character, it could lead only to the founding of a bourgeois republic and be led by the bourgeoisie. He clamoured that the Chinese proletariat was not “an independent revolutionary force” and could not be the leading class and he slandered the peasants as being “loose”, “conservative”

and “unlikely to join the revolution”. He flatly rejected Comrade Mao Tsetung’s correct views and gave up leadership over the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and particularly leadership over the armed forces. He advocated “all alliance and no struggle” in the united front. When the masses of workers and peasants arose, he was very much afraid that they would terrify the bourgeoisie. Chen Tu-hsiu and his follower Liu Shao-chi went so far as to order the workers’ pickets in Wuhan to hand their arms over to the Kuomintang. When Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, representatives of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, successively betrayed the revolution and slaughtered the workers and peasants, the broad masses of the people were unarmed and the dynamic great revolution ended in failure. Later, Chen Tu-hsiu clung to the reactionary stand of Trotsky and asserted that the establishment of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government marked the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and that all the proletariat could do was to engage in legal parliamentary struggles and wait until capitalism had developed in China and then make a so-called socialist revolution. This meant liquidating the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese Communists were not cowed by Chiang Kai-shek’s massacres. Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and Chen Tu-hsiu, those teachers by negative example, made us understand that **“without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and that it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph”**, and they made us understand this Marxist-Leninist truth: **“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”** To save the

revolution, the Nanchang Uprising was staged on August 1, 1927. The firing of the first shot at the Kuomintang reactionaries was the correct aspect of the Nanchang Uprising. Its mistake lay in not going to the countryside to arouse and arm the peasant masses and set up base areas, but taking the city as the centre and relying on aid from abroad. The Central Committee of the Party held an emergency meeting in Hankow on August 7, at which Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationist line was corrected, and he was removed from his leading post. After the August 7th Meeting, Chairman Mao himself led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, organized the first contingent of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, founded the first rural revolutionary base area in the Ching kang Mountains and ignited the spark of **"an armed independent regime of workers and peasants"**. In April 1928, the troops preserved after the Nanchang Uprising arrived in the Ching kang Mountains. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army successfully smashed the first, second and third counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the Kuomintang against the Central Red Base Area. And guerrilla warfare also made progress in Kiangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Anhwei, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechuan, Shensi and other places. Chairman Mao summed up the experience in good time and wrote *Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?, The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains, On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* and other important works. In these works, he explained on a theoretical plane that in China the seizure of political power by armed force could be accomplished only

by taking the road of setting up rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside, and finally seizing the cities, and not by taking the cities first and then advancing into the countryside, as in the capitalist countries.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The history of our Party shows that Right deviations are likely to occur in periods when our Party has formed a united front with the Kuomintang and that 'Left' deviations are likely to occur in periods when our Party has broken with the Kuomintang."** Shortly after our Party had broken with the Kuomintang and corrected Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, there occurred Chu Chiu-pai's "Left" putschist line between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928, Li Li-san's "Left" opportunist line between June and September 1930, and Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line between 1931 and 1934. During this period, although Chen Tu-hsiu's liquidationism, Lo Chang-lung's Right splittism and other Right deviations with their pessimism over the future of the revolution made their appearance, the "Left" opportunist line which occurred on the three above occasions was the main deviation. In particular, Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line which dominated the Party for four years did the greatest damage and gave us the most serious lessons.

Wang Ming usurped the leadership in the central leading body of the Party at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in January 1931. Wang Ming called himself a "100 per cent Bolshevik". While hoisting the banner of "opposition to the Li Li-san line", he alleged that the former central leading body "did nothing to expose and attack the consistently Right opportunist theory and practice of the Li Li-san line", and maintained that "the Right deviation is still the main

danger in the Party at present". He in fact pushed an opportunist line even more "Left" than the Li Li-san line. Like other "Left" opportunists, Wang Ming knew nothing about the theory and practice of the revolution in China. They confused the distinction between the democratic and socialist revolutions. They knew nothing about the workers and peasants, about how to fight a war, or about the unevenness and the tortuous and protracted character of the Chinese revolution. They made absolutely no investigation or study of class relations in China, but alleged that the intermediate groups were "the most dangerous enemy" and advocated opposing the whole bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie. They enforced many "Left" policies characterized by "all struggle and no alliance". As regards military line, they first practised adventurism and then turned to desperate recklessness and flightism. As regards organizational line, they practised sectarianism and deprived Chairman Mao of his power. They resorted to "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" against those who disagreed with their erroneous line. Acting as an all-powerful emperor, Wang Ming placed himself above the Party and the people and pushed his erroneous line everywhere. As a result, our Party suffered a loss of 90 per cent in the Red areas and almost 100 per cent in the White areas, and the Red Army was compelled to leave and embark on the Long March.

The two lines with their two outcomes educated the whole Party, both positively and negatively. When Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was followed, an army was founded and revolutionary base areas were established where previously there were none. When Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line was pursued, revolutionary base areas were lost and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army

was placed in a most dangerous position. Repeated testing in revolutionary practice proved that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the only correct line. Wang Ming who put "me at the core" and styled himself "100 per cent" correct turned out to be a sham Marxist. In January 1935 when the Red Army on the Long March reached Tsunyi in Kweichow, an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was called, *i.e.*, the great historic Tsunyi Meeting. The meeting put an end to the domination of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line in the central leading body, established the leading position of Chairman Mao in the whole Party and switched the Party line onto the correct Marxist-Leninist track. At what a high price and after what bloodshed!

The Tsunyi Meeting marked the growth of our Party from childhood to maturity. Under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao after the Tsunyi Meeting, the world famous 25,000-li Long March was concluded victoriously. During the Long March, the First Front Army of the Red Army was formed into an anti-Japanese detachment advancing northward and marched to northern Shensi, inspiring the people of the whole country with the determination to resist Japanese imperialist aggression. Our Party then smashed Chang Kuo-tao's line of establishing another central committee and splitting the Red Army. In October 1936 the Second and Fourth Front Armies arrived in northern Shensi and succeeded in joining forces with the First Front Army and the Red Army of that area. By that time, the Red Army had decreased from 300,000 men to less than 30,000. Quantitatively the strength of our Party was reduced for the time

being, but qualitatively our Party became stronger than before, thanks to the correct line.

In 1937 the Chinese revolution entered the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Our Party brought about a successful change from the period of Agrarian Revolution to that of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. But the sharpening of the national contradiction and the formation for the second time of a united front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, which were like a surging tide, turned some people's heads. This found expression within the Party in the struggle between our Party and the Right opportunist line represented by Wang Ming.

Early in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the renegade Wang Ming jumped from the extreme "Left" to the extreme Right. On the pretext of establishing the Anti-Japanese National United Front, he placed more confidence in the Kuomintang than in the Communist Party, completely abandoned the Communist Party's principle of independence and initiative and put forward the idea "everything through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front". This meant in essence that everything had to go through the Kuomintang and be submitted to it, and it meant not daring to wage resolute struggle against the Kuomintang's reactionary policies and not daring to boldly arouse the masses, or develop the revolutionary armed forces, or expand the anti-Japanese base areas in the Japanese-occupied areas. This meant handing over the leadership of the anti-Japanese war to the Kuomintang. Thus Wang Ming returned to the erroneous line of "all alliance and no struggle" advocated by Chen Tu-hsiu in 1927. Meanwhile, Liu Shao-chi went to the revolutionary base areas from

the White areas. He opposed the Wang Ming line and supported Chairman Mao's correct line in appearance, and boosted himself as the representative of the correct line in the work in the White areas and concealed his true features. Actually, he had long been a renegade, hidden traitor and scab and he had carried out an entirely erroneous line in the White areas. In his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*, Liu Shao-chi did not touch at all upon the questions of defeating Japanese imperialism and of waging struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, nor did he touch upon the question of seizing political power by armed force; on the contrary, he urged Communist Party members to depart from the great practice of revolution, study "the ways of Confucius and Mencius" and indulge in idealistic "self-cultivation". What he preached was again a capitulationist line. The "literature of national defence" and the "philosophy of national defence" which cropped up during this period were in reality a literature of national betrayal and a philosophy of capitulation. They were products of Wang Ming's capitulationist line and of Liu Shao-chi's wrong line in the work in the White areas as well.

Our great leader Chairman Mao systematically and thoroughly criticized the Right capitulationist line represented by Wang Ming. In his work *The Situation and Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan* written in November 1937, Chairman Mao warned the whole Party against Wang Ming's Right capitulationism: **"In 1927 Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism led to the failure of the revolution. No member of our Party should ever forget this historical lesson written in blood."** Chairman Mao once again raised the question of the struggle between the proletariat and the

bourgeoisie for leadership and stressed that it was necessary to insist on proletarian leadership and **“closely adhere to the principle of independence and initiative in all our united front work”**. But Wang Ming opposed Chairman Mao’s line and continued to push his opportunist line. In his report and concluding speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party held in October 1938, Chairman Mao put forward the question of the role of the Chinese Communist Party in the national war, refuted Wang Ming’s opportunist line and laid down the Party’s line and policy of leading the armed struggle independently and with the initiative in its own hands. The session adopted Chairman Mao’s report and concluding speech. Later, in his *On Policy* and other works, Chairman Mao repeatedly taught the whole Party that the united front policy **“is neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle”**. Our Party defeated the Kuomintang’s repeated anti-Communist campaigns and took firm hold of the leadership of the Anti-Japanese National United Front because Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line had already attained the predominant position in the whole Party, and because we had thoroughly criticized Wang Ming’s Right capitulationist line, corrected the “Left” deviation in the struggle against the Kuomintang, adhered to the correct policy of **developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the die-hard forces** and carried out the principles of **making use of contradictions, winning over the many, opposing the few and crushing our enemies one by one** and of **waging struggles on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint** in the struggle against the anti-Communist die-hards. Receiving

no aid from outside but relying on our own efforts, we developed production, overcame difficulties, resisted the bulk of the Japanese invading forces and practically all the puppet troops, and developed and strengthened the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, the South China Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Column and the anti-Japanese base areas.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has attached great importance to building the Party ideologically since its early days. The Kutien Meeting Resolution drawn up by Chairman Mao and his *On Practice, On Contradiction* and other philosophical works have played a tremendous role in educating the whole Party ideologically. In the early forties, when the War of Resistance Against Japan was in the stage of stalemate, the Central Committee of the Party grasped the excellent opportunity to launch the rectification movement throughout the Party in order to raise its Marxist-Leninist level. Chairman Mao published a series of works on the rectification movement such as *Reform Our Study, Rectify the Party’s Style of Work, Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing* and *Talks at the Yen’an Forum on Literature and Art*, calling on the whole Party to **“fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style in Party relations, and fight Party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing”**. Chairman Mao pointed out: **“Though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so**

**ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology."**

The Yen-an rectification movement personally led by Chairman Mao was a great, widespread movement of Marxist education. Through the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of Chairman Mao's works, and of dialectical and historical materialism and the exposure of the anti-Marxist-Leninist essence of the various "Left" and Right opportunist lines, the whole Party learned to distinguish between the correct and incorrect lines and between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies and gained a great deal. The policy of **learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient** was adopted in the rectification movement. Through criticism and self-criticism, the cadres throughout the Party arrived at a new unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Presided over by our great leader Chairman Mao, the Seventh National Congress of the Party was victoriously convened in April 1945. At the Congress Chairman Mao made the political report *On Coalition Government* and laid down the political line of the Party, that is, **"boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the aggressors and build a new China."** The Seventh Party Congress was a congress of victory, a congress of unity; it encouraged hundreds of millions of people throughout the country to fight with a will like the Foolish Old Man, who removed the mountains, and strengthened their confidence in victory. By the time of the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the

army led by our Party had grown to one million men and the Liberated Areas had expanded to embrace a population of 100 million. The revolutionary strength of the Chinese people was greater than ever.

The victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan brought about a drastic change in the situation and in class relations, both at home and abroad. With the assistance of U.S. imperialism Chiang Kai-shek, bent as always on destroying the Communist Party, decided to launch a counter-revolutionary civil war. Did we dare to struggle and win victory? **"To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie?"** This was the question confronting the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. At that moment Liu Shao-chi came out with his capitulationist line, preaching that "China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy". He loudly proclaimed that "the main form of struggle of the Chinese revolution should change from armed struggle to non-armed mass parliamentary struggle" and "all the work of our Party should be reorganized". Liu Shao-chi wanted our Party to hand over the army and the revolutionary base areas to Chiang Kai-shek, seek official posts in the reactionary Kuomintang government and "build the country in co-operation" with the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. This line was a continuation of the Chen Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming lines and an echo in China of the revisionist line of Browder, the renegade from the Communist Party of the United States of America. Chairman Mao resolutely op-

posed Liu Shao-chi's capitulationist line. He sharply pointed out: "**Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land.**" "The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over." Chairman Mao further pointed out: "**How to give 'tit for tat' depends on the situation.**" If they wanted to fight, we would wipe them out completely, and this was tit for tat. If they wanted to negotiate, sometimes not going to negotiations was tit for tat, and sometimes going to negotiations was also tit for tat. In the light of the situation, Chairman Mao worked out plans and had operational preparations made to defeat offensives by the Chiang troops, and he went to Chungking in person for negotiations and thus exposed Chiang Kai-shek who paid lip service to peace but actually went in for civil war. In view of the prevailing morbid fear of the United States, Chairman Mao put forward the thesis, **All reactionaries are paper tigers**, exposing the nature of U.S. imperialism and all reaction. After Chiang Kai-shek started the all-round civil war, Chairman Mao, with revolutionary fearlessness, issued the great and timely call "**Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and liberate all China**", and led the people of the whole country in defeating counter-revolutionary war by revolutionary war and in seizing state power by armed force. Chairman Mao laid down the general line and general policy of our Party at this historical stage, namely, a new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the prole-

tariat; he laid down the principle of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one; and in accordance with the progress of the revolution in different parts of the country he laid down a series of specific lines for work and specific policies regarding land reform, the consolidation and building of the Party and of the army, and other work. The Party issued the Outline Land Law of China in conformity with the wishes of the peasants throughout the country; it corrected both the Right-deviationist error of not daring to boldly arouse the masses and not meeting the peasants' demand for land and the line represented by Liu Shao-chi in land reform and Party consolidation, which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and characterized by encroaching on the interests of the middle peasants and private industry and commerce, regarding large numbers of Party cadres as "stumbling-blocks" and removing them wholesale, gathering a few "trustworthy" people through secret contacts instead of arousing the masses and, in disregard of Party policy, simultaneously unfolding the movement everywhere and beating people and struggling against them at will, and so on. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and with the support and assistance of the people in the Liberated Areas and the masses in the areas under Chiang Kai-shek's control, the great Chinese People's Liberation Army wiped out 8,000,000 Chiang bandit troops armed by U.S. imperialism, liberated all Chinese territory with the exception of Taiwan Province and a number of sea islands and buried the Chiang dynasty, and the People's Republic of China was founded. The Chinese people stood up!

## PERSIST IN CONTINUING THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the basic conclusion of the stage of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of the socialist revolution. Back at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party on the eve of country-wide victory, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that the principal internal contradiction after the liberation of our country was **"the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie"**. The focus of the contradiction was on the socialist road versus the capitalist road and on the dictatorship of the proletariat versus the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Both the title of our Party and our Marxist-Leninist world outlook unequivocally demonstrate that the basic programme of our Party is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the bourgeois dictatorship and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and that the ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism. Our twenty-eight years of heroic struggle represented only the first step in the long march of ten thousand *li* towards this ultimate goal. The seizure of political power by the proletariat was not the end of the revolution but the beginning of the second step.

The vast territory of our country was liberated gradually. The several million troops of the People's Liberation Army served both as a fighting force and as a working force. Our Party relied on its own army which aroused the masses while fighting battles and, together

with the masses, resolutely carried out the Party's line and policies, smashed the state machinery of the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and established the people's regime, which confiscated all bureaucrat-capital comprising 80 per cent of modern industry and transformed it into socialist state enterprises. And boldly arousing the masses, we launched on a large scale the land reform movement, the movement for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. In a space of three years, we rehabilitated the national economy and strengthened the people's democratic dictatorship, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1953, after the frantic attacks of the bourgeoisie had been repelled in the movement against the "three evils" (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) and the movement against the "five evils" (bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information from government sources for private speculation), Chairman Mao, in accordance with Lenin's theory on the transition period and our own practice, set forth the Party's general line for the transition period: **"Bring about, step by step and over a fairly long period, the socialist industrialization of China and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state."**

The essence of the Party's general line for the transition period was to solve the problem of the ownership of the means of production, making socialist ownership, that is, ownership by the state and collective ownership by the working masses, our country's sole economic base. This was an important step in further consolidating the

dictatorship of the proletariat. We tackled this problem firmly, yet gradually. In agriculture, this was done by proceeding through mutual-aid teams, which contained some embryonic elements of socialism, and the elementary co-operatives of a semi-socialist character, to the fully socialist advanced co-operatives. In capitalist industry and commerce, it was done first by the state placing orders with private enterprises to process and manufacture goods, purchasing and marketing all their products and using private enterprises as commission agents to purchase and sell goods for the state, and then by transforming private enterprises into joint state-private enterprises and paying a fixed rate of interest on the basis of an appraisal of the assets in accordance with the policy of redemption. Some people afflicted with impetuosity found this process not to their satisfaction and thought the transition period far too long; they wanted the problem to be solved overnight. This "Left" deviation was overcome relatively quickly through education.

The socialist revolution is a struggle to bury capitalism; it has been acclaimed by the labouring people throughout the country but has met with reckless sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and company. Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others formed an anti-Party bloc in a vain attempt to split the Central Committee and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their scheme was smashed by the Central Committee of the Party in good time. Liu Shao-chi all along opposed socialist transformation. As early as 1949, wherever he went he preached the fallacy "exploitation is a merit" behind the Central Committee's back and in violation of the Resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh

Central Committee. At the beginning of the fifties, he put forward the slogan "consolidate the new-democratic system". This meant "consolidating" and developing the forces of capitalism and taking the capitalist road instead of carrying out the socialist revolution. Chairman Mao promptly criticized this slogan, pointing out that it was an error in the nature of a bourgeois programme. He published *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation* and other brilliant works to criticize the Right-deviationist error committed by Liu Shao-chi and his gang of slashing the number of co-operatives and criticize their fallacies of realizing "mechanization before co-operation" and of expanding the rich-peasant economy. This immensely inspired the masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants with socialist enthusiasm for co-operation. In the year or so from the second half of 1955, the five hundred million peasants of our country were all jubilantly taking the broad road of socialism. Because the proletariat had captured the positions in the vast rural areas, the bourgeoisie, now under cross-fire from the workers and peasants, was isolated and compelled to accept transformation. By 1956, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and of handicrafts had in the main been completed in our country with respect to the system of ownership. Instead of suffering any damage, industrial and agricultural production progressed in the course of this great change and the Party's general line for the transition period was crowned with great victory.

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, China's socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were confronted with a new problem. What

was the principal internal contradiction? Were there still classes, class contradictions and class struggle? What were the future tasks of the Chinese revolution? Liu Shao-chi and his gang replied: "In China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already settled", "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically resolved", and the principal internal contradiction "is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces". This was a refurbished version in new circumstances of the "theory of productive forces" advocated by Bernstein and Kautsky. And it was a means by which the bourgeoisie waged class struggle against the proletariat. In the period of the democratic revolution they said that the proletariat could not seize political power until capitalism was highly developed; at the approach of socialist transformation, they wanted to "consolidate the new-democratic system"; and after the three great transformations of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce were completed in the main, they again dished up the above-mentioned fallacies, trying to stop the proletariat from continuing the revolution. In their opinion, class struggle died out when the question of ownership was settled, and there was no need to consolidate the socialist system, and all that was necessary was to grasp production; the socialist system was too "advanced" to suit the needs of China today and it was necessary to turn back and develop capitalism. Moreover, behind Chairman Mao's back, Liu Shao-chi and his gang inserted this sinister trash into the Resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Party in their attempt to impose on the whole Party the line of taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao at that time pointed out that the words Liu Shao-chi and his gang had stuffed into the Resolution were wrong and anti-Marxist. Shortly afterwards, Chairman Mao made public his brilliant work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, and, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism, systematically answered the question of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership. He pointed out: **"In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership . . . there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. . . . the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."** He said: **"The present social system of our country is far superior to that of the old days. If it were not so, the old system would not have been overthrown and the new system could not have been established."** He pointed out: **"To sum up, socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the**

**developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base.”** Therefore, **“time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated”.** **“We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in the light of our specific conditions. Of course, new problems will emerge as these contradictions are resolved. And further efforts will be required to resolve the new contradictions.”** With the invincible theory of dialectical and historical materialism, Chairman Mao thoroughly refuted Liu Shao-chi’s revisionist fallacies and armed our Party with the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The development of class struggle at home and abroad constantly provides fresh facts to prove the correctness of Chairman Mao’s theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The wild attacks of the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 and, particularly, the gravity of the capitalist restoration in Lenin’s homeland by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique which occurred after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have taught us a very profound lesson — the socialist system will not be consolidated if there is only a socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production without a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Just look at history to see how capitalism rises, grows and heads for its doom, and you will understand that the capitalist system, too, was not established at one stroke. Since the proletarian revolution is a revolution for the complete elimination of all exploiting classes, it necessarily involves more acute and tortuous class struggle than the previous revolutions that

replaced one system of exploitation by another. Taking the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the world un-awares, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique restored the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is a bad thing, but a bad thing can be turned into a good thing. It has educated the Soviet people and the proletariat of the world. In the development of history as a whole, the restoration of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union is only a temporary phenomenon. The proletariat and the people of all nationalities of the Soviet Union are sure to vanquish the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique, re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue to take the road of the October Revolution charted by Lenin and Stalin. Socialism is sure to triumph throughout the world. This is an objective law independent of man’s will.

The struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 was a great battle between the Chinese proletariat and bourgeoisie on the political and ideological fronts. Throughout the country the masses were aroused to speak up boldly, air their views freely, put up big-character posters and hold great debates. The controversy centred mainly on such major questions as whether our work in revolution and construction was correct, whether we should take the socialist road, whether we should uphold the leadership of the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism, and whether our foreign policy was correct. The great debates enabled the broad masses to make a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong, isolated the bourgeois Rightists and refuted Liu Shao-chi’s revisionist fallacies. This was an immense contribution to deflating the arrogance of the bourgeoisie,

boosting the morale of the proletariat, enhancing the enthusiasm of the people of the whole country for socialism and pushing forward China's socialist revolution and construction. In 1958, Chairman Mao laid down the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**. He formulated this general line on the basis of summing up the experience of our Party in building the revolutionary base areas, the experience in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy and the lessons of Khrushchov's restoration of capitalism, and of criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and his ilk, and on the basis of repeated investigation and study. This general line stresses putting proletarian politics in command and integrating Party leadership with the masses and is a new development of the Party's mass line. It stipulates that we take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, and it lays down a series of principles summed up as "walking on two legs", such as giving play to the initiative of both the central government and the localities, speeding up industrial construction in the interior while making full use of industry in coastal areas, simultaneously developing industry and agriculture, light and heavy industries and modern and indigenous methods, and building small, medium-sized and big enterprises at the same time. Under the guidance of the general line, our people created the people's commune as a form of organization in the rural areas. An invigorating great leap forward occurred in industry and agriculture all over the country. This was a great victory for the Party's general line.

In the excellent situation in which revolution and construction were advancing rapidly, Liu Shao-chi and company changed their tactics. Acting in an extreme "Left" manner at first, they opposed Chairman Mao's correct thesis that the rural people's commune is a system of socialist collective ownership, negated the law of value and commodity production and attempted to sabotage the revolutionary mass movement. Chairman Mao criticized their mistakes in good time, defended the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses and took concrete measures to guide the mass movement onto the correct path. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party held in August 1959, Peng Teh-huai came out with vicious attacks from the Right on the Party's general line; he frantically opposed the great leap forward, the people's communes and the revolutionary mass movement. Later, Liu Shao-chi also levelled repeated attacks from the Right on the Party's general line. They and their gang did their utmost to exaggerate the temporary economic difficulties caused by three years of natural calamities and the tearing up of contracts and withdrawal of experts by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. They denied the fact that, led by Chairman Mao and adhering to the Party's general line, the people of the country could overcome the difficulties and had already won initial successes. They openly put forward and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in domestic and foreign affairs, namely, *san zi yi bao* (the extension of free markets and of plots for private use, the promotion of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis) and *san he yi shao* (the liquidation of struggle in relations

with imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries, and reduction of assistance and support to the world revolution). They were no longer waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, but were waving white flags to oppose the red flag.

The fact that the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique was running rampant was an indication not of their strength, but of their panic in the face of the deepening proletarian revolution. Historical experience proves that, invariably, the activities of domestic counter-revolutionaries and the opportunists in the Party are not only political struggles in character but are co-ordinated with those of foreign reactionaries. Liu Shao-chi and company regarded the rabid anti-China campaign launched by the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the Indian reactionaries as their golden opportunity to restore capitalism. Facts prove just the opposite. The proletariat and the people of China are never afraid of difficulties. The imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries cannot harm us in the slightest with their blockades, embargoes, armed aggression and subversion from within, which, on the contrary, encourage us all the more to maintain independence and initiative, rely on our own efforts and work hard for the prosperity of the country and transform society with soaring revolutionary drive. It is not the Chinese people who are isolated, but imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, including their running dogs Liu Shao-chi and his pack.

The Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962 was of great historic significance. It marked the start of a new attack against the bourgeoisie by the Chinese proletariat and

working people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. At this session, Chairman Mao issued the great call "**Never forget class struggle**" to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, summed up the experience of China and the international communist movement and more comprehensively put forward the basic line of our Party for the entire historical period of socialism, which has now been written into our Party Constitution. He also pointed out: "**To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.**" After this session, Chairman Mao wrote the celebrated essay *Where Do Correct Ideas Come from?* in which he criticized the bourgeois idealism and metaphysics of Liu Shao-chi. Under Comrade Lin Piao's guidance, the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* was compiled and published, and this promoted the widespread development of the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. At Chairman Mao's call, our Party launched attacks in such ideological fields as Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music, that had long been controlled by Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters; as a result, the heroic figures of workers, peasants and soldiers began to appear on the stage. At the same time, the Party started the socialist education movement throughout the country. In the course of this movement the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique used the power they had usurped to launch a fierce counter-attack against the proletariat and opposed the policy clearly set forth by Chairman Mao: "**The main**

**target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.”** They hit hard at the masses of cadres and people and protected the handful of capitalist-roaders by methods which were “Left” in form but Right in essence; they openly attacked the scientific Marxist method of investigating and studying social conditions advocated by Chairman Mao, branding it as “outdated”; and they opposed the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, opposed the revolution in literature and art and opposed criticism of the bourgeoisie. In November 1965, Chairman Mao initiated the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, and in 1966 Liu Shao-chi and company produced the “February Outline” to oppose it. The twists and turns in the struggle further exposed Liu Shao-chi as the arch-representative of the capitalist-roaders in the country, the Khrushchov of China. The *Circular* of May 16, 1966 worked out under Chairman Mao’s guidance called on the whole Party to guard against “**persons like Khrushchov . . . who are still nestling beside us**”. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Party, which was set up in accordance with the *Circular*, firmly carried out Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in August 1966, Chairman Mao presided over the adoption of the *Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* and put up his big-character poster *Bombard the Headquarters*, formally taking the lid off Liu Shao-chi’s revisionist line. And so came the high tide of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

This revolution which Chairman Mao personally initiated and has been leading with the boldness and vision of a great proletarian revolutionary, and in which the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions have been taking part is “**a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie**”. It may also be called China’s second revolution. At first many of our comrades had a very poor understanding of this revolution. When the masses rose and split into two groupings, and even struggle by force occurred, everything under heaven seemed to be in chaos for a time. Some people ask: Since Liu Shao-chi and his handful usurped part of the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it needs only an order from Chairman Mao to dismiss them from office. Why should the present method be adopted? Practice shows that the other method, dismissal from office, could not solve the problem, though it was adopted on many occasions. This revolution is not merely about the dismissal of a few people from office; it is a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Liu Shao-chi not only had a revisionist political line but also had an organizational line which served his political line. The leadership in quite a number of our units was not in the hands of Marxists and the worker and peasant masses. Only by arousing the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below would it be

possible to clean out the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, temper hundreds of millions of people in class struggle, educate them in the struggle against revisionism and enable them to gain experience in seizing back that portion of power which had been usurped by a handful of capitalist-roaders. Speaking of chaos, it occurred because there were firstly counter-revolutionaries and secondly capitalist-roaders who engaged in sabotage and created disturbances under flags of all descriptions. But they could only hoodwink some of the people for some of the time. Armed with *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, the masses took part in debates and gradually learned how to distinguish between good and bad people and between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line, and how to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies correctly. In this way the whole country became a great school for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, and the broad masses learned in the stormy struggle what they could not have learned in normal times. Therefore, in the final analysis, the chaos threw only the enemy into disorder but tempered the masses. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has made new contributions in the service of the people by taking part in the "three supports and two militaries" (*i.e.*, support the broad masses of the Left, support industry and support agriculture and military control and political and military training). Since the day of its founding, our People's Liberation Army has been a fighting force and at the same time a working force and a production force, and it has more than forty years' experience in doing mass work. That is why our armymen could easily be-

come one with the masses and help to bring about a speedier development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in different places, and this has enabled our army to further steel itself. The revolutionary committees at all levels, born in the storm of class struggle, constitute a double three-in-one combination in the sense that they comprise representatives of the army, the cadres and the masses and of old, middle-aged and young people. Members of the Party committees at all levels elected after Party consolidation include not only proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation but also middle-aged and younger ones. All this has created favourable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and given our Party and country more vitality than ever. As Chairman Mao said, **"The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."** Under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, the Ninth National Congress of the Party was convened in April 1969, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had won great victories. The Congress adopted Vice-Chairman Lin's political report and the Constitution of the Communist Party of China and elected the new Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. In his political report, Vice-Chairman Lin systematically expounded Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and summed up the basic experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Therefore, in this article, we will not go into detail about this revolution.

Since the Ninth National Congress of the Party, the development of class struggle at home and abroad has proved that the line of the Congress is completely correct. The tasks and policies defined at the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party are also completely correct. Though splendid victories have been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the tasks ahead are still arduous in carrying out struggle-criticism-transformation on various fronts and particularly in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. We still have to wage a protracted struggle to fulfil the task of further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat politically, ideologically, economically and organizationally. Chairman Mao teaches us that no one must think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. For socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the Marxist theory of continued revolution and on practice under its guidance. Our whole Party must keep Chairman Mao's teachings firmly in mind and recognize that this struggle is protracted and complex. We must resolutely carry out the fighting tasks laid down at the Ninth National Congress of the Party and the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Ninth Central Committee, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and strive to win still greater victories.

## THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO BE GOOD AT LEARNING

A review of the fighting course traversed by our Party over the past fifty years confirms this truth: When our Party departs from Chairman Mao's leadership and goes against Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's line, it suffers setbacks and defeats; when our Party closely follows Chairman Mao, acts in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought and implements Chairman Mao's line, it advances and triumphs. Comrade Mao Tsetung's works are the most comprehensive summary of the theory and practice of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the revolution and construction. In summing up the historical experience of our Party, Comrade Mao Tsetung said in 1939: **"To sum up our eighteen years of experience and our current new experience on the basis of our understanding of the unity between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution, and to spread this experience throughout the Party, so that our Party becomes as solid as steel and avoids repeating past mistakes — such is our task."**

Of the historical experience of our Party summed up by Chairman Mao, what in particular should the whole Party pay attention to and study today?

1. It is necessary to adhere to **"the consistent ideological principle of our Party"**, namely, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

The history of our Party tells us: In his great practice in leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always adhered to the world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and used the Marxist-Leninist

stand, viewpoint and method to make thorough investigations and studies of the political and economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and their inter-relations, make a concrete analysis of the conditions of our enemies, our friends and ourselves, scientifically sum up positive and negative historical experience and correctly formulate the Party's line and policies; he has thus inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in their triumphant advance. But the divorce of theory and practice and the split between the subjective and the objective are the ideological characteristics of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and other sham Marxists. Proceeding from their idealist and metaphysical world outlook, they opposed and distorted dialectical and historical materialism, opposed investigation and study and class analysis, and opposed the unity of theory and practice, either from the Right or from the "Left". They, too, talked about Marxism-Leninism and even pretended to be Marxist theoreticians, but only to bluff and hoodwink worker-peasant cadres and innocent young people, whereas they themselves never intended to act in accordance with Marxism but were always anti-Marxist. Hence their words and deeds inevitably ran counter to the objective laws of social development, to the desires of the masses and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line which correctly reflects objective laws and the desires of the people, and they were bound to go bankrupt in the practice of revolution. For a time, some of our comrades were unable to distinguish between the correct and incorrect lines because, as far as the subjective factor was concerned, they had not read Marxist-Leninist works or, though having read some, they were unable to

apply the fundamental ideological principle stressed time and time again by Comrade Mao Tsetung in observing and handling problems and remould their subjective world in the process of transforming the objective world. This is a most profound historical lesson all Communist Party members, old and new, must always bear in mind.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "**Read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism**", comrades throughout the Party, and primarily senior cadres, are now conscientiously studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and studying the Party's historical experience over the past fifty years and its current new experience. The integration of the cadres' study movement with that of the masses has produced positive results and will continue to do so. We must persist in this. In reading and studying, it is essential to keep to the principle of integrating theory with practice. It is essential to read and study with problems in mind, problems arising in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and problems in the Chinese and the world revolution. This means combining reading with investigation and study and with the summing up of experience, combining the study of historical experience with the present-day struggle and the criticism of opportunism in the past with the criticism of modern revisionism. Since country-wide liberation, Chairman Mao has led the whole Party in making a number of criticisms — from the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the bourgeois ideology reflected in the study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, the criticism of Hu Shih, the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique and the bourgeois Rightists to the criticism of the

Liu Shao-chi renegade clique; these criticisms have deeply educated the whole Party, army and people. The criticism of modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its centre conducted by the whole Party under Chairman Mao's leadership and the great polemics on the general line of the international communist movement especially provide most profound and vivid Marxist-Leninist education for the whole Party. The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism is a struggle of principle between the two lines in the international communist movement. Khrushchov, Brezhnev and company are renegades from the proletarian revolution, mad present-day social-imperialists and world storm-troopers opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people. It is our Party's bounden internationalist duty to continue the exposure and criticism of modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism at its centre and carry the struggle through to the end. Comrades throughout the Party must combine the study of Marxism-Leninism with the criticism of modern revisionism in China and abroad, and learn to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and acquire a really good grasp of Marxism in the course of struggle.

2. It is necessary to wage inner-Party struggle correctly. Making a correct distinction between the two different types of contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves — and handling them correctly are the fundamental guarantee that the Party will strengthen its unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in defeating the enemy.

It is essential thoroughly to expose the few bourgeois conspirators, careerists, renegades and enemy agents, who have concealed themselves in the Party, and the hidden traitors who have illicit relations with foreign countries. Bad people invariably disguise themselves and resort to conspiracy and double-dealing. But since they are engaged in evil-doing, they are bound to expose themselves. For example, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi who had hidden inside the Party for decades was exposed in the end; Wang Ming fled abroad and finally became a "100 per cent" traitor and enemy agent.

As for comrades in the Party who have committed errors, they must all be dealt with according to a different principle, namely, **"unity, criticism, unity"** and **"learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones"** and **"cure the sickness to save the patient"** so as to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. In explaining this principle, Chairman Mao said: **"The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones'.** But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death." Chairman Mao once again stressed this principle during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, pointing out: **"Apart from those obstinate anti-Party and anti-socialist elements who have refused to mend their ways after repeated education, people should be allowed to correct their errors and**

**be encouraged to atone for their misdeeds."** This correct principle of Comrade Mao Tsetung's in handling inner-Party contradictions is different from both the Right opportunist fallacy of "inner-Party peace", which negates contradictions and confuses right and wrong, and the "Left" opportunist fallacy of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows". We should study the historical experience of inner-Party struggle waged under different historical conditions so as to enable our Party to play its leading role as the vanguard of the proletariat still better.

3. Efforts must be made to guard against arrogance. This is of particular importance to a Party which has won great victories, a Party which is in power and leads the people of all nationalities of the country in carrying out the socialist revolution and construction and a Party which shoulders great internationalist obligations to the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world.

Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out: "There have been several occasions in the history of our Party when great conceit manifested itself and we suffered in consequence. The first was in the early half of 1927. The Northern Expeditionary Army had reached Wuhan, and some comrades became so proud and overweening as to forget that the Kuomintang was about to assault us. The result was the error of the Chen Tu-hsiu line, which brought defeat to the revolution. The second occasion was in 1930. Taking advantage of Chiang Kai-shek's large-scale war against Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, the Red Army won a number of battles, and again some comrades became proud and overweening. The result was the error of the Li Li-san line, again causing

some losses to the revolutionary forces. The third occasion was in 1931. The Red Army had smashed the Kuomintang's third 'encirclement and suppression' campaign and, immediately afterwards, faced with the Japanese invasion, the people throughout the country started the stormy and heroic anti-Japanese movement; and again some comrades became proud and overweening. The result was an even more serious error in the political line, which cost us about 90 per cent of the revolutionary forces that we had built up with so much toil. The fourth occasion was in 1938. The War of Resistance had begun and the united front had been established; and once again some comrades became proud and overweening. As a result they committed an error somewhat similar to the Chen Tu-hsiu line. This time the revolutionary work suffered serious damage in those places where the effects of these comrades' erroneous ideas were more especially pronounced. Comrades throughout the Party should take warning from these instances of pride and error." They should "not repeat the error of becoming conceited at the moment of success".

"Modesty helps one to go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind."

4. We should follow the theory of two points, not the theory of one point. While paying attention to the main tendency, we should take note of the other tendency which may be covered up. We must take full notice and firmly grasp the principal aspect and at the same time solve one by one the problems arising from the non-principal aspect. We should see the negative as well as the positive aspects of things. We should see the prob-

lems that have already arisen and also anticipate problems which are not yet perceived but which may arise.

During the democratic revolution, when our Party formed a united front with the bourgeoisie and alliance became the main trend, Comrade Mao Tsetung paid attention to opposing the Right tendency of "all alliance and no struggle". When the alliance between our Party and the bourgeoisie broke up and armed struggle became the main form of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung paid attention to opposing the "Left" tendency of "all struggle and no alliance". On the eve of the country-wide victory of the People's War of Liberation, Chairman Mao foresaw that **"there may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets"**. Chairman Mao issued this call to the whole Party: **"The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."**

During the socialist revolution, whenever our attacks on the bourgeoisie and our victories over them become the main trend, Chairman Mao invariably reiterates various proletarian policies and reminds us to remain prudent, help more people through education and narrow the target of attack, unite with all forces that can be united, and prevent and overcome the "Left" tendency running counter to these policies. But when the bourgeoisie launches attacks on us or when our Party encounters temporary difficulties on its way forward or concentrates on correcting certain shortcomings or mistakes

in work, Chairman Mao invariably reminds us to remain firm, persist in proletarian leadership, distinguish between the principal and secondary aspects, not to regard everything as positive or to negate everything, to guard against sabotage and counter-attacks by open and hidden enemies and oppose and overcome the Right tendency away from the socialist path. At every crucial moment in history when a certain tendency has developed to such extent as to endanger the cause of the Party, Chairman Mao always firmly steers the course for us with proletarian revolutionary fearlessness against the current.

5. It is necessary to adhere to the mass line. The basic line for all work in our Party is to rely on the masses, have faith in them and fully arouse them, **"from the masses, to the masses", "take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through"**. We adhere to the principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts** precisely because we firmly believe that **"the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history"**.

Both in the democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung has repeatedly stressed the importance of the mass line. He regards perseverance in the mass line as fundamental to perseverance in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and regards working for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world as a requirement for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has sharply refuted the reactionary viewpoints of such pseudo-Marxists as Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi who slandered and re-

pressed the masses. And he has constantly criticized and corrected the various tendencies in the Party towards keeping aloof from the masses. Chairman Mao has taught us time and again: The relation of the Communist Party to the people is that of fish to water. At no time should a Communist divorce himself from the masses. Today when we have won tremendous victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the ties between the Party and the masses are closer than ever, we should pay still greater attention to going to the masses, showing concern for them, listening attentively to them and consulting with them as matters arise. We should run the "May 7" cadre schools well. We should regularly participate in collective productive labour. It is necessary to guard against repeating the mistake of divorcing oneself from the masses. In contradistinction to the type of person who claims to be a "humble little commoner" but is actually a big careerist, we should sincerely learn from the masses while tirelessly educating them in Mao Tsetung Thought, overcome erroneous tendencies and raise the political consciousness of the people.

Chairman Mao has always showed concern for the unity of all nationalities of the country. Ours is a multinational country; it is essential to ensure good relations between the Han people and the minority nationalities. We should oppose both Han chauvinism and local nationalism, develop the fraternal relations the various nationalities have forged in the revolution and in the struggle to build the motherland, and strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities of the country.

6. It is necessary to uphold democratic centralism. Our Party Constitution clearly stipulates that the organ-

izational principle of the Party is democratic centralism, that is, centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Both inside and outside the Party, we must create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Our Party is a militant party, and without centralism, discipline and unity of will, it cannot defeat the enemy. But there can be no correct centralism without democracy. Therefore, Comrade Mao Tsetung always opposes the practice of "what I say counts" and advocates the practice of "letting all people have their say". He opposes telling lies and advocates speaking the truth. He makes it a requirement for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to be bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We should give play to our Party's traditional democratic style of work, constantly make criticism and self-criticism, uphold the truth and correct mistakes. However, whether in army or in civilian work, our democracy is aimed at consolidating centralism, strengthening discipline and raising militancy, and not the opposite. Party committees at all levels must institute and strengthen the Party committee system, strengthen centralized leadership, prevent excessive decentralization and the practice of "many centres", that is, no centre, and must achieve unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader.

7. It is necessary to build a powerful people's army. The historical experience of the Party shows that **"without a people's army the people have nothing"**. The Chi-

nese People's Liberation Army is a proletarian army created and led by our great leader Chairman Mao and commanded by Vice-Chairman Lin. **"Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party."** Upholding the Marxist-Leninist line, Chairman Mao has defeated sabotage by "Left" and Right opportunism, and as a result, our army has grown in strength and become the pillar of our dictatorship of the proletariat. The world will have no peace as long as there are classes, as long as there is imperialism. The two super-powers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, are today contending and colluding with each other and pushing politics of hegemony in a vain attempt to divide the world. Japanese militarism, too, is trying to realize its old fond dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere". Therefore on no account must we ever overlook the danger of their aggression and subversion against our motherland. Our principle is: **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** We must never for a moment forget preparedness against war. We must at all times be ready to smash aggression and subversion by any imperialism. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We need not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organize the people's militia on a big scale. Thus, should any imperialism dare to invade our country, we will drown it in the vast ocean of people's war.

8. It is necessary to uphold proletarian internationalism. Chairman Mao has always educated the whole Party and the people of the whole country in proletarian

internationalism so that they can overcome both "Left" and Right opportunist interferences and correctly handle the relation between the revolution in China and her support and aid to the world revolution.

In its struggles over the past fifty years, the Chinese Communist Party has always enjoyed the support of the world proletariat and the people of all countries, the support of friendly countries and organizations and the support of fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations throughout the world. The victories we have won are inseparable from their support. We will be forever grateful to them and will never forget them. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."** The fundamental interests of the Chinese proletariat and Chinese people are identical not only with those of the people of Albania, Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Korea and all Asian, African and Latin American countries, but also with those of the people of all countries, including the people of the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan. As Chairman Mao pointed out in his Statement of May 20, 1970, **"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."** The task of the Chinese Communist Party is: on the one hand, to lead the proletariat and the people of the country in doing a good job in revolution and construction at home; on the other, to exert our greatest efforts to struggle together with the

people of all countries to defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs, oppose the politics of hegemony pushed by the two super-powers and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war. This is our principled stand which is firm and unshakable. Although we have achieved some success in our revolution and construction, our country is still comparatively poor and backward. Our contribution to the world revolution is still very small. We must continue our efforts. But even when China becomes a strong socialist country after several decades, we should never become tainted with arrogant great-power chauvinism or big-party chauvinism either. We should always remember Chairman Mao's teaching: **"In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."** Every nation, big or small, has its strong and weak points. We should learn from the strong points of the revolutionary people of other countries and always unite with them, fight side by side and win victory together.

Thousands upon thousands of martyrs dedicated their lives to the cause of liberation of the people of China and the world in protracted, arduous struggle. Their revolutionary spirit is forever an inspiration to us. Whatever the difficulties and hardships, nothing can stop our advance.

We are living in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. Compared with the days when the Chinese Communist Party was born fifty years ago, the revolutionary situation throughout the world today is excellent; it is better than ever before. The final de-

struction of imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries is not far off.

**Unite to win still greater victories!**

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

纪念中国共产党五十周年

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